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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

A N D

NOTES AND QUERIES

C O N C E R N I N G T H E

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

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A M E R I C A .

V O L . V .

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE closes its fifth year amid scenes which will occupy no inconsiderable space in the future history of the country. The attempt to overthrow the American government, and the energy and devotedness called forth by the patriotic feeling of the people to uphold it, form a spectacle almost without a parallel. It has not been within the scope of the Magazine to chronicle the history fast making around us: its province is the past. It is rather a Retrospective Review than a journal of current events.

The convulsion caused by the civil war, and felt by all commercial operations, has not been without its effect on the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. It has not indeed prostrated or crippled it, but it has prevented much that it had hoped to accomplish during the year. We begin the new volume with confidence; but in view of the loss of subscribers in parts to which the mails no longer reach, we appeal to our friends to extend as much as may be its circulation in loyal parts. The list of subscribers should in all justice be much greater than it has ever been, and a little effort would accomplish much.

During the year we have given many articles of value, relating to various parts of the country, embracing the Indian nations, their language and manners, early colonial history, and the era of the Revolution. We shall hereafter frequently give in full early tracts of an historical character which, like Lithobolia, have become so

rare as to figure only in the libraries of the wealthiest book collectors. A volume of the Magazine will thus contain, at a trifling cost, what a hundred dollars would not give in any other shape.

To our many kind contributors we tender our sincere thanks for the valuable papers they have transmitted to us from time to time, and trust to merit a continuance of their favors.

*December 1, 1861.*



THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V.]

JANUARY, 1861.

[No. 1.

General Department.

SPÖRIS VOYAGES TO NEW ENGLAND IN  
1661.

THE following curious narrative of a voyage to New England, in 1661, appears to have hitherto escaped the notice of bibliographers. It is extracted and translated from a small work in 12mo, published in 1678, at Zürich, whose German title is as follows:

Vier loblicher Statt Zürich verbürgerter Reiss Beschreibungen: geschehen in

1. Das Gelobte Land.
2. Die Insul Jamaica.
3. Die Caribes Inslen, und Neüw Engelland in America.
4. Die Landtschafft Fetü in Africa.

In verlegung Joh. Wilhelm Simlers und  
Joh. Rudolff Rhannen.

The above general title is engraved, with views of cities, and savages, around it. Then follows an engraved portrait of Hans Jacob Amman, the author of the first narration, a particular title, with the place and date of publication in Zurich, 1678, a preface, and the two first narratives. The title of the narrative from which the following extract (2d part, pp. 29-81) has been made is inserted.

*"Americanische Reiss-beschreibung nach den Caribes Inslen, und Neu-Engelland. Verrichtet und aufgesetzt durch Felix-Christian Spöri Schnitt-und Wund Artzet von Zürich. In Verlegung Johann Wilhelm Simlers, und Johann Rudolff Rhannen. Getruckt zu Zürich, bey Michael Schaufelbergers sel. Erben, Durch Johannes Bachmann, 1677."*

Which translated, reads:

"Narrative of an American voyage to the Caribbee Islands and New England. Made and composed by Felix Christian Spöri, surgeon from Zurich. At the expense of John William Simler, and John Rodolph Rhannen. Printed at Zurich by M. Schaufelberger's worshopful heirs, by John Bachmann, 1677."

The collation of the volume is as follows:

*Tit. et tab. aen. v.*, pp. 16, 174, 192.

These narratives were written by intelligent and observing men, pastors or physicians, and therefore no doubt well educated, and fitted to give their countrymen a clear and interesting account of what they observed while "going down to the sea in ships, and doing business in great waters."

EXTRACT.

"Thus I have described such things as were noticeable in the Island of Barbadoes; and since we could obtain no goods as a return freight, our captain made an arrangement with the factors, to whom we had been sent, by which we were to make a voyage to New England, as having done so well with the first horses, it was to be hoped that it would turn out likewise on another voyage. Therefore we took in a supply of fresh water, as also a number of tons of salt and sand in the ship, as ballast, in order the better to encounter the wind and the waves.

On the 8th of October, 1661, we weighed anchor and set sail.

On the 24th of the same, we attained the height of 32° 26', which is the latitude of the Bermudas, and there we had a storm (such as is often met with hereabouts, on which account the sailors dread this i-land), so that for three days we steered with only one small sail on the after part of the ship (which kept her head to wind), and were tossed about by the wind and waves, awaiting the help of God.

On the 26th of the same, it blew still very hard from the northwest, but the seamen were hoping that the weather was soon to change. In the night, a light like a star was seen on the top of the mainmast, and another was seen on the point of the flag-staff. It is a meteor, that is called by scientific men Castor and Pollux. This appeared to me rather wonderful, but was taken as a good sign by the seamen, for they said that it was a certain proof the storm was about to cease. This really happened, and on the 27th it became quite fair, the wind turned to the southward; we put on sail and contin-

ned our voyage with pleasant but rather cold weather.

On the 12th of August the ocean began to lose its dark, sea-green color, and became of a very pale color, from which the ship's people judged that we were not far from the land. On sounding, we found bottom at 45 fathoms, and continued on our course all that day.

On the 13th of the same, in the night they hove the lead again, and found but 15 fathoms, whereupon the captain ordered the sails to be taken in until one o'clock, in order not to run on a reef or sand-bank. As day approached, we set sail again, expecting certainly to see land, but with the light such a fog arose that we could not see a quarter of a league from us. The captain ordered the anchor to be dropped, because we had but 8 fathoms of water; and we then began to fish, and caught a large number of fish, which the English call *cod*, but the Dutch call them *cabeljan*.

On the 14th ditto, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the fog dispersed, and we found ourselves not more than three and a half leagues from land. They ascended the mast, took out their sea-charts, and at last discovered that it was Cape Cod,\* on which account we steered east-north-east towards Cape St. Ann.

On the 15th ditto, we got sight of the last-named cape, and then ran in within a musket-shot of the land, when we saw the place we were bound for, namely, Red or Rhode Island. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, we got quite close to the house of the governor of the place, and then dropped anchor, thanking the Almighty for our safe arrival.† As soon as we had anchored, a boat with six persons came to us, among which was a servant of the governor's, and inquired whence we came and what were our desires? The captain answered that he would in person reply to their master, and would land with them. At this they seemed pleased, begging also, that in case he had a surgeon on board he would bring him with him, as the governor's son was in a very bad way. The captain told me this, and I complied with the request, accompanying him on shore. After having been welcomed, the governor's wife took me to her son, who had been for ten weeks lying very ill in bed. I found him with a quick pulse, constant cough, and violent excretions. I asked for full particulars, which they willingly described; and from all these I at last concluded that the commencement of this disease had been a *pleuritis*, or a strain [stich], which from the want of proper remedies had turned into an *empyema* [emphysema], or ulcer of

the lungs. I therefore desired that he might be undressed so that I might see his breast, and I then found the right side considerably swollen, and that between the third and fourth true ribs a raised place showed itself, where I felt some pus. My advice was this spot should at once be opened, so that the matter might escape, otherwise death might not long be delayed. I also requested that the person who had the case in hand might be associated with me for help and consultation, but they desired that I should perform the operation. I did this, therefore, on the following day, in the presence of several persons around, and to their surprise made an opening, but not a large one, and with great precaution, in order not to injure the internal parts. At the very instant when I cut through the intercostal muscles, a jet of white and offensive pus flew out. When I had let out about two pounds of this matter, I stopped the opening up carefully with a plug which I had prepared, in order that the patient might not faint, and perhaps expire by drawing off too much at once. The patient at once experienced relief, and broke out saying that this little had done him more good than the twenty purges and thirty clysters which had been given him. In the evening and on the following day, I drew off the matter entirely, widening the wound a little, and washing it out with injections. During the three weeks that I remained there I treated him so that he was able to attend to his business; for which he thanked God, and rewarded me handsomely on my departure. This led to the coming of a number of persons to me for help, not only from the island, but also from all the surrounding places; for it is only separated from the mainland by a small river. I might have determined to remain there, but the captain would not consent to it. In order to attain our end, we wished to examine a little into the situation, the inhabitants, and the land.

*Nova Anglia*, or New England, is a part of northern America, taken possession of and settled by the English, in 1620. It lies between 41 and 45 degrees north of the equator.

On the left they have the land of Virginia and the New Netherlands, which are now also inhabited by the English. On the right hand they have Florida, or new France.\*

The land is extraordinarily fruitful. Not only such grain as the savages are accustomed to sow, but our corn also grows there in the greatest profusion. It is sown towards the end of March, and is harvested in August.

The principal towns or colonies are New Plymouth and Bristol. There are many other villages and settlements besides these. They have sum-

\* It must have been Montauk Point here seen, for they landed in Rhode Island.

† Was this place Providence, R. I. ?

\* The doctor's geography is again sadly at fault.

mer and winter like us, except that in summer it is somewhat warmer, and in winter rather colder. In this land there are very fine forests of oak, pine, cedar, nut, and chestnut, and many other kinds of trees.

The natural inhabitants of the country are large and good-looking people of a blackish brown color; all having long black hair, which they bedaub with ochre, as a sort of paint. They paint the face red, and tattoo the arms above the elbows and the calves, making all kinds of figures thereon. While healing, they strew them with whitelead powder, which makes the color quite blue, and this they consider a great ornament. They believe in many gods, but not all of one rank, and think that they all have natures like men. They believe in the immortality of the soul after death; they worship also the moon and the stars; are faithful to their marriage vows; are obedient, and work willingly. They have no particular or permanent habitations or villages, but move from place to place. From the number of rivers and watercourses in the country, they use small boats, called canoes, made out of birch-trees. They carry from ten to twenty persons; and when they wish to cross any land, one of them takes it on his shoulders and carries it to the other river. Their food consists chiefly of game, fish, sea-mussels, and such things, which they do not either shoot or catch until they wish to use them.

They bake bread out of Indian corn, which they call pagatow. Out of the same, and out of oysters, a kind of sea-mussels, they cook a broth, which they use extensively. In summer they go naked, unless they cover themselves from shame; but in winter they wear skins of deer, elk, black foxes, rabbits, squirrels, otter, beaver, and bears, instead of clothes.

Their houses or huts, when they stop in any place, are made of long, flexible poles, which they cover very neatly with bark of trees. In the centre of them is a pit, where they keep a fire constantly burning, and by which they cook their food and warm themselves in winter. Around it the ground is covered with deer, bear, and other skins, for bedding. They roll up the small children in furs, and put them in a piece of bark, which is hung up by the four corners like a weighing scale; and when they cry, they give it a push to make it swing, in the same way that we do with a cradle.

Their arms are bows and arrows, with which they shoot with great dexterity. They make the arrow-heads of hawks' talons, fish-bones, sharp stones, bones, and other things. They use also spears, which they throw.

Their money and valuables, which they call wampempeg, they make out of sea-mussels. They take the inside of these, grind it quite

smooth and round, until it is finely polished, and is no thicker than a straw, and then make small pieces of it of the length of two knife-backs, bore it lengthwise, and string it on threads. Of this same material they weave a crown for their king. There are two kinds of it, black and white; the black, serving as gold; the white, as silver. Necklaces and belts are also made of it, which they weave very neatly. With this, they not only buy and sell among each other, but it also passes among Christians—as six white, or four black, for a penny.

The animals found in this land, are: fine horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, deer, bears, wolves, foxes (some of which are black, and climb trees), martens, otter, beaver, hares, rabbits, sables, civet-cats, squirrels (all of a gray color); all which serve for useful, as well as ornamental purposes.

There are here a great number of bears, which are much to be feared by men, as may appear by the following story, which our factor there narrated to me:

'A boy, fifteen years old, who had been sent in a hurry to a neighbor, half a league distant, to fetch something, met a bear in a piece of woods through which he had to pass, and was much frightened, the more so as it came towards him. The boy knew not where to go, but at last took to a tree, which he tried to climb, and got up on it as far as he could. The bear followed close at his heels, when the boy got out on a thin bough which could hardly carry him; after a little delay, the bear made an effort to follow him, but upon the bough yielding he drew back, making however an effort to reach the boy with his paws, which was impossible. The little fellow seeing this, gathered courage and cried for help; but, as no one came, he drew his knife from its sheath and held it towards the bear (who was continually striking at him), in such a way that he wounded both his paws, and not being able to hold on any longer, he fell to the ground. After some bellowing, two others were attracted to the spot, who smelling and seeing the boy, also climbed up to avenge the injury to their companion, but were paid off in the same coin. The boy then, all being quiet, got down and ran home. His story was hardly believed by his family until the scene had been visited, when they were convinced; and their heartfelt thanks were given to the Highest for his wonderful preservation.'

Besides other animals, there are poisonous snakes of wonderful size, one such having been taken in this land eighteen ells long; the skin of which is exhibited to this day in the Tower of London. William Holland, an Englishman born, who had resided for many years in this country

gave us an account of its capture, while on his passage with us to Barbadoes:\*

\*Some time since, many sheep, pigs, and other animals, had been taken off, without his ever being able to find them. It so happened, just then, that he had gone into the woods with his gun, to shoot some game, and there caught sight of this fearful serpent, which frightened him exceedingly. At the same time, observing that it did not pursue him, he ventured, to take a good look at it; and then perceived that it could not creep, on account of its great stomach, but rolled hither and thither. He therefore ran home and gathered his neighbors, who went off as if to war, and coming to the spot they fired at it, until at last, seeing that it was motionless, they drew near in order to examine this fearful creature more closely. They then opened it, thinking it was heavy with young; but, upon cutting it, they found that it had swallowed a whole deer, without horns.

†This had made it so heavy that it could not move. They skinned it, and sent the skin to London, in England, where I also saw and wondered at it. Holand thus discovered his sheep and pig thief, when not in pursuit of him. They all, thereupon, thanked God, their Maker, with David, out of the eighth Psalm; that he had created them intelligent men, and had given them power over such fearful creatures.

There is also a kind of snake called rattlesnake, by the English, which are from five to six feet long, and have loose bones on the tail, which give out a sound like a rattle. Every year this increases by one. Its bite is said to be incurable. I was once engaged searching for plants, and examining the country, when I suddenly heard this rattle, and was the more alarmed at the snake hissing at me. I ran away towards some water, whither it followed me, but could not tell what became of it, not wishing to examine it more closely. It is a wonderful provision that nature, which has given such venomous fangs to this creature, should also have given it the rattle as a warning to men to beware of it.

Among places rich in fish, it may be said of New England that it not only has many kinds, but such quantities of them, that they can hardly be described. The principal ones are these: whales, grampusses, † porpoises, sturgeon, cod, or cabelliaw, pollack, hake, coalfish, sharks, mackerel, herring, mullet, bass, smelt, cunners, garfish, eels, brook and sea crabs, oysters, mussels, and other like things.

\* This is indeed a snake story.

† Grampus, *grand poisson*; *marschwein*, *marsotin*; porpoise, *porc-poisson*; the French using a German name, and the English a French one, for these cetaceans.

The cabelliaw exceeds all others in numbers. If seven men go out in the morning, with a boat of two or three tons burden, they will return in the evening with the vessel filled with them. Around the fish-huts, where the said cabelliaw are unloaded, and where they cut off their heads to salt them and make *Pauvre Jean* and *Laberdan*,\* there is such a mass of fish, that I can give no idea of it. I once caught in three hours so many, that the whole crew had enough to eat of them for three days.

Of sea-crabs there are also many, and some are caught weighing six, eight, and ten pounds. They are speared with an instrument like a double barb or an arrow. This is fastened to a stock two or three fathoms long, which they carry in their canoes, and when they see one they spear it and draw it in. Once, while an Indian was pursuing such a crab with his canoe, and had turned the stock to which the harpoon was fast towards himself, in order to push the boat along with it, he slipped and fell in such manner that the barb penetrated from the hand to the elbow. In this dilemma, the good savage was at a loss what to do, but worked with one hand so well that he got back to land and sought for help among his people. No one being able to assist him, they hurried to our ship, and besought my services. I at first was unwilling to leave, and desired the patient to be brought to me; but they complained that the least motion of the spear caused him intense pain, on which account I yielded, and went to him with our boatman. I found the sufferer as he had been described, and desired them to draw a figure of the barb, which being done, I concluded that it would be impossible to extract it by the way it had entered. I therefore separated it from the handle, and driving the point forward with the other hand, made an opening and pushed it through it, the hinder part following the point very readily, and I thus got it away without much trouble. I directed the wounded man to come to me twice a day, and cured him completely in fourteen days. For my pains, he presented me a hatband, neatly made of sea-shells, and two otters; and during our stay there we were never in want of all kinds of vegetables, fish, and game.

The birds found in New England, are mainly as follows: eagles, vultures, different kinds of hawks and falcons, cranes, geese, bitterns, gulls, many kinds of ducks, very many turkeys [Indianische Hühner], (these last going in flocks of fifty or more), also many other smaller birds, all of whose names I was not able to learn.

Of plants, useful for medicinal purposes, I could find none but *Lig. Sassafras*, *Sarsaparilla*,

\* *Laberdan*—Aberdeen fish, salted cod.

*Rad. Mechoacan, Fructus Alkermes*, or scarlet berry, &c. These are sent in great quantities to Europe.

The articles of export, are these: all kinds of furs; beaver, otter, sable, fox, horse, and ox skins; wood, for spars, with all kinds of ship timber and boards; salted meat; and many kinds of fish, as pauvre jean, laberdan, mackerel, salmon; also train or fish oil, tobacco, staves, flour, and bread. These are sent to England, Holland, Spain, France, and the Caribbee Islands, as they are required. This land, therefore, yields annually a great surplus, besides supporting its inhabitants. We now leave it satisfied, and return to our voyage.

Between the 15th of February and the 6th of March, our ship was unloaded and again laden with staves, salt meat, flour and bread, and also fresh water and hay, which last is all twisted into ropes, in order to pack it closely. On the 4th of March, thirty-five horses were brought on board.

On the 6th of the same, the wind veered to the north, so we weighed anchor and set sail, with a prayer to God. In the afternoon, owing to the wind blowing hard from the southward, and the difficulty of proceeding in the narrow channel among the sand-bars, we again dropped anchor, to wait for a fair wind. Just as this had been done, I perceived that several fishermen were chasing a whale, which I looked at with great interest, and begged the captain to oblige me so far as to let us have the boat to follow up the affair. In each of the two fishermen's boats, there were six or seven men, all watching attentively the motions of the fish, and particularly the moment when his head showed itself. In the top of the head there is a round hole through which he throws up a great mass of water as high as a pike, and draws some air back in return. At this moment they approached him, and plunged into him a harpoon, shaped like an arrow, four fingers wide, sharp, and two-edged, with two counter-barbs, like a fish-hook, and an ell long. Behind, it has a socket, in which is a stick, six or seven feet long, and loaded with lead. Fastened to this harpoon is a rope as large as one's finger. The whale went off with this, and when forty or fifty fathoms had run out, they held it fast, he endeavoring to reach the bottom to rub it off; but not succeeding in this, he came up again, which the fishermen perceived by the slackening of the line, and hauled it in rapidly.

The other boat now approached with another harpoon, and as soon as he showed himself they threw it into him. When he felt this second wound, he turned with his head down and tail out of the water, striking around savagely with it, the fishermen having hard work to avoid him.

When he had done this unsuccessfully, he began to run, and made off so fast with the two boats that the spray dashed over them, but this did not last long, for he was much fatigued. He therefore came up again, and the fishermen approaching with long lances or spears, gave him several stabs, which made him quite faint, and he began to throw up blood, instead of water. This delighted them exceedingly, and they shouted for joy; for this is a sure sign that the fish has given out. They drew him on shore, and were much rejoiced, for they had thus earned more than a farm with us would produce in a whole year. This fish was fifty-five feet long, and sixteen high. It has only two fins. The tail lies crossways. Its blubber was a foot thick, and is cut up and put into casks, to make train-oil of afterwards. Its teeth, which reach a length of six feet, and shaped like a saw-blade, are the whalebone which is brought to us. The joints of the backbone are used by the inhabitants for seats. On Jan Romporth's tower, in Amsterdam, there hangs a rib which is eighteen feet long, from which it may be imagined what a huge creature it must have been.

On the 8th of the same, the wind changed to north, so we weighed anchor and went on our way."

We shall not follow our author any farther in his own words, but wind up his narrative briefly, by stating that, on the 2d of April, they were again at Road Island (as he terms it), having returned there for a new mast in place of one lost in a gale. On the 6th, they sailed again, took many mackerel on that day, and on the 30th reached Barbadoes, with twenty-nine horses, in good order, which were well disposed of, and then, after a tedious delay for a cargo, returned to London. Our worthy surgeon next makes a voyage to the Mediterranean, which he describes. His third voyage was made in 1662, when he again visited our coasts. The vessel took out horses to the West Indies, and then on the 6th of April, 1663, reaches Schilter Island, on Kine Pequ river, in lat. 42° N. (misprinted 24°). [He means Seguin Island, in the Kennebec river.] On the voyage hither they suffered severely from scurvy. Their cargo of salt was discharged here. All he says of the place, is as follows:

"The river Kine Pequ reaches up twenty-eight miles [168 English] into the mainland, and is on both sides occupied by a tolerable number of houses and inhabitants. On its banks every thing is very fruitful. Directly before the entrance there is a small island, on which is a handsome fish-but, in which many hundredweight of fish are yearly cured. This land is likewise provided with all kinds of fine fruits, flowers, birds, game,

and fish, to be desired, such as are noticed at more length in the first voyage.

On the 7th of May, we got our full cargo, which consisted in all kinds of boards, staves, bread, flour, flesh, and fish. We therefore set sail again on the 10th of June, and without obstacle reached Barbadoes safely; for which we thanked a merciful Providence."

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA.

I.

*Letter to Governor Dinwiddie.*

WINCHESTER, Oct. 17, 1753.

HONORABLE SIR: Last night, by return of the express who went to Capt. Montour, I received the inclosed from Mr. Harris, at Susquehanna. I think no means should be neglected to preserve what few Indians still remain in our interest, for which reason I shall send Mr. Gist, as soon as he arrives, which I expect will be to-day, to Harris' Ferry, in hopes of engaging and bringing with him the Belt of Wampum and other Indians at that place; and I shall further desire him to send an Indian express to Andrew Montour, to try if he can be brought along with him. In however trifling light the French attempting to alienate the affections of our Southern Indians may at first sight appear, I must look upon it as a thing of the utmost consequence, that requires our greatest and most immediate attention. I have often wondered at not hearing that this was attempted before, and had it noted, among other memoranda, to acquaint your honor of when I should come down. The French policy in treating with Indians is so prevalent, that I should not be in the least surprised were they to engage the Cherokees, Cuttabas, &c., unless timely and vigorous measures are taken to prevent it. A pusillanimous behavior would ill suit the times, and trusting for traders and common interpreters (who will sell their integrity to the highest bidder) may prove the destruction of these affairs. I therefore think, that if a person of distinction, acquainted with their language, is to be found, his price should be come to at any rate; if no such can be had, a man of sense and character to conduct the Indians to any council that may be had, or to superintend any other matters, will be extremely necessary.

It is impertinent, I own, in me to offer my opinions on these matters when better judges may direct; but my steady and hearty zeal in the cause, and the great impositions I have known practised by the traders, &c., upon these occa-

sions, would not suffer me to be quite silent. I have heard from undoubted authority, that some of the Cherokees that have been introduced as Sachems and Princes by the interpreters (who share their presents and profits), have been no others than common hunters and bloodthirsty villains. We have no accounts yet of the militia from Fairfax, &c. This day I march with about one hundred men to Fort Cumberland. Yesterday, by an express, I was informed of the arrival of eighty odd recruits to Fredericksburgh, which I have ordered to proceed to this place, but for want of the regularity being observed, by which I should know where every officer, &c., ought to be, my orders are only conditional and always confused. Whatever necessaries your Honor gets below I should be glad to have them sent to Alexandria, from whence they come much more handy than from Fredericksburgh; besides, as provisions are lodged there, and none at the other place, it will be best for the men to be all sent there that is any ways convenient, for we have met with insuperable difficulty at Fredericksburgh, in our march from here, by the neglect of the Com., who is at this time greatly wanted here. Therefore, I hope your Honor will order him up immediately.

I am, Honorable Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

II.

*Letter to Governor Nelson.*

I send for the *H. M.* a letter from Washington to Thomas Nelson, Jr., copied by me from the original, which is in the handwriting of Washington. The copy is exact, even in the punctuation.

C. C.

PETERSBURG, Va., Oct. 27, 1860.

VALLEY-FORGE, Feby 8th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been favoured with your Letters of the 24<sup>th</sup> of Decm<sup>r</sup> & 20th ult<sup>r</sup> & thank you for the several articles of Intelligence contained in them. Altho it is devoutly to be wished that Soldiers could engaged for three years, or the war, yet I am perswaded it would not be consistent with good policy to attempt it at this time—consequently, that the plan of drafting for twelve months only, is a wise measure.—If [all] the states would exert themselves, and Congress would bend their whole force to one point, the most satisfactory and decisive effects might, I think, result from it,—but if they go to frittering their army into detachments, for the accomplishment of some local and less important purposes, the campaign will be wasted, and nothing decisive (on our part) attempted,—It is our

business to crush, if possible, the army under General Howe's immediate command—this once done the branches of it fall of course, & without it, the body will always afford nourishment to its members.—My fear is, that Virginia, by attempting too much, will do too little—or in other words, by attempting to raise 5000 volunteers (which more than probable will not succeed) the Drafts for your Regiments will be impeded—and after all, unless some vigorous exertions can be used to supply with Provisions, men will avail little, for you can have no conception of our deficiency in this article.—

It is with pain and grief I find, by your Letter of the 20th ult<sup>o</sup>, that our Countrymen are still averse to Inoculation, especially when consequences so apparently ill, must result from it.—the artillery, & other Regiments of Infantry, I was in hopes of seeing here as soon as the Roads & weather should be a little settled, as they will want a little disciplining before the Campaign opens to fit them for the purposes of it.

You give me reason my dear Sir to believe, I shall see at Camp in the Spring—I should rejoice at it, or to hear of your being in Congress again, as I view with concern the departure of every Gent<sup>o</sup> of independant spirit from the grand American Council.—

Nothing of much importance has happened since my last—we have lost a good many men, & Horses, by hard fare in our present Quarters—but hope we have seen the worst, especially with respect to the first, as most of the men are now in tolerable good Hlths.—Faction had begun to rear its head, but the heads of it, unmasked, I believe, too soon.—an expedition is also on foot against (rather into) Canada, which I am well perswaded is the child of folly, & must be productive of capital Ills, circumstanced as our affairs are at present; but as it is the first fruit of our new board of War I did, not incline to say anything against it.—Be so good as to present my respectful Compliments to your Lady, Uncle, & friends, and believe me to be with [the most] perfect esteem & regard,

Dr Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> &  
affect.

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

[To the Honble. THOMAS NELSON, JR.  
York.  
Va.]

[The former of these letters was recently in the Crowninshield Collection, but has now fortunately returned to this country, and is now in the possession of a gentleman in Boston. The other we owe to the kindness of Charles Campbell, Esq., of Virginia.]

#### TORY MOVEMENTS IN NEW JERSEY, ON HOWE'S ARRIVAL AT STATEN ISLAND.

THE following letters—one from Col. Furman, dated June 4, 1776, but really written on the day for all time famous (a most unlucky blunder, to put June for July, that time)! the other from Col. Charles Reade to President Tucker, give some idea of the movement among the Tories of New Jersey, as soon as Howe's fleet appeared off Staten Island. Washington, aware of the condition, refers to the exceedingly great disaffection at Amboy, and other places, not far distant:

KILDARE, JUNE 4th, 1776.

DEAR SIR: Agreeable to order of Congress I have ordered 200 men to meet me at The Court house tomorrow morning 6. o'Clock, to be taken out of the company in lower Freehold. The notice was so short that I could not send to Shrewsbury & Middletown time enough to get their assistance without delaying you, as the express Informed me y<sup>r</sup> would be at Inlay Town this evening,

we shall march with all speed in hopes of Meeting you at Meteteconk tomorrow afternoon, there to consult what farther moves to make.— Information was given me of John Lawrence, Esq<sup>r</sup> Being with the tory party [I think Last sunday night, at Snag swamp, there qualified one Foster to be trow to that party, who they pressed in their service & forced him to take the oath, he has since deserted them, if he dare rest at his habitation he may be found at Ridgway's mill, which may be done with a file sent there & meet you again at Doves mill, he may make discovery's, A: Woodward, E.<sup>s</sup> Lawrence, Jos. Grover, Zeb: Collins, W<sup>m</sup> Gisebertson Sen. & Jun. James Naland, & sundrie others to the amount of about 30 went on board of Tho<sup>s</sup> Chadwick<sup>s</sup> boat, said bound for the British fleet.

Take such measures with Esq. Lawrence as you think proper—Cap<sup>t</sup> Gisebertson has returned home if report be trow—

the fleet taking a considerable part of there men Last night on Straton Island, the Islanders are a Joining them fast—

I am S<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup> H<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

SAMUEL FORMAN.

N. B. Major Lawrence is well acquainted in the pines & we shall be glad of his Company.

S. F.

To Col. CHARLES READ, at Inlay's Town.

S<sup>s</sup>: This will be Delivered to you by Cap<sup>t</sup>: Josiah Budd who brings John Lawrence Esq: on sund<sup>r</sup>: Informations of his Qualifying Men to Joyn the Insurgents I enclose you a Letter I have receive<sup>d</sup> from Col: Furman which will Enlighten

you shall immediately push forward to put y<sup>r</sup> Resolve of Congress into Execution their Party by the most authentick Intelligence which I obtained by sending of a Party at 12 o'clock last Night & taking 4 Men who ware with them last Sund: does not Exceed 50 or 60 Men I am afraid the Principalls are flown I am S<sup>r</sup>

Your Very Hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

CHARLES READE.

IMLAYS TOWN, July ye 6th, 1776.  
SAML. TUCKER, Esq.

The John Lawrence, here alluded to, was arrested apparently on the 5th of July, as Major Duyckinck reported his arrest on the 6th. The squire, or doctor, seems to have been a great favorite with the ladies, who sent a very urgent petition to Gen. Livingston to obtain his release, "apprehending fatal and melancholy consequences to themselves." But patriotism was proof against the blandishments and entreaties of the ladies, and the reply was, that "as Dr. Lawrence has fallen under the suspicion of our generals, we are under the necessity of abiding by the steps which are taken."

This John Lawrence is probably the same who was in the Assembly in 1767, and then a member of a committee to correspond with the agent of the colony in Great Britain. Sabine, in his "Loyalists," mentions but one of the name, who was in 1781-2, lieutenant in the 1st battalion New Jersey Volunteers, and died in Upper Canada, in 1820. If we have erred in making one man of "Squire," "Doctor," and "Lieutenant Lawrence," our New Jersey friends will correct us.

#### THE MARCH OF DE SOTO.

AN account of the march of Soto, was first given by a knight of Elvas, one of the company of Portuguese gentlemen who, returning from Florida, made it known by publication, in the year 1555. This was followed by the History of Adelantado Hernando de Soto, written in the Spanish by an illustrious half-breed descendant of the Ynea, likewise printed in Portugal, and has for its woof and substance the anterior relation in the Portuguese; the narrator having gathered somewhat likewise, from living sources, though a distance of time lay between the periods of their severally being written of about forty years. It is from these two accounts that the "Conquest of Florida," by Theodore Irving, is compiled, and were all the authorities known at the time he wrote, the matter in the volumes of the Spanish chronicler, Herrera, being taken from that written by Garcilasso de la Vega, the Indian of Peru, whose graceful narrative and simple naturalness

have given his work much celebrity, added to the circumstance of his being the only narrator of the events in the Spanish language.

About the year 1841, there appeared in France, translated from the Spanish, a letter written by Soto in the year 1539, from Tampa Bay (where he had just landed with his forces), to the mayor and Board of Aldermen of St. Jago, in Cuba, and also a relation of circumstances attending the march, as given by Biedma, a captain in the expedition; the original papers having been discovered during the last century among the archives of Spain, by Muñoz, in his explorations for material to write a work on the discovery of America, by order of the king, and who unfortunately died on completing the first volume—a masterly production—after having made a large collection of copies of originals, for his future use, with unbounded care and critical acumen. From these labors, composing some ninety volumes, and those of a like nature made later by Navarrete, are drawn by copies, much of the material that has been written from of late years, respecting early events in America. About the year 1855, was published the history of the Indies, partly from ancient prints and partly from manuscript unpublished, from the pen of the chronicler Oviedo, in which is contained another account of the march of Soto, to near the time of his death, by Rangel, private secretary to the governor, which is of very great importance, as showing the secret thoughts of the commander, and the machinery that kept in play the ambitious hopes of his firing companions. The circumstances, the dates, the quantities, as given here, range well with those of the Portuguese narrator, and show the account from the happy pen of Garcilasso, unreliable, and little else than a very pleasing romance. The account, or rather report, of Biedma throws in its weight against the Ynea, and produces some new features not to be found in the other relations. As written in the Spanish it was not known until about 1857, when Buckingham Smith had it printed at Madrid, and published in London, in his "Colecciones," or papers concerning the early history of the country now covered by the United States, and which were to that time in great part unknown, or known in some few cases only, through French translations. A translation recently made by the same gentleman, from the Spanish original at Seville, is soon, we are informed, to appear.

Mr. Smith, who will we trust soon be able, as our representative in Spain, to continue his investigations into our early history, has already discovered much bearing on the history of de Soto, and the readers of the *Magazine* are aware how kindly he has given us gleanings of his treasures. We shall give in our next a copy of the will of De Soto, sent us by him.



## TWO PRINCES OF WALES VISITING THE UNITED STATES AT THE SAME TIME:

One the *actual* Prince of Wales, and the other *could have been*, had Henry the Eighth's will been carried into effect.

In 1536 Parliament passed an Act (28 Hen. viii., c. 7), which gave to the king the power of disposing of the crown, in case of failure of his own issue, to any person he chose, either by his letter-patent under the Great Seal, or by his last will signed with his hand. Seven years later, the Act of 1536 was confirmed in respect to that portion of it, and such continued to be the law of the land to the end of Henry's reign. A will was undoubtedly drawn up by Henry's direction, by which, in default of issue by his children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, he limited the succession to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, passing over those of his elder sister, Margaret. If this will was really executed by his majesty according to the power prescribed by the statute, the legal right of succession on the death of Elizabeth was not in the King of Scotland, who was the representative of Margaret Tudor, but the representative of Mary Tudor, whoever that might be. The original will, or what was produced as such in the next reign, still exists, and bears what professes to be the signatures of Henry the VIII., in two places; the question is, whether the signatures were written with his own hand? A few months before his death, Henry had appointed three persons to sign with a stamp all instruments requiring his signature; but it has been generally allowed that the signatures to the will are evidently formed with a pen. Hence it has been concluded that we have here, not the stamp, but, as required by the statute, the king's own handwriting. Dr. Lingard, however, has overthrown that inference, by pointing out a circumstance which had escaped attention, namely, that even when the stamp was used, a pen also was employed; the impression was to be made with a *dry* stamp, and was then to be filled up with ink; two signatures to the will, therefore, though formed with a pen, may still not have been by the king's own hand.

Forged or genuine as the signatures may be, it is somewhat strange that such a document should have been preserved to the present day. There have been moments in the course of the three centuries that have elapsed since it was fabricated, in which it might have done mischief. It might, indeed, have been contended, as Burnet says it was, by many, when the Act of 1536 was first passed, that such an Act was of no force, inasmuch as "the succession to the crown was not within the Parliament's power to determine about it." On the other hand, an argument

might perhaps have been raised in support of the validity of the will, even on the admission that the signatures were merely stamped. The instrument was, it seems, deposited, by order of the Council, in the Treasury of the Exchequer, on the 9th of March, 1547; and there it remained for all the rest of the sixteenth and for nearly all of the seventeenth century. At last it was removed, probably along with other papers, about the year 1695, to the Chapter House, at Westminster, where it now is. It appears to have been generally forgotten throughout the era of the Stuarts, till somebody fell upon it and brought it once more to light, in the reign of Queen Anne. By that date it had become harmless enough.

There is a remarkable passage about this will of Henry the VIII. in "Leicester's Commonwealth." It is assumed that there was then (in 1584), no lawful or authenticated copy of the will extant, "but only a bare enrolment in the Chancery;" and it is further affirmed that the Council, in the reign of Mary, on being convinced by the declarations of Lord Regent Chief-Justice Montague, and William Clark, who put the stamp upon the paper, that the will had never been signed by King Henry—"caused the said enrolment lying in the Chancery, to be cancelled, effaced, and abolished." (See "Craik's Romance of the Peerage," vol. ii., pp. 224-6.)

The declarations of Lord Paget and others in the reign of Mary, do not invalidate the genuineness of the will, their evidence was merely to the effect that Henry did not himself *sign* the will; and this is corroborated by evidence still in existence. In the State-paper Office in London, are the docquets or lists, made up monthly, commencing in September, 1545, and ending in January, 1547 (only a month before the king's death). These docquets are on parchment, and each monthly list is signed by "William Clark." The will, which is the last but one of the documents so signed by stamp, is entered in the following words: "85. *Your Majesties last will and testament bearing date at Westmin' the thirthe daie of Decembr last past written in a book of paper Signed above in the beginning and benethintende and sealed w'the Signet, in the presence of Therle of hertf., Mr. Secretarie Pagett, Mr. Denny, and Mr. harbert, and also in the presence of certain other persons whos names ar subscribed in their own handes as Witnesses to the same, whiche testament your maiestie delyvered then in our sightes with your own hande to the said Erle of hertford as your own dede, last will and testament, revoking and adnulling all other your hignes former Willes and Testamentes.* W. Clark."

The writer carefully examined the will some few years since. The signatures, both at the beginning and at the end, are evidently made with a

pen; they are excellent *fac-similes* of the king's own signature in his earlier days, when in the enjoyment of health, but cannot be supposed to be his writing within a month of his death, when he was laboring under great bodily infirmity. The inference therefore of Dr. Lingard is correct: the docquets to which I have alluded show such to have been the case. It must have been some seventeen or eighteen months before his death, that Henry had commissioned that all documents requiring his signature, should be signed by stamp,—the dry stamp was to be affixed by William Clerk, and the tracing or writing over with a pen by Sir Anthony Denny, or Sir John Gates.

Harbin in his "Hereditary Right to the Crown of England Asserted," quotes the proceedings of the Council as copied from the Council Books (*Ellc.* VI., pt. 1), reciting the will and names of the executors, who met on the last day of January at the Tower of London, resolved to stand to and maintain the said will, and would each take oath "for the more assured and effectual accomplishment of the same."

"On the 1st of February they again met, heard the will deliberately read, from the beginning to the end, first took their oaths to his majesty, and afterwards to the faithful observation of the said will.

"In the Tower, Wednesday, 2d of February, again met, requested the Lord Chancellor to cause the will to be enrolled, and that each of them should have 'Exemplification, under the Great Seal of the same,' for which purpose the will was delivered to the Chancellor.

"At Westminster, 24th February. The Executors resolved that said will should be submitted to the Judges, Barons of the Exchequer, King's Sergeants, Attorney and Solicitor, for their opinion 'what the Executors may lawfully do.' Whereupon the said Judges, &c., being assembled in the Exchequer Chamber, the said will was read from beginning to end.

"At Westminster, 8th of March. The Executors and Council thought '*convenient*' that the will, which was still in the custody of the Earl of Southampton (Chancellor), should be placed 'for the more safe keeping of the same,' in the Treasury of the Exchequer;—so delivered on the following day.

"At Westminster, 9th of March. The will was delivered at the Treasury, three officers of the Exchequer giving a receipt for the same (signed by Thomas Danyel, William Walters, and John Lambe)."

Harbin says, "Henry VIII. so made his will as to the succession, the reason assigned being that the Regency of Scotland refused to marry Mary (afterwards Queen of Scots) to Edward VI., *as had been agreed.*"

Craik is wrong in supposing that the will had remained in the Treasury of the Exchequer, "for all the rest of the sixteenth, and for nearly all of the seventeenth century." It had been abstracted thence and remained concealed for a long period. In 1559 it was in the possession of Tunstall, bishop of Durham, as we find by the following letter from Matthew Parker, archbishop elect of Canterbury, to Secretary Sir William Cecil, dated November 18, 1559, still preserved in the State-paper Office, London:

"My Lord of Durham hath one of his Executors here; the other is in y<sup>e</sup> North, where also is his Testament. This executor sayth that his mynde was to be homly and playnly buried. Consider youe, wether yt wer not bet to prescribe som honest manner of his enteryng, lest it might ellys be evyl jnged that the order of his funeral wer at y<sup>e</sup> Cowsayls apoyntment; not knowne abrode that the handling of yt wer only at his executors liberalitye.

"I have sealed up 2 smal casketes, wherein I thinke no grete substance eyther of moneye or of wrytinges. Ther is one roll of boke w<sup>ch</sup> he purposed to delyver to the Quene, w<sup>ch</sup> is nothing ellys but King Henryes testament, and a boke contra commutationem utriusque spei, and such maters. His bodye by reason of his soden departure cannot be longe kept. Thus Jesus preserve youe. This 18<sup>th</sup> of Novembre.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> bedman

M. P. C.

"To the right honorable Mr. Secretarye."

Tunstall for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy to Queen Elizabeth in 1559, was in July of that year deprived of his bishopric. At the same time he was committed to the custody of Parker (afterwards Abp. of Canterbury), then in possession of Lambeth Palace, by whom he was entertained in a very kind, friendly, and respectful manner. He died soon after, viz., on the 18th of November following, aged 85, and was handsomely buried in the chancel of Lambeth Church, at the expense of Archbishop Parker.

Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was one of the executors of Henry's will.

Harbin says, "that Lord Paget, Sir Edward Montagu, and William Clark, disclosed to the Council and to Parliament, in Queen Mary's reign, whereupon Mary caused the *record* in the Court of Chancery to be *cancelled*. And that Mary had claimed the crown—'as well by the Testament and last Will of her dearest Father, as by Act of Parliament.'"

James the VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was descended from Margaret Tudor, the eldest sister of Henry VIII. From Mary, the youngest sister (in whose succession Henry limited the crown of England), descended the present Duke

of Buckingham, who would, in that case, have been the present King of England, and his son, the Marquis of Chandos (who recently visited the United States, and returned to England by the Africa, last month), would have been Prince of Wales; so that we have had the singular coincidence of *two* Princes of Wales visiting us at the same time.

G. A.

Nov. 1, 1860.

[It is no less strange that, but for the Law of the Protestant Succession, by which the Catholic members of the Stuart line were deprived of all rights, on account of their religion, the King of Sardinia, V. Emanuel, would be not Prince of Wales indeed, but King of Great Britain and Ireland.]

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### MARYLAND.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Baltimore, Oct. 4, 1860.*—The first meeting after the summer recess, was held on Thursday evening, the President in the chair.

After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting by the Secretary, donations were announced from the Smithsonian Institution; State of Maryland; Commissioners of Public Schools, Baltimore; Essex Institute, Mass.; Conn. Historical Society; Geo. L. L. Davis, Esq.; Am. Philosophical Society; State of Wisconsin; H. B. Dawson, Esq., N. Y.; Department of the Interior of U. S.; Wm. Wallace, Jr.; Brantz Mayer; A. J. Crossman, R. I.

Rev. Dr. Morris, from the Library committee, made a brief report on the State of the Library.

Charles F. Mayer, from the special committee appointed to consider and report upon the Society's proprietary rights over the Library finally transferred to it by the Library Company of Baltimore, presented a report with a resolution for obtaining the signatures of the original stockholders, authorizing the transfer of a portion of the books to the Library of the Peabody Institute, if desired.

The Recording Secretary stated the intention of Mr. John Murphy, to publish a series of historical tracts; whereupon a resolution was passed, directing the President and Secretaries to confer with Mr. Murphy, and give the enterprise the sanction of the Society.

Notice was given that the first of the Society's *soirées* would be held on Thursday evening, Nov. 15th. Adjourned.

Nov. 1.—Owing to the political excitement, the attendance on Thursday evening was small.

In the absence of the President, Rev. Dr. Morris was called to the chair, Rev. N. R. Chamberlain and John A. Whitridge, were elected active members.

Dr. Joseph Palmer, of Boston, Mass., was elected a corresponding member.

After the reading of correspondence by the Corresponding Secretary, and a brief discussion of unimportant subjects, the Society adjourned.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Boston, Nov. 2, 1860.*—The monthly meeting was held at the rooms of the Historic-genealogical Society, the Vice-president presiding; in the absence of the Secretary, Mr. Henry Davenport was appointed secretary *pro tem*.

The business of the Society having been first transacted, Mr. Colburn presented a series of eight medals, in white metal, of the Presidents and others—a donation to the Society from Mr. Henry M. Brooks, of Salem, a resident member; also a jetton from Lt.-col. J. D. Graham, U. S. A. Mr. Endicott presented various brass and copper coins of the French empire. Mr. Davenport presented a Franco-Americana coin, in bronze, and exhibited a rare medal of Washington, copper, size 21. Ob.—Head of Washington, to the right; hair long, tied in a queue; epaulet; shirt ruffle seen in the bosom; legend, "GEORGE WASHINGTON, OF VIRGINIA." Rev.—In the centre a pyramid of fifteen cannon-balls; underneath, two sabres crossed; edge upwards; legend in two lines, "GENERAL OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES 1775. RESIGNED THE COMMAND 1783. ELECT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES 1789." A gold coin of Philip II., and a consular, or family coin, in the same metal, and in most beautiful condition; also a stater of Antiochus VIII. Gryphus,—B. C. 124–97,—in the finest condition and of great rarity; together with a number of French medals of the present emperor, and some fine medals struck lately at the medal mint in Berlin, were shown. The thanks of the Society were voted to the gentlemen above named, for their donations. Adjourned to Friday, December 7.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, Nov. 7.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held at the above place on Wednesday afternoon, the President, Almon D. Hodges, in the chair.

Mr. Trask, the Librarian, reported that nine bound volumes, ninety-six pamphlets, and seven

newspapers had been presented to the Library during the last month.

Dr. Palmer, the historiographer, read a biographical notice of Jeffrey Richardson, Jr., a resident member of the Society, who died in Boston, 6th October last, aged 29 years; and one of Frederick Palmer Tracy, a corresponding member, who died in Lowville, Lewis county, N. Y., 10th October last, aged 45 years.

Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee, the Recording Secretary, read an eloquent paper on the Life, Writings, and Character of William Penn, which was listened to with great interest.

Col. Samuel Swett communicated an interesting memoir of Rev. John Barnard, of Boston, and afterwards of Marblehead, born 6th of November, 1681, who was one of the most distinguished men of his day as a scholar, mathematician, preacher, and army and naval chaplain. During his life he preached about 5000 sermons. Thanks were voted to Rev. Mr. Bradlee and Col. Swett, for their papers, and copies were requested for the archives.

After the transaction of some private business, the meeting was adjourned to Wednesday, the 21st, at 3 o'clock, p. m.

*Nov. 21.*—On Wednesday, the 240th anniversary of signing the compact on board the Mayflower, and of the first landing of the Pilgrims on New England soil, Nov. 11, 1620, O. S. (corresponding to Nov. 21, N. S.), an exceedingly interesting address, commemorative of these events, was delivered by the Rev. F. W. Holland, of Dorchester.

There seems to be an appropriateness in thus noting this day, which is perhaps the most important of all the days of that honest, earnest, exiled band of our Puritan Fathers, after giving up their dear native country and starting in quest of civil and religious liberty, inasmuch as it was not only the first day of landing on New England soil, but also the day on which was signed one of the most remarkable civil compacts ever written—the foundation in no small degree of the civil liberty and good order which their stalwart moral natures sought, obtained, and enjoyed.

It would be injustice to Mr. Holland's address to attempt a synopsis of it. It was comprehensive in its details and eloquent in its delivery.

On motion of Rev. Martin Moore, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Holland, for his address, and a copy requested for the archives.

#### NEW YORK.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Nov. 6, 1860.* The regular meeting of this Society was held on the above date, in the hall, corner of Second avenue

and Eleventh-street. Notwithstanding it was election evening, there was an attendance of about 350 persons. The minutes of the last meeting being read and approved, the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Osgood, read a plan of a work entitled "The Doomsday Book of the State of New York." Remarks were made by the President and Rev. Dr. Osgood, commendatory of the plan, as one which, if it had been commenced years since, would now afford a mass of historical and genealogical information of incalculable value.

The Librarian's report being next in order, the donations of valuable additions to the library were acknowledged. Among them was a valuable Spanish publication, of exceeding antiquity. Among the donations to the gallery was an interesting delineation of the Battle of New Orleans, also a lifelike portrait of Mr. Hoffman, and marble busts of Bryant and Allston, by Browne, sculptor. Leslie's original portrait of Washington Allston was exhibited by permission of the owner, Mr. Newton. Valuable portraits of Columbus and Americus Vesputius, from original paintings, were acknowledged as the gifts of Richard K. Haight. The busts were bequeathed to the N. Y. Gallery of Fine Arts, whose property now belongs to the Historical Society. A shawl, or winding-sheet, taken from a mummy in Thebes, in 1836, in a fine state of preservation, and part of the interior envelope of the head of the mummy case were also exhibited as having been presented by Mr. Haight. The reception of other donations were acknowledged.

A letter was then read from General Bruce, of the prince's suite, acknowledging the satisfaction of the prince and party, on the perusal of the resolutions offered by the Society, during the sojourn in this city of the royal party.

The executive committee's report was then read and accepted, and the following gentlemen were declared duly elected members of the Society: C. Bainbridge Smith, George H. White, Louis B. Binns, Chas. B. Colton, Wm. H. Wood, J. H. Pierson, Henry Brewster, Jno. Chadwick, Abraham B. Eulburg, Fred. M. Jones, Joseph C. Jackson. The Hon. Wm. B. Reed, of Philadelphia, formerly foreign minister to China, was announced to deliver the address at the celebration of the fifty-sixth anniversary of the Society, the day for holding which was postponed from the third Tuesday of the present month, to the 11th of next December.

Under the head of report of special committees, it was deemed necessary to prove the will of Mr. Abbott in the Surrogate's Court of this county, but it was hoped that by the next meeting the valuable collection known as the "Abbott Antiquities" would be displayed as the property of the Society. The names of twenty persons pro-

posed for membership were read and referred to the executive committee.

In lieu of the customary paper, Mr. Moore, the Librarian, read a communication from Mr. Bancroft, being a sketch of Captain Littel, a participant in the War of the Revolution. Also an interesting communication entitled "An incident in the War of 1812."

Mr. Bancroft offered a few remarks, recommending the putting forth of an effort to increase the "Art Gallery" of the Society, by the purchase of valuable works of art. He offered a glowing tribute of praise to the efficient president of the Society, hoping that his successful career might be greatly prolonged, characterized by the additional success of the art department of the institution. He spoke highly in praise of the New York school of artists, who, he said, were second to none in the world in landscape painting. A brief description of Brevoort's "Murillo" was given by Mr. Bradish, and a motion of Mr. Bancroft to take measures to increase the collection of paintings, was carried. Judge Kirtland, on the part of Mr. Mann, presented memorials of Baron Steuben, being the original will—a curious document—and the original title of 16,000 acres of land given the baron by the State of New York, signed by George Clinton, governor, in 1786. Also other papers of the baron. The Society tendered thanks to Mr. Mann.

An original deed, made by Brant and wife, were acknowledged by the Society, from Mr. Andrew Wilson.

The annual meeting of the Medical Society, of the city of New York, of which Dr. Anderson is president, was announced for the following evening, at 7½ o'clock, in the building, and an invitation for the Society to attend, was accepted. Resolutions were read relative to the deaths of Rembrandt Peale and Caleb O. Halsted. Feeling remarks were made by Rev. Dr. Osgood, eulogizing the former as the patriarch of American art, and the other as standing at the head of financial judgment in this city, and as an efficient and zealous member of the Society, who was instrumental in its establishment.

He then introduced a few remarks on the quietness of the election, denying the aspersions of the foreign press upon American self-control. The quietness of the day gave us still further evidence that we are one country, and Washington our great head. The resolutions on the decease of Mr. Peale and Mr. Halstead were adopted unanimously.

The Society then adjourned.

*Dec. 5.*—A stated meeting was held on Tuesday evening. Rev. Dr. De Witt occupied the chair, in the absence of Hon. Luther Bradish, President.

The Society acknowledged the receipt, from the Iowa Agricultural Society, of a complete set of their Reports, in bound volumes. Also, other works, official and historical, and engravings from other sources, to be placed in the library department.

Rev. Henry Hart Milburn, dean of St. Paul's, was elected an honorary member. Several names were then presented as candidates for resident membership.

The chair introduced Gov. Hall, of Vermont, who read the paper of the evening, the subject matter of which was a narration of the controversy between New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York, on the rights of boundary. He recalled to mind the historically-recorded acts of the Colonial Assembly of 1783, and the Vermont claims, in 1780, in reply to those preferred by the State of New York on their right of boundary property, having a close bearing upon the subject. He related the connection of the Dutch and English with the controversy, and briefly sketched its progress to the time of its settlement by treaty, five years afterwards.

Mr. Brodhead moved a vote of thanks be given to Gov. Hall, which were voted.

A committee of five persons were appointed to superintend the nominations for officers of the Society at the next annual meeting.

The chair announced that the entire celebrated Abbott collection had been removed to the gallery of the Society after much labor, resulting, however, in no damage to it. Much yet has to be done, such as providing glass cases and other preparations for their exhibition, which would take place at the next meeting, until which time the gallery, in consequence, would be closed.

An invitation was extended to the Society to attend a lecture on next Thursday evening, by James H. Siddons, Esq., on the opening of American enterprise, and the employment of American talent in the trade with the British West Indies.

Notice was then taken of the death of Peter Stuyvesant, which occurred on the 15th of November. He was alluded to as a benefactor to the Society. He was a descendant of the old governor. His farm was on the Bowery, and he lived near St. Mark's church. A genealogy of his family was read, tracing his family connections through five generations.

Mr. E. C. Benedict moved that an annual volume of all current donations to the Society, be kept for public inspection. Referred to executive committee with power. Adjourned.

ULSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Stone Ridge, Oct. 16, 1860.*—The Society met at the Reformed Dutch Church, on the above date, the President in the chair, and the exercises opened with prayer

by the Rev. John L. McNair. The minutes of the June meeting were read, and after a correction by the President of a slight error, formally approved.

Several letters about donations and acknowledgments for elections to memberships, were read.

The Secretary offered the usual report. It stated that the members of the executive committee had given a good deal of care and attention to the appropriation of the Ulster County Board of Supervisors, for preserving the records in the Clerk's office; they had unanimously agreed to commence with the earliest record books in the office. Vol. i., containing the Dutch records of the Esopus jurisdiction for 1660 to 1664, had been collected, arranged, and bound, by Mr. Chipp, of Kingston, and volumes ii. and iii. of the same set are in progress; and it is hoped these volumes may be laid before the Supervisors, at their next session. The committee will take scrupulous care that all of the original book is preserved, and propose to cause the pages to be numbered, blank leaves inserted wherever pages are missing, and in front of the book will concisely state the condition and contents of the book, as found by them. The books will be styled the "Esopus Records," and a printed title-page to each volume, with the indication of the language in which it is written, and the date comprehended in each book has been prepared. This work is of the utmost importance; these records are among the earliest in America, and the committee venture to say that none had been so carelessly left to neglect. In order to see that the books are perfect, an immense mass of papers in the Clerk's office had to be examined, which, with the cost of binding, &c., would exhaust the appropriation of the Supervisors, and an additional one must be asked for.

The report further stated that the papers and documents of the Society were now deposited in a proper place in the Surrogate's office, at Kingston, where they could be consulted with convenience, and under proper safeguards for their security. The work of arranging the *marriage records* of the First Dutch Church of Kingston, and the materials for another part of our "Collections," was progressing favorably, and the committee hoped to issue it shortly.

On motion of Edmund Eltinge, Esq., the thanks of the Society were voted to the Supervisors of Ulster county for their appropriation, and the committee was directed to solicit them to continue the work.

Mr. Eltinge, from the committee to examine the papers of the "Twelve Men of New Paltz," read a very full report of the contents of these valuable papers, and the meeting resolved that

the executive committee should take measures to procure copies of them for the Society.

Mr. Jansen gave notice that he would move to amend the Constitution so as to change the time of meetings to the third Monday in May, and third Tuesday in October.

Col. Pratt exhibited some curious Indian deeds, and crown grants for land on the Mohawk river, dated about 1729.

The President asked the meaning of *Lapalla*, the true spelling of which he could not guarantee, a district in the town of Marbletown. The Rev. Mr. Jansen had never heard any explanation of the name.

An old Dutch Bible, with massive clasps, belonging to Thomas Vandemark, of Marbletown, was shown to the members. It had the family records of the Vandemarks, from 1719 to 1825.

The President urged attention to the meaning of our local names, and mentioned the tract of land in Warwarsing, called *Sac Betty*, which was only a corruption from the name of a former French owner.

Mr. Archibald Russell moved a committee to examine and report what steps should be taken to preserve the burial-places of this district. He said that it was an ancient custom of the Dutch families, to bury on their farms, and that an immense number of these small burial-places existed: they were liable to be ploughed down in the change of owners. The Rev. Mr. Stitt agreed with Mr. Russell, that something ought to be done to preserve the resting-places of the dead from the desecration they were in more than one locality encountering. He related one or two instances which occurred within his immediate knowledge, and urged that the respect men owed to their "flesh and blood," called for action. The Society could most properly act, and it should do so. The resolution passed, and Messrs. Russell, Stitt, and Pratt, were appointed a committee to report at a future meeting.

Mr. Bernard, the Treasurer, offered the annual report. Read, and referred to the usual committee.

The Rev. Mr. Stitt said that he had nearly completed his paper on the New Paltz Church organization, &c.—that he had brought it along with him in its present state. In deference to his wishes, the reading was postponed to suit his convenience.

The Rev. Mr. Jones read a paper upon the *Minsi* Indians, to which race the Esopus Indians belonged. He spoke of their language, and illustrated several of the names of localities in the vicinity. It was referred to the executive committee, and will no doubt be printed by the Society. The President remarked that Mr. Jones'

view of the word *Mombakkus*, being Indian, seemed to him most probable.

Mr. Pratt gave a synopsis of his paper upon the "Second Expedition of Vaughan up the Hudson river, and the burning of Kingston, in 1777;" stated some new particulars obtained from various documentary sources. The lateness of the hour to which the session was protracted, would not permit him to read it in full.

Mr. Edmund Eltinge read some spicy letters concerning the *Cetus* and *Conferentia* difficulties in the Dutch Church, principally relating to Dominie Meyer. Mr. Stitt favored the members with an explanation of this matter.

Several gentlemen were elected resident members, and Messrs. Eltinge, Russell, and Jansen were appointed a committee to nominate officers, and on their report a ballot was had, and the following chosen for the ensuing year:

*President*—Hon. A. Bruyn Hasbrouck. *Vice-presidents*—Rev. Charles Scott, Col. Ebenezer Lounsbery, Edmund Eltinge, George H. Sharp. *Secretary*—Col. George W. Pratt, of Esopus. *Treasurer*—Reuben Bernard, of Kingston.

*Members of Executive Committee*—David L. Bernard, Jon. W. Hasbrouck, Rev. Charles H. Stitt, and Henry H. Reynolds.

Mr. Pratt gave notice of his intention to move an amendment to the last article of the Constitution.

Ellenville was fixed on as the place of the June meeting, and on motion, the Secretary was directed to request the Rev. Mr. Bentley to prepare a paper on the local history of Warwarsing.

On motion of Mr. Eltinge, a committee was appointed to prepare an account of the legal profession of the district.

On motion of Col. Pratt, another committee was raised to prepare an account of the Press and Literary history of the district.

It was suggested that the several clergymen in the district should prepare, for the Society's archives, an account of their respective churches; so that hereafter, the inquirer into the religious history of Ulster, Orange, and Sullivan, would be able to find authentic matter for his purposes.

On motion of Mr. Jansen, the Society adjourned to meet at Ellenville, June 7, 1861.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Providence, Oct. 25, 1860.*—A meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society was held on the evening of the above date, in the Cabinet on Waterman-street, the President, Albert G. Greene, in the chair. In the absence of the Secretary, John A. Howland was elected Secretary *pro tem*.

Several donations were announced.

Mr. Charles Blake, of Boston, formerly of Providence, read a very interesting paper on the history of the Drama in Rhode Island, with a brief sketch of the earliest founders of the theatre in America, of which the following is a brief abstract:

"The father of the American stage was one Moody, of the Drury Lane Theatre. He opened in Jamaica, in 1745, with a company composed chiefly of amateurs, but the representations were so popular that he brought over several regular actors, who played with great success in Jamaica. The news of their good fortune induced William Hallam to bring to the continent a company, who first played in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1752. While at the South plays were well received, very great hostility to the drama existed at the North, and especially in New England. But a more liberal spirit appearing to prevail in Rhode Island, David Douglass brought here a company which played well. Thus it appears that Rhode Island was the first State in New England in which a theatrical performance was given, and Newport was the first town, it has been stated that Providence was the first town, but this is an error, inasmuch as performances were given in Newport in the year 1761, the year before any plays were enacted here. In 1762, David Douglass came here with a company, but a prohibitory law was passed, and ordered to be promulgated by the sheriff at the sound of the bell. This ended dramatical exhibitions for a time.

Some time afterwards, Joseph Harper, notwithstanding the prohibition, obtained the courthouse, and continued for a while to provide entertainments which were well patronized. In February, 1793, the General Assembly empowered the Town Council of Newport to license performers. In December, 1794, a theatre was fitted in the rear of Col. McLane's Coffee-house, which stood on the corner of Market Square and Canal-street. A new theatre was commenced in August, 1795, on the spot now occupied by Grace Church.

In 1810, Harper closed his connection here, and the next year the management was taken by Powell & Dixon. They made a good commencement, and were for some time quite prosperous. The 13th of July, 1812, was distinguished by the appearance here of George Frederick Cooke. In 1815, Cooper starred it here. After the lease of Powell & Dixon terminated, Mrs. Powell became the lessee of the house. In the fall of 1819, the first Saturday evening performance ever given in this city, took place. It commenced and terminated at an earlier hour than on other evenings. In 1822, Booth made his first appearance here. Next came Barrett, and in 1823, Wallack starred it here, followed by Finn. In 1827, Clark & Sharnock

became the managers, and in June of that year Edwin Forrest commenced an engagement. Mr. Dinneford was the next manager, and he introduced Clara Fisher. After him came Mr. Charles Young, and under his management Mrs. Keene appeared. In March, 1832, the theatre was closed. Shortly after this the building was altered into Grace Church, and Providence was for several years without a regular theatre. In 1836, the Washington Amateur Theatre was established for a short time in Washington Hall, on Weybosset-street, and in the same year the Lion Theatre on Fulton-street, was opened, but the building was burned down during the year. In 1838, the Dorrance-street Theatre was built by stockholders. This was also burnt, in 1844. The Providence Museum was opened in 1848.

The Museum was destroyed by fire, and on the same spot, Forbes' Theatre was erected, and opened in September, 1854. This also was burnt, in 1858. In 1859, Messrs. Varrey & Arnold opened the Pine-street Theatre, in what was formerly the Second Baptist Church. Adjourned.

Nov. 30.—The regular monthly meeting was held, this evening, at the Cabinet, on Waterman-street, Hon. Samuel G. Arnold, Vice-president, in the chair.

After the reading of the records of the last meeting, donations were announced from Wm. G. Williams; Wm. P. Blodgett; Providence Mechanics' Association; Connecticut Historical Society; Samuel G. Drake, of Boston; town of Gloucester, Mass.; S. C. Newman; John M. Cargill; and Don Bartolome Mitre, of Buenos Ayres.

Mr. Amos Perry read a paper on the life and services of Dr. Albigeance Waldo, a surgeon in the army of the Revolution. A statement of facts and incidents connected with the life of a true patriot and a skilful physician, was listened to with marked interest. Dr. Waldo was presented in the light of his own writings. The champion of liberty, the skilful surgeon, and the friend of Washington—spoke directly in prose and verse, gratifying and instructing auditors far removed from him by time and place. Remains of a diary, kept by Dr. Waldo, at Valley Forge, during the winter of 1777-8, were read, and their appearance in the pages of the *Historical Magazine*, may be anticipated with pleasure. He possessed powers of expression, dry humor, and clearness of perception, that were peculiarly favorable to him as a writer and delineator of the scenes and events of his times.

A sword, presented to Dr. Waldo by Gen. Washington, and numerous curious documents and instruments, were exhibited to the audience.

Mr. Perry received the thanks of the Society for his interesting paper, and for his services in bringing to view such valuable writings.

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, Oct. 9, 1860.*—This Society held a regular meeting on the above date, at the residence of Charles F. Loosey, Esq.; the President, Hon. Geo. Folsom, in the chair.

By invitation of Mr. Loosey, the Austrian Minister, the Minister for Bremen, the British Consul-general, the Brazilian Consul-general, the French Consul, Mr. Heeley, of Washington, Mr. Withaus, and Mr. Laroque, were present.

*Gold Images from the Chiriqui Graveyards.*—Seven golden articles from the Huacas or ancient graves of Chiriqui, kindly loaned by Mr. J. F. Bateman, of Panama, were carefully examined, and with the greater interest, as they seemed to be likely to be the last specimens of the kind, as no gold has been discovered for some time.

The articles differed very much in size and form; a cricket, a frog, a sea-shell, and a man, each from one to two inches in length, and an ounce or two in weight; a tiger, or jaguar, five ounces, and an alligator eight and a half ounces (the heaviest and largest figure seen here); and a circular piece of sheet-gold about six inches in diameter, weighing one and a half ounces, with holes, apparently for a suspending string.

Mr. Squier believes the alloys are natural, as the gold mines on the Isthmus have some silver on the Pacific side, and those on the east, copper.

Dr. Davis read an account of the melting and assaying of five lots of gold plates and images, which showed that they varied between  $11\frac{7}{8}$  and  $21\frac{3}{8}$  carats fine.

The 17th volume of "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie" was received from Paris through the President.

The three African boys brought to this city some weeks ago, from a deserted slave-vessel, taken by one of our ships on our Southern coast, have been ascertained by our associate, Rev. J. L. Wilson, to be from Congo. He visited them in the Eldridge-street jail, and heard them speak sufficiently to recognize their language, which is cognate with Mpongwe.

A copy of the first book ever printed in the Sherbro language, north of Liberia, was presented from Lewis Tappan, Esq., Treasurer of the American Missionary Society.

A translation was read of the "Letter in the Vey language" (west coast of Africa, near Coke Mount), which was presented at the last meeting. The translation, given by a negro skilled in the alphabet, is published in the *Spirit of Missions*.

The five Africans in Boston, for public exhibition, have been seen by Mr. Gulick, who mentioned that Professor Agassiz has received information from the Cape of Good Hope, that two of them are Hottentots, and three Caffres. A young lady, daughter of a missionary, was present, and



addressed the former in their own language; and they expressed, with animated gestures, the highest joy and surprise.

A paper on "Inhabited Caverns," by Professor Amarelli, of Philadelphia, formerly of Naples, was read by Dr. Spenceer. The writer said that, in reading Homer, in his early youth, he had supposed his account of the Cimmerians fabulous; but, in his travels, he had found people dwelling in caverns in Spain, Sicily, and Syria. The inhabited caves in Granada, Ispica, Caritoun, in those countries respectively, were described in a very distinct and interesting manner.

Several short papers were read by the Recording Secretary. In one of these, on the importance of introducing an abridged Alphabet into common use, it was remarked "that much of the time and space required to write the numerals, one, two, three, &c., are saved by substituting the old Arabic characters, 1, 2, 3, &c., and much more saving is made in writing higher numbers, as 121, 1860, &c. Everybody knows this, and the substitution is often made, because all learn to write figures, as well as words. Such is the power of habit, however, that few persons ever adopt any system for abridging the labor of writing other expressions, or of simplifying the forms of our common letters.

A notice was read of the "Economico-statistical Atlas of Russia in Europe," with an explanatory volume, presented to the Society by J. de Nottbeck, Esq., Russian Consul-general. The Atlas contains the Map of Russia in Europe ten times repeated, on as many large sheets, with lines, tints, and colors, indicating to the eye the following facts, with references and explanations in Russian and French:

1. Limits of the culture of certain plants. 2. System of culture, manufacture of Hemp and flax, and culture of beets for sugar. 3. Distribution of forests. 4. Trade in grains. 5. Average grain harvests. 6. Average prices of grains. 7. Fine-wooled sheep. 8. Number of horses. 9. Of oxen. 10. Trade in animals.

A paper was read on preparing types by nicking or notching the face, to express with precision the *sounds of foreign words*.

Mr. Squier read a letter from Mr. Edmund Crshaw, of St. Louis, giving an account of some excavations he had made in one of the smaller mounds of the Cahokia bottom, opposite St. Louis. Near the summit of this mound, Mr. Crshaw had found a skeleton lying horizontally, and greatly decayed. Mr. Squier observed, that the position of the body in the mound would lead him to infer that it was of no recent deposit.

Dr. Davis reported from the Committee on Antiquities, the list of articles to be sent to the Royal Museum of Copenhagen, in return for donations.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.—A correspondent asks:

"Has there ever appeared a purely military history of the American Revolution? Mr. Dawson's excellent work covers the ground, but with a singular deficiency of plans and maps. Would not a work, that combined Mr. Dawson's text with well-executed maps and plans, remunerate an enterprising publisher?"

His note contains the following suggestion which we commend to the consideration of the various historical societies in the country. The War Department could not render a greater service to history than that here adverted to; and we may indulge the hope that it will be done before the face of the battle-fields is so completely changed as to defy recognition.

"For myself, I may say that I have been greatly perplexed in reading accounts of the battles of the Revolution, for want of adequate drawings of the fields and of the positions of the contending armies. It might be a worthy occupation at this day, while the local traditions are still fresh and reliable, for the War Department to detail a commission of accomplished and competent officers to examine those fields and make surveys of them, exhibiting their topography as it then stood in relation to it as it now stands; and to make the proper drawings in illustration of military operations upon those fields. J. P. J.

"READING, Pa., Oct. 29, 1860."

AN ANCIENT WALL.—The following inscription may be seen by the roadside, near Lawrence Academy, at Groton, Mass. It is found on a large stone in a wall, which incloses the farm of the late Hon. Stuart J. Park:

I. P.  
1 6 8 0  
Rebuilt by  
O. P.  
1 7 8 4.  
Rebuilt by  
S. J. PARK.

The initials I. P., are those of Jonas Prescott, who lived upon this farm, and who was the grandfather of Col. William Prescott, a native of Groton, and the hero of Bunker Hill; O. P. are those of Oliver, a brother of Col. Prescott.

G.

A FEW EVENTS OF 1786.—The following is from the Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, of October 11, 1786:

1. The King of Great Britain nearly frightened out of his senses, by an old woman with a rusty case-knife.

2. Tories, in Nova Scotia, rending the air with acclamations of joy and satisfaction for the launching of a schooner at Shelburne, after three years' hard exertions.

3. The household furniture of the heir-apparent to the British crown sold at auction, to pay his debts.

4. The American carrying trade in the hands of the British and other foreigners, and our own vessels lying by the walls.

5. American *patriots* importing foreigners to navigate their ships; and doing all in their power to discourage home manufactures.

6. Men of neither *honor*, *honesty*, nor *decency* talking of *Virtue* and *Merit*.

7. New Englanders who could imprison a British army in Boston, insulted with impunity by a desperate banditti. [To what does this refer? Note in 1860.]

8. Honors at Colleges repeatedly conferred upon the sons of Trustees and rich men—*Magna est potestas opum—et prevalebunt*.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1787.—In the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, seventeen hundred and eighty-two speeches, long and short, were delivered, according to the notes of Mr. Madison, contained in the Madison Papers, recently published. Of them

Gouverneur Morris (of Pa.),	173
James Wilson, (Pa.),	168
James Madison (Va.),	161
Roger Sherman (Conn.),	138
George Mason (Va.),	136
Elbridge Gerry (Mass.),	119
Edmund Randolph (Va.),	78
Hugh Williamson (N. C.),	75
Rufus King (Mass.),	75
Oliver Ellsworth (Conn.),	73
Nathaniel Gorham (Mass.),	68
Charles Pinckney (S. C.),	61
John Rutledge (S. C.),	47
Pierce Butler (S. C.),	47
John Dickinson (Del.),	36
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (S. C.),	35
Luther Martin (Md.),	31
George Read (Del.),	27
John Langdon (N. H.),	26
Benjamin Franklin (Pa.),	26
Daniel Carroll (Md.),	25
Alexander Hamilton (N. Y.),	23
John Francis Mercer (Md.),	19

Wm. Samuel Johnson (Conn.),	14
Jonathan Dayton (N. J.),	12
William Patterson (N. J.),	11
Gunning Bedford (Del.),	10
Abraham Baldwin (Ga.),	8
Capt. Strong (Mass.),	7
George Clymer (Pa.),	7
James McHenry (Md.),	6
Jacob Broom (Del.),	5
Thomas Fitzsimmons (Pa.),	5
Richard Dobbs Spaight (N. C.),	4
Wm. Richardson Davie (N. C.),	4
John Lansing (N. Y.),	3
James McClung (Va.),	3
William Pierce (Ga.),	3
William Houston (Ga.),	3
Daniel of St. Thos. Jenifer (Mass.),	3
* George Washington (Va.),	2
Jared Ingersoll (Pa.),	1
William Blount (N. C.),	1

The silent members were—

Nicholas Gilman (N. H.),	Robert Morris, (Pa.),
Robert Yates, (N. Y.),	John Blair (Va.),
Wm. Livingston (N. J.),	Richard Bassett (Del.),
Wm. C. Houston (N. J.),	George Wytbe (Va.),
Thomas Mifflin (Pa.),	William Few (Ga.)

CHRIST CHURCH, SHREWSBURY, N. J.—During a ramble through the old graveyard attached to Christ Church (Epis.), at Shrewsbury, N. J., I copied a few of the inscriptions, which, perhaps, may not be uninteresting to some of your many readers.

The first (occurring upon a small, dark slate slab, surmounted by a winged death's head, and decorated with an ornamental bordering), is the most venerable memorial in the yard, and is well preserved. The second and third are also upon slate-stone, the former with an hour-glass over the inscription; all these are neatly cut. The last one, which I have transcribed, is upon brown stone, and time has almost effaced the lettering from its surface:

"Here lies y<sup>e</sup> body | of Benjamin | son | Of Gabriel & | Elizabeth Stelle | died novem<sup>er</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> | 1719 in y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> | year of his age."

"Here lies y<sup>e</sup> Body of | Elizabeth Stelle wife | Of Gabriel Stelle | Who departed this | Life y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> of July—1723 aged 38 year<sup>s</sup> | 2 Mon<sup>th</sup>s & 1<sup>e</sup> day."

"Here lies y<sup>e</sup> body | of Edward son of | Gabriel & Elizabeth | Stelle he died | Novem<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1730 | aged 19 years 6 | month<sup>s</sup> & 9 days."

"Here lieth in hope | of a Joyful Resurrection | the Body of Samuel | Dennis, who came from

\* President of the Convention. The speeches were at the opening and closing of the Convention.

| Great-Britain to this | place A. D. 1675 & | lived here to the day | of his Death which | was the 7th of June, 1723 | aged 72 Years & 6 Mo | Leaving Issue 2 Sons | & 3 daughters by | his only Wife Increase | who departed this life | 28 years before him."

[On the 26th Nov., 1684, and 14th Sept., 1692, Samuel Dennis was appointed to the Council of New Jersey. He was probably a son of that Robert Dennis who came from Yarmouth, Mass., and who was one of the associates who, with Daniel Pierce, purchased, in Dec., 1666, from Gov. Carteret, the tract in New Jersey called Woodbridge. Robert was a member of the Assembly, in 1668.

The descendants of Samuel are still numerous in the vicinity of Shrewsbury.]

The copy of the Holy Bible, used in the service of this church, is an elegantly illustrated folio work, printed at Oxford, by John Baskett, 1717. It contains a book-plate of the arms of "Robert Elliston, Gent., Comptroller of his Majesties Customs in New York, in America, 1725," with the following written presentation: "His Gift to Christ Church | Shrewsbury | June 24 | 1752 | Saml Cooke Missionary | *Det bene Deus.*"

The Book of Common Prayer was printed at Cambridge, by Joseph Bentham, 1760. "The Gift of his Excellency | Governor Franklin | for the use of the Parish of | Christ Church | Shrewsbury | Saml Cooke Missionary—June 1767."

ALL THE WORLD AND THE REST OF MANKIND.  
—An expression in a message of one of our late presidents, will be recollected as having exercised the wits of the country considerably. The original of it seems to occur in Charles Leslie's "Snake in the Grass," section 17, in this form:—"Having thus *damned all the world*, it is not strange to see them *treat all the rest of mankind* with a respect proportionable," &c.

MAJOR JOHN MACPHERSON was a near relative, probably a brother, of Gen. Wm. Macpherson, of this city, who commanded a corps of infantry composed of the first young men of our city, in the Western Insurrection, 1793. The corps was called from him, and was the most *genteel* and best equipped corps ever raised in our State. The uniform was plain blue roundabout and pantaloons, with red cord; no such tinsel as you see now-a-days.

That gallant soldier, General Richard Montgomery, fell at the siege of Quebec, on the last day of 1775. At the same time, his aid-de-camp, Major John Macpherson (wrongly printed McPhum, in Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of

the Revolution, vol. i., p. 198), and Captain Cheeseman, were also slain. The spot is still pointed out—namely, at the foot of a cliff called Cape Diamond, crowned with the citadel. Of Macpherson and Cheeseman we are told by Lossing, that they "were brave and accomplished, and gave assurance of future renown; but they fell with their leader, and share with him the grateful reverence of posterity."

The day before the attack upon Quebec, Macpherson wrote a letter to his father, which we shall here give; not only because it is a model of what a Christian soldier would write under the circumstances, but because it has never been published. It runs thus:

MY DEAR FATHER: If you receive this, it will be the last this hand shall ever write you. Orders are given for a general storm on Quebec this night; and heaven only knows what may be my fate; but whatever it may be, I cannot resist the inclination to assure you that I experience no reluctance in this cause, to venture a life which I consider as only lent, to be used when my country demands it.

In moments like these, such an assertion will not be thought a boast by any one—by my father I am sure it cannot. It is needless to tell that my prayers are for the happiness of the family and their preservation in this general confusion. Should Providence, in its wisdom, call me from rendering the little assistance I might to my country, I could wish that my brother did not continue in the service of her enemies.

That the All-gracious Disposer of human events may shower on you, my mother, brothers, and sisters, every blessing our nature can receive, is, and will be the last moment of my life, the sincere prayer of your dutiful and affectionate son.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Head-quarters before Quebec,  
30th December, 1775.

Macpherson's brother held a commission in the British army, and it is to him that special reference is made in the above. The letter was left with directions to be sent, in case the writer did not survive the assault upon Quebec. Accordingly General Philip Schuyler dispatched it to Capt. John McPherson, the father, with the following missive from himself:

"Permit me, sir, to mingle my tears with yours for the loss we have sustained; you as a father, I as a friend. My dear young friend fell by the side of his general, as much lamented as he was beloved, and that I assure you, sir, was in an eminent degree. This, and his falling like a hero, will console, in some measure, a father who gave him the example of bravery, which the son, in a short military life, improved to advantage.

"General Montgomery's and his corpse were both interred by General Carleton, with military honors. Your most ob't and humble serv't,

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"ALBANY, 14th JUNE, 1776."

Both letters remained among the papers of the Maepherston family, and the copies from which we print, are indorsed thus: "The originals, of which these are copies, were lent to Gen. Wilkinson, when he was writing his Memoirs, and never were returned. J. M. MACPHERSON."—*Phila. Press, Oct., 1860.*

ALL UP.—This rallying cry of the Bell and Everett party, is stated in the *Boston Journal*, Oct. 25, 1860, on the authority of a friend belonging to that party, to have originated in a bar-room. A party were discussing the nominations of the "Unionists," when one of them wound up with the toast, "Here's to Bell and Everett—all up!" at the same time holding up his glass in his right hand with the index finger pointing upward. The sign and words "All up!" found favor among the young men of the party, and even some of the older and more staid soon reconciled it with their dignity to adopt the token. And so it came into general use, although not a hundred men in the party could probably tell how it originated.

GOV. WENTWORTH'S LETTERS.—Two folio MS. volumes of the letters of the last royal governor of New Hampshire, are in a perfect state of preservation, in the original letter-books, among the records in the Province House, at Halifax, N. S. New Hampshire historians may possibly bear this fact in mind.

B.

ANECDOTE OF THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.—The following fact was recently given to me by a lady of Philadelphia, a grand-daughter of Judge Peters. It is therefore reliable; I do not know if it ever has been published:

"During Gen. Washington's Southern campaign, and while Richard Peters (subsequently Judge of the District Court of the United States), was Secretary of the Board of War, he met at an evening entertainment Robert Morris, who, observing the gloomy expression of countenance of his usually cheerful friend, questioned him as to the cause of his unusual demeanor, and urged him to conceal his anxieties, lest the cause in which all were so much interested should be injured by such an appearance of despondency.

"Mr. Peters replied, 'that he was in great embarrassment, having received an order from the commander-in-chief for ammunition; and hav-

ing exhausted all available supplies, even the lead pipes from many of the dwelling-houses, he was unable to meet the demand.' 'Cheer up! cheer up!' replied Mr. Morris, 'I have just heard of one of my ships being below—*her ballast is lead, I will give you an order for it.*' They both left the party, and before morning the bullets were casting which aided in accomplishing the '*defeat of Cornwallis.*'

"The news of this 'surrender' reached Philadelphia between one and two o'clock at night. The watchmen in those days were in the habit of calling the hour. They were all Germans, and the welkin resounded: 'O' East two o'clock, and Cornwallis is taken!' Windows were thrown up by ladies in night-caps, to catch the sound, and forthwith *every house was illuminated.*"

COL. RICHARD HUMPTON (vol. iii., p. 375; vol. iv., pp. 23, 346).—He was a native of Yorkshire England, born in or about the year 1733. There is reason to believe he belonged to a family which moved in a highly respectable circle of society. When he was quite a youth, a captain's commission was purchased for him, in the British army; and this commission he held for a number of years. He was for some time stationed at Fort George, in the north of Scotland; and he is said to have distinguished himself in an attack which the British made on Saint-Malo, on the coast of France. He was subsequently stationed in one of the British West India Islands; where he resigned his commission, and emigrated thence to Pennsylvania. Here he fixed his residence on one of the upper branches of the river Susquehanna. While there, the rank which he had held in the English army became known, and when the Revolutionary contest came on, a commission in the Continental service was offered to him, which he accepted. An aged and highly intelligent gentleman (J. D. S.) informs the compiler of this notice, that Judge Finney, of Chester county (who served in the army throughout the Revolution, and in the Indian war some time afterward), once told him, when casually speaking of Col. Humpton, that he saw that officer's horse shot under him at the battle of Brandywine, and saw the rider coolly ungird the saddle, sling it over his shoulder, and proceed to place it on another horse. The same aged and intelligent gentleman above mentioned further states, that on one occasion he travelled with Col. Humpton from Montgomery county to Philadelphia; that Humpton pointed out to him, while passing through Germantown, the localities; and also described the movements of the different bodies of troops, when engaged in the battle at that place. Humpton also mentioned having had the command of a

brigade, on the occasion, and showed the road by which he brought the troops committed to his charge into action. The same respectable authority just cited gives incidents in connection with the "Paoli Massacre." At the time of that cruel affair, and for years afterward, the Paoli tavern was kept by a Mr. and Mrs. Robinson. The latter—who was a very respectable, intelligent woman—gave a history of the events connected with it, that had fallen under her personal observation at the time. General Wayne and several of his officers were regaling themselves in one of the parlors of the tavern, known as "the Paoli," when the conviviality of the party was suddenly checked by the arrival of Col. Humpton, who came from the camp in full speed, and announced to them his belief that the camp was on the eve of being attacked by the enemy. This they professed to disbelieve; when he emphatically repeated his asseveration; told them from whence he derived his information (a Scotch Highlander), and urged them, if they regarded their own safety, or that of their troops, to break up their party forthwith. He then immediately returned, and took Mr. Robinson with him to act as a guide to the American troops, in case of necessity; and Mr. Robinson did act as a guide to them. The informant of the compiler says this detail was received from such a source that he could not, and never did doubt its correctness; and he adds, "If the facts were as thus stated, it is to be regretted that Mr. Irving, in his Life of Washington, should have charged the misfortune to the tardy movements of Col. Humpton, the second in command."

There is good evidence that Gen. Washington had full confidence in Col. Humpton, and employed him confidentially on various occasions [see note at the end]; and although a writer in the *Historical Magazine* (vol. iii., p. 375), attempts to brand the colonel's memory with "cowardice and disobedience of orders," it is remarkable that when the Society of the Cincinnati was formed—*nearly six years after the Paoli affair*—we find in the list of "original members" the name of "Richard Humpton, Col. 2d Penna. Regt.," between the names of two gallant Pennsylvanians, viz., "Anthony Wayne, Brig'r General, and William Irvine, Brig'r General." Is *cowardice* a trait of character likely to be snugly located between the names of such men as Wayne and Irvine, in an honorary document at the close of a seven years' war? *Credat Judæis*. After the Revolution, Colonel Humpton settled on a farm in Chester county, where he received (it is believed from Governor Mifflin) the appointment of adjutant-general of the militia of Pennsylvania; which office he held until his death, on the 21st of December, 1804. His remains were interred

in the burial-ground of the Friends' Meeting, at Caln, where some of the "Cincinnati" were desirous of erecting a monument to his memory; but the regulations of that religious society forbade the measure. Colonel Humpton was a favorite friend of Governor Mifflin, and particularly intimate with his secretary, A. J. Dallas, Esq., Dr. Benjamin Rush, and other distinguished worthies of his day. He left no family; and since the death of his widow, no connection, or relative of his is known on this side of the Atlantic.

NOTE.—[This note may tend to show the position and character of Col. Humpton, as well as the kind of business confided to him:]

"BRUNSWICK, Dec. 1, 1776.

"SIR: You are to proceed to the two Ferries near Trenton, and to see all the boats there put in the best order, with a sufficiency of oars and poles,—and at the same time collect all the additional boats you can, from both above and below, and have them brought to these Ferries and secured for the purpose of carrying over the Troops and Baggage in the most expeditious manner; and for this purpose you will get every assistance in the power of the Quarter-Master-General, and any person in his department. You will particularly attend to the Durham Boats, which are very proper for this purpose. The Baggage of the army should be got over the river as soon as possible, and put in some convenient place, a little back of it.

I am, Sir, Y'r most ob't Serv't.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"To Colonel HUMPTON."

[The original of the following *memorandum* is entirely the autograph of the commander-in-chief.]

"Memorandum for Colonel *Humpton*.

"To enquire into the situation of the Troops under *General Lee*, and let me know where they are—by what route they march—what stages they will make—and other matters which may be necessary to know.

"Also to enquire into the state of the Regiments from Ticonderoga—where they are—the situation they are in—under whose command—whether their term of service is expired—whether, in that case, they will consent to continue a while longer in service, a fortnight for instance—and other matters which may be useful to know. Moreover, to enquire what Militia are with General Williamson, belonging to the State of New Jersey, where any other Militia of the State are assembled—under what officers, how appointed, &c. In short, I wish to know the whole Force that is collected, where, and what may be expected from them.

"The Militia should be encouraged to turn out under proper officers,—not in a confused and disorderly manner,—and join the army, or assemble in the vicinity of it. Enquire into the article of Provisions, &c. GEO. WASHINGTON.

"To Col. HUMPTON.

Dec. 5th, 1776."

[The note below—in reference to the *Hessians* captured at Trenton, who, as tradition tells, were marched through the streets of Philadelphia, to convince the incredulous Tories that the reported victory was not a myth—is a true copy of the original as written by the gallant old soldier, whose education seems to have been rather neglected; but who was then in command of the City of Penn:]

"You are immedatly to remove your men out of the Barrok to make room for the hashon Prisoners. ISRAEL PUTNAM."

"To Colo Humpton or any other ofessors that are quartered in the Barroks."

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—The Providence *Journal* is publishing a series of articles, in which it is proposed to give the naval history of Rhode Island. In the war between Great Britain and Holland, during the seventeenth century, wherein the Dutch lost New Amsterdam, now the Empire State and city, the cruisers of Rhode Island roused the ire of the testy Dutch governors, and induced them to run the risk of sending their war-vessels through the dreaded whirlpool at Hell Gate. Next, in the war between the mother country and Spain, her cruisers annoyed the haughty Spaniard excessively, and followed his ships even to within gunshot of the Moro Castle at Havana; and what was worse, could not possibly understand that there was peace until some months or a year after its conclusion; in the mean while, they were making prizes of her ships. But in the greater war with France, which resulted in the disruption of the French empire in North America, and the fall of Canada, Nova Scotia, &c., Rhode Island took a prominent part. She not only contributed largely in furnishing ships and men for the invasion of the French dominions, but sent out a large number of privateers. More than fifty of these vessels were commissioned to make capture of French ships and property on the high seas in the years of 1758 and 1759, and they aided in breaking up the commerce of France in America. Some of these privateers cruised along the shores of Nova Scotia and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but the larger portion went to the West Indies, where they took valuable prizes. Then, again, in the war of the Revolution, Rhode Island figured more largely. The first squadron

sent against the British, in which Paul Jones was an officer, was fitted out in her waters. The first and only admiral the United States navy ever had, was Hopkins. Abraham Whipple and Silas Talbot, commodores in that war, were also Rhode Island men.

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT.—*To the Editor of the World*: In your paper of the 27th instant, you spoke truly of the merits of Chancellor Livingston. But you said, after twenty years of constant battle in the cause of science, steamers were found running on the lakes and rivers of New York, such a system of navigation being then known only by Icarsay in England.

But the use of steam was in practice years before it was in America.

In 1802 (in June), I saw a steamboat arrive on the canal, in Liverpool; and made an engine which may be seen in my store (518 Broadway), and which Mr. Fulton inspected before he constructed his first boat.

For further particulars on the merits of Mr. Fulton, see a letter addressed to the Historical Society, describing his claims to steamboats and torpedoes, on which I worked in 1795, which was condemned by the British government, but brought forward by Mr. Fulton, in 1810. That letter will show the state of the boats at that time. My letter is an answer to an address of an Episcopal clergyman before the Society.

FOR BENJAMIN PIKE, Sen.

NEW YORK, JUNE 28, 1860.

NEW YORK NEWS IN 1642.—The Jesuit missionary, Father Jogues, who was taken prisoner by the Mohawks, in 1642, was redeemed by the Dutch, and visited New Amsterdam, of which he left a description, several times published. One of his fellow-missionaries, Father Buteux, killed subsequently, like himself, by the Mohawks, has left an account of what Jogues told him. In this manuscript is the following:

"During the stay that he made there (New Amsterdam), an Irish Catholic arrived, who came from Virginia, who went to confession to the Father. He told him that there were some of our Fathers in Virginia, and that one of them going into the woods with the Indians, had been killed there by the enemies of the Indians whom he accompanied; and moreover that the English were in Virginia to the number of 12,000, and that there would be much more if the country were healthier. That the soil is fertile, and produces all sorts of fruit, grain, and vegetables. The Father saw also many English from New England, which is between the Iroquois and Abnauquois, who told him that there are more than 200,000 souls in

that New England; that commerce is established there; that they manure the ground with cod-fish, which they allow to rot, and reduce into manure.

"There can be no doubt, from what he says, but that that country is far more beautiful and temperate than these. There were peaches on the trees still on the 4th of November, at which time the governor notified the Father to hold himself in readiness to sail in a bark, which he was dispatching to Holland, to give information of the state of the country; how the Indians, against whom they were at war, were ruining every thing, burning the corn, barns, houses, flocks, and had already killed more than forty persons. The cause of the war arose from an Indian, whom they intoxicated. As he had a bow in his hand, he fired at a Dutchman upon a ladder, and killed him; the soldiers and settlers, incensed at this murder, wished to take revenge. A convenient opportunity offered, but a most unreasonable one. A band of Indians, of this nation, flying from their Indian enemies of another nation, came and took refuge on a small island near the Dutch. The soldiers and others knew it, and went to the captain to ask leave. He, better advised, answered that they must wait, and that this would be to involve him in an open war, which would cause the death of many Dutch; that it would be more expedient to summon the chiefs, and act according to the custom of the country, which was to demand presents as a satisfaction, or the surrender of the murderer. This advice was not followed. On the contrary, a soldier was hardy enough to tell the governor that he was an accomplice in the death of the one who had been killed, and went so far as to present his pistol and tried to fire; it missed fire, but the governor did not miss him, for at the same time he ordered one of his to shoot him through the head, which was done.

"Then the governor, fearing a sedition, told the others to do as they pleased, but that for his part he cleared himself of it, if trouble arose. This word was no sooner said than sixty soldiers go to that island, massacre the Indians, who expected nothing, killed as many as eighty; some took flight, and on their flight set fire wherever they passed, so that the poor colonists who knew nothing of all this tragedy, saw their houses burnt without knowing the cause." S.

**EARTHQUAKE IN 1758.**—A letter from Annapolis, published in the Dublin *Grand Magazine*, in 1758, and dated on the 23d of March, says:

"Last night, at two minutes before ten, when the air was very clear and serene, we had here a very considerable shock of an earthquake; but

through God's mercy it has done no damage that we have heard of.

"For about three-quarters of a minute before the shock, there was a rumbling noise, not unlike that of carriage-wheels on pavements or frozen grounds, at a distance, which increased till the shaking, and that lasted about half a minute. It was likewise very sensibly felt in most, if not all, of the counties in this province; and as far northward as the county next to Williamsburg in Virginia, which is the furthest place we have since heard from."

GEN. WAYNE ON THE OCCUPATION OF THE WESTERN POSTS EVACUATED BY THE ENGLISH IN 1795.—

PHILADELPHIA, 24 Feb'y, 1796.

SIR: In obedience to your request, I have made out, and now inclose an estimate of the number of troops necessary to take possession and garrison the Forts to be evacuated agreeably to the late treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain; as also the number of cannon now mounted at the respective posts, viz.: Michilimackinac, Detroit, Miami, and Niagara—the three first are from actual documents; the latter I am not perfectly acquainted with, but know that it was garrisoned by the 5th British Regiment.

The number of troops fit for duty at Greenville, on the 1st of December, 1795, was 1158; of these, not more than 1000 can be calculated upon to advance for the purpose of possessing the several posts before mentioned, which will be rather too few to give a proper impression, and to transport and give security to the provisions, artillery, and stores, which will be indispensably necessary to accompany them. The following are the artillery of different calibres that can possibly be spared from the advanced posts, i. e., from Fort Washington to Defiance, inclusive, viz.:

One eight-inch howitz.,	} Total, 26.
Four, five and one-half do.,	
Six six-pounders,	
Seven three-pounders,	
Eight 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inch howitz.,	

Hence, you will see the indispensable necessity of giving orders for the ordnance and stores mentioned in the inclosed estimate.

I will have the honor of calling at the War Office at two o'clock to-morrow, when I shall be ready to afford any further information you may think proper to require.

Interim, I have the honor to be, Sir,  
your most obed<sup>t</sup>  
and very

humble servant,

ANTY WAYNE.

The Honorable J. McHENRY, Esq., Secretary of War.

GOVERNMENT EXPLORATIONS OF THE WEST.—The explorations commenced by Mr. Jefferson during his first presidential term, and continued at intervals to the present time, have given to the world a vast amount of information concerning the country west of the Mississippi. The following are the principal explorations under the auspices of the federal government: Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke, in 1803; Lieutenant Pike, in 1805-6; Major Long, in 1819-20 and 1823; Nicolle, in 1836-40; Colonel Fremont, first in 1842, secondly in 1843-4, and thirdly, in 1845-6; Major Emory, in 1846; Captain Stansbury, in 1849-50; and the magnificent system of surveys for a Pacific Railroad in 1853-5. Noble contributions have been made by these explorers to geography, botany, zoölogy, climatology, and geology. A writer in the *North American Review*, in alluding to this subject, remarks that the munificence of the government to natural science, while prosecuting the material interests of the country, merits the admiration of the friends of learning and humanity. Our people and the world now appreciate the value and the wisdom of the declaration of Humboldt, in 1828, that a vast country "may advance more than any other the study of the atmosphere, the knowledge of mean annual temperatures, and what is more important to vegetation, that of the distribution of the annual heat over the seasons."

THE "SWEARING JUSTICE."—The Hon. Ithamar Chase, of Cornish, father of the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, U. S. senator, now governor of Ohio, and of the late Hon. Dudley Chase, who was also U. S. senator and chief judge of Vermont, and brother of the late Bishop Chase, of Ohio, was called "the swearing justice," not because he was in the habit of uttering oaths himself, but of administering oaths to others. He was a famous justice of the peace, and familiar with all the routine of office. The following humorous anecdote was applied to him, I know not how truly, many years since.

In New Hampshire they used to choose all their State, county, and town officers, from governor down to hog-reeves, at one town meeting—the annual March meeting. As the town officers were very numerous, it was customary, as fast as they were chosen, to walk them up before a justice of the peace and have them sworn into office, "by companies, half companies, by pairs and single." "Squire Chase," being the most prominent justice, had this task to perform, and a pretty severe task it was, occupying much of his time from morning till night. It was on one of these occasions, after the labors and toils of the day were over, he returned to his home,

wearily and overcome with the fatigues of his employment, and, throwing himself into his easy chair, fell into a sound sleep. In the mean time a rustic couple, who had been waiting impatiently for some time for the justice to join them in wedlock, presented themselves in another part of the house and made known their interesting desires to Mrs. Chase, who, somewhat confused and agitated, attended them to the sleeping justice, whom she found it difficult to arouse. Shaking him by the shoulder, she called out, "Mr. Chase—Mr. Chase, do pray wake up; here is a couple come to be married." The justice, having administered oaths all day, and dreaming of nothing else, half-waked, rubbing his eyes, and looking at the wishful pair asked, "Are you the couple?" They nodded assent. "Well, hold up your hands." They did so, with some hesitation. "You, severally, solemnly swear that you will faithfully perform the duties of your office, respectively, according to your best skill and judgment, so help you," &c. The astonished couple looking wild, the justice added soothingly, "That's all, excepting the fee, one dollar," which was quickly dropped into his hand, and they were off in a tangent, doubting as they went the legality of the process, but they concluded to go according to the oath.

#### QUERIES.

DESERTED BRIDE.—Joel Barlow wrote a poem with this title, which has never been printed. Can any reader of the *Magazine* give any clue as to the existence of the manuscript?

L. G. OLMSTEAD.

JOEL BARLOW.—Is it true that he was at the battle of White Plains? What evidence is there, if so?

L. G. O.

PATTERSON'S REGIMENT (15th Massachusetts).—Has a return of the officers and men in Col. John Patterson's (15th Mass.) Regiment, during the years 1775 or 1776, ever been published?

I. J. G.

STEPHEN MOYLAN.—When and where did Moylan, Washington's aid-de-camp, die?

H. M.

MISS ELIZABETH LLOYD.—Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, a Quakeress of Philadelphia, wrote certain verses in the character of the blind author of "Paradise Lost," which were inserted in an English edition of his works. What are the particulars of this curious fact?

S. A. G.

GROTON, Mass.



SCALPING.—When was this act of inhumanity, inflicted by the savages, first noticed by Europeans in America? It has been said to have been *not* of Indian, but of European origin. Is the latter or the former the truth?

AHMELICOGNETICOOK.

LYMBURNER.—In about the year 1770, Mathew Lymburner (sometimes spelled Limberner), with his brother John, and wife, emigrated from the county of Ayr, Scotland, to Castine, Me. Mathew being a loyalist, went to New Brunswick, just before the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, but after peace was declared, he settled in New Hampshire or Vermont. I wish to know in what place he settled, and whether he has any descendants living? J. LYMBURN.

SANBORTON BRIDGE, N. H.

WHO DRAFTED THE PENNSYLVANIA ACT FOR THE GRADUAL EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES?—In the *North American Review* for January, 1860, at page 217, the author of a review of Horace Binney's sketch of "The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia" affirms, probably on the authority of that sketch, that William Lewis drafted the act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, of 1780, for the gradual emancipation of slaves in that State. This is the first assertion of that claim for Mr. Lewis, that I have ever heard. The tradition of the profession in Pennsylvania, certainly attributes the authorship of that act and its greatly admired preamble to George Bryan, a man who held the pen of a ready writer, and who would have attained great eminence in any other State than Pennsylvania. Who was the drawer of that act?

#### REPLIES.

COL. JOHN NIXON (vol. iv., pp. 347, 371).—I should have mentioned,—in my sketch of the history of Col. John Nixon, of Philadelphia,—that he was one of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, from 1768 to 1772; one of the signers of the memorial of the merchants and traders of Philadelphia to the merchants, traders, and manufacturers of Great Britain, about 1769, remonstrating against the arbitrary proceedings of the "Home Government;" a member of the Committee of Correspondence, appointed May 20, 1774; of the Committee, appointed June 18, to prepare for a General Conference, and to solicit subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers by the Boston Port Bill; also of the first and second Provincial Conferences of Pennsylvania; and of the Com-

mittee of Correspondence appointed, on the recommendation of the first Continental Congress. Early in the summer of 1775, on the occasion of the election of field-officers of the militia of Pennsylvania, John Cadwallader was chosen colonel of the 3d Philadelphia Battalion; John Nixon, lieutenant-col.; and Messrs. Thomas Millin and Samuel Meredith were elected majors. It was after the elections of October, 1775, that John Nixon was added to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. He signed the memorial of the Philadelphia merchants, Sept. 2, 1779, to the Committee of the City, remonstrating against the arbitrary, unjust, and impolitic limitation of prices of merchandise, and recommending more equitable measures. On the re-establishment of the College of Pennsylvania, 1789, he was one of ten gentlemen chosen to fill the vacancies in the original Board of Trustees, at a meeting held at the residence of Benjamin Franklin, March 9.

I have been recently favored with a note from an apparently well-informed source, containing some additional information relative to the family and friends of Col. Nixon. The writer signs himself, the nephew of the colonel. I am desirous of procuring his real name and address. His note contains one or two passages, which I cannot resist the temptation to quote. He says:

"Col. John Nixon enjoyed the confidence and friendship of General Washington to the end of the life of the latter; and was among the most respectable of the citizens and residents of Philadelphia. Mrs. Nixon was a sister of my father. They had one son (whom you correctly mention as the successor of his father as President of the Bank of North America), and four daughters, one of whom became the wife of the late Thomas M. Willing, Esq. Her twin sister (Mrs. Crammand) is still living in Philadelphia, and is the only survivor of that family. Although now aged, she retains to a remarkable degree the energy of a bright and cultivated mind. The only son of Col. John Nixon—mentioned above—married the daughter of Robert Morris, Esq., the well-known financier of the Revolution.

"Wm. Bingham, Esq. (United States Senator from Pennsylvania, succeeding Mr. Morris, in 1795), married (in 1780) the sister of Thomas M. Willing, above mentioned; and their eldest daughter became the wife of the late Lord Ashburton, who visited this country some years ago and made the treaty now known as the 'Webster-Ashburton Treaty.'

"The Nixon, the Morris, the Willing, and the Bingham families, in Philadelphia, formed the brightest segment of that circle of families with whom the social hours of the Father of his Country were passed, during his residence in that city.

"On a late visit to the surviving daughter of Col. Nixon, whom I mention above as the twin sister of the late Mrs. Willing, she amused me greatly by a graphic sketch which she gave of a visit to 'Valley Forge,' with her twin sister, both then children, and their parents; and also of Gen. Washington's amusement in allowing the children to blindfold him, while they would run round and then clamber upon his knees, and make him guess which was *Jane*, and which *Sarah*; or, as they were more familiarly called, 'Jenny,' and 'Sally.'"

I can now merely add, that it is not in the *text* of the "Field Book of the Revolution," that the John Nixon who first read the Declaration of Independence in public and who was chosen a member of the Continental Navy Board, is confounded with John Nixon, of Massachusetts. Mr. Lossing simply alludes to "John Nixon," in each instance. It is in the *Index* to the second edition of that work that the confusion referred to, occurs.

MICHAEL HENNESSY.

54 CARROLL-STREET, BROOKLYN,  
Dec. 12, 1860.

ANOTHER REPLY TO THE QUERY—"JOHN NIXON."—In the army of the Revolution served two brothers, John and Thomas, sons of Christopher Nixon, of Framingham, Mass.

JOHN, the elder, born 1727, served as captain in the French War, in 1756, and commanded the company of minute men, in Sudbury, Mass, in 1775. In November, 1775, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and Aug. 9, 1776, was commissioned a brigadier-general. He was in command, with his regiment at Bunker Hill, and served with much honor there and during the war.

THOMAS, his brother, born 1736, served as ensign in the French War, 1756. He commanded a company of minute men, in Framingham, 1775, and was afterwards commissioned as colonel. He was reputed a brave and efficient officer, and served through the war.

Gen. John Nixon died in Middleborough, Vermont, about 1815; Col. Thomas Nixon died in his passage by water from Boston to Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 12, 1800.

See Bury's "History of Framingham," pp. 93, 159, 161, 342, 343.

CHICAGO.

THE FAMILY OF HUGH PETERS, THE REGICIDE (vol. iv., p. 313).—George R. Curwen, Esq., of Salem, has kindly sent to us copies of three documents recorded in Essex county, which show that the petition of Elizabeth Barker, the daughter of Hugh Peters, was successful. The first is the letters of administration, with the will annexed, of John Devorix, of Marblehead, granted March

30, 1704, to Robert Devorix, and recorded in the Probate Record of Essex Co., Mass., in Book 8, leaf 100, which recites that the executors had renounced "y<sup>e</sup> principle part of y<sup>e</sup> estate of s<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>d</sup> being taken away by y<sup>e</sup> heirs of Hugh Peters." The other two are deeds of lease and release, made June 29 and 30, 1704, and recorded March 4, 1705, by which Elizabeth Barker, of London, only daughter and heiress of Hugh Peters, in consideration of £350, N. E. currency, conveyed to Robert Devorix, a farm in Marblehead, of 350 acres, "bounded westerly, on the ffarme sometimes heretofore called or known by the name of Humphreys' ffarme; northwesterly, on the ten acre lotts; northwardly and north-easterly, on the common land of Marblehead afores<sup>d</sup>. Eastwardly, on the land of Wm. Hewett, and southerly upon the sea." . . . "which said ffarm or tract of land was heretofore granted by the said town of Salem to the said Hugh Peters, dec<sup>d</sup>."

MONTRESOR (vol. iv., p. 317).—E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq., the editor of the "New York Colonial Documents," in vol. x., p. 911, says: "James Montresor became director of engineers, and lieutenant in the British army, 4th Jan., 1758, in which year he was at the head of the engineer department in the expedition against Ticonderoga, under Abercrombie. He drew the plan of Fort Stanwix and the surrounding country, in the summer of the same year." "New York Doc. Hist.," vol. iv., p. 425: "He was chief engineer also to Amherst's expedition, and superintended the construction of the fort at the head of Lake George, in July, 1759." "Knox's Journal," vol. i., p. 403: "He obtained, in 1771, a grant of 10,000 acres of land at the forks of the Pogkatagkan or Otter Creek, in the present town of Pantton, Vt., and in May, 1772, became colonel in the army." *Army lists. New York Land Papers.* He died January 6th, 1776. \* † \*

INTRODUCTION OF MERINO SHEEP—HUMPHREYS OR LIVINGSTON.—A writer in the September number of the *Historical Magazine* endeavors to show, that the credit of the first importation of merino sheep into the United States is due to Gen. Humphreys. The evidence which he adduces, however, being a quotation from Humphreys himself, is of an *ex parte* character, and may therefore be rebutted by testimony of a similar nature.

In the American edition of the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, published at Philadelphia, in 1832, there is an appendix to Robert Brown's article on Agriculture, written by R. R. Livingston, where he makes the following explicit statement:

"As the merino sheep and the crosses from it,

now begin to make a great feature in American agriculture, it is proper to notice their introduction. In the year 1802, a ram was sent over from France by Mr. Dupont; and it is not improbable that others may have been previously sent. But the farmers not estimating their value, no attention was paid to breeding from them, or keeping the stock pure. In the same year, the writer of this article, then minister plenipotentiary in France, sent two rams and two ewes, which were selected with great care from the national flock in France. *These were the first couples ever introduced into the United States; not long after this Col. Humphreys brought from Spain one hundred sheep.* They did not, however, appear to attract the attention of farmers till a few years after, when the writer of this article published some essays and calculations to show their importance and value; these made such an impression upon the farmers of the country in the Northern States, that sheep, to which they had paid no attention, rose to one hundred dollars each, and from that kept advancing to one thousand, which was the current price for a long time; and we have been credibly informed, that twenty-five hundred dollars have been offered and refused for one of the Clermont stock rams."

There is also an essay on Sheep, Wool, &c., by the same writer, in the second volume of the "Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts in the State of New York," published at Albany, in 1807, in which he says:

"In the year 1802, I purchased from the native flock at the veterinary school, at Chalons, two young rams and two ewes. They cost me, delivered at Paris (five miles distant), twelve hundred francs. Charges in getting them to a seaport, maintenance till the sheep was ready, and on board (though the patriotism of the captain would not allow him to take any freight), brought them to almost double that price by the time they arrived at my farm. One of the rams I spared to my brother. The other, with two ewes, were treated exactly as my other sheep; they fed on hay and had no shelter. They brought me two lambs, and sheared eleven pounds of washed wool, near  $3\frac{3}{4}$  pounds each. The next year, the lambs came in January, were neglected, and died."

The period of gestation in ewes is almost five months, and breeding of course the previous fall; the fact that they brought Mr. Livingston two lambs the same year in which he imported them, proves indirectly that they must have arrived in this country in the early part of that year. Gen. Humphreys' flock, according to his own statement, did not embark till April 10, 1802, and landed in Connecticut in about fifty days, or nearly two months afterwards.

A search among the papers of that year might disclose the exact dates of these several arrivals, as well as disclose the name of Chancellor Livingston's patriotic captain. J. L. T.

DUTCH PSALM BOOK (vol. iv., p. 317).—The title of the book referred to, is as follows:

"The | Psalms | of | David, | with | the Ten Commandments, | Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c. | in metre, | Also, | the Catechism, Confession of Faith, | Liturgy, &c. | Translated from the Dutch. | For the use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch | Church of the City of New York, | New York; | Printed by James Parker, at the new Printing office in | Beaver-street, MDCCCLXVII."

The preface is as follows:

"To the Reader,

"The Consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York having by Reason of the Declension of the Dutch Language found it necessary to have Divine Service performed in their Church in English; Have adopted the following Version of the Psalms of David which is greatly indebted to that of Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate; Some of the Psalms being transcribed verbatim from their Version, and others altered so as to fit them to the Music used in the Dutch Churches.

"The Catechism, or Method of Instruction in the Christian Religion, as it is taught in the Schools and Churches of Holland, together with the Articles of Faith, Liturgy, &c., are translated from the Dutch; and having been carefully examined, are with the Psalms, approved of by the Consistory, and by them recommended for the use of their Church and Schools.

"By Order of the Consistory

"JOANNES RITZEMA,

"V. D. M. Praes.

"CITY OF NEW YORK,

"November 9th, 1767."

The above extracts furnish replies to nearly all the queries of J. I. Y. In the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, of New York, the service was originally, of course, in the Dutch language. But, "by Reason of the Declension of the Dutch language," it was found "necessary to have Divine Service performed in English." To this end, in 1763, a call was sent to Archibald Laidlie, minister of the Scotch church at Flushing, in Holland. The call was accepted, and Dr. Laidlie arrived in New York, and entered upon his duties, in April, 1764. I have a copy of the English translation of the Heidelbergh Catechism, printed by order of the consistory, June 5th, 1764. The book containing the Psalms, &c., in English, on account of its size, demanded more time for preparation, and did not appear until 1767.

ABNAKI (vol. iv., pp. 30, 117, 180).—In an address at Halifax, by the Rev. S. T. Rand, a missionary to the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, there is the following passage in relation to the opinions of the Indians of Canada West, among whom he had been travelling, in regard to the origin of this word: "They call the Eastern tribes 'Wob'na-ki;' Wob'n, in both Micmac and Ojibway, meaning, 'the dawn,' 'Aurora,' 'L'aube,' in French; and hence the East." (Tenth Report Micmac Miss. Soc., p. 30.) This word, prefixed, in the usual Indian mode, to "auke," or "ohke" (as the sound is expressed by R. Williams and Eliot), meaning "land," appears to be the veritable origin of the word "Abnaki," and is readily interpreted, "The East Land."

It is, perhaps, worth more than a passing notice, to point to the fact, that the leading consonants in the word "Japan" or "Jih-pun," as more strictly written,\* are identical with the leading consonants in the word "Wob'n," elsewhere written "Waban." (Eliot.) The letters *p* and *b*, are commutable. The letter *j*, in "Japan," pronounced *y*, is not an integral part of the original word, and *w* in the Algonquin dialects has a *whistled* sound (Heckewelder), easily dropped when aboriginal words are pronounced by the vocal organs of Europeans. Thus "ju Pa N" or "ya Pa N," and "wá BaN," or "wá PaN," show a striking similarity.

The meaning of Japan, when traced to its derivation is the "origin of the sun," *i. e.*, "Sun rising in the East," and so denotes its locality in regard to other nations; and this, too, indicates a marked similarity to Waban, if not an identity of origin in a common central point of departure. The Chinese add the word "koue," meaning "kingdom;" thus, "Jih-pun-koue"—"The Eastern Kingdom," which certainly calls to mind the terminal syllables of "Abn-aki."

One word more—perhaps others may be found, which adds confirmation to the above conjecture. In the Algonquin, or Abnaki dialects, "nebe" or "nepe" means *water*. In the Japanese language "ko-nabe," means *pan*, † *i. e.*, "a vessel to contain water." These resemblances prove, perhaps, no more than a divergence of these languages from one original centre. BRUNOVICUS.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE WHITE DOG (vol. iv., p. 87).—In the *Historical Magazine* of March, 1860, there was an interesting article, describing the very ancient, and one of the most sacred of Indian rites, the sacrifice of the white dog. We noticed one or two errors which should be corrected, and which would have been sooner, had

we not waited, that some one better versed in Indian lore should do it.

Your correspondent speaks of the ceremony as being witnessed near their place, in the year 1832 or '33; and in the account which he gives, alludes to "the grand sachem, old Red Jacket," as delivering what might be called "a short speech or invocation." Either your correspondent is much mistaken in regard to the date at which this ceremony occurred, or else he was grievously imposed upon by his informant; Red Jacket died upon the 20th day of January, 1830, and therefore could not very well have delivered the "short speech or invocation." Your correspondent also speaks of the sacrificial festival lasting but a single day, or even night, when in fact, the ceremonies attendant upon it, occupy an entire week.

The festival occurs in mid-winter; generally about the first of February, though no special time is appointed. A few days previous, the members of the tribe assemble at the council-house, and a general confession of sins is instituted, which of course occupies some time. After two or three days have elapsed, the medicine men, disguised in the skins of animals, with various and fantastical trimmings of corn-busks, bones, feathers, &c., proceed from house to house, and announce that the festival has commenced, chanting short hymns. This ceremony is twice performed, in the morning and in the afternoon, and with the strangling of the white dog, concludes the performance of the first day. The second day is occupied in visiting; small parties and families visiting the various houses in the village, and passing the time in conversation, games, and singing. The third and fourth days are passed much in the same manner, though dancing is introduced and is made the principal feature; the War, the Feather, or any of the numerous dances being performed, as the inclination of each party leads them. They are the merriest of the festival days, and the revelry is usually extended far into the night.

Upon the fifth day the sacrifice takes place. Early in the morning the council is assembled, and the council-house filled to overflowing with an eager and expectant multitude. When every thing is prepared, the dog is taken down and placed upon the sacrificial altar, erected near the council-house, the "priests" chanting a song while the fire is kindling. Slowly at first the flames creep around the lower woodwork of the altar, the smoke curling upwards among the crevices, and the song is low and solemn; but as the flames roll higher, flashing over the altar, and licking the smooth white hair of the sacrificial offering, and blackening it, the chant swells to a wild chorus which rings out into the still night air with a startling clearness. Suddenly the song

\* "U. S. Japan Exped.," vol. i., p. 6.

† *Ibid.*

ceases, and a "priest," clothed in fanciful apparel, advances to the front of the altar and pours forth a flood of Indian eloquence, from time to time scattering upon the burnt-offering, tobacco leaves, that incense might continually ascend to the Great Spirit. After this oration is delivered, the assemblage, leaving the half-burned sacrifice upon the still smoking altar, disperse and conclude the ceremonies of the day with the Feather dance, at the council-house.

The sixth day is passed by singing and dancing, the Ga-na-o-nh, or Thanksgiving dance, forming a principal feature. This is interspersed with thanksgiving songs, and differs from the Feather dance only in this and a few other unimportant points. The seventh day commences with a thanksgiving concert, sometimes lasting the entire evening. It consists in returning thanks for every benefit received, both from on high and from an earthly hand; each person in council making an appropriate speech, closing with an original song, in the chorus of which all join. The after part of the day is passed in gambling—truly a pitiable conclusion for this, the most sacred of the festivals which they celebrate. The Gur-ga-ah, played with peach-stones and a bowl, upon the same principle with which dice are now thrown, the stones being numbered and differently cut—a prescribed number of "points," usually fifty, or a hundred, being pledged. This game was a favorite pastime, and introduced into the festival, because it was thought it was permitted in the hunting grounds of the blessed.

Thus ended this celebrated festival. We have attempted to describe it as it was celebrated in the palmy days of the Iroquois—as tradition hands it down to us. Now, as a nation, they have sadly degenerated; though occasionally we see among them a form and bearing which reminds us of the olden time. This festival has not, however, changed in any material point. The dog may be decked with a few more ribbons than formerly, and the ceremony may have been less solemn; but in its main features, the festival was observed twenty, as it was fifty, and probably hundreds of years ago. C. D. N.

EARLY AMERICAN EDITIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (vol. i., pp. 14, 88, 158, 219, 220, 281, 308, 312; vol. ii., 148, 211, 306).—The inquiry made on page 88, vol. i., of the *Historical Magazine*, has already received a number of replies, which have furnished us with descriptions of many American printed liturgical works. There is, however, one before me, which has hitherto remained unnoticed, and whose existence indeed has been known to but few: its title is:

"THE | PSALTER | OR | PSALMS | OF | DAVID, | POINTED AS THEY ARE TO BE SUNG OR SAID IN | CHURCHES. | With the ORDER for MORNING and EVENING | PRAYER DAILY throughout the YEAR.

"NEW LONDON: | PRINTED BY THOMAS C. GREEN, ON THE PARADE. | 1795. 12mo." Signatures A to O.

The Calendar and Rubrics are omitted, as well as the Latin title of the Psalms. The contents are, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, the Creed of St. Athanasius, the Litany, Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, the Catechism, the Psalter.

In the Psalter, the *pointing* of the English Church is retained, as stated on the title-page, but the text conforms neither to that of the English nor American Book of Common Prayer; I have noted over fifty variations; particularly, such changes are made as the following: *e. g.* Ps. v. 11, "Destroy thou them, . . . let them perish, . . . cast them out" &c., reads, "Thou wilt destroy them, . . . they shall perish . . . thou wilt cast them out," &c.

I have understood that this book was got up for use in that church, by two influential members of the parish of St. James, New London, relatives of Bishop Seabury, who was rector there, and one of them a churchwarden. They thought the imprecations in certain Psalms not suited or proper to be used in the public service of the church. The Athanasian Creed was inserted probably through the influence, or out of regard to the opinions of Bishop Seabury.

C. J. II.

HARTFORD, November 27, 1860.

PORTRAITS OF LOUIS XVI. AND HIS QUEEN (vol. iv., p. 317).—Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," vol. ii., p. 498, records thus, viz.:

"*The Pictures of the King and Queen of France*.—In March, 1784, these large and elegantly-framed pictures arrived at Philadelphia, in the ship Queen of France, being presents from the king. They were set up in the large committee room of the Senate, at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets; thence went to Washington City, and were burned, I believe, by the British, under Gen. Ross. The portrait of the king was much like Gouverneur Morris, who was a very fine-looking man."

I may now say (in October, 1860), that these portraits were often seen by me, while the Congress sat in Philadelphia. They were of full stature, and the frames were superb. They were taken, with the Government, to Washington City, in 1800. There must be persons, now at that city, who can tell what has become of them.

J. F. W.

BEAUHARNAIS (vol. iv., p. 347).—The query supposes that the Marquis Beauharnais was the illegitimate son of Louis XIV. It is an error that cannot be justified; the family documents exist which prove the contrary.

At any rate, Napoleon III. is not descended from the governor of Canada. The Marquis of Beauharnais died childless, though married for twenty-eight years.

H. V.

MONTREAL.

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## Obituary.

DIED at Philadelphia, November 21, Major JOHN EATON LE CONTE. Major Le Conte was born in Georgia, in 1783. In his youth he devoted himself to science and engineering, and occupied, during a portion of his life, the position of major in the corps of Military Engineers. Some of our finest public works were designed or constructed under his direction. Among others, Fort Monroe, and other defences, at Old Point Comfort; and several works in South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia. At the time of his death, he was probably the oldest naturalist in the country. He was vice-president of the American Academy of Natural Sciences, and considered one of the most accurate of naturalists.

November 20, near Burlington, New Jersey, WILLIAM S. STOCKTON, founder and editor (in 1821) of the *Westeyan Repository*.

In New York, Nov. — 1860, PETER STUYVESANT, a descendant of the Dutch governors of the colony of New Netherlands, at the time of its conquest. He was an active member of the New York Historical Society, and besides selling the ground on which the library stands at a reduced rate, contributed largely to the building fund. He was a regular attendant at its meetings, and always manifested great interest in its success.

Gov. Peter Stuyvesant had two sons, the elder, Bathazar, removed to the West Indies. His second son, Nicholas William, remained and had two sons; 1, Peter, who was drowned; and 2, Gerard, father of Nicholas William, who died unmarried; and Peter. The latter, by his son Nicholas William, was grandfather of the deceased.

In New York, Nov. 9, 1860, CHARLES JAMES CANNON, a poet, dramatist, and novelist. He was born in New York, of an Irish family, Nov. 4, 1800, and, except some years in early life, always resided

in his native city. His works are quite numerous, some of them being anonymous. Among them are "Facts, Feelings, and Fancies;" "The Poet's Quest;" "The Crowning Hour;" "Harry Layden;" "Mora Carmody," the most pleasing of his tales; "The Comedy of Life;" "Father Felix," a translation of which appeared in Germany; "Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous," "Ravelings from the Web of Life," "Bickerton, or the Immigrant's Daughter." A volume of "Dramas," including his "Oath of Office," his best effort in that line, and "Tighe Lifford." He also compiled a Speller and a Series of Readers. Several of these were reprinted in England. A critical estimate of his writings will be found in *Brownson's Quarterly* for October, 1857. Some of his minor lyrics are extremely happy.

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## Notes on Books.

*The Croakers.* By Joseph Rodman Drake and Fitz-Greene Halleck. First Complete Edition. New York: 1860. Royal 8vo, 192 pp.

This privately-printed publication of the New York Bradford Club, possesses unusual interest, both on account of its literary merit and its historical value. A hitherto inaccessible collection of papers, by such authors as Drake and Halleck, would be sought for with avidity, be the subject what it might; but to this attraction is added the piquant charm of personal and political satire of various celebrities of a past day, who yet live in our recollections, or supply the material of our after-dinner gossip. *The Croakers* belong to the New York of forty years ago, in the good old days of the city when DeWitt Clinton was governor, Dr. Mitchell, surgeon-general, Richard Riker, recorder, John Lang, editor, John Minshull, playwright, Edmund Simpson, manager of the old Park Theatre. They recount in very sprightly numbers the humors of the day, opening just at the season of Gen. Jackson's visit to New York, in 1819, when that famous man discomfited his entertainers at Tammany Hall, by proposing at their banquet the health of DeWitt Clinton, an object of great dislike to them, but a personage, notwithstanding, for whom *he* had the greatest admiration. Clinton figures largely through these papers. The activity of his mind is well known, and how multifarious was the learning he introduced into his compositions. There is a fair hit at this in one of these compositions, which is now first published, though it was written at the time

to which it refers. It is a travesty of the governor's speech of January, 1825. A stanza or two may show its quality :

To Tallmadge of the upper house,  
And Crolius of the lower,  
After "*non nobis Domine*,"  
Thus saith the governor.

It seems by general admission,  
That as a nation we are thriving ;  
Settled in excellent condition,  
Bargaining, building, and bee-hiving.  
That each one fearlessly reclines  
Beneath his "fig-tree and his vines"  
(The dream of philosophic man),  
And all is quiet as on Sunday  
From New Orleans to the Bay of Fundy,  
From Beersheba to Dan.

I've climb'd my country's loftiest tree,  
And reach'd its highest bough—save one ;  
Why not the highest ?—blame not me,  
"What men dare" do, I've done.  
And though thy city Washington  
Still mocks my eagle wing and eye,  
Yet is there joy upon a throne  
Even here at Albany.

For though but second in command,  
Far floats my banner in the breeze,  
A captain-general's on the land,  
An admiral's on the seas.  
And, if Ambition can ask more,  
My very title—Governor—  
A princely pride creates,  
Because it gives me kindred claims  
To greatness with those glorious names,  
A Sancho and a Yates.

Of the new pieces from the manuscripts of both authors, one published in the *Evening Post* as recently as 1830, strikes us as peculiarly happy in its satire. It is entitled "Epistle to Robert Hogbin, Esq., one of the Committee of Working-Men, &c., at the Westchester Hotel, Bowery;" a person who would appear to have been something of an agrarian in his reforms. There is little danger of error in attributing this piece to the poet Halleck:

Mr. Hogbin, I work as a weaver of rhyme,  
And therefore presume, with a working-man's grace,  
To address you as one I have liked for some time,  
Though I know not (no doubt it's a fine one) your face.

There is much in a name, and I'll lay you a wager  
(Two small jugs from Reynolds') that Nature design'd,  
When she found you, that you should become the drum-  
major  
In that sweet piece of music, the "Grand March of  
Mind."

A Hogbin! a Hogbin! how cheering the shout  
Of all that keep step to that beautiful air,  
Which leads, like the tread-mill, about and about,  
And leaves us exactly, at last, where we were.

Yes, there's much in a name, and a Hogbin so fit is  
For that great moral purpose, whose impulse divine  
Bids men leave their workshops to work in committees,  
And their own wedded wives to protect yours and  
mine.

That we working-men prophets are sadly mistaken,  
If yours is not, Hogbin, a durable fame,  
Immortal as England's philosopher Bacon,  
Whom your ancestors housed, if we judge by his  
name.

When the moment arrives that we've won the good  
fight,  
And broken the chains of laws, churches, and mar-  
riages,  
When no infants are born under six feet in height,  
And our chimney-sweeps mount up a flue in their  
carriages ;

That glorious time when our daughters and sons  
Enjoy a *Blue Monday* each day of the week,  
And a clean shirt is class'd with the mastodon's bones,  
Or a mummy from Thebes, an undoubted antique :

Then, then, my dear Hogbin, your statue in straw,  
By some modern Pygmalion delightfully wrought,  
Shall be placed in the Park, and our youth's only law  
Shall be to be Hogbins in feeling and thought!  
Yours, A WORKING-MAN.

In addition to these and other new pieces, the work is enriched by a body of illustrative notes, which do great credit to the editor, Mr. John B. Moreau, to whose sympathies with the poems, as a New Yorker, the Bradford Club is indebted in the first instance for this choice publication.

*The Book of the Signers* ; Containing *fac-simile* Letters of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, illustrated with engravings of their Residences, Portraits, &c. Edited by Wm. Brotherhead. Philadelphia : Wm. Brotherhead. 1861. 4to.

This is a highly creditable volume, for the idea and execution of which great praise is due. The Signers will ever be objects of reverence to every American heart. A letter, with the portrait, or tomb, or residence of each of those who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, cannot fail to possess an abiding and elevating interest.

*American Historical and Literary Curiosities* ; consisting of *Fac Similes* of Original Documents Relating to the Events of the Revolution, &c., &c. ; with a variety of Reliques, Antiquities, and Modern Autographs. Collected and edited by John Jay Smith and John F. Watson. Sixth edition. New York : G. P. Putnam. 1861. 4to.

MR. PUTNAM has issued a new edition of the first series of "Smith's American Historical and Liter-

ary Curiosities." Mr. Smith was the first to furnish a treat of this kind to American readers, and his success was deservedly great. For this present edition, the plates have been redrawn and many new ones added. The subjects range widely, portraits of Washington, memorials of Carver, Penn, Lord Baltimore, André's Mischianza Ticket, Arnold's Commission, *Fac-similes* of old Papers, &c. Like the second series, the success of which has called for the revival of this, it is well worthy a place in every American library and drawing-room.

*Considerations on some of the Elements and Conditions of Social Welfare and Human Progress*; being Academic and Occasional Discourses, and other Pieces. By C. S. Henry. D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo, 415 pp.

THE author well observes that "this volume contains some things not quite in unison with the tone of popular opinion;" but unless we are to consider popular opinion in every country, and at each successive period to be the criterion of divine truth, we may well bear to hear some words of honest censure and prophetic warning. Amid the turmoil of party, the exaggerations of heated enthusiasm, and the strife of mere politicians, fundamental truths are often lost sight of; and this is especially a period when the calm, thoughtful, philosophic mind should speak clearly.

### Historical and Literary Intelligence.

BUST OF GENERAL WAYNE.—The people of Westchester, Pennsylvania, are moving to place in the court-house a marble bust of Gen. Wayne, as a monument to his memory. There is not a simple tablet, monument, or bust to Wayne, in his native county. A meeting was held in September, and the model by Wm. Marshall Swayne, adopted. It is proposed to effect it by subscription, each subscriber to the amount of a dollar to receive a steel engraving of the bust. Addison May, Esq., Westchester, Penn., is the treasurer of the fund.

WM. L. STONE is preparing the "Life of Sir William Johnson," commenced by his father, the author of the Lives of Brant and Red Jacket. From the extensive collection of manuscripts which he made, the work cannot fail to be an important addition to the histories of the Colonial period.

STRICKLAND, of Milwaukee, publishes "The Chronicles of Milwaukee; a narrative, biographical and descriptive history of the town, its founders, first settlers," &c.

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Esq., has been for some time paying especial attention to the life of Rev. Thomas Hooker, and within a year and a half has discovered and deciphered three exceedingly interesting manuscripts.

The first is the notes of Mr. Hooker's first and second Election Sermons, preached in 1638 and '39. The second, his long letter to Gov. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, in defence of Connecticut against the unjust imputations of his correspondent, is published in the first volume of the Connecticut Historical Society's collections, and the most valuable contribution to the early history of the colony that has been made for many years.

The third is Mr. Hooker's Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at Hartford, Oct. 4, 1638. The Hartford Press gives an extract from the transcript of the original, made at the time, by Matthew Grant, of Windsor. The text was 1 Sam. vii. 12.

MESSRS. WELLES & GILLETTE announce a kind of private Registry of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, to be called "The Doomsday Book of the State of New York," and designed to contain a complete record of the family registers of all the residents of this State; the volumes containing these records to remain permanently on deposit in the library of the New York Historical Society.

MR. JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, is about to publish, in the style of his "Library of Old Authors," a reprint of "Phillip Freneau's Poetical Works," from the Philadelphia edition of 1786, with a biographical introduction, to be printed by Whittingham.

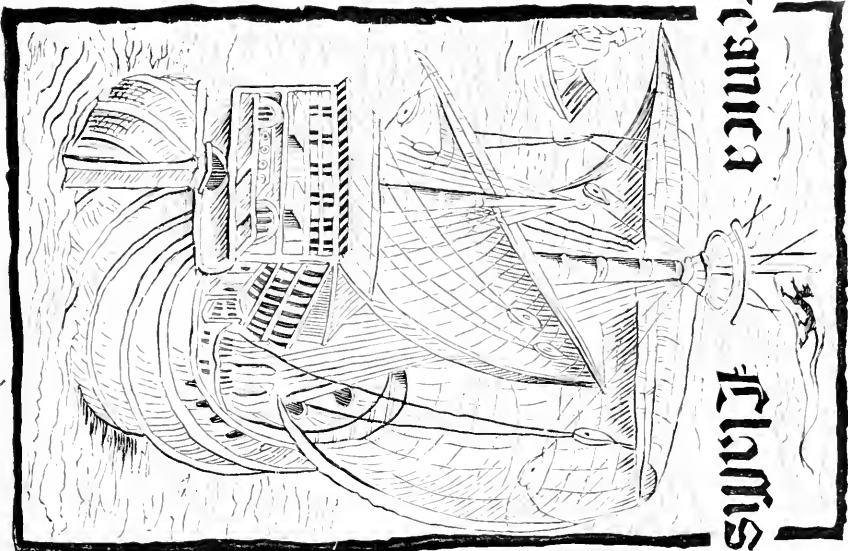
THE Imperial Library of Paris has just been enriched by the presentation of a collection of American coins numbering 380 pieces: 5 gold, 86 silver, and the rest copper. The present was made by Mr. Vattenare.

THE Messrs. Brockhaus of Leipsic have just brought out the catalogue of "Books on America." The collection comprises only 435 articles, but is particularly rich in early tracts and pamphlets relative to the history of the New Netherlands, including the *Breeden Raedt* of 1649, the *Kort Verhael van Nieuw-Nederlandts*, 1662, Wassemaer's Historical Collections, and many other similar rarities. A pamphlet, hitherto unknown, relating to the Delaware, is priced at 100 thalers.



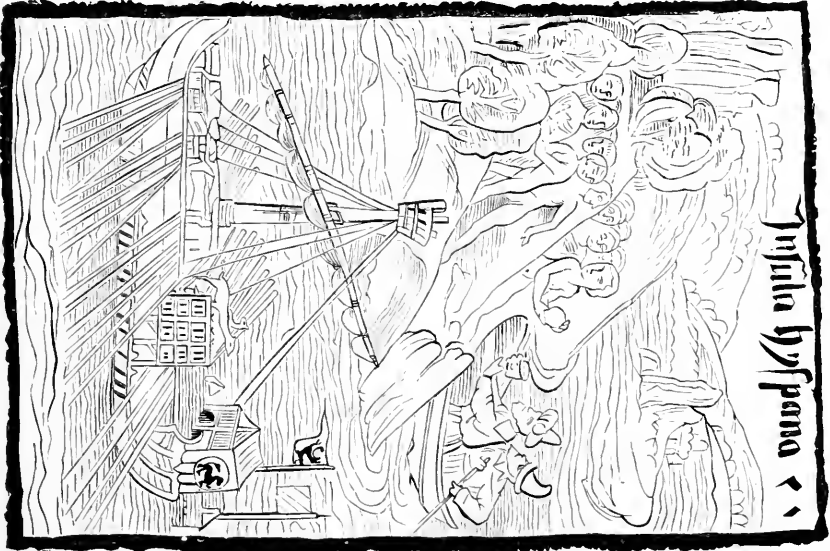
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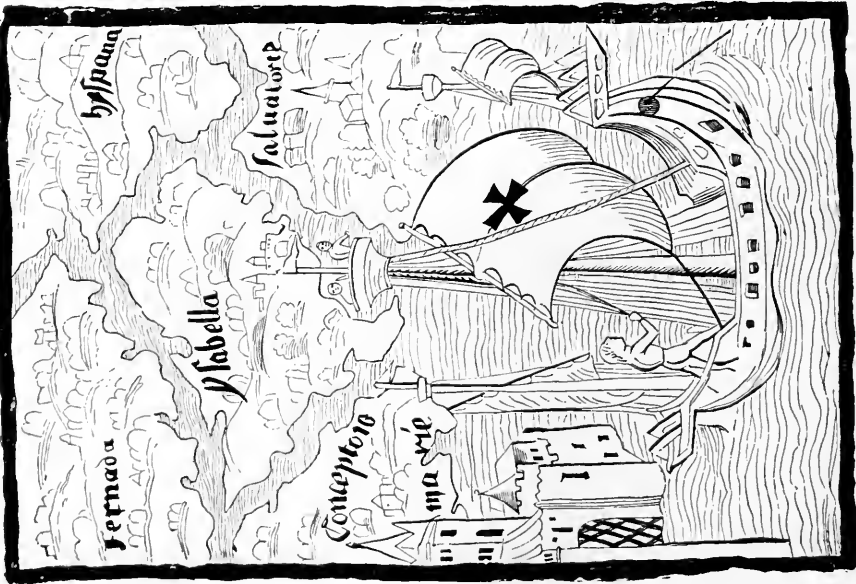
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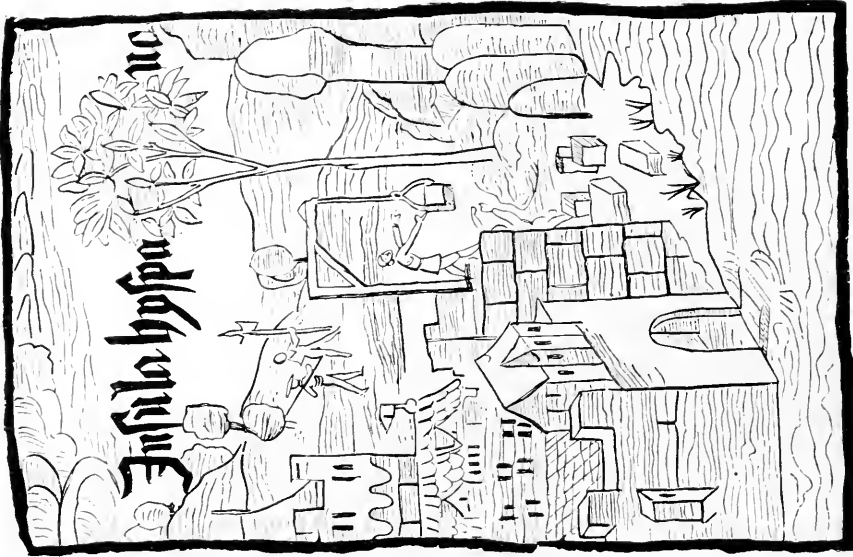


II

III



IV



THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. V.]

FEBRUARY, 1861.

[No. 2.

General Department.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE  
VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

THE interest which attaches to the voyages of Columbus, can never diminish, and we feel great pleasure in inserting, by the kind permission of Mr. James Lenox, the following bibliographical account of the first editions of the four voyages of the Discoverer of America, taken from his privately-printed work on the second voyage, "*Nicolaus Syllacius de Insulis Nuper Inventis.*"

These works are of the greatest rarity, few have ever seen any of them, still fewer can ever hope to possess them. Yet they are the cornerstones of an American collection, and in making them generally known, we feel that we are essentially carrying out the object of the *Historical Magazine*:

The contemporaneous accounts of the voyages of Columbus, are very rare. In some instances only a single copy of an edition is at present known; and in others the narrations existed exclusively in manuscript until the present century. Mr. Brunet, in his "*Manuel du Libraire,*" and Mr. Major, in the introduction to the "*Select Letters of Columbus*" printed for the Hakluyt Society, have given lists of the editions then known. But these publications necessarily exclude such a full bibliographical notice of the volumes as may be desired by persons who are unable to examine the original editions for themselves. The history and contents of the documents published by Mr. Major, are detailed by him in a minute and very satisfactory manner; but in his work, and in the "*Manuel,*" there are some omissions and a few errors in the collations; arising probably from the carelessness of the printer. It is almost impossible to describe in words the slight variations by which one edition is distinguished from another. An attempt will be made in this paper to overcome these difficulties by the introduction of *fac-simile* copies of

the titles, colophons, and woodcuts of the different volumes.

*First Voyage.*

A. The only perfect copy of this edition now in my possession, was formerly in the library of M. Libri. It is described by M. Brunet (*Manuel*, vol. i., p. 734, 2d column), but with some typographical mistakes. He calls it "very rare, and certainly one of the oldest editions known of the first letter of this celebrated navigator."

It is a small 8vo, without place, date, or printer's name; in black-letter type; and consists of ten leaves, without signatures, catchwords, or pagination, except as mentioned below. A full page contains twenty-seven lines. There are eight woodcuts, one of which is a repetition.

On the recto of the first leaf is a woodcut representing the arms of "Castile and Leon;" on the verso of the same leaf, is a woodcut of a ship, with the words "Oceania Classis." (I.)

On the recto of the second leaf is the title, commencing, "De insulis inuentis," and below, eleven lines:

"De Insulis inuentis | Epistola Cristoferi Colom  
(cui etas nostra | multū debet: de Insulis in mari  
Indico nup | inuētis. Ad quas perquirendas octa-  
uavo antea | mense: auspiciis et ere Inuictissimi  
Fernandi | Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat) ad  
Mag | nificum dñm Raphalem Sanxis: eiusdē sere  
| nissimi Regis Thesaurariū missa. quam nobi  
| lis ac liberat" vir Aliander d Cosco: ab His  
| pano ydeomate in latinū conuertit: tercio kls  
| Maij. M.cccc.xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri | Sexti  
Anno Primo."

The title contains the name of Ferdinand only. Each line has been underruled with red ink. Below the title are thirteen lines of text, the initial Q is very small, and is inserted with a pen. At the bottom of the page on the right side is the letter or number j. On the verso of this leaf is a woodcut, with the title, "Insula hyspana." (See *fac-simile*, No. II.)

On the recto of the third leaf are twenty-six lines of text, and at the bottom, on the right, the number ij. On the verso is a woodcut representing several islands. A copy is given in (III.)

Signor Bossi supposes that all the cuts in this

little volume were designed by Columbus, and were attached to the original letter in Spanish. He founds his conjecture specially upon this map, which he thinks was drawn by Columbus himself, or by some geographer belonging to the expedition. See page 174, "Vita di Colombo."

On the recto of the fourth leaf are twenty-seven lines of text, and at the bottom on the right side, the letters *ijj*. There are twenty-seven lines of text on the verso. On the recto of the fifth leaf the woodcut (L) is repeated, and on the verso there are twenty-seven lines of text.

On the recto of the sixth leaf are twenty-seven, and on the verso twenty-six lines of text. On the recto of the seventh leaf are twenty-seven lines of text, and on the verso the woodcut (IV.), with the title "Insula hispania," representing the building of a town.

On the recto and verso of the eighth leaf, and on the recto of the ninth, are twenty-seven lines of text. On the verso of the ninth leaf are twenty-one lines of text, including the subscription, "Cristoforus Colom Oceane Classis Prefectus," and an epigram of eight lines by the Bishop de Corbaria. This epigram is found in almost all the editions, and will be copied hereafter.

The subscription and epigram are ruled with red lines.

On the recto of the tenth leaf is a woodcut of King Ferdinand, with the title, "Ferdinand' rex hispania;" the king bears two shields, one with the arms of Castile and Leon, the other those of Granada. On the verso of the same leaf is a woodcut comprising the word *Granata*, and the arms of that city.

Besides this copy there are two others known. One is in the Imperial Library at Milan, and is described by Bossi, in the "Vita di Cristoforo Colombo, Milano, 1818," at pages 167 to 174. The other is in the Grenville Library, in the British Museum. Both want the tenth leaf. Whoever compares Bossi's minute description with the preceding collation, will be convinced that the volumes are of the same edition. A very careful examination of the Grenville copy, leads to a similar conclusion in regard to it. Hain, No. 5491 of his "Repertorium," describes an imperfect copy of this edition, which probably wanted the first and last leaves.\*

M. Brunet seems to infer that this book was printed at Granada. If this be so, it was no doubt translated at once from the Spanish original, hitherto undiscovered, and is consequently the earliest Latin edition. Signor Bossi, however, conjectures that it was printed at Rome. "The Span-

\* A very well executed *fac simile* of apparently this imperfect copy, has been issued in Paris, the gentleman being doubtless unaware of the fact that the copy lacked the first and last leaf.—*Ed. H. M.*

ish Court," he says, "would dispatch the official account immediately to that city, because, according to the usage of the age, it would seek from the Pope the investiture of the newly discovered Indies at the earliest day." It must not be forgotten, however, that the copy which Bossi had before him was without the last leaf, containing the arms of Granada.\* The volume probably appeared in the latter part of the year 1493.

B. This edition is supposed, from the type, to have been printed at Rome, by Stephen Planck, in 1493. It is a black-letter quarto, without place, date, or printer's name. There are four leaves, and a full page contains thirty-four lines. The name of Ferdinand alone appears in the title. This title is in eight lines:

"Epistola Christoferi Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de | Insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perqui | rendas octavo antea mense auspiciis et ere inuictissimi Fernan | di Hispaniarum Regis missis fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Ra | phaelem Sanxis: ejusdem serenissimi Regis Tesaurariū missa: | quam nobilis ac literatus vir Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano | ideomate in latinum convertit: tertio Kal's Maij M.cccc.xciij. | Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo."

There are copies in the Grenville Library; in the Royal Library, Munich; and in that of Colonel Aspinwall, of Boston.

C. Another edition in quarto, in black-letter type, without place, date, or printer's name, is thought for the reason given above, to have also been printed by Planck; but subsequently to B. There are four leaves, and a full page contains thirty-three lines; the epigram alone is on the verso of the fourth leaf. The title contains the names of Ferdinand and Isabella; it is in eight lines, but different from the title of B in the composition of the words, &c.:

"Epistola Christoferi Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de | Insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuētes. Ad quas perqren | das octavo antea mense auspiciis et ere inuictissimō Fernadi et helisabet Hispania Regnū missus fuerat: ad magnificum dñm | Gabrielem Sanchez eorundē se-

\* It is certain, from the Supplementum Cronieorum of the Augustinian, F. James Philip, of Bergamo, Venice, 1503, p. 443, 1, that envoys of the Spanish Court communicated the discovery to the Pope. "Ut et oratores qui superiori anno ad pontificem Alexandrum pro prestanda ex more pontifici obedientia, sua in oratione contestati sunt." "Hoc quidem ipse imperator se vidisse et perstrasse, ac possessionem pro suis regibus accepisse, quodam sua epistola contestatus est. Atque oratores regii pontifici Alexandro affirmarunt ita esse." The mention of Alexander, on the title, might be explained, by supposing that it was printed by the Spanish court to send to Rome on this occasion. All subsequent editions, however, retain it.—*Ed. H. M.*

reissimo Regum Tesaurariū | missa: quā nobilis ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab Hispa | no idiomate in latinum cōuertit tertio Kalis Maii. M. cccc. xciii | Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.”

There are copies in the Grenville Library; in the Royal Library, Munich; in that of Mr. J. Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island; and in my own.

D. Another edition in 4to, and in black-letter type, was printed at Rome in 1493, by Eucharius Argenteus, or Silber. There are three printed leaves, and a full page contains forty lines. My copy has a fourth leaf blank, completing the signature. The title has the name of both Ferdinand and Isabella. It is in eight lines, but differs from those of B and C:

“Epistola Christofori Colom: cui etas nostra multum debet: de | Insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuētis. Ad quas perquiren | das octavo antea mense aspiciis et ere inuētissimorum Fernandū | ac Helisabet Hispania Regum missus fuerat: ad magnificū dñm | Gabrielem Sanches: eorundem serenissimorum Regum Tesaurariū missa: Quā generosus ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab | Hispano idiomate in latinū cōuertit: tertio Kalen Maij. M. cccc. | xciiij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo.”

There are copies in the Grenville Library; in that of Mr. J. Carter Brown; and in mine. At the bottom of the sixth page is this colophon: Impressit Rome Eucharius Argenteus Anno dñi. M. cccc. xciiij.

E. Another Latin edition in small 4to, black-letter, was printed in Paris, by Guid. Mercator, probably in 1493. It is without date or printer's name. There are four leaves, including the title to the book, and there are thirty-nine lines in a full page. The recto of the first leaf contains this title only:

“¶ Epistola de insulis de  
novo repertis. Impressa  
parisiis in capo gaillardii.”

The verso contains the epigram and a woodcut representing an angel appearing to the Shepherds.

“Epigramma R. L. de Corbaria | Episcopi Montispalusi ad | inuētissimū Regem Hispaniarū.

“Jam nulla Hispanis tellus addenda triumphis  
Atqz parum tantis viribus orbis erat  
Nunc longe cois regio depressa sub undis  
Anctura est titulos Beticę magne tuos  
Unde repertori merito referenda Colombo  
Gratia sed summo est maior habenda deo  
Qui vincenda parat noua regna tibiqz sibiqz  
Teqz simul fortem præstat et esse piū.”

The title to the letter succeeds in the recto of the second leaf, which is marked at the bottom aij. It is in eight lines, and contains the name of Ferdinand only:

“Epistola Christofori Co | lom: cui etas nra multo debet: | de Insulis indię supra Gangem | nuper inuentis. | Ad quas perquirendas octavo antea mense au | spiciis et ere inuētissimi Fernandū Hispaniarum Regis mis- | sus | fuerat; ad magnificū dñz Raphaelem Sauxis: eiusdē serenissi | mi Regis Tesaurariū missa: quā nobilis ac ltratus vir Aliader de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate in latinū cōuertit: tercio K'ls | Maij. M. cccc. xciiij. Pōtificatus Alexandri. vi. Anno primo.”

The eighth page closes with the usual subscription. The only copy known is in the possession of Mr. John Carter Brown, and formerly belonged to Mr. Ternaux (?).

F. Another edition in small quarto, black-letter type, was printed in Paris, by the same printer, Guiot Marchant, and probably in 1493, but it is without date. It has four leaves, including the title, and there are thirty-nine lines in a full page. The recto of the first leaf contains the title to the book, and a woodcut:

“Epistola de insulis novi | ter repertis Impressa parisiis In campo gaillardii.”

The verso and the following three leaves agree in all respects with those in E, except in the subscription at the end “Christoforus Colom Oceane classis Prefectus,” which is omitted. The only known copies are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the University Library of Göttingen. Copies of E and F have been made in *fac-simile*, very correctly and beautifully executed.

G. Another edition in large 8vo, and in Roman type, was printed in Basle by Bergman de Olpe, in 1494. It forms a sequel to “Verardus in laudem Ferdinandi Regis” and is comprised in the last seven and a half leaves of the volume. This portion, relating to Columbus, commences on the verso of signature dd of that work, with a title in two lines, printed in large black-letter characters: “De Insulis nuper in | mari Indico repertis,” and below is a copy of the woodcut (H.). There are twenty-eight lines in a full page. On the recto of the next leaf (dd<sup>vi</sup>) is the title to the letter. The first line “De Insulis nuper inuentis” is in large black-letter, and underneath there are ten lines in Roman type. The name of Isabella is omitted:

“De Insulis nuper inuentis | Epistola Christofori Colom (cui etas nostra multum debet: de insulis in mari Indico nuper inuen | tis: ad quas perquirendas octavo antea mense: au | spiciis & ere inuētissimi Fernandū Hispaniarū Re | gis missus fuerat) ad Magnificā dominū Raphae | lem Sauxis: eiusdem serenissimū Regis Tesaurari | um missa: ab Hispano ideomate: in latinum cō | uertit: tercio Kalendas Maii. M. cccc. xciiij. Pontifi | catus Alexandri Sexti anno primo.”

It will be observed that the black-letter characters in the first line resemble very closely those

used in A. The third and fourth woodcuts in A are inserted in the text and in the recto of the last leaf, below the epigram in the escutcheon of Castile and Leon as in A. On the verso of this leaf is the cut (I) with a woodcut scroll ornament above and below. These woodcuts are so like those in A, that they seem to have been struck from the same blocks. In a close examination, slight differences are perceptible, but merely in the shading; not more, however, than would appear, if the block had been carefully retouched in those parts. On the title-page of the book is a woodcut portrait of Ferdinand, very different from that in A. In a note in the Grenville Catalogue, it is suggested that A may have been printed by de Olpe. This opinion was probably founded on the similarity of the black-letter characters used in the titles, and also from the resemblance of the woodcuts. The variation in the portraits was not known, because the Grenville copy of A had no portrait. Besides this difference, the word *nuper* has been introduced into the titles on the first and second pages of this edition. There are copies of G in the Grenville Library; in those of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., and of Mr. J. Carter Brown; in my own, and probably in many others. It is much less rare than those previously described.

"No sooner did this letter make its appearance in print, in the year 1493, than the narrative which it contained was put forth in Italian *ottava rima*, by Giuliano Dati, one of the most popular poets of the day; and there is reason to believe that it was sung about the streets, to announce to the Italians the astounding news of the discovery of a new world" (See Major's Introduction, p. vi.) Two editions or issues of this curious poem exist, the only known copies of which are now in the library of the British Museum. One is dated the 25th, the other the 26th of October, 1493. The earlier of the two is imperfect, the second is complete. Slight variations occur in the text.

I. The first edition is in 4to and in black-letter; two columns in a page, and was printed in Florence, on the 25th October, 1493. It consists of four leaves, of which only the first and fourth remain. This copy belonged to the Marquis Costabili, of Ferrara (whose library was sold in Paris, in February and March, 1858), and was then purchased by the British Museum for thirty-six francs. The title at the head of the poem is in seven lines:

"Questa e la hystoria della inventioe delle diese Isole di Cannaria In | dianc extracte duna Epistola di Christofano Colombo & per messer Giu | liano Dati traducta de latino in versi vulgari a laude e gloria della cele | stiale corte & a consolatione della christiana religioe & a preghiera

del ma | guificio Cavalier miser Giouanfilippo Delignamine domestico familia | re dello sacratissimo Re di spagna Christianissimo a di xxv. doctobre. | Meccelxxxxiiij."

Underneath and on the verso, are the first sixteen octaves; the two missing leaves contained thirty-six stanzas and there are fifteen on the seventh and eighth pages, making together sixty-seven octaves. At the end is the following subscription, "Finis | Joannes dictus Florentinus."

I. The second issue of this rare and curious poem is also in 4to. It is in *Roman* type, and bears date the 26th of October, 1493. This edition was likewise printed at Florence. It consists of four leaves, including a title-page, and contains sixty-eight octaves, two columns on a page. It was purchased by the British Museum, at the Libri sale in Paris, for seventeen hundred francs.

M. Brunet has described this copy, which was bound in a collection of Italian pamphlets in verse, under the title "Lettera," page 111, volume iii. of the Manual; but by an error of the press, the date is there printed 1495. Mr. Major has reprinted the whole poem, in the appendix to his volume. I have an exact *fac-simile* of this little book in vellum, and of the first issue on paper.

The title-page is a woodcut of the king seated by a shore, and near an opposite coast three vessels, with a group of natives on the shore. Above are the words "La lettera delisole che ha trouato monouamente il Re dispagna."

The poem commences on the verso, and there are ten stanzas on each page, except the last, which contains only eight. The last stanza is not found in the other edition. The language of the two versions differs slightly in many places throughout, but sufficiently to indicate a revision of the work.

The first octave of each is given as an example of these variations:

#### *First Issue.*

"L' oipontente idio ch' tutto regge  
mi presta gra chi possa cantare  
allaude sua, e di sua sancta legge  
cosa che piazza achi stara ascoltare  
maxime al popol suo & a sua sancta gregge  
elqual non cessa mai magnificare  
come al presente a facto nela spagna  
delle isole trouate cosa magna."

#### *Second Issue.*

"Omnipotete idio ch tucto regge—  
donami gratia elio possa cattare  
allaude tua & di tua sancta legge  
cosa che piaccia achi stara ascoltare  
maxim al popol tuo, & alla tua grege  
el qual no resta mai magnificare

come al psente ha facto nella spagna  
delle isole trouate cosa magna."

K. An edition of the first letter in German was printed at Strasburg, in 1497, by Bartolomesz Küstler. It is a small 4to, in black-letter, and comprises eight leaves; of which, in my copy, the last is blank, completing the second signature; there are thirty lines in a full page. The recto of the first leaf contains this title and a woodcut:

"Eyn schön hübsch lesen von etlichen insseln die do in kurtzen zyten funden synd durch de kunig von hispania, vnd sagt vō grossen vun derelichen dingen die in dēselbē insslen synd."

The verso of this first leaf is blank. The text begins on the recto of the second leaf, sig. a ij, and ends on the recto of the seventh leaf with the colophon:

"Getruect zū Strassburg vff grunecck vō meister Bartolomesz | Kustler ym iar M.cccc.xevii. vff sant Jeronymus tag."

On the verso of the seventh leaf, the woodcut of the title-page is repeated. There are copies in the Grenville Library, in that of Mr. J. Carter Brown, and in mine. The last was purchased at the Libri sale in Paris.

L. Another German edition, without place, date, or printer's name, containing an abridged account of the voyages of Columbus, and of the conquest of Mexico down to the year 1522, was printed, it is supposed, at Augsburg, by Sigmund Grimm, about 1522. It is a small 4to, consisting of eight leaves, thirty-five lines in a full page, and in black-letter type. The recto of the first leaf contains this title, "Ein schöne | newe zeytung so Kayserlich | Mayestat ausz India yecz | nemlich zukommen seind. | Gar hüpsch vō den Newen | ynsehn ynd von yrem sytten | gar kurtz wey lig zūlesen," within an ornamented woodcut border.

The text begins on the verso, and ends on the recto of B iij, with a woodcut of a pineapple, the arms of the city of Augsburg.

The verso of this leaf is blank. My copy formerly belonged to Dr. Kloss, of Frankfort, and was purchased at Payne & Foss' sale in London, June, 1850. Mr. J. Carter Brown, also, has a copy; but there is none in the Grenville Library.

M. The Latin version of the first letter of Columbus, is contained in a folio volume printed at Basle, in 1533, by Henry Peter, under the title: "Bellum Christianorum principum, precipue Gallorum contra Saracenos anno salutis, 1088, pro terra Sancta gestum, auctore Roberto Monaco," &c. Copies are in the libraries of the British Museum, of Mr. Brown, in my own, and probably in many others. The volume is not of remarkable rarity.

### *Second Voyage.*

There are but two cotemporaneous accounts of this voyage. The first is the letter of Dr. Chanca, unprinted previously to Navarette's compilation, as has been observed in the introduction. A translation is given by Mr. Major. The document in Spanish was transcribed from a manuscript in the possession of the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid.

N. The second is the letter of Scillacio [reprinted by Mr. Lenox]. It is a 4to, in a very clear black-letter type, without place, date, or name of printer; without catchwords, signature, or pagination, except that the third, fourth, and fifth leaves have the numerals 3, 4, 5, at the bottom of the recto of these leaves respectively, at the right hand. There are generally thirty-four lines in a page, but the recto of the second leaf has thirty-five lines.

The book commences with a dedication to Lodovico Storza, which fills the first and nearly the half of the second page. The first four lines are printed in red ink, and the initial letter is a small capital also printed in red. The text begins on the recto of the second leaf; the title in one line, and the initial letter, a *e*, of the ordinary size, in red.

The title is "De insulis meridiani atque Indici maris nuper inuentis." The text fills eight leaves, the second to the ninth inclusive, and about half the recto of the tenth leaf. On the verso of the tenth leaf is the letter addressed to Alphonso Cavallaria; the superscription comprehending three lines, being printed in red. It ends thus: "Vale ex Papiā Idibus Decembribus Mcccclxxxiii."

[It was first published in 1494, or early in 1495, but has become so rare that few persons have ever heard of it, and only two copies are at present known to exist. One of these, not in good condition, is in the library of the Marquis Trivulzio, of Milan; the other, which is in fine order, belonged to Mr. Olivieri, of Parma, and was purchased with his books by the Marquis Rocca Saporiti, from whom it passed into the possession of the writer. Panzer is the only bibliographer who mentions it, and he appears to have taken his notice of the volume from a catalogue.]

### *Third Voyage.*

The events of Columbus' third voyage, are described in two letters, written by himself. The first addressed to the king and queen, is in manuscript, in the archives of the Duke de Infantado. It is in the handwriting of Bishop Bartholomew de las Casas. The second, addressed to the nurse of Prince John, is also in manuscript, among a

collection of documents belonging to the Royal Academy of History, at Madrid. Both are printed in the collection of Navarrete, and also in the work of Mr. Major, accompanied by translations in English.

*Fourth Voyage.*

The letter of Columbus, containing an account of his fourth voyage, was taken by Navarrete from a manuscript in the king's private library at Madrid. This MS. is supposed to have been copied from a quarto volume in Spanish, no longer in existence. Pinelo and Fernando Columbus both assert that it was printed in that language. It was translated into Italian by Costanzo Baynera, of Brescia, and published at Venice, in 1505. This Italian edition is extremely rare. The Cavaliere Morelli, librarian of St. Mark's, Venice, reprinted it with comments at Bassano, in 1810.

O. It is a small 4to in black-letter, comprised of eight leaves, the last of which is blank. On the recto of the first leaf is this title, "Copia de la Lettere per Colombo mandata a li Serenissimi Re et Regina di Spagna de le insule et luoghi per lui trouate." On the verso is the dedication with this superscription:

"Constantio Baynera Bressane  
Al Magnifico et Clarissimo Francesco  
Bragadeno Podesta di Bressa S."

The letter follows with this title: "Copia della Lettera che scrisse Don Cristoforo Colombo Vice Re di Spagna e Admirante delle Isole Indie alli Cristianissimi e potenti Re e Regina de Spagna nostri Signori nella qual gli manifesta quanto li sia accaduto nel suo viaggio, e le terre provincie città fiumi e altre cose degne di ammirazione, e ancora le terre dove si trovano le minere di oro in grande quantità, e altre cose di grande valore e ricchezza." The text closes with the date, &c., "Data nelle Indie nella isola di Ianaica a 7 di Iulio del 1503." The colophon follows thus: "Stampata in Venetia (a nome de Constantio Baynera cittadino di Bressa), per Simone di Louere, a di 7 di Mazo, 1505 cum privilegio." A note is then added, explanatory of the title of the letter, in these words: "Aduerte lectore a non legere Colombo Vice Re di Spagna: mai legerai solum Vice Re de le insule Indie."

[The preceding article in the original work of Mr. Lenox, is illustrated with a *fac-simile* of every title and cut, and of some parts of the text. We have been compelled to resort to mere copies of the titles, expressed as well as possible in our modern type and to descriptions of the cuts. Of four of the illustrations of the earliest edition we present, however, *fac-similes* made from those in Rossi's work, by J. J. Smith, Esq., for his "Historical and Literary Curiosities." The description of the other cuts are, of course, our own, and not by Mr. Lenox.]

DISCOVERY OF THE HOME OF WASHINGTON'S ANCESTORS.

WE take pleasure in printing the following interesting letter from Mr. Sumner to Mr. Sparks, describing the "memorial stones" of the Washington family, received from the Earl of Spencer. The letter describes the parish church of Brington, near Althorp (the home of the Spencers), and the magnificent park at Althorp; and exhibits the association between the Spencer family and the Washington.

Boston, Nov. 22, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR: Since our last conversation the Earl of Spencer has kindly sent to me precise copies of the two "Memorial Stones" of the English family of George Washington, which I have already described to you as harmonizing exactly with the pedigree which has the sanction of your authority. These are of the same stone and of the same size with the originals and have the original inscriptions—being in all respects *fac-similes*. They will, therefore, give you an exact idea of these interesting memorials in the parish church of Brington, near Althorp, in Northamptonshire.

The largest is of Lawrence Washington, the father of John Washington, who emigrated to America. It is a slab of bluish gray sandstone, and measures five feet and two inches long, and two feet and seven inches broad.

Here is the inscription:

HERE LIETH THE BODI OF LAVRENCE  
WASHINGTON SONNE AND HEIRE OF  
ROBERT WASHINGTON OF SOVLGRAVE  
IN THE COUNTIE OF NORTHAMPTON  
ESQUIER WHO MARRIED MARGARET  
THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF WILLIAM  
BUTLER OF TEES IN THE COUNTIE  
OF SUSSEXE ESQUIER, WHO HAD ISSU  
BY HER 8 SONNS AND 9 DAUGHTERS  
WHICH LAVRENCE DECESSED THE 13  
OF DECEMBER A. DNI 1616

THOSE THAT BY CHANCE OR CHOYCE  
OF THIS HAST SIGHT  
KNOW LIFE TO DEATH RESIGNES,  
AS DAYE TO NIGHT;  
BUT AS THE SONNES RETORNE  
SO CHRIST SHALL US  
REVIVES THE DAY.  
THOUGH TURNDE TO DUST & CLAY.

Above the inscription carved in the stone, are the arms of the Washingtons with an additional quartering of another family.

The other is of Elizabeth Washington, daughter of Lawrence Washington, and sister of the emigrant. This is a slab of the same sandstone, and



measures three feet and five inches long, and two feet and six inches broad. The inscription is on a small brass plate set into the stone, and is as follows :

HERE LIES INTERRED Y<sup>E</sup> BODIES OF ELIZAB. WASHINGTON WIDDOWE WHO CHANGED THIS LIFE FOR IMMORTALITIE Y<sup>E</sup> 19<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1622. AS ALSO Y<sup>E</sup> BODY OF ROBERT WASHINGTON GENT. HER LATE HUSBAND SECOND SONNE OF ROBERT WASHINGTON OF SOLGRAVE IN Y<sup>E</sup> COUNTY OF NORTH. ESQ<sup>R</sup>. WHO DEPTED THIS LIFE Y<sup>E</sup> 10<sup>TH</sup> OF MARCH 1622. AFTER THEY LIVED LOVINGLY TOGETHER MANY YEARS IN THIS PARISH.

On a separate brass, beneath the inscription, are the arms of the Washingtons without any addition. These, as you are well aware, have the combination of the stars and stripes, and are sometimes supposed to have suggested our national flag. In heraldic language, there are bars of gules and argent with three mallets or stars.

In the interesting chapter on the Origin and Genealogy of the Washington Family, which you give in your Appendix to the "Life of Washington," it appears that Lawrence, the father of the emigrant, died 13th Dec., and was buried at Brington, 15th Dec., 1616. But the genealogical tables, which you followed, gave no indication of the locality of this church. Had it appeared that it was the parish church of the Spenceer Family in Northamptonshire, the locality, which I believe has not been heretofore known in our country, would have been precisely fixed.

In point of fact, the slab which covers Lawrence Washington is in the chancel of the church, by the side of the monuments of the Spenceer Family. These are all in admirable preservation, with full-length effigies, busts, or other sculptural work, and exhibit an interesting and connected series of sepulchral memorials from the reign of Henry VIII. to the present time. Among them is a monument by the early English sculptor, Nicholas Stone; another by Nollekens from a design by Cipriani, and another by Flaxman, with exquisitely beautiful personifications of Faith and Charity. Beneath, repose the successive representatives of this illustrious family, which has added to its aristocratic claims by services to the State, and also by the unique and world-famous library collected by one of its members. In this companionship will be found the last English ancestor of our Washington.

The other slab, covering Elizabeth, the sister of the emigrant, is in one of the aisles of the nave, where it is scraped by the feet of all who pass.

The parish of Brington is between seven and eight miles from the town of Northampton, not far from the centre of England. It is written in Domesday Book "Brinntone," and also "Brintone." It contains about 2210 acres, of which about 1400 acres belong to Earl Spencer, about 326 acres to the rector in right of the church, and about 130 acres to other persons. The soil is in general a dark-colored loam, with a small trace of clay towards the north. Nearly four-fifths of the whole is pasture and feeding land.

In the village still stands the house, said to have been occupied by the Washingtons when the emigrant brother left them. You will see a vignette of it on the title-page of the recent English work, entitled "The Washingtons." Over the door is carved the words, "The Lord giveth; the Lord taketh away. Blessed be the name of the Lord;" while the Parish Register gives a pathetic commentary by showing that, in the very year when this house was built, a child had been born and another had died in this family.

The church, originally dedicated to the Virgin, still stands at the northeast angle of the village, and consists of an embattled tower with five bells, a nave, north and south aisles, a chancel, a chapel, and a modern porch. The tower is flanked by buttresses of two stages. The present fabric goes back in its origin to the beginning of the 14th century, nearly two hundred years before the discovery of America. The chancel and chapel, where repose the Spenceers and Lawrence Washington, were rebuilt by Sir John Spencer, the purchaser of the estate, at the beginning of the 16th century. They afford one of the latest specimens of the Tudor style of architecture. The church is beautifully situated on the summit of the highest ground of Brington, and is surrounded by a stone wall flanked on the inside by trees. Dibdin says that a more complete picture of a country churchyard is rarely seen. A well-trimmed walk encircles the whole of the interior, while the fine Gothic windows at the end of the chancel fill the scene with picturesque beauty.

The register of the parish, which is still preserved, commences in 1560. From this it appears that Wm. Proctor was the rector from 1601 to 1627, covering the period of the last of the Washingtons there. The following further entries occur relating to this family :

1616. "Mr. Lawrence Washington was buried XVth day of December."

1620. "Mr. Philip Curtis & Mis Amy Washington were married August 8."

1622. "Mr. Robert Washington was buried March ye 11th."

— "Mrs. Elizabeth Washington, widow, was buried March ye 20th."

Of one of the ministers in this church, we have an interesting glimpse in "Evelyn's Memoirs" (vol. i., p. 612), where the following entry will be found under date of July, 1688: "Dr. Jeffryes, the minister of Althorp, who was my lord's chaplain when ambassador in France, *preached the shortest discourse I ever heard*; but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, he had supplied in the largeness and convenience of the parsonage-house."

At a short distance—less than a mile—is Althorp, the seat of the Spencers, surrounded by a park of five hundred acres, one of whose gates opens near the church. There are oak-trees bordering on the churchyard, which were growing at the time of the purchase of the estate in the reign of Henry VII. Evelyn was often here a delighted visitor. On one occasion he speaks of "the house or rather palace at Althorp" (vol. i., p. 612). In another place he describes it as "placed in a pretty open bottom, very finely flanked with stately woods and groves in a park" (vol. i., p. 451). Let me add that there is an engraving of Althorp at this time, by the younger Vosterman, a Dutch artist.

There is one feature of the park which excited the admiration of Evelyn, and at a later day of Mrs. Jameson, who gives to it some beautiful pages in her "Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad." It is the record of the time when different plantations of trees were begun. While recommending this practice in his "Sylva," Evelyn remarks, "the only instance I know of the like in our country is in the park at Althorp." There are six of these commemorative stones. The first records a wood planted by Sir John Spencer, in 1567 and 1568; the second a wood planted by Sir John Spencer, son of the former, in 1589; the third, a wood planted by Robert Lord Spencer, in 1602 and 1603; the fourth, a wood planted by Sir William Spencer, Knight of the Bath, afterwards Lord Spencer, in 1624. The latter stone is ornamented with the arms of the Spencers, and on the back is inscribed "Up and bee doing and God will prosper." It was in this scenery and amidst these associations that the Washingtons lived. When the emigrant left in 1657, these woods must have been well grown. It was not long afterwards that they arrested the attention of Evelyn.

The Household Books of Althorp show that for many years the Washingtons were frequent guests there. The hospitality of this seat has been renowned. The queen of James I. and the Prince Henry, on their way to London, in 1603, were welcomed there in an entertainment, memorable for a masque from the vigorous muse of Ben Jonson (Ben Jonson's Works, vol. vi., p. 475). Charles I. was at Althorp, in 1647, when

he received the first intelligence of those pursuers from whom he never escaped until his life had been laid down upon the scaffold. In 1698, King William was there for a week, and according to Evelyn was "mightily entertained" (vol. ii., p. 50). At least one of the members of the family were famous for hospitality of a different character. Evelyn records that he used to dine with the Countess of Sunderland,—the title then borne by the Spencers,—"when she invited *fire-eaters*, stone-eaters, and opera-singers, after the fashion of the day" (vol. i. pp. 498, 483, 579).

The family was early and constantly associated with literature. Spencer, the poet, belonged to it; and to one of its members he has dedicated his "Tears of the Muses." It was for Alice Spencer that Milton is said to have written his "Arcades," and Sir John Harrington has celebrated her memory by an epigram. The Sacharissa of Waller was the Lady Dorothy Sydney, wife of the first Earl of Sunderland, the third Lord Spencer, who perished fighting for King Charles I. at Newbury. I do not dwell on other associations of a later day, as my object is simply to allude to those which existed in the time of the Washingtons.

"The nobility of the Spencers has been illustrated and enriched by the trophies of Marlborough; but I exhort them to consider the Fairy Queen as the most precious jewel of their coronet." Thus wrote Gibbon in one of his memoirs, and all must feel the beauty of the passage. Perhaps it is not much to say that this nobility claim another illustration from its ties of friendship and neighborhood with the family of Washington. I cannot doubt that hereafter the parish church of Brington will be often visited by our countrymen, who will look with reverence upon a spot so closely associated with American history.

I trust that this little sketch, suggested by what I saw at Althorp, during a brief visit last autumn, will not seem irrelevant. Besides my own personal impressions, and the volumes quoted, I have relied upon Dibdin's "Ædes Althorpianae," so interesting to all bibliographical students, and especially upon Baker's "History of Northamptonshire,"—one of those magnificent local works which illustrate English history,—to which you refer in your "Appendix," but which was not completed till some time after the "Life of Washington" appeared.

Of course, the Memorial Stones, which I have received from Lord Spencer, are of much historic value, and I think that I shall best carry out the generous idea of the giver by taking care that they are permanently placed where they can be seen by the public; perhaps at the State House near Chantry's beautiful statue of Washington,—if this would be agreeable to the Commonwealth.

Pray pardon this long letter, and believe me, my dear sir, with much regard,

Ever sincerely yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

JARED SPARKS, Esq.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING EPHEMERAL PUBLICATIONS.

BY LEMUEL G. OLMSTEAD.

Posterity delights in details.—*John Quincy Adams.*

WHAT probably would a copy of the first handbill, almanac, newspaper, or theatre bill printed in New York, now bring put up at auction? Either of them would unquestionably bring more than the most expensive volume ever published in this city since, and yet there is nothing which annoys the tidy housewife more, who has a capital eye for dirt, and whose soul is disturbed by disorder, than a descent from the garret of one of grandpa's old almanacs, or the appearance of a stray number of an old Revolutionary paper, even when the intrinsic value of either, is worth more than its weight in gold. How many manuscript letters, old newspapers, pamphlets, and printers, although they may have been *dog-eared*, yet were relics and records of the heroic past, have been snatched up and hurried, as though they were evil spirits, into the fire. How many families have burned up what, if it had been sold, would have made them comfortable for life. There is a family in Connecticut, whose name I will forbear to mention, one of whose ancestors had held a high rank in the old French and Indian war, and afterwards in the army of the Revolution, who had carefully recorded in a journal, every thing which had occurred, and had preserved muster-rolls, orders of the day, handbills, newspapers, &c., to the amount of two or three barrels. These had been preserved with care by his son and transmitted to his grandson, who married a lady, who like many others of our fair countrywomen, could bear the sight of any thing better than old paper. She was greatly annoyed with the presence of these precious barrels in the attic; and from the first of her marriage, she could not and did not rest, until one day when her husband was absent she had her servants help bring them down and commit them and their contents to the flames. When her dear returned, she told him how much she had improved the garret, by burning the barrels and all the rubbish of the kind. It was news to her to learn, that the journals were the only records known from which it was expected to supply a long gap in the history of the French and Indian war, and which cannot now be sup-

plied. The papers were judged to have been worth twenty-five thousand dollars.

Pamphlets on literature and science, philosophy and philology, genealogy, history, and statistics, which have been written with research, and which contain most important investigations and the results of long observations; and manuscript letters, diaries, and reports, which contain facts, dates, and events which often can be found nowhere else, are gathered from the garrets, committed to the flames, or ground up to make newspaper. Many a pamphlet, which was published for a few cents, and would now bring as many dollars, is in this way destroyed. Men of eminent literary and scientific attainments are daily searching for books, pamphlets, and papers which are considered worthless by many of our superficial ones. Many books, which are seldom read, are wanted to verify quotations and dates. The biographer and the historian want all the ephemeral pamphlets, newspapers, manuscript diaries and letters relating to the times and persons of which he writes. Who can estimate the value of a library which should contain a copy of all the directories of towns, which have been published in our country, of the almanacs, the newspapers, the pamphlets, and the school-books, and some of the handbills and show-bills of each year! It would, in some respects, be equal in value to that of the world-renowned Vatican library. There is not in our country a more unique and valuable collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers, handbills, &c., &c., than that of Colonel Peter Force, of Washington City. It is unique, because it contains so much of an ephemeral character. It would be a much more serious matter to the country to lose it than to lose the library of Congress, because the one could be replaced, the other could not. To say nothing of directories, almanacs, newspapers, handbills, manuscript letters, diaries, &c., &c., a copy of every pamphlet which has been published in our country would be worth more than a copy of every work in book-form. Every family should preserve at least the pamphlets, the almanacs, and one good newspaper, which is the history of the time in which they live and the best one, anybody will ever see of that time. These well-selected, well-preserved, and well-read, would train a family to intelligence and saving habits; and when the parents have fulfilled their days they would be a valuable legacy to their children. To a person who has occasion to consult these ephemeral publications, nothing is more sad, than to find how wofully they are destroyed, and how much ignorant vandalism we have among us.

Mr. J. L. Libbey, librarian in Harvard College, says: "That junk-dealers in the city, and tanners in the country, collect wagon-loads of dead stock,

old books, pamphlets, and papers; among which are many of great rarity and value, and sell them for a cent or two a pound to paper-makers, to be ground over and converted into paper-hangings,

"About a year ago, I saw in Boston, three large wagons, nearly filled with huge bags, just leaving a very humble auction-room, and from a few pamphlets, which a man was stuffing into the last bag, I rescued one which for nearly eleven years I had been trying to find, to assist me in completing the volume of a valuable periodical.

"I have known a journey to be made from New York to Cambridge, in a storm in January, mainly for the purpose of consulting an old funeral sermon, of which another copy could not be found in the country. It had probably never been asked for during the generations since it came to the library; but it was now wanted in a law case involving near half a million of dollars. How many would think a funeral sermon worth sending to the library of Harvard College?

"From a remote part of Maine, journeys were repeatedly made to this vicinity, for information respecting land claims and mill privileges, and the parties found at last, by means of an old Boston directory, to which I called their attention, that for years they had probably been pursuing their inquiries on one of the most important points in the wrong direction. And yet the question is often asked, 'Of what use is an old directory?'

"A family in a neighboring city, on vacating a house, sent a valuable donation; but, from an apprehension that a thorough gleaming had not been made, a messenger was dispatched to the place, and he found in the barn, among papers which had been thrown there as worthless, several of the old, scarce Acts and Resolves of the State, other valuable documents, and a small unbound volume, of which fruitless efforts had been made to obtain a copy for the library.

"From a closet, where they had probably remained nearly a century, we recently received tolerably complete files of the *Boston News Letter*, and of the *Evening Post*, for the years 1742, 1743, 1744, which contain a large amount of important information, nowhere else to be had, respecting Whitefield and the great revival, and the circumstances connected with the publication and statements of Prince's 'Christian History.'

"In a neat butter-birkin of literary remains, sent to the library, at my special request, I found pamphlets, odd numbers of periodicals, enabling me to complete imperfect volumes, and a file of newspapers, which make a perfect copy of the first volume of the *Boston Gazette*, beginning in the year 1765, an important period in the history of the American colonies."

Col. Force also tells of some remarkable success

in completing imperfect volumes and sets of works, by looking over barrels and boxes of old papers. And every man who has had any experience in antiquarian research, can tell of similar success.

If the old almanacs, sermons, newspapers, directories, reports, old books, manuscript letters, diaries, and pamphlets of every kind, could be gathered from the garrets, closets, old chests, trunks, and barrels, there would be many things brought to light, of which there is not now known to be a copy in existence. After several years' search, I have obtained a complete set of the Annual Reports of the American Bible Society. Perhaps there are not a half dozen more complete sets in existence.

One word with regard to the manner of putting up pamphlets. It may be interesting to know, that some bind them in volumes, and have a general catalogue, as is done in the Library Company of Philadelphia. Others put them up entire in packages, according to the authors, putting on the back of the package the first three letters of their names. For example, those written by Smith, would have SM, on the back of the package. This is the method in Harvard Library, and in the Athenæum, in Boston. A third method is, to put them up by subjects, as is done by the British Museum. Each of these methods has its advantages, and by either, any thing desired, may be readily obtained. Either of these methods can be pursued in every private collection, and thus any pamphlet or paper may be readily found. Whichever method is adopted in putting up pamphlets, they should be preserved entire with the covers on, as originally issued.

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#### CHARTER OF CHARLES V. TO HERNANDO DE SOTO.

HITHERTO translations have appeared in several numbers of this periodical, published for the first time, respecting the career of one of the most brilliant captains of early Spanish adventure in America. The successful fortunes of Soto in Peru, which enabled him to attempt an independent achievement, came to be dissipated in an enterprise that at the time drew all eyes upon him,—in the conquest and colonization of Florida. This region comprised scarcely less, as indefinitely described, on the sea than the land, which extending along the Atlantic Ocean over the Gulf of Mexico, forms at this time the coast line on the east and south of the United States. The contract, "asiento," and agreement, "capitulacion," made with the emperor for that grave and cour-

ageous purpose, were printed a few years ago by Mr. Buckingham Smith, in a volume of papers, designed as the first of a series, and has not until now appeared in any form out of its original. The provisions mentioned in the last section but one, as instructions for the guidance of the Adelantado, we are informed do not appear on record with this grant, but are to be learned from the one given us in the year 1526, to Francisco Montejo for the conquest of Yucatan, and in the form of an ordinance was annexed to all charters that subsequently issued and became necessary, because, according to the royal words of the preamble, "The inordinate avarice which actuate some of our subjects who go to the India islands and the main of the ocean sea; they giving the native Indians evil usage, by great and excessive toil put upon them in getting gold, and in the fishing after pearls . . . treating them with a cruelty and unkindness much worse than if they had been slaves," published in the original, should let us into the spirit and design which actuated the king and his council of the Indies to mitigate the severities that were so severely falling on the unhappy Americans; and a careful survey of history instructs us of the benefits or effects of those measures.

#### THE KING:

Inasmuch as thou, Captain Hernando de Soto, hast made me memorial of having served in the conquest, pacification, and peopling of the provinces of Nicaragua and of Peru, and of other parts of our Indies; and that now, with a desire to serve us further, for the continuance and increase of our patrimony and royal crown, thou wouldst return to our said Indies to conquer and colonize the province of the River of Palms to Florida, the government whereof was bestowed on Panfilo de Narvaez; and the provinces and Tierra-nueva, the government and discovery whereof was conferred on the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon; and to that object thou wouldst take from these our kingdoms, and from those our said Indies, five hundred men, with the arms, horses, implements, and necessary ammunition, and wouldst go hence to make the conquest and peopling within a year first succeeding this that reckoneth from the day of the date of this agreement; and that when thou wouldst leave the island of Cuba to make that conquest, wouldst take the stores necessary for all that people during a term of eighteen months, rather more than less, the whole at thy cost and maintenance, without our being obliged, nor the king that shall come after us, to pay or satisfy thee for the expenditures therein other than such as thou mayst be authorized to make in this said agreement; and thou petitionest that on thee I should bestow

the subjugation of said lands and provinces, together with the government of said island of Cuba, that thence thou mightst better command and provide whatsoever is principal and important for that conquest and colonization; over all which I have directed should be taken with thee the contract and agreement following:

First: I license and empower thee, Captain Hernando de Soto, for us and in our name and in that of the royal crown of Castile, to conquer, and pacify, and populate the said countries that are from the said province of Rio de las Palmas to Florida, the government whereof was bestowed on the said Panfilo de Narvaez, and onward the provinces of the said Tierra-nueva, which are granted in like manner to the said Licentiate Ayllon.

Also: Understanding that the service of God our Lord will thereby be promoted, and to honor thy person, we promise to give thee title of our governor and captain general of two hundred leagues of coast which thou shalt designate in that thou mayst discover, so that within four years, to be reckoned from the time thou arrivest in any part whatsoever of the provinces and lands aforesaid, thou mayst choose and declare whence thou wouldst should begin the said two hundred leagues along this shore, for all the days of thy life, with a yearly salary of fifteen hundred ducats, and five hundred in supplement of expense, being in all two thousand ducats, whereof thou shalt enjoy from the day that thou makest sail from the port of San Lucas to go upon thy voyage, to be paid from the rents and profits arising to us in those said lands and provinces which thus thou proposetest to subdue and people, and in that time, there being no rents and profits from them, we shall not be obligated to pay aught of those sums to thee.

Also: I will confer on thee the title of our adelantado of the said two hundred leagues that thou wilt choose and declare for thy government in the said lands and provinces that thou shalt so discover and populate; and I will likewise bestow on thee the office of alguazil-mayor of those territories in perpetuity.

Also: We give thee license, with the approval and concurrence of our officers in said province, that thou mayst build as many as three fortresses of stone in the parts and places that are most proper, as shall seem to thee and our said officers necessary for the protection and pacification of said territory; and we do confer on thee the lieutenancy of them, for thee and one heir and successor to thee, whomsoever thou shalt name, with annual salary of one hundred thousand maravedies with each one of said fortresses, which sum thou shalt enjoy from the time any of them shall be made, completed, and inclosed by the

inspection of our said officers, to be built at thy cost, without ourselves, or the kings that shall come after us, being obliged to pay thee whatsoever thou mayst expend on said fortresses.

Also: Inasmuch as thou hast petitioned us to confer on thee some portion of the lands and vassals in said province, which thus thou shalt have to conquer and people, we, in consideration of what have been thy services, and the costs that henceforth shall arise in said conquest and pacification, have thought well to bestow on thee, and we do now by these presents bestow, twelve leagues square, and in the said two hundred leagues that thou wilt select, to hold in the government and lands and provinces aforesaid, the which we command our said officers of said province to assign to thee after thou wilt have chosen the said two hundred leagues, the same not being a port of the sea, nor the chief town, with the authority and title that we shall command to issue to thee at the time we may confer the grant.

Also: Inasmuch as thou hast petitioned us, as has been said, the better to provide all principal and important matters for the said conquest and colonization of said territories and provinces, in order to be bestowed on thee at the same time with the government of the island of Cuba; which for that purpose we deem well, and it is our wish that for the time it be our pleasure thou hold the government thereof, for which we shall order our provision to issue, in the which thou shalt be required to have an alcalde-mayor who shall be a man of law, to whom we shall direct thee to pay there a salary of two hundred gold dollars yearly, and to thee five hundred ducats in aid of expense annually with said government in all the time thou mayst govern, to be paid from the duties and profits we may have in that province which thou wilt thus subjugate and pacify and hold in government, and there being none therein we shall not be obliged to pay this, that, or other thing whatsoever thereof less this the two hundred dollars of the said alcalde-mayor.

Also: We give thee license and power that from these kingdoms and seigniories, and from the kingdom of Portugal, the islands of Cape de Verde, and Guinea, thou mayst and shalt pass, or whose thy right shall have, to the said island of Cuba, fifty negro slaves, whereof one-third at least females, free therein of the duties of almojarifazgo that to us can belong, paying two ducats the license for each one of them to Diego de la Haya, who hath in charge the collection by our command.

Also: We promise thee on thy arrival in the said country of thy government that thou wilt conquer and people, to give license and authority to whomsoever shall exercise thy right, that he

may take to thee in thy said country from these our kingdoms, Portugal, or islands of Cape Verde, other fifty negro slaves, the third part thereof females, free of all duties.

Also: We concede to all who shall go to people that country within the first six years following the date hereof, that of the gold which may be taken from the mines be paid us the tenth part, and afterward we be paid a ninth, and so on decreasing yearly until coming to a fifth; but of gold or other thing that may arise from traffic, booty, or in any other manner, shall be paid us forthwith the fifth of all.

Also: We grant to the settlers of that country for the said six years, and longer as may be our pleasure, free of almojarifazgo, all that they may take for supplies and use of their houses, with the restriction that it be not for sale; and for whatsoever else they and whomsoever else, merchants or traffickers, we grant likewise free for two years and not longer.

Also: We promise that for a term of ten years and longer, until we shall make other provision to the contrary, not to impose on the inhabitants of said countries excise or other duty whatsoever.

Also: We concede to said inhabitants that thou grant them the lots and lands proper to their conditions, in accordance with what has been and is done in España; and we likewise license thee, that in our name, during the time of thy government, thou make the bestowal of the Indians of that said country, observing therein the instructions and provisions that to thee will be given.

Also: We present in gift and alms to the hospital that may be erected in that land to aid the cure of the poor that shall go thither, one hundred thousand maravedies, to be paid from the penalties of the tribunal of said country.

Likewise at thy petition, and by thy consent and that of the colonists of said land as we have said we will bestow, we hereby do by this to its hospital the duties of escobilla and relabes there shall be in the boundaries that may be erected, and therefore we will order our provision to issue in form.

Likewise we will command, and do hereby order and maintain, that from these our kingdoms do not pass or go into said forts any one of the persons prohibited from going thither, under the penalties contained in the laws and ordinances and our letters that upon this by us and by the Catholic kings have issued, nor priests, nor attorneys, for the practice of their profession.

All which, as aforesaid, and each thing and part thereof, we concede to thee in consideration that thou, Captain Hernando de Soto, art held and obliged to go from these our realms in person, to make said conquest within one year first

following, to be reckoned from the date of this agreement.

Also: On condition that when thou goest from these our kingdoms and shalt arrive at said land, thou wilt have to carry and have with thee the officers of our treasury that shall be appointed by us; and likewise the persons, religious or ecclesiastical, that shall be designated by ourselves for the instruction of the natives of that province in our Holy Catholic Faith, to which religious persons thou wilt give and pay the passage and freight and the necessary subsistence according to their conditions, all at thy cost, without their taking any thing for the said entire voyage, with which we greatly charge thee that thou accordingly do and comply with as a thing pertaining to the service of God as well as ours, and if otherwise we shall deem ourselves unserved.

Also: When it shall so happen that, according to right and the laws of our kingdoms, our people and the captains of our armadas take captive any prince or lord of the lands where by our command they wage war, the ransom of such lord or cacique belongs to us, with all other things movable that may be found and that belong to such person individually; but considering that the great toils and perils which our subjects undergo in the conquest of the Indians, in some amendment thereof and for their favor, we declare and command that if in thy said conquest and government there be captured or seized any cacique or principal lord, of all the treasures, gold, silver, stones, and pearls, that come of him by way of ransom, or in any other manner, shall be given to thee the sixth part, and the remainder divided among the conquerors, taking first thence our fifth; and in the event that said cacique, or principal lord, should come to his death in battle, or afterward by the course of justice, or in any other whatsoever manner, in such case of the said treasures and goods there be of his, we shall have of right the half, which shall first be taken before any thing else by our officers, after the deduction first of our fifth thereof.

Also: Lest any of our officers of that province should have any doubt concerning the collection of our dues, especially of gold, silver, stones, and pearls, as well as those that may be found in sepulchres and other places where they may have been hidden, as those come of by traffic, or booty, or in other manner, our will and pleasure is that for the time being the following order shall be preserved:

First: We order that of all the gold and silver, stones and pearls, that may be taken in battles, or by carrying of towns, or traffic with the Indians, should and shall be paid us our fifth of the whole.

Also: That of all the gold and silver, stones,

pearls, and other things that shall be found, or exist, alike whether in graves, sepulchres, ovens or temples of the Indians, or in other places where they have been accustomed to offer sacrifices to their idols, or in other sacred concealed spots, or interred in house or hereditary possession, or ground or any public places, or secret, or private of any state or dignity be it what it may, of all that and of all other of this kind that exist and shall be found, whether by accident, or search, the half to be paid to us without discount of any sort, the other half remaining to the person who shall have been the discoverer; provided that if any such person or persons hide any such, and do not make them known for their apportionment of what shall by this chapter be theirs, they shall have forfeited all the gold, silver, stones, and pearls, with the half beside of all their other property, to the use of our tribunal and exchequer.

And inasmuch as we have been informed of the evils and disorders that have taken and do take place in discoveries and in making of new settlements, and which we can with good consciences in no wise permit; for prevention thereof, by the advice of our Council in consultation, a royal provision hath been ordained of chapters that hath issued upon what thou shalt observe in that conquest and colonization, which we order to be incorporated therein, the tenor of this that follows:

Thence, by this present, doing thou, the said Captain Hernando de Soto, the foregoing at thy cost, according to and in the manner contained therein, and observing and complying with the contents of the provision aforesaid incorporated, and all the other instructions which hereafter we shall order to be issued and given for that said country, and for the good treatment and conversion to our Holy Catholic Faith of the natives thereof, I proclaim and promise that this agreement shall be observed, and that every thing in it contained in and through all as aforesaid; and thou not doing or complying, neither shall we be obliged to abide or comply with the foregoing, nor any thing of it, but on the contrary we shall command thee to be proceeded against and punished as a person who neither abides by nor complies with his contract, but infringes the commands of his king and natural lord. And in testimony whereof, we order this present to be signed by my name, and countersigned by my secretary whose name is underwritten. Dated in the town of Valladolid, the twentieth day of the month of April, of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven.

I, THE KING.

Examined by Samano, and signed by the cardinal, and by the Count of Osorno, and by Beltran, and by Caravajal, and by Belazquez.

## THE LAST OF THE CATAWBAS.

BY JUDGE JOHN BELTON O'NEALL.

THE Catawba nation of Indians was once large and powerful. Their territory was in Lancaster and York districts, South Carolina, on the Catawba river, and extended south as far as Broad River, called by the Indians Es-waw-pud-neh, or Line River, from its dividing the Catawbas from the Cherokees.

Peter Harris, in Columbia Co, represented himself to be the last full-blooded Catawba; and there is little room to doubt the fact, for he had not only been a soldier in the American army in the Revolutionary War, but he was one of several Indians, who were carried, by men greedy of gain, to England, to be shown for reward, and there abandoned and left to charity for their return. Many of his observations on what he saw in Europe, are curious and entertaining, but they cannot be here repeated.

He was the blackest Indian the writer ever saw; he was tully as black as a negro. He gave to Dr. Flannagan, then, the name of Broad River *Esicawpudlenuh*, which he said meant "Line River;" which divided the Catawbas from the Cherokees. The name is correctly given in the article "Newberry" (Mill's "Statistics of South Carolina," pp. 649-50), which was, as the writer knows, prepared by Dr. Reuben Flannagan. P. E. Pearreson, Esq., who was present, and heard the Indian name of Broad River given by Peter Harris to Dr. Flannagan, has given a wrong spelling and pronunciation, as *Esicaw Huffudaw* (Mill's "Statistics," p. 555). The Catawbas were once a powerful tribe: they, perhaps, once, as far back as 1716, joined the other tribes against the whites: before and ever afterwards they were their friends.

Tradition is that *Cog* was their last king. He served in the Revolutionary War, under Washington, and said as he was "'only a general,' he would be a 'captain,'" and hence he was called "Captain Cog." When the General visited the South, as president, a ball was given to him on his way home, at Charlotte, N. C. Cog was there to see the General, and was taken into the ball-room, to astonish him; but his stoicism was not thus to be moved. After surveying the dazzling array of dress and beauty, he said, "Squaw enough."

The Indians once mustered with the York regiment every time it turned out, but their mode of mustering did not accord with the strict military notions of Gov. Williams; in 1815 or 1818, he ordered them from the field. They said, very naively, "white folks let Indian fight for them, but no muster." They never afterwards appeared on the field. What was not more than sixty or

one hundred warriors, is now the merest handful of idle, dissipated squaws, papposes, and men, all more or less mixed with whites. The Indian land in York and Lancaster, is the most beautiful body of land which the writer ever beheld. It is sad to think that the red men who once inhabited it, should have parted with it for the most inconsiderable trifles.

The State has, however, tried by every means in her power to save them (the Indians) from themselves. Even after they had, on long leases, pretty much deprived themselves of a possession, the State purchased the fee, and gave them the means of settling among the Cherokees of North Carolina. This they tried, but found too much work under Mr. Thomas, to suit them. They returned, and are now located in York and Lancaster, on land purchased for them. They are there, dragging out lives of Indian listlessness and dissipation. They are soon to be extinct.

Peter Harris did not present himself before the Legislature of 1822, in vain. His inimitable petition, drawn by the poet and orator of Charleston, William Crafts, is found in Lossing's second "Pictorial Field Book," p. 656, note 1. It is given here:

"I am one," says Peter Harris, in his petition, "of those lingering survivors of our almost extinguished race. I am one of the few stalks that still remain in the field where the tempest of the Revolution has passed. I fought the British for your sake. The British have disappeared, and you are free: yet from me have the British taken nothing; nor have I gained anything by their defeat. I pursued the deer for subsistence; the deer are disappearing, and I must starve. God ordained me for the forest, and my ambition is the shade. But the strength of my arm decays, and my feet fail me in the chase. The hand which fought for your liberty is now open for your relief. In my youth I bled in battle that you might be independent; let not my heart, in my old age, bleed for the want of your commiseration."

The appeal was not in vain; "his hand" was filled, and "his heart" rejoiced in the "commiseration," which the Legislature manifested in the grant of an annuity of \$60, for life.

Where is Peter Harris? He has long joined his fathers in their happy hunting grounds.

NOTE.—Washington, in his Diary, makes no mention of a ball at Charlotte. Under date of 27th May, 1791, he says: "At Mr. Crawford's, I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba nation, who seemed to be under apprehension that some attempts were making, or would be made to deprive them of a part of the 40,000 acres which was secured to them by Treaty, and which is bounded by this Road."



## Societies and their Proceedings.

### GEORGIA.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Savannah, December 10, 1860.*—At the regular meeting of this Society, held at the above place, and at the time specified, the following letter from Com. Tattnall, accompanying a beautiful suit of Japanese armor, was presented by Dr. Kollock:

SACKETT'S HARBOR, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1860.

SIR: A year since I had the pleasure of the company, on board the flag-ship Powhatan, on a visit to Japan, of my friend, Mr. John E. Ward, U. S. Minister to China.

Mr. Ward then purchased a beautiful and costly suit of Japanese armor, which he intrusted to my care, to be conveyed home and presented, in his name, to the Georgia Historical Society, which I have great pleasure in now doing, through my relative Dr. P. M. Kollock, of Savannah.

There are two swords attached to the armor. A short one is with it; the longer one is in New York, whence it will be sent to the Society by express. It was too long for the box in which the armor was packed.

The armor is of the quality and fashion worn by the princes of Japan, and is the most valuable and interesting specimen of Japanese art and costume that I met with in that country.

I am sure that the Society will attach an additional interest to it as the gift of a Georgian, who has rendered his country so much service and honor abroad.

With great respect, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
JOSIAH TATTNALL, Capt. U. S. Navy.

The PRESIDENT Georgia Historical Society.

Whereupon the Society unanimously adopted the following resolutions, offered by Mr. Bogart:

WHEREAS, The Georgia Historical Society has this day received, through the kindness of Dr. P. M. Kollock, a rich and costly suit of Japanese armor, presented by the Hon. John E. Ward, U. S. Minister to China, and forwarded to the United States by Commodore Tattnall, U. S. N.

*Resolved*, That the Society, appreciating very highly this generous donation of Hon. John E. Ward, hereby tender him their sincere thanks.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society are due, and are hereby tendered to Commodore Tattnall, for forwarding to the Society this armor, and that the letter accompanying the same, be spread upon the journal of this Society, and be also published in the city papers.

The armor, of which the following description was originally published in the *North China Herald*, at Shanghai, has been on exhibition at the Georgia Historical Society Room from the commencement of the year.

"Of the many beautiful productions of art in which Japan abounds, none has excited greater or more deserved admiration than a complete suit of armor, purchased on his late visit to that country by his Excellency Mr. Ward, U. S. Minister to China.

"This curious and magnificent suit is of mixed chain and lacquered copper; and although evidently of great antiquity, is yet in a complete state of preservation. The helmet is of polished steel, engraved and richly inlaid with gold. Upon the summit is an aperture for the insertion of a small staff with a Japanese flag. The mask and gorget are of fine elastic steel. The armlets, anklets, and gauntlets, are likewise of steel, with concentric hoops in front, for the purpose of breaking a sword or lance. The cuirass or body armor is of copper, covered and ornamented beautifully with silk.

"The designs and chasings are of the most exquisite workmanship, and the entire panoply has been pronounced by those familiar with the armories at Malta and the Tower of London, the most perfect and unique specimen extant.

"It is said to have belonged to the grandfather of the present emperor of Japan, and is therefore invested with an historical as well as artistic interest. Accompanying the armor are two handsome Japanese swords, and a pair of heavy stirrups inlaid with gold.

"We learn that it is the intention of his Excellency, to present it entire to the Historical Society of Georgia, his native State. It is the only suit of armor ever obtained from Japan."

### MARYLAND.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Baltimore, Nov. 6, 1860.*—On Thursday evening of the above date, the President having taken the chair, donations were announced from the N. J. Historical Society; Hon. Henry Winter Davis; Vermont Historical Society; W. T. Goldsborough, of Dorchester Co., Md.

Dr. W. K. Stuart, Dr. Wm. A. Hammond, and S. Morris Cochran, nominated at the last meeting, were elected active members.

Rev. Dr. Morris read an elaborate report of the action of the committee on Natural History, which, on motion, the President was requested to have printed in one of the papers of the city.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters from John Clayton, of Philad.; Dr. Joseph Palmer, of

Boston; W. P. Cochran, of Iowa; and Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, of Va.

Some discussion took place upon the disposition of the Society's general library, on its removal to the Peabody Institute, after which the Society adjourned.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, Dec. 5, 1860.*—A monthly meeting was this day held, Almon D. Hodges, Esq., the President, in the chair. Hon. Hampden Cutts read his memoir of the late Consul Jarvis, which had previously been read before the Vermont Historical Society, and which is to be printed among the proceedings of the latter Society. The memoir was very ably written and eloquently delivered, and was listened to with marked interest. The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Cutts.

*Jan. 2, 1861.*—The annual meeting was held this day. The President for the past two years, Almon D. Hodges, Esq., and some of the other officers, having declined a re-election, the following officers and committees were elected for the ensuing year:

*President*—Winslow Lewis, M. D., of Boston. *Vice-presidents*—Massachusetts, Rev. Martin Moore, of Boston; Maine, Hon. John Appleton, of Bangor; New Hampshire, Hon. Samuel D. Bell, of Manchester; Vermont, Henry Clark, Esq., of Poulney; Rhode Island, John Barstow, Esq., of Providence; Connecticut, Rev. F. W. Chapman, of Ellington. *Honorary Vice-presidents*—[The same as last year, vol. iv., p. 45]. *Cor. Sec'y*—John Ward Dean, of Boston. *Rec. Sec'y*—Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee, of Roxbury. *Assistant Rec. Sec'y*—Edward F. Everett, of Charlestown. *Treasurer*—William B. Towne, of Brookline. *Historiographer*—Joseph Palmer, M. D., of Boston.

*Standing Committees*—On Finance, J. Colburn, of Boston; Hon. George W. Messinger, do.; T. J. Whittemore, of Cambridge.

On the Library, Frederic Kidder of Boston; Rev. James Thurston, of Belmont; Thomas Waterman, of Boston; Rev. F. W. Holland, of Dorchester; Rev. Washington Gilbert, of West Newton; Thos. Cushing, and J. Gardner White, of Boston.

Thanks were voted to the retiring officers, viz.: Almon D. Hodges, President; Hon. Charles Hindson, Vice-president, Hon. George W. Messinger, Treasurer; Hon. B. Trask, Librarian; and to the late members of the several standing committees, for the faithful manner in which they have performed the duties of their offices.

The reports of the Trustees of the "Bond fund and property," the Treasurer, and the Committee on the Library, were read, showing the Society to be in a flourishing condition—having added during the past year many valuable books, pamphlets, and manuscripts to the Library.

Dr. Lewis, on assuming the chair, returned his thanks to the Society for his election, and expressed a strong interest on the subjects of History and Genealogy, the study of which this Society was formed to promote.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Boston, Dec. 7, 1860.*—The regular monthly meeting was held, Mr. Colburn, Vice-pres., in the chair, and Mr. H. Davenport officiating as Secretary *pro tem.*

Mr. Henry S. Adams made a donation of copper tokens and cents, for which the thanks of the Society were voted. A number of coins were exhibited, the property of M. S. Parker, Esq., consisting of 17 Siamese, viz.: 8 silver, 3 gold, and 6 of glass, stone, or gum; 4 Japanese; and 3 said to be Chinese, in shape like a basket or thimble.

*Jan. 11, 1861.*—The annual meeting of the Society was held, the President in the chair. The Secretary's report and the annual reports were read and accepted.

The former officers,—*President*—Dr. Winslow Lewis. *Vice-president and Curator*—Jeremiah Colburn. *Treasurer*—Henry Davenport. *Secretary*—Wm. S. Appleton,—were re-elected.

The President made a donation of ten bronze papal medals, and a proof set of the silver coins of 1859. The thanks of the Society were voted for this acceptable present. Messrs. Davenport, Shurtleff, and others, exhibited coins, among which were a beautiful gold medal of Washington: "He is in glory, the world in tears;" with an urn on the reverse; a U. S. Constellation cent of 1786, and a Washington medal, in bronze, with Fame blowing her trumpet on the reverse. The medals presented and exhibited attracted considerable attention and made the meeting a very interesting one.

#### NEW YORK.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, Jan. 2, 1861.*—The opening meeting of the year was largely attended, the Abbott collection, which was to be opened to exhibition for the first time, being a prominent attraction. This Collection is placed on the third floor, and is well lighted, and so arranged as to be easily examined. The noble building occupied by the Society, with the library, cabinets, and gallery, is one of the most valuable institutions of New York.

Jan. 2, 1861.—The President of the Society, Hon. Luther Bradish, presided. The Librarian acknowledged the receipt of several valuable maps and statistical charts; among which was the original correspondence of Commodore Chauncey with the Secretary of War during the War of 1812, presented by Rev. Dr. Chauncey; also a book of records of councils held between the authorities of Canada and various nations of Indians. A memorial was presented, suggesting the collection of funds to erect a monument to Thomas Willett, the first English mayor of the city. By-laws, referring to tickets of admission, were then read and referred to a committee. They provided that each member be entitled to two tickets, and strangers, if not introduced by a member, should be admitted for a fee of twenty-five cents to the library, gallery, and museum. Those who contributed to the Abbott fund should be admitted free.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance in hand, after defrayal of many heavy expenses and investments, of \$91.65.

The Librarian submitted to the Society, in his annual Report, that no additional appropriation had been made, except for cases. 1997 books and pamphlets had been received, besides numerous maps, manuscripts, and curiosities. Those of Mr. Richard K. Haight, he noticed as being particularly valuable, and designed making them the subject of a special report hereafter. Much remains to be done to bind up the old papers and unbound collections.

The catalogue of the printed books in the Library of the Society, has been published; and that of the manuscripts, maps, plans, engravings, portraits, and curiosities, awaits only a fund sufficient to justify its publication. Of the volume already issued, enough had not yet been sold to pay the cost of printing, and it was to be hoped that greater interest would be taken.

The executive committee presented a detailed report. Thirty meetings had been held. The income was larger than it had been for many years previous. The Grosvenor fund of \$10,000 was invested in city securities; \$4,000 are held in separate loans by the Society, upon which interest must be paid. One hundred and fifty-four had been elected to membership during the year, making, since the formation of the Society, 5145. Various letters received on scientific and other subjects, and the papers read at each meeting, were specified. The various Reports were voted to be subjected to the executive committee for action.

The reading of the usual paper was dispensed with, and the election of officers to serve during the current year, made. The former officers were all re-elected. One hundred and twenty-two

votes were polled. The officers of the Society are:

*President*—Luther Bradish, LL. D. *1st Vice-president*—Thomas De Witt, D. D. *2d do.*—Frederick De Peyster. *Foreign Cor. Secretary*—Edward Robinson, D. D. *Domestic do.*—Samuel Osgood, D. D. *Recording do.*—Andrew Warner. *Treasurer*—Benjamin H. Field. *Librarian*—George H. Moore.

The President returned thanks for the regard and continued confidence of the members in him, and remarked it was a strong inducement for future effort. He congratulated the Society upon its experience, and referred to the last year, prolific of political events, as one of unexampled prosperity to the Society, distinguished for the number and value of its additional collections. The Abbott and Peruvian antiquities, and the very valuable donations of R. K. Haight, enriched and added largely to the attractions.

The final Report of the special committee on Abbott's Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, was then read, by Mr. F. De Peyster. It stated that the will of the late Henry Abbott was admitted to probate, and when entered in the surrogate's office, the Society would obtain a proper title to the collection. He proposed a lengthened catalogue, with extended notes, as this collection contained more of Egyptian life than any thing else that could be secured. Prominent in the collection is the mummy bull Apis, with the nets, etc. There are also various mummied animals. It is rich in woven and linen cloths, and specimens of bronze work. There is a statue of what is supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. There is a coffin made of wood, which must have grown as early as the visit of Abraham to Egypt, and he who lies in it might be a contemporary of the father of the faithful. This collection was made by Mr. Abbott, an English physician, during a long residence in Egypt, testing each object by close scrutiny and the advice of the best Egyptologists. It cost him absolutely \$100,000. He sent it to this country by the advice of some friends, who deemed it the best place to dispose of it. He accompanied it to America, but returned to Egypt, and died there March 31, 1859. His lasting monument, the collection he has left. A painting of the doctor, in his oriental costume, was before the Society. The Report was accepted.

Rev. Dr. Hawks stated that they possess a collection of Egyptology unrivalled in interest. Other collections there were in Europe of greater extent, but there was none so methodically collected, by a judicious investigator, who had time to examine each article thoroughly. After some comments upon that country, he made a motion that the executive committee be empowered to have a

picture copied from the original in their possession, to be put in the gallery. Adopted.

Mr. G. P. Di-osway presented a cabinet-size engraving of the "General Conference of the Methodist Church South," after which the Society adjourned.

AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY. — *New York, Nov. 13.*—This Society held a regular meeting on the above date, at the residence of Judge Daly. The 2d Vice-president, Thomas Ewbank, Esq., in the chair.

Rev. Dr. Spencer presented, in the name of Mr. Ewbank, the new seal of the Society, with a press, a box of stamps, and half a ream of printed certificates. A vote of thanks was passed for this valuable and acceptable donation.

The following gentlemen, recommended by the committee on elections, were unanimously chosen corresponding members: Dr. J. Barnard Davidson, England; Bishop Paine, of Cape Palmas; and Dr. L. H. Gullick, of Micronesia.

A paper on the "Huacas, or Ancient Graveyards of Chiriqui," by John F. Bateman, Esq., of Panama, was read by Dr. Merritt.

Mr. Bateman accompanied Dr. Merritt to Bugaba, in 1858, and afterwards visited many other ancient cemeteries in that Province of Chiriqui. Dr. Merritt's valuable report on Bugaba, has already been published by the Society. Mr. Bateman found numerous graveyards, in all positions, from the low and hot valleys to the highest mountains, where it was uncomfortably cold at night; and the latter appeared to be the oldest. He ascertained the truth of the report, that in some of them a portion of the graves were marked by rude, upright stone posts or pillars, four feet high or less. There were noble views presented from some of the elevations, over wild and magnificent scenery; but much of his way lay through a thick forest-growth, where the sight of the sun was shut out, and the greatest labor required to get through the undergrowth. Mr. Bateman, who is practically acquainted with metallurgy, says that the gold articles, which have been found in some of the graves, show that the unknown makers of them must have possessed a very creditable degree of skill in casting that metal, and in reducing it to plates of perfectly uniform thickness, and with smooth edges.

The Society voted thanks to Mr. Bateman.

Dr. Torrey, by request of the Vice-president, communicated some valuable information on these articles. He had never seen any evidence of soldering in any metallic relics in America; could not satisfy himself of the means by which the gold plates were produced; was sure there was no vitrified glazing on any of the pottery,

and that the colors on them were never burnt in, as they easily rub off when moistened.

Mr. Squier said he had seen the natives in Central America polish their newly-made earthen vessels by rubbing them with ashes.

An interesting discussion followed, on these and other points of inquiry, between those gentlemen, Mr. Cotheal, and Drs. Davis and Merritt.

Dr. Torrey said that the disappearance of the remains of human bodies in the Chiriqui graves, did not infallibly prove a very high antiquity, because water, charged in excess with carbonic acid, dissolves phosphate of lime (of which bones are formed) in a few years. He gave instances in our vicinity.

Mr. Duchailin, by request, made some new and interesting statements about Africa. He had visited thirty-five tribes of negroes in the western part of Africa, near the equator, and found them speaking languages derived from the same root.

They smoke the leaves of a certain plant, which he did not at first recognize, but which requires careful cultivation, and must have been introduced from another region. It produces strong narcotic effects, and sometimes destroys reason, so that inveterate smokers of it will sell all that they possess, even their children, to purchase it. He brought home seeds, and finds it a species of hemp indigenous in Eastern Africa, and is there also used for smoking. Affinities have been traced between the languages of those two parts of the continent; and he believes the race in the West was derived from the East.

The population of Africa he thinks much overrated. He has sometimes travelled a hundred miles without seeing even a village, and seldom meeting a man. Slaves in Africa are usually subjected to only a few occasional services, and have no labor to perform. There is no work to be done.

Mr. Squier laid before the Society "Observations on the Form of the Occiput in the Various Races of Men," by J. Aiken Meigs, M. D., of Philadelphia. The grand conclusion reached by Prof. Meigs is, that the form of the human occiput is not constant, but varies continually in the different races and tribes of men, and among individuals of the same race; and that, therefore, the flattened occiput cannot be accepted as a characteristic of the aboriginal American skull, as assumed by Dr. Morton and other craniologists. Mr. Squier also presented "An Address before the Georgia Historical Society," by C. C. Jones, Jr., Esq., of Savannah, Ga., on the "Indian Remains of Southern Georgia," being the results of a personal investigation of the mounds of that region.

Mr. Squier also laid before the Society the

proof-sheets of a new work of his own, now in press, entitled "Monograph of Authors who have Written on the Languages of Central America, and Collected Vocabularies or Composed Works in the National Dialects of that Country." He stated that this would be followed by the publication of a Quiche and Rachiuel grammar—these being languages spoken by the builders of Palenque and Copan.

The Rev. F. W. Taylor, a corresponding member, has brought to this city a selection from his extensive collection, for exhibition to the Society. Several of the Peruvian vases are superior in elaborate coloring to any before examined. Mr. T. was fortunate in being at Africa soon after the opening of many of the ancient graves in that vicinity, by the excavation of a hill on the railroad line; and he, by great efforts, and at a small expense, procured many valuable relics, both of pottery, garments, ornaments, &c.

Mr. Aguiar, the Brazilian Consul-general, has kindly permitted the use of a few numbers of the *Quarterly Review* of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil, containing important information respecting the geography and the Indians of Brazil.

The committee on Antiquities have sent the royal museums of Copenhagen the collection of American antiquities reported at the last meeting.

The committee on the Japanese have sent certificates of corresponding membership to the American minister in Japan, and to his care those of the three members of the Japanese Embassy heretofore elected; all through the State Department in Washington, and accompanied with a letter and documents.

Dec. 25.—A regular meeting was held on the above date, at the residence of the Corresponding Secretary, E. G. Squiers, Esq.; the President, George Folsom, Esq., in the chair.

Two letters were received from Dr. S. Wells Williams (late Secretary of the American legation to China, and long corresponding member of the Society), regretting his absence, accepting conditionally a request to furnish a paper, and accompanying a number of wax impressions from curious antique gems in his possession, found in Syria, Egypt, and in the ruins of Nineveh; for which a vote of thanks was passed.

Mr. Williams thus describes the gems:

"No. 1 seems to be the head of an Alexander, with a crown of Cybele upon it. The legend may be KEPA for κερατων—horned. No. 2 is on cornelian, and represents a goat, or more probably, a bull, surrounded by a bead of dots. No. 3, on a whitish agate, nearly globular, but flat on the carved face—a bull, so nearly resembling a Brahmin bull (with a hump on his shoulders), that one is inclined to inscribe to it a Hindoo source. No.

4, on a cornelian, seems to be a Mars holding a Psyche in his right hand, with his shield near him, and two spears behind." (This is extremely well executed, and was much admired by the members, being so finely wrought as to require a magnifier to see it perfectly.) "No. 5, a cornelian, with an Armenian inscription, which Mr. Cotheal reads: 'Isabel, worshipper of Jesus.' It belongs to Mrs. Williams. No. 6, a cylinder, from Nineveh—a specimen of those often found there. It seems to represent an offering made to a serpent by a warrior, who kneeling, receives a sacrifice from an attendant behind him, both of them in presence of a divinity. The moon appears above the offerer.

"The Chinese 'Divisible Type' proves to be better than the old mode of 'block-cutting,' but not on the whole equal to 'solid type,' cast in separate matrices. Each of these three modes has its own peculiar advantages, and all are in operation in China, by the missions. There have been great editions provided with the divisible type at Ningpo, cheaper than could be done with blocks, and far more elegantly (Chinese workmen are used exclusively in the office).

"I am sorry to say I do not know of any person able to describe the Nineveh Tablets in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The American missionaries in Assyria have not, I suspect, been able to devote much time to these relics; and my brother professors know only what Rawlinson and Layard's books tell them.

"I have never seen or heard of any 'Stone Implements' found in the ground in China, nor indeed in any of those Eastern Asiatic countries. It is more likely that relics of this sort may be found by and by, in Central Asia, in the valley of Tarim, and about the ancient Karakorum.

"I shall do what I can to co-operate with your Society. S. WELLS WILLIAMS."

John F. Bateman, Esq., of Panama, wrote that he would obtain information concerning the "San Blas Indians."

The Rev. Mr. Webb, of the Madura Mission, offered a palm-leaf book, written in the Tamil language, as a donation, and promised a written account of its contents. He consented to communicate a paper on the music and poetry of the people among whom he has so long resided.

John Siz, Esq., presented a copy of the Liturgy of the Church of Engadin, Switzerland, accompanied with an interesting letter describing that secluded valley of the mountains, and the interesting people who inhabit it. The dialect is one of the most remarkable mixture of several languages anywhere in use. In a single sentence of fourteen words, several are identical with, or

closely resemble those of corresponding meaning in Italian, French, Spanish, and German.

Mr. Duhaillu, the African traveller, has several valuable specimens of African manufactures of pottery, weapons, &c., which he intends to leave as a donation to the Society. Among other objects is a loom, extensively used by the natives in weaving grass-cloth.

Dr. Merritt exhibited a number of curious and ancient sculptured stones, believed to be from Central America, representing the human face and form, distorted and rudely traced, with ornaments or unknown emblems. Also, well-wrought axe or chisel heads of flint, found in Suffolk county, England, twenty feet under ground, with many others, and fragments of the rock which exists in that spot, where apparently had been a manufactory of stone implements, at some ancient and unknown period. Dr. M. remarked that the resemblance is striking to some of those which he had found in the *huacas* or ancient graves of Chiriqui—that they can hardly be distinguished. The material is nearly identical as well as the form; the surface is produced by skilful chipping off, and the edges, which as Dr. Torrey decided, must have been rubbed down, although the stone is very hard.

Several copper and bronze axes and other implements were also exhibited by Dr. M., one of which from a *huaca*, with a narrow edge, two shoulders, and a ring attached, Mr. Squier mentioned is exactly like the small spades which he has seen in use in Central America, a handle being attached, and bound on by a cord fastened to the ring and around it.

A resolution was passed, to request Dr. Edward Robinson (late President of the Society), to prepare a memoir on that distinguished scholar, the late Dr. Eli Smith, of the Syrian Mission.

The late Dr. Turner's papers were exhibited and described by Mr. Squier, from the committee on that subject; and it was resolved that they be published.

On recommendation of the publication committee, it was resolved, that a Bulletin of the Society be published monthly, with the proceedings, for the information of corresponding scientific societies and friends.

Mr. Squier observed that special attention had been given of late to the assumed discovery of relics of human art, in connection with fossil bones, in what is known to geologists as the "drift," and under circumstances implying an antiquity almost inconceivable. The first announcement of the discovery of such relics, in a manner at all formal or authentic, was made by M. Boucher de Perthes, of Abbeville, in France, in the year 1849. His elaborate work on the subject, "Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluvi-

ennes," did not, however, attract much attention at the time; perhaps as much because of the small evidences of art which the presumed relics displayed, as from any other cause. Lately, similar discoveries have been announced in England, under similar circumstances, and the relics themselves have been accepted as genuine works of art, by an authority no less distinguished than Thomas Wright. The subject is attracting a large share of the attention of the archaeologists. Mr. Squier proposed at an early day to present a summary of the assumed discoveries, and of the opinions they had elicited; but meantime would only call attention to a paragraph in No. 3 of a second series of papers on the "Indianology of California," by Alex. S. Taylor, Esq., now in course of publication in the California *Farmer*. This states that a perfect Indian arrowhead of stone was lately found by the miners at a place called Buckeye Hill, eighty feet beneath the surface, firmly imbedded in what is described as "the solid cement" (by which he probably meant the "hard pan" or indurated drift), about one foot above the bed-rock. Mr. Squier added that he had written to Mr. Taylor, with a view of obtaining all the particulars of the discovery, since the value of facts of this kind depend entirely on their authentication.

Mr. Squier laid before the Society the series of papers, by Mr. Taylor, of California. He conceived that Mr. Taylor was putting the scientific world under great obligations by them.

Mr. Squier also laid before the Society a copy of the "Mapoteea Columbiana," and also No. 1 of vol. ii. of the "Revue Orientale et Américaine," of Paris, edited by M. Leon de Rosny.

On recommendation of the committee on elections, the following persons, who had been previously nominated by Hon. Charles F. Looney (Austrian Consul-general), were unanimously chosen corresponding members of the Society:

Baron Charles Czorwig, Director of the Imperial Bureau of Administration and Statistics, Vienna.

William Haidoiger, President of the Imperial Geological State Institute, Vienna.

Francis Totterle, 1st Secretary of the Imperial Geographical Society, Vienna.

Professor Dr. Leopold Niunnaun, Professor of Law, in the University of Vienna.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Phila.*, Dec. 11, 1860.—*Defence of the Memory of Gen. Charles Lee against the Charge of Treason.*—A stated meeting of the Historical Society was held

at their room in the Athenæum building. An address was delivered on the occasion by Mr. Charles Carter Lee, of Virginia, son of General Henry Lee, in answer to a paper read before the Society last year, by Mr. Moore, of the New York Historical Society. After a few apposite remarks by Major Biddle, the presiding officer on the position of the question, and the character of Gen. Henry Lee, the father of the present defender of Charles Lee, Mr. Lee proceeded:

Among a recent purchase of old manuscripts Mr. Moore found one apparently in the handwriting of General Lee, the contents of which, in his estimation, convicted General Lee of treason. Mr. Moore, by the mere evidence furnished of similarity of handwriting, considered the imputation of treason perfectly established. Having adopted this as a fact, he attempted to prove that General Lee did not possess those virtues of frankness, courage, and devotion to the cause of America, which had ever been attributed to him; but was, under the guise of those virtues, in fact, a hypocrite, a coward, and a traitor. This was necessary to produce belief in Mr. Moore's charge.

Mr. Lee, on the other hand, argued, from all the evidence furnished from his acts and writings, that he was a prodigy of frankness, remarkable for courage, and, to the great sacrifice of his own interest, was through his whole life devoted to the cause of America. He read extracts from Sparks' Life of Gen. Lee, asserting that he "was certainly as disinterested as any man ever could be in his steady and uncompromising defence of the rights and liberties of the people;" and "that all the testimony confirms that, up to the time of his capture, he was faithfully and assiduously devoted to the cause he had espoused." Mr. Lee further showed from Mr. Moore's lecture, that at the time of his capture, Gen. Lee was "the idol his officers, and possessed still more the confidence of the soldiery," and to show that this feeling was shared by the gentlemen of Washington's staff, he read a letter from Colonel Reed.

In that letter, Reed says further—"I do think that it is entirely owing to you that this army and the liberties of America, so far as they are dependent on it, are not totally cut off. You have decision, a quality often wanting in minds otherwise valuable; and I ascribe to this our escape from York Island, from King's Bridge, and the Plains; and I have no doubt, had you been here, the garrison of Mount Washington had now composed a part of this army."

Mr. Lee then argued that it was unjust to impute treason to a man of such a character, and in such favor with the army and country, upon such weak evidence as similarity of handwriting.

He next argued that the motive of this treason alleged by Mr. Moore, viz.: To save himself from punishment as a deserter from the British army, was without foundation; for that, according to Mr. Moore's own showing, he was better protected by the retaliatory measures of Congress and Washington, who had Col. Campbell and five Hessian prisoners in durance, as pledges for his safety, than he could hope to be by any means that he could adopt to propitiate the clemency of his inveterate enemy, George III.

Mr. Lee then considered the paper on which Mr. Moore builds his charge of treason. He admitted its similarity to Gen. Lee's handwriting, but reminded his auditors that such testimony was deemed too insignificant in law to be permitted, when unsupported by other proof, to go to a jury. And he further contended that, so far from there being any thing to confirm the testimony, every thing opposed it. That the internal evidence was stronger against it than the external was in favor of it; that its confusion of ideas, its involved sentences, its bad spelling and bad grammar, rendered it utterly unlike every thing we have seen from his pen; and that the plan of operations proposed to the Howes, if, indeed, it was worthy of being called a plan at all, was too stupid to have honestly emanated from Lee, and too insulting to the understanding of the Howes, ever to have been submitted to them with any view of winning them.

Mr. Lee further contended that, if it had been submitted by him to the Howes, it would have been their solemn duty to have exposed it to the world, as he might thereby have relieved his officers from imprisonment, and have handed over Lee to the vengeance of his king. He claimed that Mr. Moore's explanation of their concealment of it was without foundation, and as their concealment of the paper was unexplained and inexplicable, we must suppose that it never was submitted to them by Lee, unless in the spirit and in the same view that Sir William Howe sent one to Washington, viz., to delude him; but he thought this device too shallow for Lee to imagine it would have any effect, and therefore never adopted it. He consequently thought, that for this and other reasons which he gave, that the paper was a forgery, and a part of that system of forgeries which produced feigned letters from Washington and St. Clair, to shake the confidence of their country in them.

Another view that Mr. Lee took of the paper was that it was without direction or signature, and thus, on its face, was incomplete; and that, therefore, those antiquarians who fix their belief more on external appearances than any thing else, should suppose that Lee wrote the paper in a frantic and momentary ebullition of despair, to

mitigate the close of troubles in whose commencement he had so largely contributed, but which could not bear the test of the least reflection, and was consequently abandoned, and afterward purloined and attempted to be perverted to iniquitous purposes, and was probably the treasonable correspondence to which he alluded in his humorous letter to Miss Franks as having been imputed to him. Mr. Lee then passed to a brief commentary on his conduct at the battle of Monmouth, and produced the testimony of Sir Henry Clinton, Sir Charles Grey, and the British historian, Stedman, that General Lee, so far from misbehaving in that action, saved the American army, and enabled us to gain what we claimed to be a victory.

PHILADELPHIA NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Phila.*, Dec. 11, 1860.—At a stated meeting of the above Society, held on Thursday evening, the following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the year 1861:

*President*—Joseph J. Mickley. *1st Vice-president*—Richard W. Davids. *2d do.*, Wm. P. Chandler. *Corresponding Secretary*—Wm. S. Vaux. *Recording do.*—Alfred B. Taylor. *Curator*—J. Ledyard Hodge. *Librarian*—Wm. J. Jenks. *Treasurer*—Mark W. Collet, M. D.

#### WISCONSIN.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MADISON.—*Madison*, Dec. 29, 1860.—A meeting of the executive committee was held on the above date, C. B. Chapinan, in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary reported one hundred and ten letters received since the last meeting.

The additions to the Library since those reported at the August meeting, have been 521 volumes, of which 272 were by donation, and 249 by purchase.

The lease of rooms occupied by the Society was reported by the library committee as perfected, and committed to the care of the Recording Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Rublee, a committee of three was appointed to secure a suitable person to deliver the annual address before the Society. Messrs. Rublee, Mills, and Gurnee, were appointed such committee.

On motion, the balance of the Literary Exchange Fund was transferred to the General Fund.

The annual meeting of the Society for the election of officers, and reception of reports, was fixed for January 2d.

After electing several members, the meeting adjourned.

*Jan. 2, 1861.*—Hon. Simeon Mills in the chair.

Mr. Delaplaine, from auditing committee, reported several accounts which were allowed.

The annual report of the executive committee was presented and adopted.

Four persons were elected active members, and others referred to the standing committee on nominations.

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Immediately after the meeting of the executive committee, the annual meeting of the Society was called to order, Hon. Simeon Mills in the chair.

On motion of Judge Orton, a committee of five was appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year; Messrs. Orton, Delaplaine, J. T. Clark, N. W. Dean, and D. Atwood, being appointed.

The annual report of the executive committee and Treasurer, were submitted and adopted; the latter shows receipts into the treasury, including the balance at date of the last annual report, \$1,203 19; disbursements \$1,115 48. Balance, \$87 71. The additions to the Library the present year have been 837 volumes, and 1134 documents and pamphlets, making a total addition of 1977 works. The total number of volumes now in the Library is 7890, and including unbound documents and pamphlets, 14,400. The whole number of bound newspaper files in the Library, is 493. There are fifty-one oil paintings in the picture gallery.

The following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:

*President*—Gen. Wm. R. Smith. *Vice-presidents*—Hon. H. S. Orton, Dr. E. B. Wolcott, Hon. A. I. Bennett, Hon. H. M. Davis, Rev. A. Brunson, and Cyrus Woodman. *Cor. Secretary*—Lyman C. Draper. *Rec. do.*—Lafayette Kellogg. *Librarian*—Daniel S. Durrie. *Treasurer*—O. M. Conover. *Curators*—J. T. Clark, Hon. G. P. Smith, Rev. J. B. Britton, Hon. Simeon Mills, Prof. J. D. Butler, S. G. Benedict, Gen. D. Atwood, Dr. C. B. Chapinan, H. Rublee, J. Alder Ellis, F. H. Firmin, Hon. D. J. Powers, Hon. J. Y. Smith, and J. D. Gurnee.

On motion, the annual meeting adjourned.

Whereupon the new executive committee was called together, Hon. H. S. Orton in the chair.

On motion, the arrangement with the Librarian to catalogue the library and arrange newspaper files, was unanimously voted to be continued for the ensuing year.

Standing committees for the ensuing year:

*Publications.*—Draper, Rublee, and J. P. Atwood.

*Auditing Accounts.*—J. Y. Smith, Benedict, and Firmin.



*Finance.*—Mills, Conover, Powers, Ellis, and Gurnee.

*Printing.*—Hyer, Rublee, and J. Y. Smith.

*Library Fixtures and Purchases.*—Draper, Durrie, and Conover.

*Picture Gallery.*—Delaplaine, Tibbets, and Clark.

*Literary Exchanges.*—Firmin, Chapman, and Gurnee.

*On Nominations.*—Chapman, J. P. Atwood, and Benedict.

*Lectures and Essays.*—Butler, Durrie, Rublee, Hyer, and Britton.

*On Building Lot.*—Delaplaine, D. Atwood, Tibbets, Clark, and Draper.

*On Building.*—Powers, Mills, G. B. Smith, Ellis, and J. P. Atwood.

*Soliciting Committee.*—Orton, Draper, Butler, Kellogg, and G. B. Smith.

*On Cabinet.*—Conover, Durrie, and Kellogg.

*On Obituaries.*—D. Atwood, Orton, Rublee, Kellogg, and Britton.

The meeting adjourned.

#### CANADA.

MONTREAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Montreal, Dec. 26, 1860.*—This Society held its last meeting for the year 1860, on the 26th of December; the Rev. Abbé Verrean, President, in the chair.

The Hon. M. G. Savense de Beaujeu presented to the Society the portrait of Daniel Marie Hyacinthe Liénard de Beaujeu, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, the hero of the Monongahela. He accompanied this gift with an autograph letter of M. L. De Sérigny, a descendant of the celebrated family Le Moyné de Longueuil.

The Hon. M. Chauveau presented, on behalf of M. Rameau, a copy of the census of *habitans* settled at Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point), in 1741.

Mr. L. A. H. Latour presented the "Collections" of the Connecticut Historical Society.

From the *Société de Normandie* four volumes of its memoirs were received.

From M. A. Charma, Secretary of the *Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, and *Professeur de la Faculté des Lettres* at Caen, two copies of his last publication, entitled, "A New Classification of Sciences."

From the Abbé Verrean, President of the Society: 1st, The Letters Patent of Francis I. to M. de Roberval, and the power from M. de Roberval to M. de Conrville, to arrest criminals; 2d, Researches by M. Munch, Historiographer of Norway, on the first missionaries to America, before the discovery of Columbus; 3d, The Relation of the voyage made to Canada, in 1632; 4th, In-

formation to the King on the Affairs of New France.

The following works were announced as in preparation: A work on the Beauharnais family; and a biographical sketch of Dr. Sarrazin, the botanist, by the Abbé Verrean. A work on the Judiciary organization of Canada, by J. U. Baudry. A work on Mr. Samuel de Champlain, and one on the Sites of the ancient Cemeteries of the City of Montreal, by R. Bellemare.

The President informed the meeting that the books, documents, and manuscripts of the late Commander Viger, have been secured for the Montreal Historical Society, whenever a sufficient fund is raised.

#### Notes and Queries.

##### NOTES.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS, NEW YORK, 1758.—I send you a copy of an article taken from the *Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence and Monthly Chronicle*, published at Dublin, in 1758:

"His Excellency, the Earl of London, embarked from this place for Albany, on Thursday, Oct. 20th; and we learn that, in the General Well, packet-boat, the last from England, came passenger a seaman named Edward Mariner, taken at Oswego, who, with almost three hundred more, sailed from Quebec the 18th of July last, in a Cartel, and arrived at Plymouth, in England, in Twenty-Eight days after.

"He informs, that when he left Canada, there were only eight regiments of regulars in that province, and not one ship of War in the Harbor of Quebec; but that in going down the River St. Lawrence they met about twenty sail of Transports under Convoy of two men-of-war and a Frigate, going up to Old France.

"He informs further, that the brave Col. Peter Schuyler, of the Jersey forces, taken at Oswego, is still kept in Canada, but was in good health; and the great support of many English prisoners there, who would suffer great extremities, if they did not receive frequent assistance from his liberal hand.

"Provisions were very scarce there at the time; and it was said that the remainder of the prisoners would be sent to Old France this fall. From Ulster County, in this Colony, we hear of frequent ravages still committed by the Indians, notwithstanding its affinity to so large an army of our soldiers. Indeed it seems next to impossible for any force whatsoever, entirely to guard

against the depredations of those skulking murderers.

"A number of artificers are at work on the common, near fresh-water, behind the City of New York, to erect a range of Barracks 422 feet long, capable of receiving 1000 soldiers.

"The building is to be finished at the expense of the corporation, and carried on with all possible expedition."

EXTRACTS FROM THE FREDERICKSBURG ORDERLY BOOK, 1778.—

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG, Oct. 10, 1778.

A gen' court martial of the Line whereof Col. Patten is appointed President, is ordered to assemble at the president's quarters next Monday morning, at 9 o'clock, and set at such place as he shall appoint, for the trial of such persons as shall be brought before them. Lieut.-col<sup>o</sup>. Loreing, Maj. Hart, and a Capt<sup>n</sup> from N. Carolina Brigade, one from each of the Pennsylvania Brigades, two from each of the Connecticut, and three from Gen' Nixon's, will attend as members.

At a gen' court martial held at Bedford, the 8th of Oct., 1778, by order of Gen' Scott, whereof Lieut. Col<sup>o</sup> Blagden was President, Elisha Smith, a private in Capt. Stoddard's company, in the 2<sup>d</sup> Regt. of Light Dragoons, was tried for deserting to the Enemy last August; for piloting them in an incursion into, and against the troops of these States; defrauding the public by selling his horse, arms, and accoutrements, and furniture, and clothing, in a treasonable manner to the Enemy; for uniting in insulting — his officer, while a prisoner among them. Found guilty of the 1st article, 6th section, and 3d article, 12th section of the Articles of War, and sentenced to suffer death. His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, approves the sentence, and orders P. Elisha Smith to be executed next Monday, the 12th inst., 11 o'clock forenoon, at or near Bedford, as Gen' Scott shall direct.

*Brigade Orders.*—The Brigade to be served with a gill of Rum, P<sup>r</sup> Man this evening. The following summary of the duties of the Marachausee Corps command<sup>d</sup> by Capt. Vanheer, is published for the information of the army at large. The Gen' hopes, that the Institution, by putting men on their guard, will operate more in preventing, than punishing crimes. While the Army is encamped, the officers of the corps are to patrol the camp and its neighborhood, for the purpose of apprehending marauders, deserters, drunkards, rioters, and stragglers; under which last denomination are included all soldiers who are found beyond the nearest pickets, in front and on the flanks, and beyond the distance of one mile—estimated from the center of the encampment in

the rear. They are likewise to apprehend all other soldiers that may be detected in a violation of Gen' Orders—all countrymen or strangers whose appearance or manner excites suspicion of their being Spies, and are not furnished with passes from some Gen' officer, the Q. M. G. or the Commissary Gen' of provision and Forage. Capt. Vanheer is to keep an exact list of all licensed suttlers, and confine any following the army who may presume to suttle without proper leave. Every newly appointed suttler is therefore to signify his appointment to Capt. Vanheer, and produce a proper certificate thereof.

On a day of march, this Corps with the provost guard is to remain on the old ground till the columns and Baggage have moved off, in order to secure all such soldiers as have loitered in camp, and the officers are to see, that the soldiers and women who march with the baggage, do not transgress the gen' orders. They will likewise secure all stragglers on the march; treating in this light all soldiers absent from their platoons without a Non Commissioned officer to conduct them.

On a day of battle, the Marachausee will be posted in the rear of the second line or reserve, in order to secure fugitives. The Commander-in-Chief strictly forbids all persons, whatever, to do or to say any thing against, that may attend to impede the officers of this corps in execution of their duty; on the contrary, he requires that they may be respected and assisted, as good order and discipline will be much promoted by the full exercise of their office. If any officer attempts to escape or presumes to offer resistance, he will incur double punishment, and all persons belonging to the Army, are required to succor any part of the Marachausee Corps that may be opposed in the prosecution of their duty. The Capt. of the Marachausee will have the usual provost Guard drawn from the line near him, and under his directions for the security of prisoners; he is every morning to deliver a written report of the prisoners committed the preceding day and the charges against them to the Adj' Genl., who will have proper courts martial held for their trial. This is to be considered a standing order, and as such to be published in the different parts of the army. Adjts. of Regts. are to have it frequently read to their men.

*Brigade Orders.*

Adjt to-morrow, Loomis.

S. S. C. P.  
Guard—0 1 2 13

HEADQUARTERS, Oct. 16, 1778.

To-morrow being the glorious anniversary of the surrender of Gen' Burgoyne and his troops to the arms of America, under the Command of

Maj. Genl. Gates, it will be commemorated by the firing of thirteen cannon from the Park of Artillery, at 12 o'clock.

*Brigade Orders.*

Adj't. to-morrow, Hodge.

Guard—1 <sup>s.</sup> 2 <sup>s.</sup> 1 <sup>c.</sup> 13 <sup>p.</sup>

*Parole*—Copenhagen.

*C. Signs.* { Chatham,  
Cape Ann.

Nixon's, Person's, and Huntington's Brigades to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. *Lieut. Richard Sill* is appointed Pay Master to the 8th Conn' Regt., from the 7th of Sept. last.

Purity of morals being the only sure foundation of public happiness in any country, and highly conducive to order, subordination, and success in an army, it will be well worthy the ——— of officers, of every rank and class to encourage it, both by the influence of example and the penalties and authority. 'Tis painful to see many shameful instances of riot and licentiousness—the wanton practice of swearing has risen to a most disgusting height. A regard to decency should conspire with a sense of morality to banish a vice productive of neither advantage nor pleasure. The recent robberies which have prevailed in the vicinity of camp are truly alarming, and demand the most vigilant exertions to detect perpetrators and bring them to the severest punishment.

Forage Guard—1 <sup>c.</sup> 1 <sup>p.</sup>

*Maj. Genl. McDougall's Orders.*

HEADQUARTERS, NEW MILFORD, Oct. 23, 1778.

The troops will march to-morrow morning, precisely at 8 o'clock. The assemble will beat at 7. The tent-poles are to be tied up with Straw, and put in the bottom of the wagons. The tents are to be carefully rolled up and put upon the top. No baggage to be put upon the tents. As the roads before the Division in the line of march are exceedingly bad, and the horses not sufficiently able to draw the wagons, the men are to carry camp-kettles in their hands, and put straw about them, to prevent blacking their clothes. No knapsacks or sick soldiers to be put into the wagons; the latter are to be taken up in the rear by Ox-teams provided for that purpose.

*Morning Orders.*

CAMP SECOND HILL, N. MILFORD, Sept. 25, 1778.

As the bridge over Shippaugh River could not be finished by ten, this morning, the troops will repose themselves and attend divine service this

day. The field officers of the day will ride round the camp and cause to be taken prisoner every man who shall be found rioting, making any disturbance or burning the fences.

*Morning Orders.*

Oct. 26, 1778.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief has desired the troops to remain here till further orders. As the division is now at rest, let us not forget our God, who has appeared for us and America in innumerable instances, in the hour of our distress. Let prayers be attended morning and afternoon, in fair weather, at such hours as the commanding officers of Brig<sup>ds</sup> shall direct. This order to be constantly obeyed when the division is encamped. The Genl. flatters himself his officers will give the troops the virtuous example of attending at all times divine service. A *sober* sergeant's party will patrol the camp of their respective Brigades and take prisoners all such non-commissioned officers and soldiers as shall be found straggling about or making any noise or disorder to the dishonor of God and the Division.

Oct. 29, 1778.

The proprietors of the woodland on which the troops are now encamped, complain that the soldiers cut the trees too far from the root. For the future, such trees as the troops shall cut for wood, must be cut one foot from the ground. Those cut at greater height must be reduced to that height by fatigue parties. The Q. Masters of Corps will prevent the unnecessary waste of wood, by pointing out the Old timber to the troops and using that first. No chestnut will be cut, as this is of great moment to the inhabitants in making fences.

Nov. 1, 1778.

The Honorable Continental Congress having on the 12 of Oct. last, passed a Resolution to discourage profaneness in the Army, it is inserted in the orders of this Division for the information of the officers; and Genl. McDougall hopes for their aid and countenance in discouraging and suppressing a vice so dishonorable to human nature.

"*Resolved*, That all officers in the Army of the United States be, and are hereby strictly enjoined to see that the good and wholesome rules provided for the discontinuance of profaneness and vices and the preservation of morals among the soldiers, are duly and punctually obeyed."

TORY MOVEMENTS IN NEW JERSEY.—Under this heading, in the last number of the *Historical*

*Magazine* (vol. v., p. 17), it is attempted to present, in the person of a certain "John Lawrence," an expansion of Coleman's witty idea of "two," into "four single gentlemen rolled into one," but without success.

The "John Lawrence, Esq.," referred to in the letters given in the article, was undoubtedly of Monmouth county, within which were all the localities named.

The "Doctor John Lawrence," with whom the foregoing is presumed to be identified, was a physician of Perth Amboy; and it was there that *he* and others were arrested by Major Duyckinck. (See Whitehead's "Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy," &c., p. 330.)

The "John Lawrence, probably the same," who was in the Assembly, in 1767, was of Burlington, and the father of Commodore James Lawrence, of "Don't give up the ship" celebrity.

And "Lientenant Lawrence," mentioned by Sabine, had nothing in common with the other three, save the name; but I have failed in determining to what part of the State he belonged.

NEWARK, N. J.

W. A. W.

ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM GEN. WAYNE.—

TICONDEROGA, Feby 3d, 1777.

SIR: I am at this moment favored with yours of the 27th ultimo, Requesting a Return of the number of Persons belonging to your State Inlisted into the New Army.

There are no troops from your State on this Ground except Simons & Robinson's Regiments of Militia—none of the men inlisted longer than the 18<sup>th</sup> March.

I am next to Inform you that the Garrison is very weak—whatever troops are Destined for this post from your State—I must in the most pressing manner Request you to push on with all possible Dispatch.

You'll please to lay this before the Council and believe me

Your most Ob<sup>t</sup>

Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

ANT<sup>y</sup> WAYNE, *Col.*  
*Com<sup>d</sup>.*

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq.,

President of the Council  
of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

TICONDEROGA, April 1st, 1777.

DEAR BROTHER: I have for some time given over all expectation of receiving any more letters from any of my friends. I will do them the justice to believe that they have not forgotten me, but owing to some fatality none of their favors reach here. I hope those from me pass safe.

A few days since we had a party of thirty men and officers killed and made prisoners by a body

of Indians headed by a British officer. One of our people made his escape the next day after his capture, and says the enemy are all collected at Montreal, Chamblee, St. Johns and their vicinity, waiting ready to come on in full force as soon as the Lake opens.

I am constantly employed in manœuvring them, and have selected 300 on whom I can depend; so that in case of an attack—even in the present destitute state of the Garrison—they will not carry it without the loss of human gore.

My situation as Commandant of this port would subject me to insult and contempt *as a prisoner*. The motley appearance of the troops would justify it, being one-third negroes, mulattoes and Indians, one-third children, and little boys wretchedly clothed and more wretchedly armed and disciplined—but the other third will entitle me to some respect, even from the most malignant foe. If I should not be fortunate enough to conquer with them they will at least save my memory from contempt.

I have wrote Polly about the education of my little girl and boy. Pray afford your assistance to form their young minds. I would have my daughter's education to be as useful, easy and polite as possible—my son to be made the first of scholars. Perhaps at one day his country may call him forth when I trust he will not turn aside from Honor, although the path should be marked by his father's blood. Farewell, and be assured that whatever may be the fate of this Garrison (as I have a mind that I cannot brook contempt) you will never see or hear ranked among the number of Prisoners, the name of your faithful friend and most ob<sup>t</sup>. Hum. serv<sup>t</sup>.

ANT<sup>y</sup> WAYNE.

ARM. ROBINSON, Esq.

ABENAKI (vol. v., p. 28).—To my previous note, please add: In the Japanese part of "country" as the definition of the adjunct "kone;" and also in the final definition. "The Eastern country, or kingdom."

After "Waban add:

The Eastern Indians pronounce this with a naso-labial sound, as if the first syllable partook of the rapid combination on *n* and *m*: as "Waamb." It is doubtless from the same monosyllabic root as the Natic "Wompi," *white*, whence Wampum, *white shells*, used as money.

BRUNOVICUS.

APEES.—Philadelphia has long enjoyed the reputation of a peculiar cake called the *apee*. Thousands who partake of them have no conception of the origin of their name. Ann Page, lately living under another name and business, first made them, many years ago, under the common name

of cakes. The aged may remember her small frame house in Second-street, two doors north of Carter's alley. On her cakes she impressed the letters A. P., the initials of her name; and from this cause, ever since the initials have been disused on them, the cakes have continued to be called *apces*. H. H.

ELIOT'S BIBLE.—A writer in the *N. A. Review* (Oct., 1860, p. 431) remarks: That "it may be questioned whether his (Eliot's) translation of the Bible was of any service to them (the Indians of Massachusetts). It is more than doubtful whether his version was within itself clearly intelligible: for in the absence of lexicons, and in the exceeding poverty of the native tongue, the words that he was compelled to employ must have been often unsuited to the material objects which they designated, and still oftener inadequate to the spiritual ideas they were intended to convey. And were this otherwise, we can hardly imagine that the subjects of his ministry could have acquired the art of reading with sufficient facility to profit by his labors."

It may not be easy at the present day to pronounce a perfect judgment on the merits of this literary labor of the "Apostle to the Indians," as there are few indeed, though there are some, who can read this result of his toil well enough to compare portions of it with the original; and to see, that if the Indian language did not furnish terms enough for all the "material objects" and "spiritual ideas" of the Divine communication, it was still not enough to enable him to furnish a compact paraphrase, where he could not give an exact translation, and doubtless as good as similar examples in the Septuagint. Where this source failed to supply his needs, he borrowed terms from the English; and, when the construction required, accompanied them with Indian terminations to answer his purpose. This experience is apparent in his adaptation of such words as: "altar," "oxen," "goat," "wine," and names of other objects, which, being of foreign introduction, had no native word for their designation.

As to the inutility of this version to the natives, brought directly or indirectly under the influence of Eliot's labors, it may be remarked, that there is now in the Library of Bowdoin College, a well-preserved copy of the "second other" \* edition, which, in the Psalms, the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and all the New Testament, bears striking evidence of its having been in constant use in the hands of persons who resorted to it with great and long-continued frequency. Indeed the appearance of all its pages, and the metrical

Psalms at the end, show it to have been the long and familiar comparison of one or many readers, who were doubtless Indians; for who else would use it so diligently as its appearance shows it was used? And who shall limit the benefit conferred on the heathen mind, which thus came in contact with revealed truth? And, if on one, why not on many? B.

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#### QUERIES.

ROCKING-CHAIRS.—When were rocking-chairs first introduced into use? I have seen none that appeared older than seventy or eighty years. They are an American invention. P.

COLDEN.—In "An Elegy upon the Death of the Rev. Alexander Colden, late Minister of the Gospel at Oxname," by Geo. Robson, are the following lines:

"He had no children left, excepting twa,  
The one of whom is in America."

This one was Lt.-gov. Colden, of New York. Is there a copy of this elegy in this country, and what is its full title?

RECORDS OF GRANVILLE, MASS.—Belcher Noyes, Esq., of Boston, was clerk of the proprietors of Bedford township, now town of Granville, Mass., and had possession of the proprietors' books of surveys, deeds, grants, gifts, &c., &c., one hundred years since. Are those records in possession of his descendants? If so, where? If not, where are they?

NEW YORK.

SAM'L B. BARLOW, M. D.

THE JOURNAL OF COL. R. J. MEIGS.—Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," Cincinnati, 1852, purports on its title-page to contain "A Journal of Occurrences which happened in the Circles of the Author's personal Observation, in the Detachment commanded by Col. Benedict Arnold, consisting of two Battalions of the U. S. Army, at Cambridge, Mass., in A. D. 1775; by Col. R. J. Meigs." My copy, however, does not contain any such journal. Is it in any of the copies?

FATHER MEURIN'S LIBRARY AND MANUSCRIPTS.—In Morse's "Indian Report" (New Haven, 1822), Father Meurin, who died at Prairie du Rocher, in 1778, is said to have left a valuable library, and a manuscript dictionary of the In-

\* Nahohtôeu antchetôc.—Title-page.

dian (? Illinois) and French languages in twenty-four volumes. Can any reader of the *Magazine* tell what became of his books and papers? S.

PRIBER.—By whom is this celebrated secretary to the Cherokees first styled a Jesuit, and on what authority? To what province of the order did he belong? Where had he been a missionary, and when did he arrive in America? S.

FIRST ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN BOOKS.—What was the first American book, with illustrations on wood, copper, or steel? II.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS IN VERSE.—Who was the author of "A Versification of President Washington's excellent Farewell Address to the Citizens of the United States. By a gentleman of Portsmouth, N. H. Published according to act of Congress. Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Printed and sold by Charles Pierce, at the Columbian Bookstore, No. 6, Daniel Street, 1798?"

JOHN HIGGINSON.—Can any one of your numerous readers give an account of a Rev. John Higginson, one of the Pilgrims. Was he married? Did he die in this country or return to England? Were there any others of the same name at that time? F. G.

ANNAPOLIS, Md.

INTRODUCTION OF MERINO SHEEP (vol. iv., p. 278; v., 26).—The *New England Palladium* (Boston), of June 4, 1802, thus notices the arrival, at New York, of the merino sheep imported by Col. Humphreys:

"Some of the finest breed of Spanish sheep, called *Merinos*, were landed at New York, last week, from a ship from *Lisbon*. They produce nearly twice as much wool in quantity as common sheep, and the quality is greatly superior."

The same newspaper, for June 15th, has this paragraph:

"It has been suggested, that the sheep of the *merino's* breed, which were brought to *New York* a few weeks since, from *Lisbon*, were the first ever imported into the *United States*. Attention to improve the breed of the sheep of the country, wherever and whenever it appears, merits praise; and the *New York* gentleman is fully entitled to it. But it will not be considered improper to observe, that two of the sheep of the above breed were brought into *Boston*, some time since, and one is still living in this State."

The question now arises, who brought to Bos-

ton this first pair of merinos, "some time" before the importation of Col. Humphreys? J. H. T.  
HARTFORD, Ct., Jan. 11, 1860.

#### REPLIES.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ACT FOR THE GRADUAL EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES (vol. v., p. 25).—A correspondent of the *Historical Magazine* asks the question: Who drafted the Pennsylvania Act for the emancipation of Slaves? He says that a writer in the *North American Review*, January, 1860,—reviewing Horace Binney's sketch of "The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia,"—assigns the credit of having drafted the said Act, to William Lewis. He adds, however,—in opposition to the reviewer,—that "the tradition of the profession in Pennsylvania, certainly attributes the authorship of that Act, and its greatly admired preamble, to George Bryan, a man who held the pen of a ready writer, and who would have attained great eminence in any other State than Pennsylvania." He therefore desires to know "who was the drawer of that Act?"

It affords me much satisfaction to be enabled to give what I regard as a decisive answer to his question. Judge Bryan died on the 27th of January, 1791,—and a day or two later, a sketch of his history, from the pen of a friend and contemporary, was published in John Dunlap's paper, the *American Advertiser*, of Philadelphia. From that sketch,—as reprinted by Mathew Carey, in his *American Museum* (vol. ix., pp. 82, 83, note),—the following is an extract:

"Amidst the pressing hurry of business, the rage and clamors of party, and tumult of war and invasion—in despite of innumerable prejudices, he planned and executed the '*Act for the gradual abolition of Slavery*.'"

Hon. Wm. B. Reed,—in his "Life and Correspondence of President Reed" (vol. ii., pp. 177-8, note),—says the authorship had been loosely assigned to President Reed, Mr. Bryan, Thomas Paine, and Dr. Franklin. He adds, however, "I am indeed in possession of no evidence which authorizes me to claim the honor for President Reed." He states that Franklin had been for several years in Europe; that Paine's claim probably rested "on the fact that he was elected Clerk to the Assembly on the day that the bill was reported, but there is no resemblance in the style to justify this pretension;" and he concludes thus: "My own best judgment on the subject is, that George Bryan was the author of the Preamble."

Judge Bryan's remains were interred in the Archs-treet Presbyterian burying-ground, Phila-

delpia. The following is a copy of the inscription on his monument:

"In memory of George Bryan, who died 27th January, 1791, aged 60 years. Mr. Bryan was among the earliest and most active and uniform friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary War. As a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and of the Congress at New York, in 1765, and as a citizen, he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny. He was equally an opponent of domestic slavery. The emancipation of the people of color engaged the feelings of his heart and energies of his mind, and *the Act of Abolition* (which) laid the foundation of their liberation, *issued from his pen*. He filled several important offices during the Revolutionary Contest, and, for the last eleven years of his life, he was one of the judges of the Supreme Court. In his private deportment he was exemplary,—a Christian in principle and practice." (*Vide* "Life and Correspondence of President Reed," vol. ii., p. 481, Appendix).

I think that this contemporary testimony, and the well-considered opinion of the Hon. Wm. B. Reed, indisputably establish the claim of Judge Bryan to the authorship of the Pennsylvania Act for the gradual emancipation of Slaves. Much circumstantial evidence, leading infallibly to the same conclusion, is in my possession. I do not deem it necessary, however, to use this evidence. I am preparing a biographical sketch of Judge Bryan, supplying many omissions and correcting several errors of the published accounts of that distinguished Irish-American, of whom Dr. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, remarked: "Such an assemblage of universal qualifications and virtues, as adorned the character of our departed friend, but seldom unite in a single man." (*Vide* Funeral Sermon, preached Jan. 30, 1791.) M. II.

54 CARROLL-STREET, BROOKLYN,  
Jan. 8, 1861.

MISS ELIZABETH LLOYD (vol. v., p. 24).—The poem of this lady, of which it is the merest justice to say, that it is worthy of the subject and almost worthy to come from Milton himself, is given at length in the English N. and Q., 2d Ser., vol. v., p. 114, where reference with regard to it is made to Milburn's "Lectures" (of New York), p. 101, London edition, 1857.

GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN (vol. v., p. 24).—He was a citizen of Philadelphia, and his name stands first on the list of original members of the Society of "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick;"

composed of Presbyterians, Catholics, Episcopians, and Quakers; he was also its first president.

He was a native of Ireland, and brother to the Catholic bishop of Cork. He entered the army of the Revolution, enjoyed the confidence of Gen. Washington, became his aid-de-camp. He rose to the rank of brigadier-general, in Pennsylvania.

In the year 1778, when men's souls were tried, when the army was in danger of being compelled to yield to famine, self-sacrificing Philadelphians supplied the place of the slumbering patriotism of the country, and saved her cause from disgraceful ruin. In this emergency was conceived and carried into execution "the Plan of the Bank of Pennsylvania," established for the purpose of supplying the army of the United States with provisions for two months," and about six hundred thousand dollars of its funds were subscribed by twenty-seven members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

General Moylan died in Philadelphia on the 11th of April, 1811. J. H. C.

PHILADELPHIA.

His regiment was the 4th Pennsylvania Light Dragoons. After the peace, he resided on a farm in Goshen. He was register and recorder of Chester Co., Penn., from April 7, 1792, to Dec. 13, 1793.—*Notæ Cestrienses*.

[A sister of his was one of the foundresses of the Ursuline order in Ireland, of which the convent at Mt. Benedict was a filiation.]

## Notes on Books.

*Life of Andrew Jackson*. In three volumes. By James Parton. Volume III. New York: Mason Brothers, 1860. 8vo, 734 pp.

MR. PARTON has concluded his *Life of Jackson* with the same well-bestowed amount of diligence in the collection and preparation of his copious materials, which marked the commencement of his work. He has diligently consulted public documents, pamphlets, newspapers, histories, biographies, and original manuscript sources, in correspondence, &c.; and to all these he has frequently added the testimony of living witnesses. He has spared no pains in making obscure matters plain by familiarity of statement and a practical method of illustration—resources quite as important as labors and research. There are writers, perhaps, who work harder than Mr. Parton, but few with a more profitable result, that is, if the end of literary labor be to render

knowledge accessible, intelligible, and inviting. One trait of this work, which renders its lessons satisfactory and agreeable, is the habit of the author to surround the subject by well-disposed lights, illustrating it, as it were, by skilfully arranged accessories. A passage from a book of travels, a significant editorial from a newspaper, the succinctly expressed deductions of others on the event, the best contemporary evidence, of whatever character, are all brought to bear in elucidating the particular theme. In this way, and by the easy colloquial manner to which we have alluded, such parts of the work as might be expected to be the least inviting (the political portions for instance), are not allowed to fall off from the general attractiveness. It is, taken as a whole, the most readable biography, for its extent, which has appeared, of any of our public men. Its statements are full; its views candid, and frankly expressed. While the sterling qualities of its hero are justly appreciated and warmly set forth to the admiration of the reader, his errors and defects of temperament are not obscured. It has quite thrown into the shade all previous biographies of its subject.

*Essays, chiefly Philologica and Ethnological.*

By Robert Gordon Latham. London: Williams and Norgate, 1860. 8vo, 418 pp.

MR. LATHAM is not unknown in this country, and several of the papers in this work bear on American Ethnology. These are on the languages of Oregon Territory, the Ethnography of Russian America, Miscellaneous Contributions to the Ethnography of North America, Languages of New California, Ethnographical Philology of Central America, the Languages of Northern, Western, and Central America. They cover American Ethnology pretty completely, but are too superficial to add any real riches to our stores. Names suffer sadly, and the endeavors to draw arguments from mere names, without any investigation of their origin, leads to queer results. As a ludicrous instance, take the attempt to identify Stinkard, an English translation of the term applied to the plebeian Natchez, with Tunica, the name of a tribe notoriously differing in language, p. 408. Elsewhere he says "the Nottoways being Algonquin." The name Nottoway, is indeed an Algonquin word, being the usual one given by Algonquin tribes to the Iroquois tribes, and apparently meaning *cruel*. The Algonquin name for the Dacotas is of the same root, Nadonessiouex. The Nottoways call themselves *Cherohaka*, and their language is of the family of the Wyandot, Tionontate, Iroquois, and Susquehanna. Haka (haga), like ronon, meant

people. They are then the Cheros or Cheraws. He puts the Tuscaroras in California! Begert's Nachrichten von Californien, becomes the somewhat verbose Mannheim account, namely the anonymous work of a Jesuit missionary of the Waikur country published at Mannheim.

There is however much in the work to make it a tolerable addition to our ethnological library.

*Le Mariage aux Etats Unis, par Auguste Charlier.* Paris: Hachette, 1860. 264 pp.

MR. CHARLIER, an intelligent, observant lawyer, visited this country some years since, and, after examining our institutions, has given his views of the marriage relation as it exists in the United States. He labors under one fundamental error, running through his work, in his supposition that in New England, marriage was, from the origin, "consecrated by the pastor by the imperative prescription of the law." On the contrary, for a long time after the settlement of New England, the minister was not the official witness of the marriage contract. The parties are the contractors, but the presence of the clergyman has within the last few centuries been transformed into a ministerial act, and his words invested with a sort of magic power. Against this error the Puritans rebelled, and to show their utter abhorrence, had the marriage certified to by the civil magistrate. In France it is so now; if parties, from a conscientious motive, wish a church ceremonial performed, it neither increases nor diminishes the contract. It would be well that it were so here, and that the State should recognize no marriage that is not certified by a civil officer; for it seems abnormal for the State to make any one and every one styled a minister an officer for this purpose; but even New England has yielded to the prevailing idea, and on the occasion now calls in the services of the clergy.

Mr. Charlier exposes the barbarous common law as to married women, and our recent modifications of it, wiser in thought than in deed, and the efforts of women to modify it still more. His comparisons with the French law, will be found interesting and useful. The terrible facility of divorce, of course, excites his condemnation, as it does that of all intelligent men. In some States the recoil has already begun, in consequence of the abuses which have resulted.

*The Orderly Book* of that portion of the American Army stationed at Williamsburg, Va., under the command of Gen. Andrew Lewis, from March 13, 1776, to August 28, 1776. Printed from the original manuscript, with Notes and



Introduction, by Charles Campbell, Esq., author of "Introduction to History of the Old Dominion," "History of Virginia," etc. Richmond, Va.: Privately printed, 1860. Square 8vo, 100 pp.

This volume, beautifully printed by Munsell, of Albany, in the style of similar works in his series, is No. 1 of a series of "Historical Documents from the Old Dominion," which Mr. T. H. Wynne, of Richmond, has begun to print for circulation among his friends. He deplores the fact that so little care has been taken to preserve the most reliable authorities on early history; that is, the manuscripts written by those who lived and acted contemporary with the events which they have recorded. The fact which he deplores exists, as all feel. Valuable papers in the official bureaus, and in families, have been allowed to perish, or been rescued from the waste-box by some lucky chance. The latter was the happy fate of the most interesting Canadian Diary, and more recently, of Bolling's Vine Planting in Virginia. But while so many exclaim, What a pity! when the irreparable loss has occurred, how few take the simple means adopted by Mr. Wynne, of preventing the disaster. The amount expended on a dinner-party would often print precious documents in the possession of a family, and leave what the family could always view with honest pride. Mr. Wynne deserves great credit, and will we trust find imitators.

The present volume is an Orderly Book of an early part of the war, and has been edited by a most competent hand, the Historian of Virginia; but we regret that he did not think more of readers out of his State.

Virginians doubtless know as household words the names of the officers in Lewis's division, but to students in other parts of the country, fuller notes on their services would have been most acceptable, and without, as happens in the opposite extreme, magnifying each soldier into a hero.

*Names of Persons for whom Marriage Licenses were issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York, previous to 1784.* Printed by order of Gideon J. Tucker, Secretary of State. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1860. 8vo, 480 pp.

This catalogue of marriages in New York, running from 1660 to 1781, will be of great service in assisting genealogical research, and often in examination of titles. Though not mentioned in the title, there is an Introduction by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, on the origin of marriage licenses. This embraces a general view of the law of marriage from the Dutch times. Marriages by license

do not comprise all; but simply those for which a dispensation from the publication of banns was granted by the governor's license. These licenses issued on the giving of a bond in behalf of the parties; and, in illustration, the editor gives the bond filed to obtain the license for the marriage of Richard Montgomery and Janet Livingston. Two letters of Bishop White throw considerable light on the custom. The number of marriages, of which the record is preserved in this volume, must number at least 20,000.

*The New Hampshire Annual Reporter and United States Calendar, for the year 1861.* By G. Parker Lyon. Concord: G. P. Lyon. 108 pp.

This useful little manual maintains its character. The historical student will find in the Introduction, the New Hampshire Act of 1692, which is claimed to be the first establishing a post-office. Power to establish post-offices was granted by letters-patent under the great seal of England, to Thomas Neal, on the 17th Feb., 1691, and the colonial acts seem to have followed soon after.

*Analysis of the Cartoons of Raphael.* New York: Chas. B. Norton, 1860. 18mo, 141 pp.

The diffusion of well-engraved copies of the master-pieces of art, cannot but tend to elevate the taste of a people. Mr. Norton, who has recently circulated so many copies of the engravings of the cartoons, has in this little volume given a guide to afford those who are not avowedly connoisseurs, some light towards an appreciation of their beauties. The little volume is got up with Mr. Norton's usual taste.

*Rehoboth in the Past.* An Historical Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1860, by Sylvanus Chase Newman, A. M., &c. Also an Account of the Proceedings in Seekonk [the ancient Rehoboth], at the celebration of the day completing 216 years of its history. Pawtucket: Robert Sherman, 1860. 112 pp.

This Address and account, with the Illustrative Notes, and full Index, will be welcomed as well for its merit, accuracy, and research, as for the endeavor to do all things well. Rehoboth has been the parent of seven towns, and in part of three or four more. Its founder was the Rev. Samuel Newman, the author of the first English concordance; and among its eminent men, it boasts also of Thomas Willet, New York's first mayor.

*Result of some Researches among the British archives for information relative to the Founders of New England, made in the years 1858, 1859, and 1860, &c.* By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: 1860. 131 pp.

HISTORIC students will welcome this volume, which as its simple title shows, embodies the results of the researches of the zealous and capable antiquarian, Drake. Full indexes make its use easy as a work of reference.

### Miscellany.

THE interesting letter from Hon. Charles Sumner to Mr. Jared Sparks, on p. 38, makes known for the first time, in America, the home and resting-place of the immediate English ancestors of Washington.

Both Sparks and Irving describe their visits to Sulgrave, the home of a branch of the Washington family; and they give copies of the inscription, bearing the date of 1564, over the grave of some of its members. In the genealogical table in the Appendix of Sparks' "Life of Washington," it is mentioned that Lawrence Washington was buried at Brington; but neither Sparks nor Irving, nor, as we believe, any American writer, ever sought out the quiet English parish, and the traces it might show of the Washingtons.

The Hon. Charles Sumner, when on a visit, in the autumn of 1859, to Earl Spencer, at Althorp, identified the memorial stones in the neighboring parish church, as being those of the immediate relatives of the Washingtons who emigrated to America.

Earl Spencer sought out the quarry, from which more than two centuries ago, the material for these native stones was taken, and had others made, which are exact *fac-similes* of the originals. These he has presented to the Hon. Charles Sumner, who, as appears by this letter, proposes to offer them to the State of Massachusetts.

MR. PARTON is engaged upon the life of Franklin, and intends, we hear, to devote considerable time to it. We shall look for an entertaining and valuable work.

SINCE it is announced that Mr. Buchanan will favor the public, after his retirement from office, with a series of sketches of men eminent in political life, of whom there has heretofore been no fitting memorial, it may not be a violation of any confidence to say, that it is believed he will

undertake a more formal work with regard to President Polk.

DEAN DUDLEY, Jr., has made some extensive collection of material for a history of Exeter, N. H., and will issue it as soon as his subscription-list fills.

JAS. VEECH is progressing with his History of Southwestern Pennsylvania, on which he has been long engaged.

THE REDWOOD LIBRARY AT NEWPORT, R. I.—The catalogue of this venerable New England Library, is prefaced by a very interesting account of the institution, from the pen of Mr. David King, of Newport. This historical sketch has also been published separately. Some of the ancient facts are curious and suggestive. The developments, origin, and recent prosperity of the Redwood Library, are identified with the growth and social traits of Newport; no similar institution is associated with so many illustrious names—if we except Harvard College Library.

ROBERT CURRY, a Revolutionary veteran, died of starvation, at his residence, on the Hamilton road, near the Mohawk canal bridge, Ohio, in December, 1860.

The deceased was one hundred and two years of age, born in Little York, Pennsylvania, in 1758. At the age of thirteen he enlisted as a drummer-boy in the Continental army, and served through the Revolution. He went to Cincinnati in the year 1816, and resided there till death removed him to a better world.

IN New York, on Jan. 5, 1861, Rev. HENRY ANTHON, D. D., for many years rector of St. Mark's church.

Deceased was in his 68th year, and was the son of Dr. Anthon, a distinguished German physician, who came to this country with the English army during the Revolution, but made this his home.

DEATH OF MR. WATSON, THE ANNALIST.—Mr. JOHN F. WATSON, the author of "Annals of Philadelphia," and a contributor to our columns, died at his residence at Germantown, Dec. 23, 1860, after a short illness, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was born at Batsto, Burlington county, N. J. For a number of years he was a bookseller upon Chestnut-street, Philadelphia, and subsequently cashier of the bank of Germantown, and Treasurer and Secretary of the Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown Railroad Company. We purpose giving a sketch of his life in our next number.

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. V.]

MARCH, 1861.

[No. 3.

## General Department.

SOME ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH  
LOUISIANA.BY LIEUT. JOHN THOMAS, OF THE ROYAL REGI-  
MENT OF ARTILLERY.

As I had frequent Opportunities for the space of three Years to make my Observations on French Louisiana in North America some of the Particulars are as Follows—

New Orleans, the Capital, is situated about the Center of the Island; on the Banks of the Mississippi on the East side of that River. Notwithstanding French and Spanish oppression, the Town is in a flourishing state sending forth Indian Traders into all the Interior Parts of British America to the source of the Mississippi, Ohio, Wabash &c interspersing themselves among Various Savage Nations, Even those on the Lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, Ontario &c and have a Communication so far as Cannada, Saturating the Savages with the Notions and Extensive Power of their King and his good Intentions towards them, but from what Political View Time may Discover.

The Land on both Sides the Mississippi, from the Entrance or mouth of the River belongs to the French for the space of seventy Leagues by which means, New Orleans may with Propriety be Called a Key not only to an Extensive, but one of the most Delightfull Country's in the Universe, and except a Particular Scheme takes place Concerning the Savages I am thoroughly Convinced, that so long as the French remain in Possession of that Country that Various Nations of Indians, will not be firmly attached to the English Interest give them what they please, as to presents, &c., and if any should be issu'd to these Savages, for the future it should be performed by a Commissary appointed for the District of the Mississippi only, three Year's experience having Convinced me of the inconveniency attending, the Great Distance from Charles Town, South Carolina, it being the place of Residence of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs,

who gives Orders and Directions to the Deputy Superintendents in His Southern District of North America; at present no Deputy or Commissary is appointed for the Mississippi but if one was ordered there, the service must suffer, if he's oblig'd to wait many Months, perhaps the best part of a year for his Orders, and Directions from Charles Town which I Experienced not from any Neglect, but from the Intercate Navigation and the few Oppertunitys of forwarding Letters; As that Town has no Trade to New Orleans.

If the Town of New Orleans, was in the English Possession; it would be impossible for the Indians to be supplied, with any Kind of Goods except from a British Markett, Neither would it be practicable for an Enemy (from the Sea) to recover the Place, as a handfull of Troops would be a sufficient for its Defence: The Country is a fat and Fertile Tract of Land gain'd in the Gulf of Mexico upwards of Sixty Leagues almost Surrounded by the Sea, Lakes, and Swamps, and on Each Side of the Mississippi the Ground has a Gradual Descent, to the Swamps, Lakes and Sea, which is Convenient for the Inhabitants as they may with Ease Cutt the Banks of the River for Sawmills and other purposes as the water may be turned in any Direction.

The Floods from the North, Come rushing on in the Spring of the Year, and continue about Four Months, and are prevented from overflowing the adjacent Country: By a Bank of Earth thrown up for that purpose, whatever water Passes over the Banks or thro' outlets never return to its former Bed or Channel, but is Disembogued from the East and West Side into the Gulf of Mexico. The Deep Stream of this Pleasant River glides on in Smooth Silence, with great Rapidity: by means of the Torrent Battoes, or Vessels Passing up are oblig'd to keep so near the Banks as Possible: So that if Battery's of Canon was Placed near the River Especially at the Angles, no Ship or Battoe, could Pass; or bring her Guns to Bear, by means of a strong Serpentine Stream, and its Depth. Warping is the Proper Method to pass certain points or Crescents of Land which I Think cannot be Performed Close under the Enemies' Heavy Ordnance, Besides no river on Earth can be better Calculated for send-

ing Rafts of Fire Down the Stream to destroy the Enemies Shipping.

The Englishman's Turn is about Six Miles below the Town of New Orleans, there the River takes almost a Circular Course, both Sides have already been fortified with Heavy Cannon lately Dismantled. If Battery's should at any Time be Erected at that Place, No Ships in my Opinion would be able to pass them or Troops on the Land as impassable Swamps, are Close in rear to these Batterys: However in the First Place the Balise or the Entrance, of the River must be Passed, and Individuals may talk as they Please, but as for my own Part I am of Opinion that if Proper precautions were taken by the Troops and Inhabitants, that an Enemy would be much embarrass'd in the Enterprize and not Succeed in the Attempt against a Tolerable Resistance, for it is to be observ'd that Merchant Ships are oblig'd to Lighten, and Send their Goods about Two Miles up the River; the only Swampy Spot for that Purpose, this I experienced as the Captain of his Majesty's Sloop of war Nautilus, was under the necessity of Staving the Water Cask and send her Guns, and other Articles &c. on Board a Small Sloop of Ordnance Stores which I Commanded Being an Officer of Artillery on Board the same—Suppose a Battery was Erected on the said Spott, or Piles Drove for the Purpose it must have great Effect, upon Ships without Guns, or Boats full of Men passing within Point Blank Shot, in a situation not possible to Land; as both Sides of the River is a Continued Swamp for the space of several Leagues—I have already observ'd that the Banks further up the aforesaid River may in a short Time be fortify'd to prevent Ships from Passing, but if the Country in General, was to remain in the same Defenceless Situation as in January 1768: The Town of New Orleans would be an Easy acquisition, By an Approach that might be made. The Town is a neat Staccado, about Two Miles and half in Circumference containing about Four Thousand Souls (Including the Environs at least Ten Thousand) Without Platforms or Canon mounted for Service and about Three Hundred yards of the West Curtain has lately been taken Down.

Two Miles from the Town there is a Creek about four Miles in Length, which has a Communication to Mobile and Pensacola, thro Lake Ponchartrain, Between the Lake and Creek, There is a Small Fort Erected on an Artificial Bed of Earth which Commands the Entrance, that will admit Small Craft only to Pass this very Narrow Lague or Creek, Both sides of the same is a Swamp, as is the skirts of the whole Country for the Space of Eighty Leagues, as already mentioned, Bordering on the Lakes and Sea on each side of the Missisippi, which might Prevent a

Body of Troops from Marching to the Town Especially as a Number of Sloops or Boats, to pass the Lakes must be Built at Mobile or Pensacola, where the lowest Wages for Ship Carpenters is two Dollars p<sup>r</sup> Day and as it would take some Considerable Time to Complement them the Enemy being so near must know the design and have Time enough to throw up Works at proper Places and Collect or assemble, their Forces to defend the same.

If the Town was to be attacked, an Expedition ordered Down the River Ohio I think would be the safest, and best attended with much less Expence, I Grant that the Banks of the Missisippi commands Vessells and Battoes Beating against the stream but I am certain that Troops coming down the same, may take or pass any Battery they please if Conducted by any Person acquainted with that Country as otherwise the Battoes may fall down with the Current on a Fort or Battery that would Gall them very much, as to Depth of Water a first Rate Man of War may with Ease fall Down the stream, from the River Ohio so far as the Bar or said Balise. The Fort to pass down the River at present on the West side from the Ohio is that of Arkansas Natchez and Point Coupee, on the East side a Fort on the Banks of Ibberville (near to that of Fort Bute and a small Fort at the German Plantations all of them Staccado's of little or no Consequence.

The Number of Troops for the conquest of New Orleans my Superiors undoubtedly would be the best Judge. But if I may give my Opinions as an Officer from any Particular Observations, I think Fifteen Hundred well disciplined Troops and Two hundred faithfull Indians (which may be Proetred) would be sufficient to conquer all Louisiana, the Ordnance I would recommend is Light Field Canon, and Eight Inch Howitzers. I know a nation of Indians that I would Engage to bring over to the English Interest, they are not Inferior to the Warlike Chickasaws either in Number or Valour. I had the management of Indian Affairs on the Missisippi near three years. Tho a French Officer was order'd to receive my Salary Earn'd at the Hazzard of my Life I have Particular Reasons for mentioning my Notions of the Savages, as I am well convinced that if Proper methods was taken, that a strong Barrier might be formed not only to prevent the French or Spaniards from sending Troops up that River to Commence Hostility's but as a Check to the Savages in their Interest.—The Two hundred Indians I would Chuse to have employ'd on an Expedition to New Orleans is not from the Nations. I Propose to be adopted But those Indians I mean should in my Opinion be march'd over Land to the Natchezs and their wait for the little

Army from Fort Pitt as the Savages could subsist themselves by Hunting thro' the Woods, and at that Place Six Weeks Provision For Fifteen hundred Men at the First Embarkation from Fort Pitt, I think would be sufficient as the Troops may be at the Natchezs in three Weeks and from thence to New Orleans in three Days where all the Country is well stock'd with Indian Corn and Plenty of Cattle that cannot be Drove far into the Country by means of its Situation among Swamps. Where the Savages would not only be of use in procuring these Cattle but would throw a general Panick throughout the French Colony which would answer its desired Effect.—The Number of French and Spanish regular Troops in January 1768 did not exceed three Hundred Men from the Illinois to the Entrance of the River and most of the former absent from their Duty On trading Voyages &c. The Inhabitants are under most dreadful Apprehensions of being under the Spanish Yoke and have come to a resolution to Oppose the Landing of any Troops from that Nation for the Future. . . . It is said that Gen' Orelly is sail'd from the Havannah with four thousand Men in order to bring the French under Proper subjections, but if they should continue in the same resolution its my Opinion that the Gen' will not succeed in his Expedition for no Country can be better situated for its Defence against an Enemy from the Sea.

The Plantations on both sides of the Mississippi are very Good and Pleasantly situated on the Banks of its Serpentine Course having Orange Trees as Avenues to a Number of Houses for the Space of near thirty Leagues, and Stragling Hutts much farther the whole Country is well stock'd with Cattle Horses, Mules, Sheep, Poultry &c. the Soil likewise Produces Sugar, Indigo, Cotton Tobacco Rice and Indian Corn all in great Perfection and it is my Opinion that the Country would Answer extremely well for Breeding Silk Worms as the Mulberry Trees are in great abundance and in the season bear most excellent Fruit.

If New Orleans is to remain in Possession of the French or Spaniards I think it would be absolutely necessary to cut the Banks of the Mississippi near the River Ibberville as there is descent enough to make a free Navigation to Mobile and Pensacola as I am certain that such an Undertaking might be Executed if the Channel for that Purpose was to be cut in a Proper Direction. If some such Plan does not take Place the Indian Traders will of Course carry their Peltry (Collected in Various Regions) To New Orleans but if the said Channel was cut it would not only be of Service to those Traders in sending their Goods to a British Market but would

be a great Encouragement for Planters from Various Parts to settle on the Banks of the Mississippi as they would be able to send the Produce of their Farms to Mobile and Pensacola, where it would be very acceptable: Suppose some Families arrive at either Place they would have Thirty or Forty Leagues, By sea to the Balise or Entrance of the Mississippi, after that the Passage is often so tedious as to require three Weeks or a Month to New Orleans where they must Purchase or Hire a Boat or Battoe to take them to the Ibberville it being the nearest English Ground, about Seventy Leagues up the River, this I presume would be too Expensive for New Settlers. If the said Channel was cut there would be an easy Communication thro the Lakes from Mobile to Ibberville, and I should not in the least be surpriz'd if the whole Torrent of the Mississippi was to Pass that Way as the soil of the Country is accumulated from Oz'z and is of a slimy substance without the least Obstruction of Rising Ground Pebbles, or Stones of the smallest Scize. It is well known this River chang'd its Channel, at Point Coupee by meer Accident as two or three Men coming Down the River in a Canoe stopt at a Place where a small stream passed over its Banks in order to Proceed down the same a shorter Way; but as the Entrance of this little outlet was Choak'd up by Logs of Wood or some other obstruction these men fell to Work, and soon Clear'd Enough for the Canoe to Pass after that the Current had such effect that the Mississippi forced its Channel thro that very Place and continues its Course to this Day the old Bed of the River Remaining a Piece of stagnated Water with the Plantations still Keaped in Repair on the Banks thereof I am strongly of Opinion that if New Orleans was in Possession of the English that it would be absolutely necessary to cut a Channel for a Navigation from Ibberville to Mobile but not by throwing a greater Quantity of Water into that Ditch (commonly call'd the River Ibberville) which is only fill'd when the Floods come Tumbling from the North at which time only New Orleans is an Island; for the surface of the Mississippi is at least Twelve Feet lower than the Bed of Ibberville in the Winter which is chang'd as I have already observ'd by the Swell of the Great River which mounts to the Height of Twenty Five Feet Perpendicular.

Fort Panmure at the Natchezs is about Fifty Leagues above the Ibberville situated on a commanding Hill in a most Delightfull Country from which the Prospect is extensive and Charming to the Eye to see a Number of Hillocks and Fertile Valleys covered with strawberries so as to make the Country seem as if it were lined with Crimson with little Clumps of Trees agreeably Intermixed thro the Land there you behold the

Buffalo, Surly Bear and Rambling Deer stragling thro the Dainty Grass which harbours Plenty of Game, such as Pheasants Partridges Hares Wild Turkeys &c (But the adjacent Woods are far from being free from Carnivorous Animals) and to Compleat the Pleasing Prospect the Beautifull River Glides thro the Country in a Serpentine Course so as to be seen from the same Spot at different Places as it winds Round the Crescents or Points of Land the Spectator in pleasing Contemplation sees nothing wanting to Compleat the whole But Towns and Villages to render the same an improved Paradise. It is in general allow'd by the English and French Gentlemen that are acquainted with the Country that no Part of Europe is more Pleasant as to its Situation or fruitfulness of Soil: however the Fort is abandon'd but if any should be erect'd, for the Protection of the Planters, I think it should be fix'd further up the River, for obvious reasons.

As to the Post of Ibberville three years experience convinc'd me that no object was there to attract the Sight, to any amuseing View, Even Debar'd from the comforts of a Rural Life, our Hand Spikes, and Arms indeed were often handled by Savage Alarums & the occupied Spot of Ground was about four Acres cover'd with Large Trees Thrown Down crossing each other and the skirts of the same surrounded with Lofty Trees whose Intervals are fill'd up with impregnable Canes that intercept the fanning Breeze when exposed to the scorching Heat of the Sun and the Burning stings of tormenting Insects confin'd within the narrow Bounds or wrapp'd up in Hutts very insufficient for any Season of the Year as other Officers, was frequently reliev'd it may naturally be ask'd how, I come to remain so long in the Woods, the obvious Answer for Good of the Service, as an Artillery Officer acting in a civil as well as military Capacity: as it was the Case I appeal if my Salary, or Pay dont and ought to take Place accordingly at least I hope the Humane and Benevolent Reader will think my Claim to be Just and reasonable.

The Fort at Pensacola I must beg leave to take Notice that it is not Tenable neither is it well situated or will the Foundation Answer for a Proper Fort by which means I think it would be needless to Erect one on the Spot it now Stands on. The Landlock'd Bay is spacious enought to contain a Numerous Fleet of Large Ships that may Ride at Anchor in safety with Nineteen or twenty feet of Water over the Bar, at the Entrance of the Harbour on the left, there is a lofty Cliff of Sand, which would answer extremely well for a Fort to be Erect'd and that Guns to be fired in Barbe.

A Fort likewise ought to be fix'd on the other Side bearing oblique one from the other on the

Flat sands of Rose Island, at the Point and I think that the Cheapest and best method would be to Sink the Platforms, in the Sand, so that the muzzle of the Guns should be so near as Convenient Horizontal with High Water Mark with merlons in the Intervals.

As to the Country of Pensacola I cannot in justice speak in its favour, by which means I do not attempt to Describe the same. If any other of my Remarks, on that Florida should be agreeable or satisfactory to the sensible and Judicious Reader, I shall be happy in having taken up the Pen upon the Occasion.

JOHN THOMAS,

*Lieut. of the Royal Artillery.*

N. B. As The Government has thrown the Expence of the Indian Department on the Provinces, certain it is, that West Florida, in its Present State of Infancy, cannot afford any thing of the Kind. But as a Boundary Province I think it ought to be supported in the Expence of a Commissary of Indian affairs, for the Mississippi. Likewise the Presents he may Be authorized, to Distribute among the Savages, For if the French or Spaniards, on the Banks of that Extensive River should Play their Political Game with the Indians, without some Person in the English Service to Counteract the Effect of such Proceedings, the Consequences in all Probality, may be Severely Felt in the Remotest Colony's of British America.

[The foregoing curious account bears no date, but was evidently written after January, 1768, a date which he mentions, and before the arrival of Don Alexander O'Reilly, on the following year; for though Thomas alludes to him, he had not yet heard of his arrival and his severe measures at New Orleans. Our kind correspondent, E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq., gives the following note as to the services of the writer:

"John Thomas entered the Royal Artillery, January 1, 1759, as lieutenant fire worker; on May 1, 1765, was appointed second lieutenant in the 1st battalion of that corps; and first lieutenant, January 1, 1771, in the 4th battalion, which in 1775-6 was in America.

"His name is not in the army list for 1778. It is hence inferred that he fell in some of the engagements of the American campaign of 1777."]

#### LETTERS OF BRITISH OFFICERS IN AMERICA IN 1776.

WE extract the following Letters from Lady Georgiana Cavendish's recently published "Memoirs of Admiral Gambier." The writer of the

second refers to the death of the writer of the first, at the battle of Germantown:

STATTON ISLAND, August 4, 1776.

As for my writing you news from this, there has nothing as yet happened since my arrival in America of any consequence, but what by this time you have been fully acquainted with, except the arrival of General Clinton from the southward, where our fleet has suffered a good deal—whether by disagreement amongst the land and sea officers or not has not yet transpired; but we have burnt one of our frigates on account of her being so much shattered: two hundred men killed and wounded, forty of whom were killed on Sir P. P.'s quarter-deck, himself wounded in two places, and what is still worse, they did not succeed in silencing the battery. We are now in expectation of attacking the fellows very soon, and if I may be allowed to judge, there never was an army in better spirits nor in better health, two very important things for our present business. There arrived yesterday several ships, two companies of the Guards, three of Hessians, and some Highlanders, so we may expect the whole fleet immediately. I imagine the enemy's chief force is collected at New York, the more the better; it is thought that they mean to burn the town, but I hope they won't be suffered by the people of the province to destroy it. I have not heard from Lord Lindsay, which I most earnestly wish for, but surely they don't think of coming out to America, though my lord and I once talked of it, little thinking how near the time was that one of us was to go. Pray remember me very particularly to your father, mother, and sister; to the Mills's too, and any other of my old acquaintance.

And believe me, yours most obliged,

MARK ANTHONY MORGAN.

Pray write soon.

To WILLIAM PITT,  
Arlington-street, Picadilly, London.

PHILADELPHIA, October 23, 1777.

MY DEAR PITT: This campaign, though it began so late in the season, has been the most brilliant one that has been seen in America. General Howe, judging it impossible to carry his troops up the Delaware to Philadelphia, resolved to go round to Chesapeak Bay, and to pass by the lower counties of Pennsylvania to that city. General Clinton, with ten thousand men, was left at New York, and General Burgoyne, with ten thousand more, was on his march from Quebec to Albany.

This was the situation of the troops when I arrived at New York. The rebels made a stand near the Brandewyne River, over which our army was obliged to pass. Our troops passed

the river in three columns, and found the enemy posted on the heights, about two miles from the river. Notwithstanding seventeen miles fatiguing march, they immediately formed and marched on to the attack. The rebels stood their ground until our troops charged them with fixed bayonets, upon which they immediately decamped with great precipitation, and I fancy that hour would have put an end to the Yankee empire, if the darkness of the night and the fatigue of our troops had not rendered any longer pursuit impossible. General Washington was so alarmed that he never stopped to eat or drink till he arrived at Philadelphia, towards which our army then marched. Upon their approach, Washington intended, by sending a party to the other side of the Schuylkill River, to have attacked the rear of our army; but General Howe receiving intelligence of this movement, detached General Grey with about two thousand men, who fell upon them in the night, and bayoneted three hundred and fifty of them in their tents. The rest of them ran away to the main army, and General Howe passed the Skuylkill with his army without molestation, and proceeded to German Town. Lord Cornwallis, with about two thousand men was detached from the army, and took possession of Philadelphia, and about one thousand six hundred men were left at Wilmington with the wounded.

To the great astonishment of all the world, on the 14th of October, the rebel army attacked General Howe and his camp, and after an obstinate engagement, beat back the light infantry; but upon the line advancing, they retired, with the loss of about two thousand men. Our loss was about three hundred and fifty killed and wounded. General Agnew, Colonel Bird, and many brave officers fell; among the rest our good friend Morgan, who was shot through the body as he was leading on the light infantry. He died the next day without pain. He was lamented by the whole army, of whom he was the darling, and by no one more sincerely than myself. I found General Howe at German Town. I brought the dispatches to him from General Clinton, and he immediately took me into his family. But he has so many aid-de-camps that I have nothing to do, and have therefore desired to go into the light infantry, which is at present the most active service. I have not as yet had any answer.

We cannot quit Philadelphia till our shipping comes up to the town, as they have all the baggage of the army on board, and many other necessaries, without which General Howe cannot proceed. The rebels, before they left Philadelphia, had laid two chevaux-de-frise across the Delaware, and erected two forts to hinder any attempt to raise them. The fort which was in the Jerseys,

was abandoned on the approach of our troops; but the other is situated upon a marshy island, and cannot be attacked by land, which makes it a very tedious business. We have been cannonading and cannonaded for these ten days, but without doing much hurt on either side. The whole fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of armed vessels, lay between the chevaux-de-frise and the town, and although they must one day surrender, they protract the time as much as possible, as they thereby stop the proceedings of the campaign.

The moment the fleet gets up to the town, we shall attack General Washington, and I make no doubt we shall give him a very severe beating. With the dispatches I brought an account of the victory which General Burgoyne had gained over the rebels, who left seven hundred and fifty men dead on the field. Lord Rawdon arrived here night before last, with the news of the taking of Fort Clinton, Fort Montgomery, and Fort Independence. He had made a movement with three thousand men towards Albany, to form a junction with Burgoyne, and in this way had taken these forts. They were all taken by storm, though after a very tedious march and an obstinate defence. I had the ill-luck to lose another of my friends in this affair, Count Grabowski, a Polish nobleman. I believe you knew him at Berlin. He served volunteer, and was shot in six places, he was marching up to the works. He sent his sword to Lord Rawdon, and desired he might know that he died at the head of the British Grenadiers.

This may well be called a most unfortunate war for us all. Hardly an officer but is now lamenting the loss of one of his brave friends; and no man can look at the instruments of their misfortune without pitying them still more for having died by the hands of fellows who have hardly the form of men, and whose hearts are still more deformed than their figures. The rebel army consists of about sixteen thousand, I mean under General Washington—about three thousand under Putnam, in the Jerseys, and about six thousand under Gates, in Albany. I should suppose General Howe's to be at present of about twelve thousand men; three thousand under General Clinton, in the Jerseys; and five thousand under Burgoyne. I will give you my ideas of our future proceedings concerning the war in another sheet, if I can find time; if not, you must form them by looking at the map, which, with your good understanding, you will easily do.

I am very sorry that I must finish my letter in a hurry; but the packet goes out to-night, and I have a great deal to do. We have had very bad fortune, since I wrote. General Howe detached two thousand Hessians to take possession of Red

Bank, which is a post the rebels have lately fortified on the Jersey side of the Delaware. The work was so amazingly strong that the Hessians could not by any possibility get in, notwithstanding they behaved with very great spirit. We had about five hundred Hessians killed and wounded, which is a very considerable loss to so small an army as General Howe's. The next day, two of our ships, in trying to get near Mud Fort, which is situated to defend the chevaux-de-frise, ran on shore. The *Augusta*, of 64 guns, took fire by accident, and after burning about two hours, blew up with a most terrible explosion. The *Merlin* was set fire to by our own men, as it was impossible ever to get her off ground. Before this accident happened, the rebels sent down six fire-ships, but none of them did any damage to our fleet. The engagement between the row-galleys (a kind of boat with a twenty-four-pounder at the bow) and our shipping, lasted three or four hours; and a continual fire was kept up between the batteries and the fort. Altogether it was the finest scene that can be conceived. I wished for you very much to have been present. Adieu, my dearest friend.

Yours, ever affectionately,

LINDSAY.

Write soon, direct to Berkely Square. The letter will be sent.

#### EARLY OCCURRENCE OF THE NAME OF WASHINGTON.

I do not know whether it is worth the space in your columns, but it may gratify some antiquarian possessor of Irving's "Life of Washington," to have an early, perhaps the earliest, authentic notice of the land in England, from which the grandest name in English history is derived. In the first volume of the "Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon," published in illustration of mediæval British History, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, by the British Government, I find, at p. 337, the following Charter.

This grant of the Anglo-Saxon king, it will be observed, is about 900 years old, and is curious for its form; for the strong impress upon it of what are now called the superstitions of that far-off age; for the saving clause in favor of the common weal, as to repair of bridges and castles, and as to military service; for the imprecation launched against any violator of the grant; and, finally, for the mode of its execution.

J. P. J.

*Carta Edgari Regis de Wasingetune.*

Alitrono in æternum regnante. Universis supplicæ studium intento mentis conamine sedulo



rimantibus liquido patescit quod hujus vitæ periculis nimio ingruentibus terrore, recidivi terminis cosmi appropinquare dimoscitur, ut veridica Christi promulgat sententia, qua dicit, "surget gens contra gentem, et regnum adversus regnum," et reliqua.

Quamobrem ego Eadgar, totius Britannicæ insule, quendam telluris particulam, xxiiij. videlicet cassatos, loco qui celebri et Wasingatune nuncupatur ononate, cuidam præsuli, qui ab hujusce patriæ gnosticis noto Athelnuold nuncupatur vocabulo, ob æternam animæ meæ remunerationem, perpetua largitus sum hereditate; ut vita comite, voti compos possideat, et post vitæ suæ terminum, quibuscumque voluerit cleronomis immunem derelinquat. Sit autem prædictum rus omni terrenæ servitutis jugo liberum, tribus exceptis, rata videlicet expeditione, pontis arcisve restauratione.

Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit, privatus a consortio sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ æternis baratri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Juda Christi proditore ejusque complicitibus puniatur, si non satisfactione emendaverit congrua quod nostrum delictum decretum.

His metis præfatum rus hinc inde giratur.

[Then follow the "landgemæra to Wasingatuna"—the boundaries, in Anglo-Saxon.]

Anno Dominico Incarnationis DCCCCLXIII scripta est hæc carta, his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur.

- + Ego Eadgar, rex Anglorum, concessi.
- + Ego Dunstan, archiepiscopus, corroboravi.
- + Ego Ocutel, archiepiscopus, confirmavi.
- + Ego Osulf, episcopus, consolidavi.
- + Ego Eadelm, episcopus, adqueivi.
- + Ego Althere, dux.

[*et quatuor alii duces.*]

+ Ego Bryhtferth, minister.

[*et novem alii ministri.*]

[For the benefit of our readers we annex a translation as nearly literal as possible, though no translation can express the curious interlarding of Greek then so much affected in Ireland and England. The form of the document shows the remote origin of the formulas in the Bulls of the Popes, and the modes of signatures of Bishops in Councils. The taste of the day was for a florid style, and even in the signatures there is a resolute effort not to indulge in any common word or use any repetition. It is extremely curious to find St. Dunstan's name here coupled with Washington.]

*King Elgar's Grant of Washington.*

THE LOFTY THRONED REIGNING FOR EVER!—  
To all sedulously pursuing with intent endeavor

of mind the study of wisdom, it clearly appeareth that the dangers of this life increasing exceedingly in terror, the term of a fallen world is seen to approach, as the truthful sentence of Christ promulgates, where he saith: "Nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom," and the rest.

Wherefore, I Edgar, monarch of all Britain, for the eternal remuneration of my soul, have granted by perpetual inheritance, a certain particle of land, to wit xxiiij. cassati, in a place which is also styled by the celebrated name Wasingatune, to a certain chief, who is called by the learned word Athelnuold; that while life attends him he may possess at his pleasure, and after the term of his life may leave it free to whatsoever heirs he shall choose. And let the aforesaid land be free from every yoke of terrene servitude, three excepted, to wit: military service, repair of bridge, and castle.

Should any one therefore wish to transfer this our donation to any thing but what we have appointed, may he be deprived of the communion of the holy Church of God, be justly punished in the eternal flames of the lugubrious gulf with Judas the betrayer of Christ and his accomplices, if he do not by due satisfaction amend what he has offended against our decree.

Let the aforesaid land be henceforth enjoyed by these bound.

[Then follow "the landgemæra to Wasingatuna,"—the boundaries, in Anglo-Saxon.]

In the year of the Dominical Incarnation DCCCCLXIII was this Charter written, these witnesses consenting, whose names are inscribed below.

- + I, Eadgar, king of the Angles, have conceded.
- + I, Dunstan, archbishop, have corroborated.
- + I, Ocutel, archbishop, have confirmed.
- + I, Osulf, bishop, have consolidated.
- + I, Eadelm, bishop, have acquiesced.
- + I, Althere, Duke.

[*and four other dukes.*]

+ I, Bryhtferth, minister.

[*and nine other ministers.*]

#### CONTINENTAL MONEY.

(From an Almanac Published in 1777.)

AN EXPLANATION OF THE DEVICES ON THE CONTINENTAL BILLS OF CREDIT, WITH CONJECTURES OF THEIR MEANING.

AN emblematic device, when rightly formed, is said to consist of two parts—a body and a mind;

neither of which is intelligible without the aid of the other. The figure is called the body; the motto, the mind. These, that I am about to consider, appear formed on that rule, and seem to relate to the present struggle between the Colonies and the parent State, for liberty, property, and safety, on the one hand; for absolute power and plunder, on the other.

On one denomination of the bills there is a figure of a harp, with this motto: *MAJORA MINORIBUS CONSONANT*—literally, "The greater and smaller ones sound together." As the harp is an instrument composed of great and small strings, included in a strong frame, and also so tuned as to agree in concord with each other, I conceive that the frame may be made to represent our new government by a Continental Congress, and the strings of different length and substance, either the several Colonies of different weight and force, or the various marks of people in all of them, who are now united by that government in the most perfect harmony.

On another bill is impressed a wild boar of the forest, rushing on the spear of the hunter, with this motto: *AUT MORIS AUT VITA DECORA*; which may be translated—"Death or Liberty." The wild boar is an animal of great strength and courage, armed with long and sharp tusks, which he well knows how to use in his own defence. He is inoffensive while suffered to enjoy his freedom, but when roused and wounded by the hunter, often turns and makes him pay dearly for his temerity.

On another is drawn an eagle on the wing pouncing upon a crane, who turns upon his back and receives the eagle upon the point of his long bill, which pierces the eagle's breast; with this motto: *EXIRUS IN DUBIO EST*—"The event is uncertain." The eagle, I suppose, represents Great Britain, the crane, America; this device offers an admonition to each of the contending parties. To the Crane, not to depend too much upon the success of its endeavors to avoid the contest (by petition, negotiation, &c.), but to prepare for using the means God and nature hath given it; and to the Eagle, not to presume on its strength, since a weaker bird may wound it mortally.

*Sunt dubii eventus, incertaque praelia martis:  
Vincitur, haud raro, qui prope victor erat.*

On another bill, we have a thorn, which a hand seems attempting to eradicate; the hand appears to bleed, as pricked by the spines. The motto is *SUSTINE VEL ABSTINE*; which may be rendered "Bear with me or let me alone," or thus: "Either support or leave me." The bush, I suppose, to mean, America, and the bleeding hand, Britain. Would to God that bleeding were

stopped, the wounds of that hand healed, and its future operation directed by wisdom and equity; so shall the hawthorn flourish and form a hedge around it, annoying with her thorns only its invading enemies.

Another has the figure of a beaver, gnawing a large tree, with this motto: *PERSEVERANDO*—"By perseverance." I apprehend the great tree may be intended to represent the enormous power Britain has assumed over us, and endeavors by force of arms to tax us at pleasure, and bind us in all cases whatsoever; or the exorbitant profits she makes by monopolizing our commerce. Then the beaver, which is known to be able, by assiduous and steady working, to fell large trees, to signify America; which by perseverance in her present measures, will probably reduce that power within proper bounds, and, by establishing the most necessary manufactures among ourselves, abolish the British monopoly.

On another bill we have the plant *Acanthus*, sprouting on all sides, under a weight placed upon it, with the motto, *DEPRESSA RESURGIT*—"Though oppressed, it rises." The ancients tell us, that the sight of such an accidental circumstance, gave the first hint to an architect in forming the beautiful capital of the Corinthian column. This perhaps was intended to encourage us, by representing that our present oppressions will not destroy us; but that they may, by increasing our industry and forcing it into new courses, increase the prosperity of our country, and establish that prosperity on the base of liberty, and the well-proportioned pillar of property, elevated for a pleasing spectacle to all connoisseurs who can take delight in the architecture of human happiness.

The figures of a hand and flail, over sheaves of wheat, with the motto, *TRIBULATIO DITAT*—"Threshing improves it" (which we find printed on another of the bills), may perhaps be intended to admonish us, that though at present we are under the flail, its blows, how hard soever, will be rather advantageous than hurtful to us; for they will bring forth every grain of genius and merit in arts, manufactures, war, and council, that are now concealed in the husk, and then the breath of a breeze, will be sufficient to separate us from all the chaff of torquism. Tribulation too, in our English sense of the word, improves the mind, it makes us humble, and tends to make us wiser. And threshing, in one of its senses, that of beating, often improves those that are threshed. Many an unwarlike nation have been beaten into heroes, by troublesome, warlike neighbors; and the continuance of a war, though it lessens the numbers of a people, often increases its strength, by increased discipline and consequent courage of the number remaining. Thus England, after

her civil war, in which her people threshed one another, became more formidable to her neighbors. The public distress too, that arises from war, by increasing frugality and industry, often gives habits that remain after the war is over, and thereby naturally enriches those on whom it has enforced those enriching virtues.

Another of the bills has for its device, a storm descending from a black, heavy cloud, with the motto, SERENABIT—"It will clear up." This seems designed to encourage the dejected, who may be too sensible of present inconveniences, and fear their continuance. It reminds them, agreeably to the adage, that after a storm comes a calm; or as Horace more elegantly has it:

Informes hyemes relict, Jupiter idem summovit,  
Non si male nunc, et olim  
Sic erit Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo.

On another bill, there is stamped the representation of a tempestuous sea; a face with swollen cheeks, wrapt up in a black cloud, appearing to blow violently on the waters, the waves high, and all rolling one way. The motto, VI COERCITAE—which may be rendered, "Raised by force." From the remotest antiquity, in figurative language, great waters have signified the people, and waves an insurrection. The people of themselves are supposed as naturally inclined to be still, as the waters to remain level and quiet. Their rising here does not appear to be from any internal cause, but from an external power, expressed by the head Eolus, god of the winds (or Boreas, the north wind, as usually the most violent), acting furiously upon them. The black cloud, perhaps, designs the British Parliament, and the waves the Colonies. Their rolling all in one direction, shows that the very force used against them, has produced their unanimity. On the reverse of this bill, we have a smooth sea; the sails of a ship on that sea hanging loose, show a perfect calm; the sun shining fully denotes a clear sky. The motto is CESSANTE VENTO CONQUIESCEMUS—"The wind ceasing, we shall be quiet." Supposing my explanation of the preceding device to be right, this will import, that when these violent acts of power, which have aroused the Colonies, are repelled, they will return to their former tranquillity. Britain seems thus charged with being the sole cause of the present civil war, at the same time that the only mode for putting an end to it, is thus plainly pointed out to her.

The last is a wreath of laurel on a marble monument or altar; the motto, SI RECTE—"If you act rightly." This seems intended as an encouragement to a brave and steady conduct in defence of our liberties, as it promises to crown with honor, by the laurel wreath, those who perse-

vere to the end in well doing; and with a long duration of that honor, expressed by the monument of marble.

A learned friend of mine thinks this device more particularly addressed to the *Congress*. He says, that the ancients composed for their heroes a wreath of laurel, oak, and olive twigs interwoven; agreeably to the distich:

Elauro, quereu, atque olea, duce, digna Corona.  
Prudentem, fortem, pacificamque, deest.

Of laurel, as that tree was dedicated to Apollo, and understood to signify knowledge and prudence; of oak, as pertaining to Jupiter, and expressing fortitude; of olive, as the tree of Pallas, and as a symbol of peace. The whole to show, that those who are intrusted to conduct the affairs of mankind, should act prudently and firmly; retaining, above all, a pacific disposition. This wreath was first placed upon an altar, to admonish the hero who was to be crowned with it, that true glory is founded on, and proceeds from piety. My friend, therefore, thinks that the present device might intend a wreath of that composite kind, though from the smallness of the work, the engraver could not mark distinctly the differing leaves. And he is rather confirmed in his opinion that this is designed as an admonition to the Congress, when he is considering the passage in Horace, from whence the motto is taken:

Rex eris aiunt  
Si recte facies

To which also Antonius alludes:

Si recte faciet, non qui dominatur erit rex.

Not the king's Parliament who act wrong; but the people's Congress, if it act right, shall govern America.

#### THE GRAVE OF RED JACKET.

An article having appeared in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, calling attention to the propriety of erecting some memorial over his remains, a correspondent addressed to that paper the following, which after saying that the first writer was evidently laboring under the mistaken idea that the remains of the Indian Orator still rest where they were originally buried, proceeds: "They were long since removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation, the home of the once proud and powerful nation of the Senecas.

"The circumstances attending their removal excited much interest at the time, and still remain in the memory of many.

"Copway, the Indian author and lecturer,

while in Buffalo in the spring of 1852, visited the grave of Red Jacket, and, unbeknown to the Indians, disinterred his remains, and brought them to his hotel in this city. At the close of one of his lectures in Concert Hall, he called the attention of the audience to the subject of transferring to Forest Lawn the remains of the Seneca chief, and of erecting a suitable monument to his memory. He stated that he had recently visited his grave, and obtained from those residing in its vicinity a portion of the funds necessary to accomplish that object, and that he intended to present the subject before our citizens in a more formal manner at some future time.

"Dr. Wil-on, the Cayuga chief, well known to many of our citizens, whose father was a Seneca, and who has always resided among them, happened accidentally to be in the city, and attracted by Copway's reputation as a lecturer, formed one of his audience. When Copway had closed his remarks, the doctor, who is a noble specimen of the Indian race, rose in his seat, his form shaking with contending emotions, and gave utterance to his feelings in the following strain of impassioned eloquence.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Allow me to detain you one moment. I am one of the descendants of the tribe to which Red Jacket belonged, and therefore claim the right of being heard in this matter. The remarks made by the gentleman upon the subject of erecting a suitable monument to the memory of the illustrious Red Jacket, call forth from my inmost soul those peculiar feelings which the red man never fails to experience when the name of a kindred or of a dear friend, long departed for the land of spirits, is mentioned. It is thrilling in the extreme, and calls up recollections of the past.

"The last words and the last request of a dying friend, always remain unforgettten. The last words of Red Jacket, were these. *"I am about to leave you, and when I am gone and my warnings shall no longer be heard or regarded, the craft and the avarice of the white man shall prevail."* Though Red Jacket was neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, still *his predictions have already been fulfilled.* The craft and the avarice of the white man *have* prevailed. Where now are the proud and noble Senecas who once possessed and occupied the beautiful country surrounding and adjoining your great and thriving city? They are dispossessed. They are removed farther towards the setting sun, and now the very bones of Red Jacket lie in exile, even in his own country! Ten winters had not chilled all nature over his remains before his predictions were fulfilled.

"It is well known that the feelings of Red Jacket were at enmity with the pale faces. Ex-

perience had taught him that it was the policy of the white man to dispossess his people of their inheritance. Being fully sensible of his approaching dissolution, and with these feelings existing in his mind, he uttered these memorable words: "Bury me, and let my funeral be according to the customs and usages of our nation. Let me be dressed and equipped as my fathers were, that their spirits may rejoice at my coming. Be sure that my grave be not made by a white man—*let them not pursue me there.*"

"And will the pale face disregard the last request of a dying man? Red Jacket has none left to joy or mourn for him. A white man has indeed done something for him. He has surrounded his remains with a paling, and placed a marble slab to mark his resting-place. Where is it now? Piece by piece has been carried away by the sacrilegious hands of the curious visitor, till scarcely a remnant is left. The name of Sa-goye-wat-kah is obliterated from his tombstone! Should the pale faces build him a monument as high and as grand as that now erecting to Washington at their capital, it would be chipped away, and not one stone left upon the other. No! as Red Jacket forbid the pale faces to follow him to his grave, so he forbids them to desecrate his bones with their touch. Red Jacket wants no monument from the hands of the white man. He had erected for himself a lasting memorial. It is *here.* In the hearts of his people and of his kindred. His name will not perish, though no marble be raised to his memory. He lives in these hearts of ours, and will live as long as one heart beats in the breast of the red-man.

"I understand it is the intention of the few surviving friends of Red Jacket to remove his sacred dust from the place where it now reposes, to their new home at Cattaraugus. Therefore, as the son of a Seneca, I object to the white man's subscribing any thing for this purpose, or marking, in any manner, the place where his bones shall be deposited. Let not your benevolence be misguided; nor your philanthropy be misdirected. I have done."

"This speech was reported at the time, but the manuscript having been mislaid, only a meagre sketch of it appeared in print. It compared favorably with that of Logan, who was also a Cayuga, delivered on the occasion of the murder of his family by Cresap, and which was said by Jefferson to equal in eloquence any of the orations of Demosthenes or Cicero. The effect produced by the doctor was electrical. He completely annihilated the project of Copway, who apologized for the officious part he had taken in the subject, and at once abandoned all further interference, as it was plainly in bad taste for a *Chippewa*, the descendant of a tribe with which

the Senecas had for ages waged an implacable war, to meddle with the remains of so renowned a chief as Red Jacket.

"Such an event in the palmy days of the Iroquois confederacy would have shaken the 'Long House' from one end of its territories to the other, and excited a war which would have ended only with the extermination of the Chippewas. The Senecas hearing that the remains of Red Jacket were in the possession of Copway, at once seized and carried them to Cattaraugus, where they hid them for a long time in one of their cabins, fearing they might suffer further sacrilege. At length they were interred, and now quietly rest in the Indian burial-ground on the Reservation."

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## Societies and their Proceedings.

### ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Chicago, Nov. 20, 1860.*—The annual meeting was held on the above date, W. H. Brown, Esq., President, in the chair. The officers of the preceding year were re-elected. (Vol. iv., p. 10.)

The acquisitions to the library for the past month, made a total of 1,222, from 55 contributors. The correspondence, embracing thirty letters, was reported, including a communication on the early schools of Southern Illinois, from Mr. George Flower.

The death of Mr. David S. Lee, a resident member, and an esteemed citizen of Chicago, was announced; and resolutions, expressing the sentiments of high respect entertained for his memory, were adopted. Judge Dickey was requested to prepare an appropriate memorial of the late Mr. Lee, for the Society's files.

*Dec. 11.*—The adjourned annual meeting was held in the evening, at the house of Mr. William Blair.

The report of the Secretary was read, and announced the additions to the library during the year to consist of 1,186 bound books, 7,337 unbound books and pamphlets, 91 files of newspapers, bound and unbound, 52 old newspapers, 124 files of periodicals, 147 manuscripts, 169 charts, 18 prints, and four articles for the cabinet. In all 9,128, from 371 contributors.

An address to the Society followed, by Dr. Charles H. Kay, on the claims of historical research and collection upon the people of this State and the Northwest. A numerous company

of ladies and gentlemen was present at the meeting.

*Jan. 15, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting was held. W. L. Newberry, Esq., Vice-pres., in the chair.

The Librarian reported the additions to the library, since the annual meeting, to form a total of 1,436, from 59 contributors, chiefly from Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, and Illinois, and from the U. S. Departments at Washington.

The correspondence for the same period included 36 letters received.

From Mr. Chappellsmith, of Indiana, was received an interesting communication upon the existing theories of storms, animadverting upon those of Profs. Redfield and Espy, as based upon an assumption, that the atmospheric condition which causes a low barometer is the cause of storms, and that their course is indicated by the localities of a low barometer, and their greatest severity by the line of lowest barometer; while observations of Mr. Chappellsmith, confirmed by others, demonstrate, that violent storms take place under the conditions of high, mean, and low barometers; and that storms are invariably accompanied with a *rise* in the barometer at the period of their greatest activity.

Mr. Chappellsmith thinks that the material does not exist for a true theory of storms, which must be based upon a series of observations, made over the entire continent, if possible at not more than twenty miles apart, and with greater frequency than is usual, during the passage of a storm.

From Mr. J. G. Shea, of New York, the historian of the Mississippi Valley, was received a letter, submitting an account, which was read to the meeting, of notices of Chicago, from 1673 to 1725.

The paper contained a translation of the narrative of Marquette's second and last visit to the Illinois, *via* Chicago, where he passed the winter of 1674-5, erecting the first European habitation at that spot. It also cited authorities for the supposed fact, that a fort was erected at Chicago, by Durantaye, in 1685, and showing that, in 1698 and the two succeeding years, a mission existed there, under the direction of Fathers Pinet and Binneteau. The mission is presumed, by Mr. Shea, to have been abandoned not long after, no allusion being made to it by Charlevoix, who visited the Illinois, in 1723. He also mentioned that Perrot's visit to Chicago is doubtful.

The thanks of the Society were ordered to be returned to the various correspondents for their esteemed communications; and after the transaction of further business, the meeting was adjourned.

## MAINE.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Augusta, Jan. 24, 1861.*—A special meeting of this Society was held on the above date. In the absence of the President, the chair was taken by the Rev. Bishop Burgess, who made a brief opening address, in which he spoke of the pursuits of the Society, and the surprise sometimes manifested at the interest of persons engaged in antiquarian researches. This interest has been ascribed to the imagination, as though it was created by that power. But facts have importance in themselves, and imagination renews, with past events, the interest that belonged to them when they were occurring; and thus showed the importance of man through all the course of ages. In an allusion to the present state of the country, he pressed the endeavor to leave a memory of our actions, to which we may be able to look back with pleasure and satisfaction.

The papers presented, the greater part of which were read, were the following, viz.: a series of "Grants" made when the Eastern portion of Maine was claimed by the French, under the name of Acadia, by Dr. James Robb, of Fredericton, N. B.; a Memoir of the Sieur de Monts, the first colonizer of ancient Acadia within the present State of Maine, by Rev. Edward Ballard, of Brunswick; a Memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Hemmenway, of Wells, by Hon. E. E. Bourne, of Kennebunk; a Memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Ellingwood, of Bath, by the Rev. John O. Fiske; a communication on the Aborigines of Acadia, by the Rev. Eugene Vetromile, of Biddford.

At this stage of the meeting the chair was taken by the President, Hon. William Willis; after which was presented a Memoir of the late Gov. Robert Dunlap, of Brunswick, by the Rev. Geo. Adams, D. D., of the same place; a Memoir of the late Hon. Joseph Little, of Newburyport, by the Rev. Pres. Hale, of that place; a paper on the "Wild Horses of Maine," by Prof. J. Johnson, of the College of Middletown, Ct.; a Bibliographical Account of the early voyagers to Maine, and contemporaneous writers, by the President, who also furnished a Memoir of the late Gov. Smith, of Wiscasset; two Historical Notices of Bangor—one by Jacob Magraw, Esq., of Bangor, and the other by the Hon. Jos. Williamson, of Belfast. A verbal report was made by Rev. Dr. Packard, of the encouraging condition of the library, catalogue, and cabinet; and several old papers were presented, among which was a part of a copy of "The Fryer's Letter brought from Norridgewock, Feb., 1723, by Capt. Moulton."

The persons of whom biographical notices were read, were members of the Society, recently deceased, except Dr. Hemmenway, a distinguished

clergyman of ante-revolutionary fame, and De Monts.

The evening session was held at the State House, when the Secretary read a communication from the Rev. E. Q. S. Waldron, of Maryland, making by will, to the Society, a donation of Father Kåle's "Strong Box." The Secretary and President made statements respecting its construction and the circumstances of its capture. The latter also exhibited a book in Latin, which had belonged to that missionary. It was the father's *vade-mecum*—one of the standard authors of the church to resolve cases of conscience.

The Rev. Dr. Packard then delivered an historical account of the "Acadians" or "Neutral French," and their expulsion from Nova Scotia; tracing, at length, the causes that urged their removal, and the reasons found in treatises and elsewhere, that justified the English in their action, as a measure of state, though a severe one, for preserving the very existence of their own colony. On motion of the Hon. Mr. Gardiner, the thanks of the Society were presented to Dr. Packard, and a copy of his Account was requested for publication.

The audiences on the occasions were large and attentive; and every motive of encouragement, from increasing interest and successful investigation, is afforded the Society to pursue its useful labors, in rescuing from oblivion the memorials of the past.

Among the very agreeable incidents of the occasion, was a levee at the house of the Corresponding Secretary, the Hon. J. W. Bradbury, of Augusta; at which were present the governor, several gentlemen connected with the government of the State, and the members of the Society.

At this meeting it was voted to proceed to the publication of another (the seventh) volume of the Society's transactions.

Mr. Willis stated, in his notice of Gov. Smith, that the Society was incorporated in 1822; that the whole number of resident members had been 152, of whom 75 were dead, 77 living—one at the advanced age of 93; that of the 49 corporate members in 1822, 11 were living, the youngest, Judge Sprague, now of Boston.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, Jan. 16.*—A meeting of this Society was held on the afternoon of the above date, the President, Dr. Winslow Lewis, in the chair. A vote of thanks was passed by the Society to

Royal R. Hinman, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut, for a valuable present of manuscripts relating to the early settlers of Connecticut. These the Society ordered to be arranged as the Hinman MSS. John H. Sheppard, Esq., of Boston, was unanimously elected Librarian. Rev. Hiram Carleton, of West Barnstable, read a carefully prepared paper upon Captain Carleton, an officer of the Revolutionary army, and afterwards for a quarter of a century, till his death in 1816, a well-known teacher of mathematics in Boston. He published almanacs, maps, &c. A vote of thanks was passed for the paper, and a copy was requested for the archives.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—*Boston, Jan. 18.*—The annual meeting of the above association was held on the afternoon of the above date, the President, Edward Jarvis, M. D., in the chair. After hearing the usual reports and transacting the usual business, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

*President*—Edward Jarvis, M. D., of Dorchester. *Vice-presidents*—Hon. Amasa Walker, of North Brookfield, and J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston. *Cor. Sec'y*—Joseph E. Worcester, of Cambridge. *Rec. Sec'y*—John W. Dean, of Boston. *Treasurer*—Lyman Mason, Esq., of Boston. *Librarian*—Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D. D., of West Newton. *Counsellors*—Hon. Samuel H. Walley, of Boston; Ebenezer Alden, M. D., of Randolph, and E. B. Elliott, Esq., of Boston.

On motion of Mr. Thornton—

*Voted.* That this Association petition the Legislature for the establishment of a Board of Health, with a competent and efficient Secretary, who shall be the executive officer, in manner like the Boards of Education and Agriculture; which Board and Secretary shall have charge of the Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, and of the Census; and shall watch over the sanitary interests of the State, as those Boards look after the Educational interests of the Commonwealth; and shall make annual reports and perform such other duty in connection with the matter as the wisdom of the Legislature may determine.

The President, Dr. Jarvis, and the Vice-presidents, Messrs. Walker and Thornton, were appointed a committee to carry this vote into effect.

The President having been absent in Europe a portion of the past year, and while there having represented the Association at the International Statistical Congress, held at London in July last, was requested by the Society, soon after his return, to deliver an address before them, giving the result of his observations on the state of Statistical Science in Europe. It was now announced that Dr. Jarvis was ready to deliver the address;

and the committee having the matter in charge, viz.: Hon. Samuel H. Walley, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., Ebenezer Alden, M. D., E. B. Elliott, Esq., and Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D. D., were authorized to make the necessary preparations for its delivery.

#### NEW JERSEY.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Trenton, N. J., Jan. 17, 1861.*—This Society met in the City Hall, on the above-specified time, Chancellor Green, in the absence of the President, being called to the chair. After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting,

Mr. Whitehead, Corresponding Secretary, submitted the correspondence since May, and laid upon the table various communications received.

Mr. Congar, the Librarian, acknowledged the receipt of donations of various books and pamphlets since May. During the year, 197 bound volumes, 150 pamphlets, besides several hundred valuable manuscripts, have been added to the library.

Mr. Alofsen, the Treasurer, reported a balance in the treasury of \$699.77; of which \$274.10 belonged to the library fund; that the number of resident members other than life members, was 220—one hundred and sixty being in arrears for more than three years.

Rev. Dr. Murray presented the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, in which reference was briefly made to the removal of the Society's library to the new rooms in the edifice of the Newark Banking Company; the present condition of the Society and the estimation in which it is held throughout the country; the neglect of publishers to deposit their issues with the Society; the necessity for more efficient measures to supply the treasury, and concludes as follows:

The Society has now become an *institution* of the State. But it is greatly to be deplored that while the Historical Societies of other States of our Union are cherished and patronized by their leading citizens and legislators, ours is left to battle its way with difficulties. Why should not a Society, which, in a few years, has done so much for the history of the State, and which has attracted the attention of those engaged in historical researches in every part of the country, receive the cordial aid and sympathy of *all* Jersey-men? The Society is designed for the entire State—to collect the materials for the history (civil and religious) of every county and town in the State, from Carpenter's Point to Cape May, and from the Delaware to the Atlantic; and we see not why its support, or the conducting of it, should be to such a degree thrown upon a few individuals.

Mr. Field, from the Committee on Publications, reported that since the May meeting, the first number of the ninth volume of the Society's Proceedings had been published, bringing them down to the present time.

Mr. J. P. Jackson, Jr., from the Committee on the library, reported that since their appointment, the manuscripts of the Society had been partly arranged, preparatory to their being catalogued; the pamphlets examined and, in part, arranged for binding; and the newspapers, particularly those published in New Jersey, had been collected and collated with the same view. Eleven large volumes of these had already been bound and fifteen or twenty others were nearly completed, while about eighty other volumes of pamphlets and documents, all referring to New Jersey, had also been bound, adding materially to the completeness of the home department of the library, many of them comprising valuable series of early session laws and legislative proceedings. It is very desirable that the Society's sets of both laws and proceedings should be made complete as soon as possible, before the lapse of time should render it impossible.

The committee had not been able to perfect any arrangement whereby the library could be kept open every day, although confident that it would result beneficially.

The committee, while of opinion that the Society had every reason to be satisfied with the size and location of their present rooms in Newark, did not think that the plan of erecting a fire-proof building on the site which this Society owns, should be abandoned; and it was hoped that some way of accomplishing that object would open in the future.

The chair appointed Messrs. Hamill, Duryee, and Haven a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and announced the following Standing Committees for 1861:

On Publications—Rev. Dr. Murray, Richard S. Field, Wm. A. Whitehead, Henry W. Green, and Samuel H. Pennington, M. D.

On Statistics—Lyndon A. Smith, M. D., J. A. Bradley, John P. Jackson, John Rogers, and C. C. Haven.

On Nominations—David A. Hayes, Peter S. Duryee, Rev. Dr. Hall.

On the Library—Walter Rutherford, Peter S. Duryee, John P. Jackson, Jr., and Ezra A. Carman, with the Treasurer and officers residing in Newark, *ex officio*.

The following list of officers for 1861 was reported, and they were duly elected:

*President*—Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, LL. D.  
*Vice-presidents*—Hon. James Parker, Hon. Wm. L. Dayton, Richard S. Field, Esq. *Cor. Sec'y*—Wm. A. Whitehead, Newark. *Rec. do.*—David

A. Hayes. *Librarian*—Samuel H. Congar, Newark. *Treasurer*—Samuel Alofsen, Jersey City.

*Executive Committee*—Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., Hon. Dudley S. Gregory, Hon. Henry W. Green, Hon. Wm. P. Robeson, Rev. Henry B. Sherman, Rev. R. R. Rodgers, Peter S. Duryee, Esq., John P. Jackson, Esq., Rev. John Hall, D. D.

The Society then adjourned, and on reassembling—Rev. Dr. Murray, chairman of the Executive Committee, in the chair—the amendment to the Constitution, offered by Mr. Alofsen, was taken up. It contemplated restricting the privilege of becoming life-members on the payment of twenty dollars, to those who were not in arrears for annual dues. On motion of Mr. J. P. Jackson, the proposed amendment was laid upon the table; and on motion of Mr. Whitehead, it was

*Resolved*, That Messrs. R. S. Field, F. W. Jackson, and S. Alofsen, be a committee to address a circular to members who are in arrears for three years and over, requesting them to signify to the treasurer their wishes as regards a continuance of membership.

Mr. Whitehead stated that, with a view of carrying out a resolution of the Society passed in 1857, he had, since the last meeting, sent circulars to a number of gentlemen, who, he thought, might aid the Society in obtaining portraits of the different governors, and other distinguished citizens of the State, to be deposited in the library, and had received from several promises of co-operation. A few pictures had already been received, and others were expected; among those received being a life-size portrait, in crayons, from Col. Jas. W. Wall, of Richard Stockton, one of the New Jersey Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle read a brief paper referring to the notorious Sam. Ford, the counterfeiter and burglar, who was so prominent a character in New Jersey just before the Revolution.

Mr. Whitehead, in moving a vote of thanks for the paper, adverted to the circumstances that led to the identification of Ford with the political troubles of the times, giving him an importance in the history of that period which he would not have otherwise attained.

Dr. Murray submitted, for the examination of the members, a manuscript memoir of John Witherspoon, by the late Rev. Ashbell Green, D. D., which having been taken to Scotland some years since had been lost sight of by Dr. Green's family, had been discovered by him (Dr. M.) accidentally, in the interior of Scotland, during the last summer, and brought back. The Memoir had been prepared by Dr. Green to accompany an edition of Witherspoon's works, but the undertaking had never been carried out. No one was



better qualified than Dr. G. to act as biographer of Witherspoon, and he (Dr. M.) submitted the manuscript to ascertain what the views of the Society might be to its publication.

Mr. Haven moved to refer the Memoir to the Committee on Publications, to inquire into the propriety of publishing it—Dr. Murray to be the editor.

Remarks were made by Mr. Duryee, Rev. Dr. Hall, Mr. Field, Mr. Jackson, Rev. Mr. Hamill, Rev. Mr. Sherman, Mr. Haven, and others, and the reference to the Committee on Publications ordered.

Mr. Whitehead offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the committee on statistics be requested to take such steps as they may think advisable to secure for the Society the criminal statistics of the different counties of the State; and if in their judgment legislative action is necessary to render them complete and reliable, that they be authorized to memorialize the Legislature for such action as may lead to the regular transmission to the Secretary of State of reports from the officers of the different courts and counties at stated times, that the increase or diminution of crime, and the effect of remedial laws and organizations may be definitely ascertained.

Mr. Field said he cordially seconded the resolution. Statistics—particularly statistics of crime, required to be criticised very closely. To be of any use they must be accurate and examined thoroughly—figures in themselves might be true, but placed in wrong positions would give very incorrect results. He had read with much regret the statements which were contained in the recent message of the highly-respected chief magistrate of the State, relative to the increase of crime in New Jersey in a greater ratio than the population, and the implied disparagement of the common-school system of the State in consequence; because, however correct the figures given by Gov. Olden might be, his reasoning from them was certainly fallacious.

After some remarks from Mr. Hayes and the chairman, Mr. J. R. Freese said he thought the subject of sufficient importance to call for prompt action on the part of the committee, and would therefore move an amendment that they report the result of the examinations through the public papers, at as early a day as possible.

The amendment was adopted, and the resolution of Mr. Whitehead was then passed unanimously.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Sherman, the committee appointed at the last meeting to memorialize the Legislature respecting the present condition of the monuments on the northern boundary of the State, and the more perfect preservation of

the public papers and documents of the State, were continued. The committee consists of Chancellor Green, Mr. Walter Rutherford, and Rev. Dr. Hall.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in Newark in May next.

#### NEW YORK.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, Feb. 5, 1861.*—This Society held a meeting at its hall in Second Avenue, on the above date. The preliminary business included the reading of a communication from the Ulster County Historical Society, offering to co-operate with its elder sister of this city in advancing the interests which both espouse. A resolution of thanks was passed, to be sent to the Society of Ulster county. Reports of various committees were read. A number of valuable donations, consisting of books, maps, a mummied head, &c., were acknowledged, including a very valuable plan of the attacks on Fort Washington, made by an English officer at the time, presented by Robert L. Stuart, Esq.; and a set of Harper's "Family Library," presented by John B. Moreau, Esq.

Mr. Henry Brace read a paper on "Early Dutch Life in the Upper Valley of the Hudson." Mr. Brace depicted especially the life of the farmers on the western shore sixty years ago; their dwellings, dress, food, religion, amusements. The picture was that of a laborious, contented farmer class, little given to literature or excitement. Much, of course, was not so much peculiar to them as to the times, when slavery prevailed everywhere, and hard drinking was deemed no disgrace. He considered them to have been elevated within the last fifty years by the influx of New Englanders, thus drawing the reverse of Cooper's picture where the incomers possess all the vices. Mr. Brace considered it unfair to compare the Dutch of New York, generally the descendants of peasants sent out by the West India Company or the patroons, with the New Englanders, whose pioneer ancestors in America, though rarely what are considered in England as gentlemen, were nevertheless of the middle class, of more or less education, with their minds sharpened by fierce polemical disputations, and who settled here untrammelled by companies, patroons, or governments.

Mr. James W. Beekman arose to propose the usual vote of thanks to the author of the paper read, and took occasion to dispute, quite eloquently, the authenticity of many of Mr. Brace's statements. He thought that the essay had not described the Dutch settlers at all, whom he appeared not to have known, but a very different

set of men, the Palatines, who were Germans, not Dutch.

As to the charge of bigotry, superstition, and credulity, laid to the door of the Dutch, he repelled it warmly. The Dutch burned no witches; they showed no intolerance or bigotry; they admitted the refugees from New England intolerance; they rose above all bigotry in ransoming, nursing, and clothing the two Jesuit Fathers—Jogues and Bressani—and sending them to Europe, with a pass commending them to the charity of all Christian men. Mr. B. criticised sharply the idea of superior enlightenment of the neighboring colonies, but on the whole gave his commendation to the paper for its fidelity to what the writer had seen, and moved the vote of thanks which was adopted.

Mr. Lossing then announced the death of Mr. John Fanning Watson, of Germantown, an honorary member of this Society. "Mr. Watson," he said, "had lived to the age of eighty years, with his mental and bodily powers almost untouched by decay, until within a few weeks of his death, which occurred on the 24th of December last. During a long life, he was temperate in all things; and he consequently enjoyed the exquisite pleasures of a healthy old age."

"Mr. Watson was one of those useful men who work lovingly for the good of the world, without coveting, and oftentimes without receiving its thanks or its applause. He was pure in his thoughts, and unselfish in his ways; and he devoted many years of his valuable life to the investigation and illustration of the local history and social life of the two leading cities of the land (out of pure love for the pursuit, and an earnest desire to preserve what, otherwise, might be lost), for the good of his fellow-men.

"He was an enthusiastic delver in the mines where antiquarian treasures are to be found, but he never hoarded his earnings with a miser's meanness. Every gem which he gathered from the dark recesses, was laid, in all its attractiveness, upon his open palm, in the bright sunlight, a free gift to the first applicant who would promise to wear it generously where its beauty might gratify the world. Yet he was not a blind enthusiast, ready to worship a *torso*, because it is a *torso*, but an intelligent co-worker in gathering into permanent receptacles, such perfections and fragments of the past as might be valuable in the future. Nor was his life devoted to that pursuit alone. He was always engaged in the practical duties of business, and made his antiquarian labors his recreation.

"In social life, and in the domestic circle, Mr. Watson was kind, genial, considerate, generous, simple."

Mr. Lossing then offered the following resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Folsom:

*Resolved*, That we, the members of the New York Historical Society, have received, with profound regret, intelligence of the death of our esteemed countryman and fellow-member, the venerable John Fanning Watson, of Germantown, Pennsylvania; and that we offer to his family, expressions of our most sincere sympathy in their bereavement.

*Resolved*, That in the death of Mr. Watson, we recognize a public bereavement of no ordinary kind; for his whole life was an example of manifest usefulness, worthy of general imitation.

*Resolved*, That we hold in high esteem the labors of our departed friend in the field of local history; and that we cherish his memory as one of the intelligent antiquaries of the world whose unselfishness has made them benefactors, and whose careful savings of "unconsidered trifles" have added largely to the treasury of knowledge.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions shall be presented to the family of the deceased, in testimony of our sympathy with the living, and our esteem for the dead.

AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—*N. York, Jan. 29.*—This Society held their 18th annual meeting on the evening of the above date, in the Historical Society's building in Second Avenue, the President, George Folsom, LL. D., in the chair.

The election of officers and Standing Committees for the ensuing year was held, and all were re-elected, viz.:

*President*—George Folsom. *Vice-presidents*—Dr. John W. Francis and Thomas Ewbank. *Cor. Sec'y*—E. George Squier. *Rec. do.*—Theodore Dwight. *Treasurer*—Alexander Cotheal. *Librarian*—George H. Moore.

The President expressed his sense of the honor conferred upon him by his re-election, and remarked upon the important branches of scientific inquiry and study to which the Society is elevated. He referred to the fact that the extensive field of American antiquities is open to it, and committed to it by common consent. The prospects are favorable for the future.

The attention of members were directed to the twelve large and interesting stone tablets from Koyunjik, found by digging among the extensive ruins of Nineveh, and fortunately procured for the Society, by the munificence of James Lenox, Esq., several years since. They are about seven feet high, some four and others six feet wide, and correspond in designs, execution, and details with many of those described in the works of Layard. They originally consisted of entire slabs of a species of a brownish white gypsum, about a foot in

thickness; but some of them have been broken. Like most of the relievos from that region, the effect is surprisingly good, considering the low relief, especially in a strong, slanting light, which gives softness to the features, and distinctness to all the elaborate delineations of the figures, limbs, weapons, costumes, fringes, and borders. About 20 lines of small arrow-head characters cross each of the stones.

The President invited attention to the letters of Bonita, the French consul at Monsul, who made the first explorations among the ruins of Nineveh, in 1842, as the first particular accounts of them published with drawings and inscriptions. That work is in the Society's Library.

The Recording Secretary exhibited an "Arabic Manuscript" of eighteen pages, just received from President Benson, of Liberia.

Mr. Squier, from the Committee of Publication, reported that the first number of the *Bulletin* was in press, and will soon be issued. It will be larger than common, forming above thirty pages 8vo, corresponding with those of the Society's volumes. The subscription price for members and others, is \$1 a year. No. 1 will contain the Constitution, list of members, the proceedings of Nov. and Dec., 1860, and several interesting papers.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.**—*Jan. 14, 1861.*—A stated meeting of this Society was held on the above date, Mr. Horatio Gates Jones in the chair.

The usual business having been postponed, the President introduced Mr. John S. Littell, of Germantown, who proceeded to read an elaborate paper on "Major William Jackson of the Revolutionary Army," a copy of which was afterwards requested for preservation in the archives of the Society. The presiding officer then announced the decease, on December 23, 1860, of JOHN FANNING WATSON, the venerable annalist of Philadelphia and New York, in the 81st year of his age. After a few brief but appropriate remarks touching the character of the deceased, the following resolutions were offered and adopted, viz.:

*Resolved*, That the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania have learned with deep regret of the decease of their late honored associate, Mr. John F. Watson, the annalist of Philadelphia and New York.

*Resolved*, That in his death our Society mourns the loss of one of its most distinguished members, the community of a useful citizen, and the cause of historic inquiry a devoted student.

*Resolved*, That his researches as an antiquary,

and his labors as a local historian, in departments then wholly unstudied, entitle him to the lasting gratitude of citizens of Pennsylvania and New York, and that his "Annals" will ever perpetuate his name and memory among those who value the records of the past.

*Resolved*, That as a testimony of our estimation of Mr. Watson, and of his valuable contributions to our history, the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D. D., be requested to prepare and read before this Society a memoir of our late fellow-member.

The reports of the Treasurer and of the trustees of the publication fund, were presented and referred to the finance committee.

Nominations were then made of officers for the ensuing year, after which the Society was adjourned.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—*Providence, Jan. 15, 1861.*—The annual meeting of this Society was held on the afternoon of the above date, the President, Albert G. Greene, Esq., in the chair.

The record of the last annual meeting was read by the Secretary, Henry T. Beckwith. The Librarian announced donations from William G. Williams, Geo. I. Collins, E. M. Stone, James B. Angell, Smithsonian Institute, Wisconsin Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, John R. Bartlett, A. P. King, Brown University, New Jersey Historical Society, Albert G. Greene, Essex Institute, E. B. Hall, Mrs. Charles Potter, M. W. Gardiner, Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, Portugal; Don Bartolome Mitre, Buenos Ayres; G. T. L. Hirsch, Gorlitz, Germany; and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen.

The following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:

*President*—Albert G. Greene. *Vice-presidents*—Samuel G. Arnold, George A. Brayton. *Sec'y*—Sidney S. Rider. *Treasurer*—Welcome A. Greene. *Librarian and Cabinet-keeper for the Northern Department*—Edwin M. Stone. *Do. and do. for the Southern do.*—Benjamin B. Howland.

Mr. Henry T. Beckwith having declined a reelection, it was unanimously

*Voted*, That the thanks of the R. I. Historical Society be presented to Mr. Henry T. Beckwith, for his valuable and efficient services as its Secretary for the last ten years.

Hon. Jabez C. Knight, Dr. Geo. A. Pierce, Wm. A. Robinson, were elected resident members; and Wm. W. Dobbins, Esq., of Erie, Pa., was elected a corresponding member.

The report of the Librarian and Cabinet-keeper showed, that the last year has been one of progress and prosperity to the Society.

*Feb. 4.*—The monthly meeting was held at the Cabinet on Waterman-street, the President, Albert G. Greene, Esq., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Secretary, Mr. Sidney S. Rider.

The Librarian announced donations from Hon. Jabez C. Knight, Sidney S. Rider, and Camp, Brunsen & Sherry.

Hon. Zachariah Allen was then introduced to the audience, and read a detailed and interesting account of the visit of Lafayette to Providence, in 1824. Mr. Allen was at that time a member of the Town Council, and together with Colonel Ephraim Bowen, was deputed to meet the General on his way from New York, and to accompany him to this town. Mr. Allen fortunately recorded the noteworthy remarks which fell from the lips of Lafayette, and now related the conversations had with him on various events of the Revolution, and especially the causes that led Count d'Estaing to withdraw the French fleet from Newport, thus causing the failure of General Sullivan's expedition on Rhode Island. The facts stated throw new light on the subject, and serve to relieve the French admiral of the reproach under which his name has rested.

At the close of the reading, on motion of Rev. E. M. Stone, prefaced by a few remarks, it was

*Voted*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Hon. Zachariah Allen for the very interesting and instructive paper read this evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for its archives.

Remarks were made by Amos Perry, Esq., the President, and Ex-governor Dyer, and the Society adjourned.

#### VERMONT.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Burlington, Jan. 23 and 24, 1861.*—A special meeting of this Society was held on the above dates.

During the absence of the President, on Wednesday, the Hon. George P. Marsh, was called to the chair. A Memoir of the Rev. Sam'l Austin Worcester, by the Rev. Pliny H. White, of Coventry, was read by D. W. C. Clarke, in the absence of the author. George F. Houghton presented and read a Memoir of the late Hon. George Tisdale Hodges, of Rutland. The thanks of the Society were voted to Messrs. White and Houghton, and copies requested for the archives of the Society.

In the evening a paper on the Battle of Bennington was read by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., of

Morrisania, N. Y. While waiting for Mr. Dawson, who was delayed a short time beyond the hour set for his address, by detention of the train, Hon. George P. Marsh, who presided, remarked to the Society, in allusion to a communication upon the date of the supposed modern invention of sawing Marble, by the use of sand and toothless saws, that exactly such a process was described by Pliny *two thousand* years ago, and alluded to the interesting fact that Pliny also mentions the use of reaping machines, in his time, among the Gauls, describing them as propelled in *front* of the horses, as were the first of modern reaping machines.

Mr. Dawson, with Gov. Hall, President of the Society, arrived at eight o'clock, and proceeded at once with his address. Much of the matter of the paper was new, derived from the reports of the German officers to the Duke of Brunswick, and other sources, not within the reach of previous writers on the subject.

"It was," says the *Daily Times*, "an exceedingly full, circumstantial, closely authenticated description of this, one of the pivotal battles of our Revolutionary struggle, commencing with the debarkation of the formidable (and in comparison with the force of the Americans overwhelming) army of Burgoyne, with its prodigious and completely furnished artillery trains, from Cumberland Head, early in July, 1777, and accompanying the accomplished British general (whose hands were most injudiciously tied by Home Instructions, that completely nullified his own undoubted military capacity and judgment) to the capture of Ticonderoga, the advances to Skenesborough, Fort Ann, Fort Edward, and Stillwater, and recounting the perplexing circumstances that attended the detachment of the command of Col. Baum (with two sets of instructions) to the fatal field of Bennington, and with graphic truthfulness portraying the bloody and decisive scenes of that memorable and eventful combat.

Mr. Dawson's statements are uniformly verified by official documentary evidence, uncommon and fortunate facilities for access to which he has been able to command; and the impression that his perspicuous and extremely well-written narrative of the important events preliminary to and accompanying the battle conveys of its authentic and reliable character adds greatly to the interest of his hearers. He is certainly entitled to much credit for the patient, intelligent investigation and study which give to the results of his inquiries their usefulness and value, and invest his narration with an interest at once so agreeable and engrossing."

Thursday morning short biographical sketches of Ex-governor Robinson and Dr. Noadiah Swift, were read by Hon. Hiland Hall. An interesting

relic of early times, being a musket taken from a British soldier at New York city in a collision between the soldiers and the "Sons of Liberty," in 1770, and claimed to be the first trophy of the Revolution, was exhibited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, and its history given.

The Rev. J. K. Converse presented to the Society a nearly perfect series of the annual reports of the Vermont Colonization Society. M. B. Curtis, of Burlington, presented a manuscript volume of Proprietors' Records of Georgia, Vt., kept by Ira Allen, Proprietors' Clerk. John B. Wheeler, of Burlington, on behalf of J. Homer Bostwick, late of Burlington, now of Michigan, a grandson of Levi Allen, presented a chest of pamphlets, deeds, memorandum-books, journals, and private documents, belonging to Levi Allen, a brother of Ethan Allen; and Messrs. George F. Houghton and John B. Wheeler, were appointed a committee to collect and arrange the documents, and report at the special meeting in Brattleboro, July 17, 1861.

L. I. Dickenson, of St. Albans, presented the Society with two hundred copies of a "History of a Congregational Church in St. Albans;" D. W. C. Clarke, with one hundred copies of White's "Memoir of Mathew Lyon," and Hagar's "Marbles of Vermont;" J. E. Goodrich with seventy-five copies of the late Zadock Thompson's address to the "Boston Society of Natural History," on the "Natural History of Vermont."

Rev. Wm. S. Balch was chosen orator for the next annual meeting, and Hon. Asa Owen Aldis, substitute. Eighteen new members were added to the Society, and Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of St. Louis, and Sir William E. Logan, of Montreal, were elected honorary members.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

#### ORDERLY BOOK, SECOND HILL, N. MILFORD.—

Nov. 3, 1778.

The comm<sup>rs</sup> officers of Comp's will examine into the condition of their men's clothing, and see that they are kept in a soldier-like manner. That the hats made for cocking be kept so. If any soldier let fall the brim of a hat made for cocking, to receive five lashes upon the naked back, by order of any comm<sup>r</sup> officer in the Reg<sup>t</sup>, to which he belongs. It is scandalous and unsoldierlike to see men who step gracefully with *flapt* hats and down-heads more like criminals

going to the place of execution than soldiers fighting for freedom.

Lost, between head Quarters and Reuben Boortis, a leather pocket-book, containing 24 Continental dollars, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  hard Dols.,  $\frac{1}{8}$ s., and 7d., silver; 19 silver hat buttons; one piece black ribbon; a note of hand of seven pounds, to be paid in hard money; and sundry writings, with the owner's name on them. Whoever finds s<sup>d</sup> pocket-book and leaves it with Maj<sup>r</sup> Platt, or the owner, shall have 4 dolls. reward."

HEADQUARTERS, READING, Dec. 24, 1778.

The Gen<sup>l</sup>. desirous of contributing as far as in his power toward the happiness of his brigade, orders that half a pint of Rum or Brandy be delivered to each officer and soldier to-morrow.

HEADQUARTERS, READING, Jan. 10, 1779.

It has been reported to Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. Putnam that there are several private houses in the vicinity of camp where spirituous liquors are sold to the soldiers, and many ill-consequences arise therefrom. The Gen<sup>l</sup>. in future forbids all such practices and orders the Q. Master to seize all such liquors and dispose of them to the public use. This order to be considered extending 7 miles from camp. The commanding officers of Brigades will licence such suttlers as they think necessary, under proper restrictions, to supply the troops with liquors and other refreshments. A return to be made, to-morrow, of the number of men destitute of shoes, stockings, shirts, and breeches, in the several Reg<sup>ts</sup> of the 8th Conn<sup>t</sup> Brigade.

Jan. 20, 1779.

Should the enemy advance into the country, the signal of alarm will be the discharging of three pieces of artillery at a minute's distance, from the 2d Conn<sup>t</sup>. Brigade, which will be answered by two fired in the same manner from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Poor's, after an interval of 15 minutes from the time those in Gen<sup>l</sup>. Poor's were discharged. In consequence of these, the several Brigades are immediately to parade, completely equipped for action and form a column of the whole near the orderly officer, where they will receive orders.

Feb. 3, 1779.

Maj. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Putnam hath rec<sup>d</sup> intelligence from his Excellency Gov<sup>r</sup>. Trumbull, that an attack from the enemy is expected on the town of New London and shipping at the harbor, and at his earnest request orders a detachment to garrison that place till the militia can be called in; and as the ships are not fully manned, it is necessary that part of the detachment should be seamen, to act on board, in case the attack should be made. The detachment to parade to-morrow morning, at

10 o'clock, near the orderly officer, with four day's provisions, hard bread and pork, thirty rounds Pr. man. The Q. M. will provide four day's rum, which will be carried forward with the detachment. The D. Q. M. will furnish two teams for the detachment, to transport the kettles and officers' light baggage.

HEADQUARTERS, READING, Feb. 4, 1779.

At a genl court martial was tried Edward Jones, for going to and serving the enemy as a guide, and coming out as a spy. Found guilty of every charge against him, and sentenced to suffer death. The Genl. approves of the sentence, and orders it to be put into execution on Friday, the 12th inst., between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock, by hanging him by the neck until he is Dead, Dead, Dead. The Genl. desires the chaplains in the Division to attend Edward Jones, under sentence of death.

HEADQUARTERS, READING, Feb. 6, '79.

At a Genl. Court Martial, whereof Lient. Col. Read was president, were tried the following prisoners, viz: John Smith, soldier in the 1st Connl. Battalion, for deserting and attempting to go to the enemy, found guilty, and further persisted in saying he would go to the enemy if ever he had an opportunity, sentenced to be shot to Death. Sergl. Robt. Byington, of the 6th Connl. Battalion, for deserting, found guilty, and sentenced to receive 100 lashes on his naked back, and be reduced to the Ranks, & to pay the serg't that was sent after him the expense occasioned by the same.

Feb. 10.

For detachment Maj. Torrey to parade tomorrow morning, at 9 o'clock, near the orderly office, with two days' provisions and 30 rounds of cartridges Pr. man, 2 Capts., 4 Lieuts, 6 sergts., 6 corp., 2 drums & fifes, and 100 privates, to reinforce the detachment at Horse Neck.

The execution of Edward Jones until next Tuesday, the 16th instant, between the hours of 10 & 11, A. M. The Genl. directs that no person be permitted to visit the prisoners under the sentence of death in the Provost Guard, unless at their own request, as frequent complaints have been made that they are interrupted in their private devotions by people who come for no other reason than to insult them.

Feb'y 14th, a subaltern's guard to parade tomorrow, at 12 o'clock, precisely, at the Provost Guard, to conduct the 2 criminals to Reading Meeting House, where there will be a sermon preached. The General desires the troops may appear clean and neat at the execution on Tuesday.

### *Brigade Orders.*

Feb. 15, 1779.

The Brigade to parade to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock, well-dressed and equipped, to attend the execution of the prisoners under sentence of death.

Feb. 17, 1779.

At a Reg<sup>t</sup> Court Martial, tried James McDaniels, soldier in Capt<sup>n</sup>. McGriggs Company, and Solomon Daylas, soldier, in Cap<sup>t</sup>. Webb's Company, confined for being 20 days from camp after their Furloughs were expired. The prisoners plead Guilty, but say, in their defence, that they were put to many distressing circumstances; the former, by freezing his feet, and finding his family in a distressing situation. The latter also in freezing his, on account of having no shoes. The Court, after taking the matter into consideration, are of the opinion that the prisoners shall ask the pardon of the officers and soldiers at the head of the Reg<sup>t</sup>., and be reprimanded by the commanding officer.

HEADQUARTERS, READING, March 4, 1779.

A return of the names of the men in each Brigade who are acquainted with making wooden bowls, to be to the Orderly office on Friday next.

HEADQUARTERS, READING, March 21, '79.

Major Genl. Putnam directs that, until further orders, the rations for the troops in this department be as follows:

Lb.	Oz.
1	0, Flour.
1	4, Beef or
1	0, Pork or
1	0, Fish.

**CURIOUS INCIDENT OF THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.**—A young officer in the army of Wolfe, was apparently dying of an abscess in the lungs. He was absent from his regiment on sick leave; but resolved to rejoin it, when a battle was expected. "For," said he, "since I am given over, I had better be doing my duty; and my life's being shortened a few days matters not." He received a shot which pierced the abscess and made an opening for the discharge. He recovered and lived to the age of eighty.

**"SEA OF UPTURNED FACES."**—This beautiful metaphor is contained in the opening sentence of the speech delivered by Daniel Webster in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Sept. 30, 1842. It may also be found in the 20th chapter of Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*. Some one may mention an earlier use of the expression?  
J. P.

DISCOVERY OF THE HOME OF WASHINGTON'S ANCESTORS (vol. v., p. 38).—From the Washington inscriptions given in the letter of Mr. Sumner, and published in the last number of the *Historical Magazine*, we learn that Robert Washington, Esq., of Sulgrave, Northampton, had (with other children) two sons, Lawrence the heir, and Robert; we are moreover informed that Elizabeth, widow of the last Robert, died March 19, 1622, a few days subsequent to the decease of her husband. This Elizabeth, was a daughter of John Chishull, of More Hall, Essex; but Mr. Sumner, in his letter, alludes to her as "Elizabeth Washington, daughter of Lawrence Washington, and sister of the emigrant," thus making her the widow of her own uncle.

These inscriptions were published and their locality defined in Baker's "History of Northamptonshire," 1828-'30; they also occur in Bridge's history of the same county, as early as 1791.

From the latter work I give the following inscriptions, which are to be found in the church at Islip, North.

"Against the chancel south wall is a monument of Round stone, supported by two small Tuscan pillars, and on a tablet between two pillars, this inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Dame Mary wife unto Sir Jn<sup>o</sup> Washington, Knight, daughter of Phillipe Curtis, Gent. who had issue by her sayd husbande 3 sonns Mordaunt, John, and Phillipe, deceased the 1. of June. 1624."

"Opposite to this, against the north wall is a like monument, with this inscription:

"Here lieth the bodie of Katherine the wife of Phillipe Curtis, Gent. who had issue one sonne Phillipe and fower daughters, departed in the fayth of Christ, Aprill 24—Anno Domi 1626."

This only son, Philip Curtis, married, Aug. 8, 1620, Amy Washington, who, according to Baker's genealogy of the family, was a daughter of Lawrence, previously referred to. Simpkinson, in his recently published tale of "The Washingtons," has surmised that Sir John Washington, a brother of Amy, was knighted early during the year 1622-3; and that, in 1657, while still a widower, he emigrated to Virginia, accompanied by his son John, then upward of thirty years old, and by his own brother Lawrence, who had been a student at Oxford, in 1624. I. J. G.

"IRON DUKE."—According to Rev. G. R. Gleig, author of a life of the late Duke of Wellington, this sobriquet had not its origin in poetic invention, as is generally supposed. The term was first applied to a steambot called the

"Duke of Wellington," and by and by, rather in jest than in earnest, transferred to the duke himself. J. P.

"LINES ON THE DEATH OF DR. JOS. WARREN.—A few lines attempted in blank verse, occasioned by the death of the ever-to-be-remembered and much-beloved Doctor JOSEPH WARREN, major-general in the American army, who was slain in the battle at Charlestown, June 17, 1775.

And is it so?

Is WARREN, then, no more? Alas! too true.  
 "He's gone! my Patriot Warrior's gone!"  
 New Albion's Genius cried; and "He is gone!"  
 Remurmured all around. Heart rending thought!  
 How sunk my spirits, when the baleful sound  
 First shocked mine ear. But why bewail a death  
 So glorious, which might rather in our breasts  
 Excite becoming envy? Yes, he fell  
 A willing sacrifice, in the great cause  
 Of human kind, his COUNTRY'S cause, which he  
 Had plead so well. Heroic fortitude,  
 An honest zeal, a Scipio's martial flame,  
 A Cato's firmness, Tully's eloquence,  
 Were all his own. Thus great in public life;  
 Nor less the *milder* virtues of his soul.  
 Philanthropy his gen'rous bosom swayed—  
 Benevolence marked well the steps he trod.  
 View him in the sphere of his profession;  
 See, at the sick bedside, his anxious care,  
 With countenance benign, see him stretch forth  
 His healing hand to yield the kind relief:  
 If medicines failed, his gentle accents and  
 His soothing words revived the fainting heart.  
 But silent now that tongue, and cold that hand  
 So oft employed in heavenly deeds like these—  
 That tongue, that moved at will the attentive throng,  
 That hand, to dire distress, a cheerful aid.  
 WARREN\* the great, the good, is now no more;  
 He's left this earth, to hail those blessed abodes  
 Where Norths shall vex not, and the virtuous rest.  
 PHILATROS.

\* In him, great LIBERTY has lost a most noble and worthy son; the community where he resided, a useful member, and free-born AMERICANS, a brother,—a strenuous friend. s. d.

Extracted from a letter written by Doctor Solomon Drowne, to his brother, William Drowne (an officer in the American army), dated "Providence, R. I., August 12, 1775;" the original being now in the possession of Mr. Drowne, of N. Y. H. T. D.

New York, Jan., 1861.

LETTER OF GENERAL GREENE.—The following letter was presented to Commodore Levy by Capt. Tarleton, a nephew of the British Colonel Tarleton, of Revolutionary memory, at an entertainment given by the Commodore on board the United States ship Macedonian, while she lay at Alexandria, Egypt, at which were present Prince Alfred of England, Captain Tarleton, of her British Majesty's frigate Euryalus, and many of her

officers. The letter, which, with other papers, was seized by Colonel Tarleton, during the war, remained in his possession and in that of his family until the auspicious occasion referred to—nearly eighty years after it was taken. It was then returned by Captain Tarleton, the commander of the finest frigate in the English navy, to Captain Levy, in command of a ship which formerly belonged to that navy, and in the presence of a grandson of that king, whose forces are alluded to in that letter as the “enemy.” This was but one of the many evidences of the kindly and courteous relations which existed between our squadron and the English fleet during the time Commodore Levy was in the Mediterranean:

CAMP BEATTY'S FORD, January 31st 1781

SIR: The enemy are laying on the opposite side of the river and from every appearance seem determined to penetrate the country. Genl. Davidson informs he has called again and again for the people to turn out and defend their country. The inattention to his call and the backwardness of the people is unaccountable. Providence has blessed the American arms with signal success in the defeat of Tarlton and the surprise of George Town by Col. Lee with his Legion. If after these advantages you neglect to take the field and suffer the enemy to over run the country you will deserve the miseries ever inseparable from slavery.

Let me conjure you my countrymen to fly to arms and repair to Head Quarters without loss of time and bring with you ten days provisions. You have every thing that is dear and valuable at stake, if you will not face the approaching danger your country is inevitably lost. On the contrary if you repair to arms and confine yourselves to the duties of the field Lord Cornwallis must be certainly ruined. The Continental army is marching with all possible despatch from the Peedee to this place. But without your aid their arrival will be of no consequence

I am

Sir

Your Humble Servant

NATH GREEN.

COLONEL LOCK.

GEN. WAYNE.—The following account of an incident in the Revolutionary War, was found among the papers of William R. Atlee, Esq., deceased:

Mr. Atlee designed writing the life of General Wayne, and collected some materials for that purpose, and had the papers of the general in his possession for a time. He made some progress in the work, but never completed it. He was a son-in-law of Gen. Wayne. J. S. F.

WESTCHESTER, Penn.

“The army of the Unit. States at Valley Forge, suffered severely by want of provisions. Foraging was dangerous, because the British army occupied Philadelphia, and had command of Delaware by their fleet. General Wayne was commissioned to collect cattle, in the month of Febr., 1778, in the State of Delaware, and West Jersey, on the vicinities of this river, which have ample meadows and pastures. He procured supplies in the first mentioned, crossed the river into Salem county, and got a great addition there.

“On his return to the camp, he came, in the night to Sweedsborough, a small town situated on Raccoon-creek, and the main road to Philadelphia, twenty miles from it, and seven miles from Billingsport, a British garrison on Delaware, about twelve miles by water, below that city. The British army in Philadelphia, had constant information of occurrences in this part of the country, by people who traded with them, in spite of severe penalties on those who were convicted.

“The General was therefore, in great danger of a sudden and powerful attack. His troops were only two hundred, and the greater part weakened by want of clothing; many in broken shoes, without stockings. He was warned of his danger, but would not depart before the men were refreshed, and the numerous cattle watered. At last he resumed the march, about twelve o'clock, and took a road parallel with the main, about two miles distant from it, within the country.

“Next day, about the same time, a regiment of British light-infantry came in great speed to the place. Being very superior in number, they would, very probably, have killed the greater part of his men, and cut off his retreat. His usual bravery might also have cost his own life.”

THE GRAVE OF OSCEOLA.—A writer in the Philadelphia Press, says:

“I was in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1839, and there became acquainted with Dr. —, a very scientific physician of that place, who one day showed me a beautifully preserved head and neck, which he assured me was the head of the celebrated Indian chief, Osceola. He told me that he had for many years been engaged in experiments, having for their object the preservation (by injection, I think he said) of the human body after death, but had never perfectly succeeded until he tried his hand on Osceola. He was one of the physicians who attended Osceola in his last illness, while a prisoner on Sullivan's Island, and was with him when he died. He cut off the head and concealed it, and put the headless body in the coffin, which was buried. Such was his history.



"The head I saw was perfectly preserved—the face full and round as in life—and the only change which had taken place, according to the doctor, was that the skin had become darker.

"Now was this true, and did I see the head of Osceola? If it was, where is it now? Or is the head to be found with the body, in the grave on Sullivan's Island?"

"I suppress the doctor's name, but he was a man of the highest position and character in St. Augustine."

"THE LEGITIMATE KING OF ENGLAND" (vol. v., p. 11).—MR. EDITOR: You state in your January No., that "but for the law of the Protestant Succession," the present king of Sardinia would now be the "king of Great Britain and Ireland." Such, however, is not the case; it is one of the very many errors which Sir Bernard Burke suffers to disgrace the columns of his "Peerage." It is undoubtedly true, that on the extinction, in 1809, of the legitimate male line of the royal house of Stuart, in the person of Cardinal York, sometimes styled Henry IX., the representation of the family devolved on the then king of Sardinia, Victor Emanuel I., in right of descent from the Princess Henrietta Maria, duchess of Orleans, younger daughter of King Charles I. But it must be remembered that this Victor Emanuel was of the *elder* branch of the house of Savoy, which ceased in 1831 with his brother Charles Felix, who was succeeded by a distant kinsman of the *younger* branch of Savoy-Carignan, the brave but unfortunate Charles-Albert, father of the present king, and in no way related to the Stuarts. On the death of King Charles Felix, English writers at once accorded the representation of the house of Stuart to his eldest niece, the late Duchess of Modena, since whose death her son, the present and now exiled Duke Francis V., has, by common consent, been invested with this empty title. The duke has no children, and his only brother died a few years ago, leaving an only daughter, the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, now in her twelfth year. The romantic idea has several times been started in English journals, of uniting the royal line of Hanover with that of the fallen dynasty, by selecting this young lady as the eventual bride of the Prince of Wales. Combining, as she does, the lineage of the illustrious families of Hapsburgh-Lorraine, Este, and Stuart, and being moreover heiress to the large private fortune of the duke, her uncle, it would seem a peculiarly suitable alliance, did not the Roman Catholic faith, in which she is being educated, present an almost insuperable obstacle. It may be added that, by a singular coincidence, Francis of Modena, rightful king of England, is brother-in-law to the Comte de Chambord, chief

of the house of Bourbon, and rightful king of France, and also to Don John de Bourbon, younger son of the late Don Carlos, and since the abdication of his elder brother Count de Montemolin, Pretender to the throne of Spain. W.

Boston, Jan. 22, 1861.

THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON, A FARCE (vol. iv., p. 314).—The following from Force's "Archives," shows that the representation, though interrupted, was merely postponed:

"Boston, January 11, 1776.—On *Monday* was presented, at the Theatre, at *Faneuil Hall*, the comedy of the *Busy Body*, which was received with great applause. The actors [*British officers*] seemed all to have profited by *Impartial's* advice; and we must do the ladies the justice to say, they always were perfect, as well in their parts as in their action. A new farce called *the Blockade of Boston*, was to have been presented the same evening, but was interrupted by a sergeant's representing, or rather misrepresenting, the burning of two or three old houses at *Charlestown* as a general attack on Boston. But it is very evident that the Rebels possess a sufficiency of what *Falstaff* terms the better part of valour, to prevent their making an attempt that must inevitably end in their own destruction. As soon as those parts in the *Boston Blockade* which are vacant, by some gentlemen being ordered to *Charlestown*, can be filled up, the farce will be performed with the tragedy of *Tamerlane*."

WHAT BECAME OF THE PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES BANK.—Mr. Olmstead's excellent article on the preservation of old papers, &c., in the February No. of this *Magazine*, recalls a circumstance little known, and which it may be amusing as well as useful to record. The penny-a-liners somehow never told the story.

When the government bought the building of the United States Bank, in Chestnut-street, Philadelphia, to convert it for the purposes of a custom-house, the vaults, closets, &c., were found well stored with books, accounts, correspondence, all the documents relating to its various branches, and wagon-loads of miscellaneous papers tied up with red tape and carefully docketed. The government officers were in a hurry to take possession, and there was nowhere to store this vast amount of rubbish; a contract was therefore made by somebody or other with a paper-maker to grind it all up; lucky it was, no doubt for some people, that their autographs were thus to be cancelled.

Without examination or notice to any one, these precious documents were got on board of

sloops and sent to a paper-mill at Trenton, N. J. These sloops came and went many voyages before they could dispose of the tons of material thus industriously accumulated. Two sets of "collectors" scented the trail at last, and went to Trenton, in hot pursuit; one of these had a "permit" from the purchaser of the whole lot to examine and appropriate to himself, the "rarities" he might recover. The others had no permit, and fared more sparingly; these latter got aboard one of the sloops as it was unloading and were opening the oyster with eager hands and eyes, when they were ordered off by the manufacturer; not, however, until they had found some pearls of price, in correspondence of eminent borrowers and so forth from the good old milk bank. But, though they had worked hard in a hot sun, on the deck, and went without dinner, and scarcely got into the *placet* at all, they found very rare things, which the mill-owner afterwards heard of and *claimed!* but was shamed into returning. The other party with the permit had more time allowed him; and though both of the curiosity-hunters had to miss their dinners and to hurry to the trains, great additions were the result, and now adorn the cabinets of some of our autograph collectors. Among these, when we take into consideration the dispute between Nicholas Biddle and Andrew Jackson, it is a little "historical" to see preserved: Andrew's autograph, appointing Nicholas to be a government director of the bank. This, of course, was before the quarrel about the deposits.

This short notice of the final "removal of the deposits," will cause many a collector to sigh over what was lost. Now collectors of the customs tread the stately marble halls of the bank. Autograph gatherers must regret that it is not the "custom" to examine papers more minutely before making them up into newspaper sheets.

GERMANTOWN, Philad.

J. J. S.

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LUXURIES.**—*Large-paper copies, copies on writing-paper,* etc., were indulged in by our ancestors to a greater extent than is generally supposed.

I have before me a large-paper copy of Dr. Mayhew's "Discourse concerning Unlimited Submission to the Higher Powers," Boston, 1750, recently republished with able notes, by Mr. J. W. Thornton. It measures seven and three-quarter inches by ten inches; while another copy, also uncut (a presentation copy "To the Rev. Thos. Prince, by his most humble servant, J. Mayhew"), measures six by six and a half inches, which is the usual size.

I have also before me a letter from Governor

Trumbull to Hudson & Goodwin, printers, Hartford, directing that a few of the funeral sermons on the death of his wife, should be struck off *on writing-paper.* F. Z.

**LATIN NAMES OF PLACES IN AMERICA.**—In the Roman Notizie and the Acts of Councils in America, I find the following names:

Little Rock,	Petricula.
Sault St. Marie } and Montreal, }	Marianapolis.
New Orleans,	Neo Aurelia.
Vincennes,	Vincennopolis.
Wheeling,	Vehelingum.

The others are formed generally from the English name more directly.

**CURIOUS EPITAPH.**—The following Latin epitaph is said to exist on a tombstone in the burying ground of Newport, Rhode Island:

Mors mortis morti mortem nisi morte dedisset,  
Eternæ vitæ Janua clausa foret.

The English "Notes and Queries," give the following translations:

"Had not the death of death by death given death to death  
Our souls had perished with this mortal breath.

Unless by death, the Death,  
A death to death had given;  
For ever had been closed to men  
The sacred gates of heaven.

Had (Christ) the death of death to death  
Not given death by dying;  
The gates of life had never been  
To mortals open lying.

Had not the Death of death to death death by death  
given  
Closed on us had been the gate of life and heaven.

This distich is cut on the tombstone of the Rev. F. Jauncey, in the churchyard of Castle-camp, Cambridgeshire.

These lines are said to have been found among Porson's papers; but the authorship is doubtful.<sup>3</sup>—*2d Series*, ix., p. 513; x., p. 55.

**FIRST AMERICAN BIOGRAPHICAL WORK.**—That was a singular blunder made by Col. Humphreys in the dedication of the "Life of General Israel Putnam." It is dedicated to Jeremiah Wadsworth, and was published in 1788.

Humphreys says: "The inclosed manuscript justly claims indulgence for its venial errors *as it*

is the first attempt made at Biography on this continent."

Numerous biographies of an earlier date will readily occur to most of the readers of the *Historical Magazine*. It is not, perhaps, surprising that Humphreys should have forgotten the three or four biographies of the Mathers, or Cotton Mathers' memoirs of John Eliot, Jonathan Mitchell, Sir William Phipps, and others of that period; but it is remarkable that he should have overlooked so popular a work as Edwards's "Life of Brainerd," 1749; Turell's "Life of Dr. Colman," 1749; and the "Life of Jonathan Edwards," in 1765.

This blunder is repeated without note or comment in subsequent editions, including the one edited by Colonel Swett, in 1818. F. Z.

ROBERT CUSHMAN'S SERMON,—THE FIRST DELIVERED IN AMERICA THAT WAS PRINTED.—In vol. ii., p. 353, I gave an account of that famous sermon, and can add a few more facts respecting it.

The copy of the first edition that was owned by the late Edward A. Crowninshield, Esq., of Boston, was sold with his library to Henry Stevens, Esq., and went to England. It has recently been purchased by Charles Deane, Esq., of Cambridge, at a very high cost, and is now owned by him. As he is an eminent antiquarian bibliographer, we feel grateful to him for his zeal and perseverance in procuring that copy of the first edition,—a very rare and valuable work,—with the design of keeping it in the United States, and ultimately placing it in some public library.

Recently, another edition of that sermon has been found in the library of Prof. James R. Lowell, bound in a volume of old sermons. It has been very generously given, by him, to the library of Harvard College, where it will be safely preserved for all coming time; a fine specimen of the style of composition and of the theological mind and investigation at the period in which it was written, in 1621.

Two copies of that sermon can, therefore, now be found in Cambridge, Mass. A copy of the second edition (and the only known copy of that edition), is owned by the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass.; and copies of the remaining nine editions are in possession of the writer hereof. Another edition, making the *eleventh*, having been printed in 1858, by J. E. D. Comstock, N. Y.

Says the eloquent Choate: "I regard it as a great thing for a nation to be able, as it passes through one sign after another of its zodiac pathway, in prosperity, in adversity, at times to look back to an *authentic race of founders* and an *historical principle of institution* in which it may

rationally admire the realized idea of true heroism."

Hence the value of this sermon and the importance of new editions of it.

HENRY H. CUSHMAN,  
BERNARDSTON, MASS., Jan. 20, 1861.

INTERESTING LETTER OF JEFFERSON TO JOEL BARLOW, IN 1802.—

WASHINGTON, May 3, 1802.

"DEAR SIR: I have doubted whether to write to you, because yours of Aug. 25, received only March 27, gives me reason to expect you are now on the ocean. However, as I know voyages so important are often delayed, I shall venture a line with Mr. Dupont de Nemours. The Legislature rises this day. They have carried into execution steadily almost all the propositions submitted to them in my message at the opening of the session. Some few are laid over for want of time. The most material of which is the militia, the plan of which they cannot easily modify to the general approbation. Our majority in the House of Representatives has been about two to one—in the Senate, eighteen to fourteen. After another election it will be two to one in the Senate, and it would not be for the public good to have it greater, a respectable minority is useful as censors. The present one is not respectable; being the bitterest cup of the remains of Federalism rendered desperate and furious by despair. A small check in the tide of republicanism in Massachusetts, which has showed itself very unexpectedly at the late election, is not accounted for. Everywhere else we are becoming one. In Rhode Island the late election gave us two to one through the whole State. Vermont is decidedly with us. It is said and believed that New Hampshire has got a majority of republicans now in its Legislature; and wanted a few hundreds only of turning out their federal governor. He goes assuredly the next trial. Connecticut is supposed to have gained for us about fifteen or twenty per cent. since her last election; but the exact issue is not yet known here. Nor is it certainly known how we shall stand in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts. In the Senate there, we have lost ground. The candid federalists acknowledge that their party can never more raise its head. The operations of this session of Congress, when known among the people at large, will consolidate them. We shall now be so strong that we shall certainly split again; for freemen thinking differently and speaking and acting as they think, will form into classes of sentiment, but it must be under another name, that of federalism is to become so scouted that no party can rise under it. As the division between whig and tory

is founded in the nature of men, the weakly and nerveless, the rich and the corrupt seeing more safety and accessibility in a strong executive; the healthy, firm, and virtuous feeling confidence in their physical and moral resources, and willing to part with only so much power as is necessary for their good government, and therefore to retain the rest in the hands of the many, the division will substantially be into whig and tory, as in England, *formerly*. As yet no symptoms show themselves, nor will till after election.

"I am extremely happy to learn that you are so much at your ease that you can devote the rest of your life to the information of others. The choice of a place of residence is material. I do not think you can do better than to fix here for a while, until you become Americanized and understand the map of the country. This may be considered as a pleasant country-residence, with a number of neat little villages scattered around within the distance of a mile and a half, and furnishing a plain and substantially good society. They have begun their buildings in about four or five different points, at each of which there are buildings enough to be considered as a village. The whole population is about six thousand. Mr. Madison and myself have cut out a piece of work for you, which is to write the history of the United States, from the close of the War downwards. We are rich ourselves in materials, and can open all the public archives to you; but your residence here is essential, because a great deal of the knowledge of things is not on paper, but only within ourselves for verbal communication. John Marshall is writing the life of Gen. Washington from his papers. It is intended to come out just in time to influence the next presidential election. It is written therefore principally with a view to electioneering purposes; but it will consequently be out in time to aid you with information as well as to point out the perversions of truth necessary to be rectified. Think of this, and agree to it, and be assured of my high esteem and attachment. THOS. JEFFERSON.

"JOEL BARLOW, Esq.

"P. S. There is a most lovely seat adjoining this city on a hill commanding a most extensive view of the Potomac. On it there is a superb house, gardens, &c., with thirty or forty acres of ground. It will be sold under circumstances of distress, and will probably go for half of what it cost. It was built by Gustavus Mott, who is dead, bankrupt, &c."

The above letter of Mr. Jefferson (the original of which is now in the possession of Lemuel G. Olmstead, of this city), and similar influences induced Barlow to settle in Washington. He

bought the seat alluded to in the P. S., greatly improved it, gave it the euphonious and appropriate name of Kalorama, and resided there from 1807 to 1811, when he was sent by Madison as Minister Plenipotentiary to France. His widow returned from France in 1813, and occupied it till her death, in 1818. Jefferson said, that Barlow had never had a superior, as a writer, in the English language. G.

A LETTER BY FRANKLIN.—Mr. Charles B. Norton has furnished a letter of Franklin to D. Hartley, contained in a mass of original documents known as the "Hartley Correspondence." This letter is as follows:

"PASSY, September 6, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND: Inclosed is my letter to Mr. Fox. I beg you would assure him that my expressions of esteem for him are not mere professions; I really think him a *great* man, and I could not think so if I did not believe he was at bottom and would prove himself a *good* one. Guard him against mistaken notions of the American people. You have deceived yourselves too long with vain expectations of reaping advantage from our little discontents. We are more thoroughly a more enlightened people with respect to our political interests than, perhaps, any other under heaven. Every man among us reads, and is so easy in his circumstances as to have leisure for conversations of improvement and for acquiring information. Our domestic misunderstandings, when we have them, are of small extent, though monstrously magnified by your microscopic newspapers. He who judges from them that we are on the point of falling into anarchy, or returning to the obedience of Britain, is like one who, being shown some spots on the sun, should fancy that the whole disk would soon be overspread by them, and that there would be an end of daylight. The great body of intelligence among our people surrounds and overpowers our petty dissensions, as the sun's great mass of fire diminishes and destroys his spots. Do not, therefore, any longer delay the evacuation of New York in the vain hope of a new revolution in your favor, if indeed such a hope has any effect in causing that delay. It is now nine months since that evacuation was promised. You expect, with reason, that the people of New York should do your merchants justice in the payment of their old debts. Consider the injustice you do them in keeping them so long out of their habitations and out of their business, by which they might have been enabled to make payment. There is no truth more clear to me than this, that the great interest of our two countries is a thorough reconciliation. Restraints on the freedom of com-

mere and intercourse between us can afford no advantage equivalent to the mischief they will do by keeping up ill-humor, and promoting a total alienation. Let you and I, my dear friend, do our best towards securing and advancing that reconciliation. We can do nothing that in a dying hour will afford us more solid satisfaction.

"I wish you a prosperous journey and a happy sight of your friends. Believe me ever, with sincere and great esteem, yours affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"To D. HARTLEY, Esq."

#### QUERIES.

OLD GRIMES.—A correspondent of the *Boston Transcript*, in a letter dated, "Hubbardston, Mass., September, 1860," writes as follows:

"Here was also (to take the opposite extreme) the first and last place of abode of that rather infamously famous 'Eaph. Grimes,'—'That good old man'—the king of rowdies, whose presence, near the close of the last century, carried terror to all around him, whose aged life was closed at the poor-house, in this town, not many years since."

I understand the above writer to suppose "Eaph. Grimes" to be the hero of the song. Is he right? BOSTON.

BLAIR McCLENAHAN.—When did he die, and at what age? He is said to be interred in a Presbyterian burying-ground in Philadelphia. Can any correspondent there give us an answer from his tombstone? INQUIRER.

COL. WALTER STEWART.—When did he die, and where is he buried? INQUIRER.

"CHARLOTTE TEMPLE."—There is in Trinity churchyard a plain flat stone, with simply these words. Who was she? Was the heroine of Mrs. Rowson's tale, a real person? PENX.

INSTRUMENT TO MEASURE THE GROWTH OF PLANTS.—The *London Magazine*, for 1759, p. 516, gives a cut and an explanation of "An Instrument or Machine for Measuring the Growth of Plants, commonly made use of in the Plantations of America, brought over by Capt. J. Erwin, from New England." Who invented it?

WASHINGTON'S LAST VISIT TO NEW YORK—WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK, 1799.—It has usually been asserted, that after the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, in 1790,

Washington never again saw New York. I have recently heard, however, from one who had spoken with him on the occasion, that Washington, accompanied by his wife, paid a short visit to New York in the fall of 1799, and but a few weeks previous to his death. The visit was strictly a private one; and during his stay the General and his lady remained at the residence of the British consul-general, Sir John Temple, in Greenwich-street. Is the circumstance confirmed by his own journals? I. J. G.

#### ON THE DEFEAT AT TICONDEROGA OR CARLONO.

By a Lady in America.

"Neglected long had been my useless lyre,  
And heartfelt grief repress the poet's fire;  
But rous'd, by dire alarms of wasting war,  
Again, O muse, the solemn dirge prepare.  
And join the widow's, orphan's, parent's tear.  
Unwept, unsung shall Britain's chiefs remain;  
Doomed in this stranger clime to bleed in vain!  
Here a last refuge hapless Braddock found,  
When the grim savage gave the deadly wound:  
Ah! hide Monongahel thy hateful head  
(Still as thy waves roll near the injur'd dead)  
On whose gore-moistened banks the num'rous slain,  
Now spring in vegetative life again,  
Whilst their wan ghosts as night's dark gloom prevail  
Murmur to whistling winds the mournful tale;  
Cease, cease, ye grisely forms, nor wail the past  
Lo! a new scene of death exceeds the last;  
Th' empurpled fields of Carlono survey  
Rich with the spoils of one disastrous day!  
Bold to the charge the ready vet'ran stood  
And thrice repell'd, as oft the fight renewed,  
Till (life's warm current drain'd) they sunk in blood.  
Uncheck'd their ardor, unallay'd their fire,  
See Beaver, Proby, Rutherford, expire;  
Silent Britannia's tardy thunder lay  
While clouds of Gallick smoke obscur'd the day.  
Th' intrepid race nursed on the mountain's brow  
O'er-leap the mound, and dare th' astonish'd foe;  
Whilst Albion's sons (mow'd down in ranks) bemoan  
Their much lov'd country's wrongs nor feel their own;  
Chearless they hear the drum discordant beat—  
And with slow motion sullenly retreat.  
But where wert thou, oh! first in martial fame,  
Whose early cares distinguish'd praises claim,  
Who ev'ry welcome toil didst gladly share  
And taught th' enervate warrior want to bear.  
Illustrious Howe! whose ev'ry deed confest  
The patriot wish that fill'd thy generous breast:  
Alas! too swift t' explore the hostile land,  
Thou dy'dst sad victim to an ambush band,  
Nor e'er this hour of wild confusion view'd  
Like Braddock, falling in the pathless wood;  
Still near the spot where thy pale corpse is laid,  
May the fresh laurel spread its amplest shade;  
Still may thy name be utter'd with a sigh,  
And the big drop swell ev'ry grateful eye;  
Oh! would each leader who deplores thy fate  
Thy zeal and active virtues emulate,  
Soon should proud Carlono be humbled low  
Nor Montcalm's self, prevent th' avenging blow."

Who was the authoress of this poem, which I find in the *London Magazine* for 1759? S.

DAVID McLANE, OF PROVIDENCE, EXECUTED FOR HIGH TREASON AT QUEBEC, 1797.—Can any of our correspondents at Providence give us any account of the early history of David McLane, one of the victims of the machinations of the French envoys in America. He attempted to carry out a mad plot for seizing Quebec, but was betrayed by the first one to whom he disclosed it, and after a trial for high treason, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and otherwise mutilated, according to the obscene and revolting prescriptions of the English law? He represented himself as having been a trader at Providence, who had failed in business.

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REPLIES.

ELIZABETH LLOYD (vol. v., p. 24).—The lines are as follows:

I am old and blind!  
Men point at me as smitten by God's frown;  
Afflicted and deserted of my kind;  
Yet I am not cast down.

I am weak, yet strong;  
I murmur not that I no longer see;  
Poor, old, and helpless, I the more belong,  
Father Supreme to Thee.

O merciful One!  
When men are farthest, then Thou art most near;  
When friends pass by, my weakness shun,  
Thy chariot I hear.

Thy glorious face  
Is leaning toward me; and its holy light  
Shines in upon my lonely dwelling-place,  
And there is no more night.

On my bended knee  
I recognize Thy purpose, clearly shown;  
My vision Thou hast dimm'd that I may see  
Thyself—Thyself alone.

I have naught to fear;  
This darkness is the shadow of thy wing;  
Beneath it I am almost sacred, here  
Can come no evil thing.

Oh! I seem to stand  
Trembling, where foot of mortal ne'er hath been,  
Wrapp'd in the radiance of Thy sinless land,  
Which eye hath never seen.

Visions come and go;  
Shapes of resplendent beauty round me throng;  
From angel lips I seem to hear the flow  
Of soft and holy song.

It is nothing now,  
When heaven is opening to my sightless eyes,  
When aits from Paradise refresh my brow,  
The earth in darkness lies.

In a purer elime  
My being fills with rapture—waves of thought  
Roll in upon my spirit—strains sublime  
Break over me unsought.

Give me now my lyre!  
I feel the stirrings of a gift divine,  
Within my bosom glows unearthly fire  
Lit by no skill of mine.

The simple fact is, that those "strains sublime" came to the world from no "Oxford edition" of John Milton. They are the production of Mrs. Elizabeth Lloyd Howell, of Philadelphia. She wrote them in the days of her maidenhood, when she was known to her many home admirers as plain Elizabeth Lloyd. They were originally published in a little volume of poems—but Miss Lloyd sought no audience for her sweet strains beyond the select circle of Quakers in her native town; and out of that circle she was little known. John G. Whittier was one of her intimate friends. They were kindred spirits; and tattling rumor used to predict that the gifted Quakeress would yet merge her modest name in the world-known name of the poet of Amesbury. But Whittier, the meek man of might—the most earnest of American bards—the gentle girl in loving what is pure and right—the giant "Great-heart" in fighting what is wrong—Whittier, the "lone star" of the Quaker poetic firmament, still dreams away life in the reveries of a bachelor. Elizabeth Lloyd is the happy wife of a substantial Philadelphia merchant. Content with a few early efforts, she has published but little of late. It is glory enough for her to have written one poem which the world will persist in attributing to the prince of poets.

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INTRODUCTION OF MERINO SHEEP—HUMPHREYS OR LIVINGSTON (vol. iv., p. 278; v., pp. 26, 61).—In Turner's "Holland Purchase," Buffalo, 1849, I find a few lines which may throw light upon this disputed subject, showing that neither Humphreys nor Livingston can lay claim to priority. The following paragraph occurs in a notice of Louis Stephen Le Conteulx de Chaumont, one of the pioneers of Western New York, who came from France to the United States, in the year 1786, and settled in New Amsterdam (now Buffalo), in 1804.

"He" (speaking of Le Conteulx) "was among the first who introduced merino sheep into the United States, having imported a pair from Spain, in 1789, which he presented to Robert Morris. They were sent to Cadiz by the house of Le Conteulx, not without great difficulty and risk, as the Spanish government had forbidden their exportation under severe penalties."

Mr. Le Conteulx is probably the person alluded to by the *New England Palladium*, as importing "a pair 'some time' before the importation of Col. Humphreys;" if such is the case, and the statement of Mr. Turner would seem to substantiate it, I think that preference should be given to his claim as the *first* importer, rather than to either Col. Humphreys or that of Mr. Livingston.

Q.

APEES (vol. v., p. 58).—As the invention of these cakes has been thought worthy of commemoration in the *Historical Magazine*, it may be well to give the first maker's name correctly. It was Mrs. Ann Palmer, not *Price*. She kept a cake shop in Chestnut-street, between Second and Third streets, and was the mother of the late Richard Palmer, Sen., who was for many years a magistrate in Southwark, and for some time the prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia county.

W. D.

PHILADELPHIA,

JOURNAL OF R. J. MEIGS (vol. v., p. 59).—In the Feb. No. of the *Magazine*, you notice "the omission in Hildreth's 'Memoirs of the Early Settlers,' of Col. R. J. Meigs' Journal of the occurrences in the invasion of Canada, by Col. Arnold, in 1775," and inquire, "Is it in any of the copies?" I answer that it is not; a copy of this journal was procured from the Massachusetts Historical Society's library, by whom it was published as early as 1784 or 5, before Col. Meigs emigrated to Ohio, in 1788 (see Collections, iii., p. 227), for the purpose of insertion in his life, then going through the press at Cincinnati, under the care of the Ohio Historical Society. From some unaccountable inadvertence of the editor, it was not put into the hands of the printer, with the other manuscripts composing the volume; the title-page only giving notice of this interesting and valuable journal.

S. P. H.

MARIETTA, Feb. 12, 1861.

PRYBER (vol. v., No. 2, p. 60).—Mention is made of this individual in "N. Y. Col. Doe," vol. vi., p. 242, by which it appears that he was taken prisoner by the Creeks, in 1743, and carried with his papers, to Gov. Oglethorpe, of Georgia.

E. B. O'C.

VOLTAIRE'S WASHINGTON MEDAL (vol. iii., p. 252).—W. D. asks for information as to this medal. I have heard that when it was designed, the parties to save expense took a hub (as I think the hard steel *relievo* is called), containing a head of Bentham, and from it struck the die on which the inscription "Washington," &c., was then cut.

## Notes on Books.

*Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*; prepared under the Direction of the General Association, to commemorate the completion of one hundred and fifty years since its first Annual Assembly. 1861. 8vo, 562 pp.

THE title of this volume sufficiently explains its character. It is composed of Dr. Bacon's historical discourse, and twelve addresses, and of a number of historical papers on matters connected with the history of Congregationalism in Connecticut; some of them of general interest. Considerable space is given to sketches of the district associations and of the churches.

The volume has a very good index and a bibliographical list of works on Connecticut history.

*Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester, Massachusetts*, during the first Century from its Settlement. By Emory Washburn. Boston: Wilson & Son, 1860. 8vo, 467 pp.

A FRIEND, better able than ourselves to do justice to this volume, has long promised us a sketch, but it would be doing the author injustice to defer noticing it any longer. It is a most beautifully printed volume, well indexed and systematically arranged. This strikes one at once. Examination of the work confirms the favorable opinion thus given. The introduction depicts the character and position of the New England town, a republic within a republic, and its influence on the formation of the character of the people. The history of the town from the Indian deed of Oraskaso's heirs, in 1686, and its settlement, a few years later, is then given, with due regard to social history, manners, customs, furniture, and literary taste. Separate chapters are devoted to municipal history, ecclesiastical affairs, local history, embracing more noted events, Indian wars, visits of Washington and Lafayette, the Historical Celebration on the 4th of July, 1849. Another chapter is given to the professional men, lawyers, physicians, artists, &c.; but the ensuing pages on the part taken by men of Leicester in the Old French War and the Revolution, will attract us more, and from their vivid picturing possess great interest. A genealogical chapter closes the work.

Few of our local histories possess the skillful arrangement or the earnest and elevated style which characterizes this work, one of the best local histories that has appeared. Some of these possess little merit beyond that of industry in gathering what may be found on the spot, but the simplest history hangs by many incidents on

more important ones, and a superior mind can always invest them with a charm and an interest. It is a matter of congratulation to find the comparatively humble task fall into the hands of one whose education, experience in life, and appreciative knowledge of the world's history enable him to make the work more than a dry detail of facts.

*Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Simon W. Gabriel Bruté, D. D., Bishop of Vincennes*; describing his Recollections of scenes connected with the French Revolution, and Extracts from his Journal. By the Rt. Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, D. D., Bishop of Newark. New York: 1861. 4to, 217 pp.

This volume, neatly printed by Munsell, in the style of his series, and illustrated by a portrait of Bp. Bruté, on steel, and illustrations on wood from his designs, is a fitting tribute to a man of more than ordinary worth. His recollections of the French Revolution, embodied here, are full of life, and excel most of the narratives we know, in giving a picture of that time. Bishop Bruté was a fellow-student of Bichat, in the medical schools of Paris, and carried off the highest prize; but embracing the ecclesiastical state, came to America. He was one of the founders, and long president of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmetsburg. As Bishop of Vincennes he was one of the first to study and write on the early history of the West; and had not his career been too soon closed, would doubtless have rendered great service to future historians. As it is, his labors are known and acknowledged; and his library was one of the earliest and best at the West in books on the French colonies in North America.

*Agricultural Survey of Somerset County, Maine.*  
By Samuel S. Boardman. Augusta: Stevens & Raymond, 1860. 8vo.

This survey, prefaced by a topographical description of the county, and an article on its geology is apparently a very thorough work, and cannot but be of great local value. Its suggestions all seem to be careful and well considered.

*Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société Historique de Montréal.* Montréal: Duverney, 1860. Pt. 3, pp. 123-154.

We noticed, in our last volume, p. 254, the previous parts of these Collections, and are rejoiced to see the Society continue their regular publication. The position of Canada in regard to New York and New England, makes her history neces-

sary for the correct understanding of our early border wars, as well as of early colonization in other States. The part now before us contain the Ordinances issued by M. de Maisonneuve, first governor of Montreal, from 1658 to 1664; and an account, by Mr. E. P. Taché, an eye-witness of the engagement on Lake Champlain during the Last War, defending the Canadians against the charges brought by James, in his "Naval Occurrences."

*Virginia, especially Richmond, in By-gone Days; with a Glance at the Present: being Reminiscences and last words of an Old Citizen.* By Samuel Mordecai. Richmond: West & Johnson, 1860. 12mo, 359 pp.

This work belongs to the class of Frazer's "Reminiscences of Charleston," Dr. Francis' "Old New York,"—not professed local history, but sketches without the dry details that the former must necessarily include. The present work shows the appreciation of its merit in the fact that it has reached a second edition, and in its present shape it is a most pleasing volume.

*The Illustrated Pilgrim Almanac for 1861.*  
Boston: Office of the National Monument. 1861.

This little work, beautifully printed and illustrated like its predecessor, and intended to advance a good work—the erection of the monument to the Pilgrim Fathers, has a claim on all who love to boast their descent from the passengers in the Mayflower and their immediate successors.

*History of the town of Dunbarton, Merrimac County, New Hampshire, from the Grant by Mason's Assigns, in 1751, to the year 1860.*  
By Caleb Stark. Concord: G. P. Lyon, 1860. 8vo, 272 pp.

It is gratifying to see the historic spirit of Dunbarton, which by a vote of the town appropriates a sufficient sum to give each taxpayer a copy of this work.

The history embraces a period of little over a century. Dunbarton was settled from the north of Ireland, by what are in defiance of all ethnology called Scotch-Irish. The population, in 1850, was 915. The pioneer settlers were James Rogers, the father of the well-known Major Robert Rogers, of the Old French War, and Joseph Putney, who made a permanent settlement in 1749. Much of the volume is taken up with the town meetings; the rest is devoted to its ecclesiastical affairs, Revolutionary incidents, general history, more prominent residents, and genealo-



gies. If other towns were to do as much, much valuable historical matter would be saved. On inquiring lately for the records of a town on Long Island, we learnt that on the death of a clerk some years since, they were left to the mercy of his dissipated son, and had disappeared. The loss was more than a mere antiquarian might lament, for they embraced the records of the deeds and conveyances of lands to the town for a considerable period.

*Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres, &c. Par Jacques Charles Brunet. Paris: Didot, 1860. Svo.*

THE fifth edition of Brunet, more than half a century after the first, and still by the same hand! How many a collector has been guided by Brunet, made his collection, been gathered to his fathers, and had his library dispersed in Brunet's day. How few, like our venerable friend Allan, have used all the editions of Brunet as they appeared!

This edition will undoubtedly be his latest and supersede all others permanently. To American collectors it will be the edition of special value, as the works on America here receive something of the place which their present values and the mania created by competition for them demand. The first edition made no allusions to books bringing higher prices or being greatly sought in America, now such allusions are frequent. This does not apply solely to works on America. In every department the American collectors are now formidable competitors in the sales in Europe; and the orders sent abroad for rare works and fine editions have reached an enormous amount.

*Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des Pères de Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle France les années 1673 à 1679. Par le R. P. Claude Dablon, Recteur de Collège de Québec et Supérieur des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle France. New York: Presse Cramoisy, 1860. Svo, 290 pp.*

THE Jesuit Relations printed in the seventeenth century closed with Dablon's Relations of 1671-2. The editor of that volume however prepared two others; one for 1672-3, and the other embracing six years, from 1673 to 1679, which have all now remained in manuscript. The whole printed series has been reprinted, and it was desirable to have these also, so as to complete the work down to 1679. Mr. Shea has begun this by publishing the latter part in his Series of "Memoirs and Relations relating to the French Colonies in North America." The present volume, issued like the

preceding from Munsell's press, treats of missions throughout the French possessions of the time. The first part is devoted to the Ottawa missions, as they were called; that is, those in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and to the Iroquois missions in the State of New York: the second part to the missions among the Montagnais and Algonquins, on the Lower St. Lawrence; the third part to missions in the colony, that of the Iroquois at La Prairie, and of the Hurons at at Lorette. After 1679 there remain only accounts of separate missions, no general one, for them all.

*Life of Dr. Franklin. By John M. Norton, A. M., Rector of Ascension Church, Frankfort, Ky., &c. Claremont, N. H.: G. G. & L. N. Ide, 1861. 257 pp.*

THIS life of Dr. Franklin is intended rather for younger readers, and like the "Biography of Washington," from the same pen, seeks to portray more fully the religious character. Mr. Norton is already favorably known by his lives of several of the bishops of the Episcopal Church in the United States, and has most certainly great skill in this department, giving a high degree of interest and attractiveness to his sketches. There are in this volume views and points, that many generally overlook, in the estimate of Franklin's character.

*Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane. Par R. Thomassy. New Orleans: 1860. 4to, 254 pp.*

THIS work as a geological treatise on the system of dykes, which it advocates, does not fall within our sphere of criticism; but it contains some historical matter, and a cartography of Louisiana, which, however, begins by omitting the maps of Marquette and Joliet, to whom he shows a decided hostility.

Among the papers relative to La Salle, is one which we find, on comparison with Membre's Journal in *Le Clercq's "Etablissement de la Foi,"* of which a translation has been given in the "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," to be absolutely the same, so that Mr. Thomassy has but little ground to attribute it to La Salle himself. Besides, if we take it away from Membre, Hennepin stands ready to claim it, and has been so long a claimant that we would have to let him have it. Another document is more valuable, being a letter of La Salle's, or one of his Recollect companions, in 1680. There are, also, part of a letter of La Salle and of a letter of Tonti. M. Thomassy announces a life of La Salle; but we trust that he will extend his researches fully before attempting the work.

## Miscellany.

HON. JOHN R. BARTLETT is printing 125 copies of the following work in royal 8vo, in the style of the Bradford Club: "A History of the Destruction of His Britannic Majesty's schooner *Gaspée*, in Narragansett Bay, on the 10th June, 1772, accompanied by the correspondence connected therewith, the action of the General Assembly thereon, and the Official Journal of the proceedings of the Commission appointed by King George the Third on the same."

MR. JOHN MANN, died at Dover, on the 2d ult., in the 73d year of his age. He was the oldest printer and editor in New Hampshire, with the exception of Hon. John Prentiss, of Keene.

THE REV. NICHOLAS MURRAY, D. D., a prominent and active member of the New Jersey Historical Society, died suddenly on the 4th of February, 1861. He was a native of Ireland, and came here in 1816. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, at Elizabeth, from 1831 till his death, at the age of 58. In a controversy with Archbishop Hughes he used the pseudonym "Kirwan," by which he was subsequently well known.

He was interested in most of the leading religious and benevolent movements; such as the Bible and Tract Societies, Colonization cause, &c., was an active member of the Board of Trustees of Princeton Seminary, and a manager of the New Jersey Colonization Society.

A HISTORY of Marlboro, Vt., by the Rev. Ephraim Newton, and a History of Westfield, Vt., by Mr. E. W. Thurber, are in preparation.

DR. O'CALLAGHAN'S Catalogue of American Bibles will soon be issued from the press of Munsell & Rowland, of Albany, in one volume, royal 8vo, uncut, to subscribers only. The edition is limited to 150 copies.

It will give the titles to about *fifteen hundred* editions of the Scriptures; including those of Eliot's Indian Bibles of 1663-1661 and 1685-1680, in *fac-simile* copies of the Dedications with Initial Letters, a History of the Printing of those rare works, and a Table of *Indian* Errata discovered in several of the books.

This book will also contain a notice of Cotton Mather's huge *Biblia Americana*, and copies of his elaborate Prospectuses; a list and description of Saur's German Bibles printed in Pennsylvania during the last century, some of which were used as cartridge paper in the American Revolu-

tion; Aiken's Congress Bible, Thomas, Worcester and Boston editions, besides the most complete account and description yet printed of Carey's Philadelphia "Standing" editions.

It will furnish a full list of the American Bible Society's issues; of the Catholic editions in *Eng. lish, German, French, and Spanish*, including the Quarto Bible printed in the city of *Mexico*. Great pains have been bestowed in collecting the editions printed in this country in *Hebrew, Greek*, and the *Indian* tongues, and having had the benefit of the valuable Biblical collections of James Lenox, George Livermore, and George Brinley, Esqrs., and of several public libraries, it is expected that the work will be deserving of public patronage.

The edition is printed wholly at Dr. O'Callaghan's expense; and being limited, those desiring copies will do well to send in their orders early.

SNOWDEN'S beautiful works on the medals and coins in the Mint Collection, have appeared.

THE HON. CHARLES ADAMS died at Burlington, Vermont, on the 15th of Feb., 1861, in his 74th year. He was a resident of Burlington for more than half a century, and was a learned and successful lawyer during a long professional career.

At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing, at the request of the Vermont Historical Society, a history of the "Patriot War" (so called) of 1836-7, with whose public and secret history he was more familiar than any man now living. This history will be completed, we are glad to know, by his son, J. Sullivan Adams, Esq., the highly efficient Secretary of the Vermont Board of Education.

THE death of the venerable Dr. JOHN W. FRANCIS, is also an event to be chronicled in the *Historical Magazine*. A sketch of his life by a most capable hand, has been promised for our next number, and we therefore merely announce here the loss sustained by New York.

THE choice library of Zelotes Hosmer, Esq., of Boston, will be sold in May, and the catalogue is nearly ready. It is one of the finest collections of early English poets and fine editions of the great masters of English literature. The copies are all in the finest condition, selected with great care during a period of many years.

WE refer our readers to the advertisement of the Messrs. McAllister, who are using the stereoscope to produce views of the historic buildings of Philadelphia. That of Christ Church we have seen, and can attest to its excellent execution.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V.]

APRIL, 1861.

[No. 4.

General Department.

JOHN WAKEFIELD FRANCIS.

IN the recent death of Dr. FRANCIS, on the morning of February 8, the city of New York, and we may add, the whole country, has met with a great loss. He was generally known to the medical profession of the land; he had his friends in many eminent political men, while he was intimate with most of those engaged in authorship. Few men who have not led an exclusively public life, have been so widely beloved. Scarcely a stranger came to New York, on any errand connected with literature, who did not visit that residence of many years, No. 1 Bond-street, and make the acquaintance of Dr. Francis. If he once crossed that threshold, he was sure of a kindly welcome, and some aid in his enterprise. This was all done in so simple, so kindly a manner, with so much heartiness and zest, that the visit was sure to be repeated, probably with the introduction of another on like errand; so that in the most quiet, natural way in the world, the Doctor came to be known to numbers outside the ranks of his profession, to which he was always a devoted adherent. In his later years he gave considerable time to literary composition in a series of productions, which, though doubtless he would have added to their number, had his life been spared, will be sufficient to justify to posterity the great personal regard in which he is held by his contemporaries. Being chiefly biographical, they afforded the writer an opportunity of exhibiting that genial living sympathy with character which was always his striking characteristic. The old saying, "I am a man, and nothing relating to man is without my regard," never had a better exemplification.

The life of Dr. Francis has no unusual incident except in his rising from a printer's apprentice to become in a short time an eminent medical practitioner. He was born in New York, of mingled German and Swiss parentage, Nov. 17, 1789; began life in the printing-office of George Long, an Englishman, of no little character and energy; was speedily translated from the form to the col-

lege, his apprenticeship being waived in consideration of his evident strong tastes for a professional education. He entered Columbia College, graduated in 1809, studied medicine under the direction of the celebrated Dr. Hosack, received his degree, and became the assistant and a partner in the practice of his preceptor. From that moment his career was steady and onward, as he availed himself of the unusual social, scientific, and literary opportunities which lay before him. For half a century there was not a liberal enterprise or a public event of any interest in New York, in which Dr. Francis was not in some way a partaker. Early uniting literature with his profession, he edited, in 1810 and 1811, in conjunction with Dr. Hosack, the *American Medical and Philosophical Register*, which was continued through four annual volumes. The journal gave a liberal attention to the scientific interests of the day, as steam navigation, then in its infancy, agriculture, &c., and had some valuable contributors in Fulton, Stevens, and Morris. Dr. Francis, also, early became a lecturer in the institutes of medicine and *materia medica* in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the city, and in the medical faculty of Columbia College. At this time he paid his only visit to Europe, travelling through Great Britain, visiting Paris, and making the acquaintance of such great celebrities as Abernethy, Jameson, Playfair, Gregory, Sir Joseph Banks, Cuvier, and Gall. Recollections of these associations, to which time gave an increased interest, supplied many of the interesting anecdotes with which his conversation was stored in his later years. Rees, the editor of the well-known Cyclopaedia, was one of his acquaintance, and he became a contributor to that work, on American topics. On his return to the United States, he discharged the duties of his professorship in connection with the institutions already mentioned, till the foundation of the Rutgers Medical School in 1826, when he was for a while attached to that body as professor of obstetrics and forensic medicine. His medical writings appeared in the *New York Medical and Physical Journal*, of which he was one of the editors, in 1832 and the two following years, in other journals, and in occasional separate publications. Ob-

stretches, vitriolic remedies in croup, yellow fever, death by lightning, cholera, asphyxia, the mineral waters of Avon, the anatomy of drunkenness, were among his topics of this class. He also edited an edition of Denman's "Practice of Midwifery."

During this active period of his professional career, he also found time to occupy himself with literary pursuits of a biographical and historical character, as his Address before the New York Horticultural Society, in 1830; a biography of Chancellor Livingston, of New York, delivered before the Philolexian Society of Columbia College, in 1831, and his discourse before the New York Lyceum of Natural History, in 1841, devoted to the naturalists of the United States. His Anniversary Discourse before the New York Academy of Medicine, in 1847, besides its medical survey, has various biographical references to the old physicians of the city. The following year he delivered an Inaugural Discourse on taking his seat as president of that institution, which was published. In September, 1858, he delivered the Opening Address at the foundation of the New York State Inebriate Asylum, at Binghamton. It was followed the very next month by an equally elaborate Introductory Discourse to the several courses of clinical instruction at Bellevue Hospital, New York, of which he was President of the Medical Board. He was also President of the Medical Board of the Woman's Hospital, the institution founded by his friend, Dr. Sims, in which he took a great interest. At the last annual meeting of the Ethnological Society he was chosen its first Vice-president.

The papers of a general historical character by which Dr. Francis' name is likely to be long remembered in connection with American biography, includes a series of Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers of New York, read in part before the Typographical Society of New York, in 1832; a sketch of his friend, the novelist, Cooper, in the memorial of that author, published the same year; a capital paper, filled with genial anecdote, on Christopher Colles, read before the New York Historical Society in 1854, and subsequently published in the "Knickerbocker Gallery;" another Address before the New York Historical Society on its fifty-third anniversary, in 1859, the very day he completed his sixty-eighth year, which grew into quite a volume on its publication, and was subsequently still further enlarged in the book entitled "Old New York, or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years," which appeared in 1858. His recollections of Washington Irving, which have been included by Mr. Putnam in his memorial of the author, was among his recent productions. But these are by no means the whole of his contribu-

tions to American history, of this kind. They were published in magazines, newspapers, cyclopædias, and other works, from Timothy Alden's "Curious Collection of American Epitaphs," in 1815, through such books as Dunlap's "Arts of Design," to the newest volume of Appleton's Cyclopædia. His pen was, in fact, ever ready at the service of his friends, and the common cause of American history. These writings are well worthy of being collected into a single series: with appropriate arrangement and a good index they cannot fail to be of lasting interest. The very latest of these sketches from his pen, was, we understand, a reminiscence of Gouverneur Morris, written for an historical work, in preparation by Mr. Dawson, the author of the "Battles of America."

In an attempt to enumerate the many good qualities of Doctor Francis, which endeared him to his friends and the public, we scarce know where to begin. His professional character naturally claims the first place; and of that we may cite the testimony of his brother physicians of the Academy of Medicine, who have commemorated "his learning, ability, and charitable deeds." As a sound American patriot, and public-spirited citizen, he has left few equals—few whose sympathies take so wide a range, and who are so painstaking and minute in the manifestation of them. Independent in his views, and always a lover of the right, he had no preferences but for worth and honor; in every good man he saw a fellow-citizen. At his house, eminent men from every part of the country were accustomed to meet, and we may say from every nation of the world; and the claims of all were more than allowed. His cordial sympathy, and unaffected liveliness, drew forth what was best and most earnest in each. All reserve and formality melted in the glow of that genial temperament. There may have been, sometimes, a shock to stilted prejudices, in the extravagance of his enthusiasm, and persons unaccustomed to his peculiar humor may have been startled for the moment; but every man of sense soon saw the obvious intent, which was to break up stagnant opinions and get at the living reality of things beneath them. For, if Dr. Francis was a foe to any thing, it was to pretence, conventionality, and dullness, which he would invade in his familiar conversation with some rousing assertion, following it up by a deluge of amplification, which effectually cleared the atmosphere of error and stupidity. On politics he always spoke earnestly; for literature, in all its forms, he had an unbounded appreciation, especially for history and biography. He took great interest, consequently, in all the details of the lives of public men, with many of whom, from the early days of Clinton, he had been familiar,

searching for anecdotes, not in any idle spirit of gossip—for his mind was too masculine for that—but as revelations of character and keys to unlock the secret cabinets of diplomacy. He thus was one of the early working members and constant supporters of the New York Historical Society, where his memory will always be duly honored; and, if we may be allowed to speak of ourselves in this connection, he was, from its start, a cordial friend and valued contributor to this journal.

### CHICAGO FROM 1673 TO 1725;

OR, WHAT IS KNOWN OF THE FIRST HALF CENTURY OF ITS HISTORY.

[Communicated to the Chicago Historical Society.]

BY JOHN G. SHEA.

CHICAGO has an early history which is not without its interest; and a few scattered notices will here be brought together to lead the way to a fuller and more highly finished picture.

Its position, on one of the best routes from the Lakes to the Mississippi, made, at a very early period, an Indian stopping-place or depot. The routes followed from Lake Michigan, were: 1st, That by the Fox and Wisconsin, taken by Marquette, and first pointed out by Nicolet; but the hostile character of the Foxes made this an unsafe road. 2. The Root River at Racine, interlocking with the Pistakee or Fox, formed the next; but the water was apt to be too low, and long marches in mud were not very attractive. 3d. The next, and under the circumstances the best, was that by Chicago, or the Divine River, through le Petit Lac (Mud Lake), and the Desplaines River to the Illinois. Beyond this was the last route, by way of St. Joseph's River and the Kankakee.

The early history of Chicago is associated with the illustrious explorer of the Mississippi, who was its first white inhabitant, and first, we may say, erected a house for human habitation and an edifice for the worship of the Almighty. After descending the Mississippi with Louis Jolliet, as far as the Arkansas, he reascended the Great River, whose name he gave as we still give it, although ignorant men who came after, attempted to corrupt it into Meschacebe. He however did not return by the way of the Wisconsin, but, striking into the Illinois, traversed the State which it waters. On its upper waters he found the Kaskaskias, who escorted him to Lake Michigan, evidently by way of Chicago, his map and his last letter leaving now no doubt on the subject, although prior to their publication the dotted lines on the map in Thevenot left the matter obscure.

After this first visit to Chicago, in 1674, Father Marquette proceeded to Green Bay, to recruit his strength. When the heat of summer was over, he deemed himself strong enough to return and found his Illinois mission—an adventurous step for one sinking under a painful disorder. A letter which he began, but did not live to close, gives an account of his journey to Chicago, and his wintering there. As it never has been given in English, a translation will not be out of place in this attempt to give some picture of what was done at Chicago in early times.

"REV. FATHER: the Peace of Christ: Having been compelled to remain all summer at St. Francis on account of my ill-health, and having recovered in the month of September, I waited for the arrival of our people returning from below (i. e., Quebec), to know what I should do for my wintering. They brought me orders for my voyage to the Mission of the Conception among the Illinois. Having met Your Reverence's wishes touching copies of my journal on the Mississippi river, I set out with Pierre Porteret and Jacques —, Oct. 25, 1674. In the afternoon the wind forced us to lay up for the night at the mouth of the river, where the Pottawatamies were assembled; the head men not wishing any to go off towards the Illinois, for fear the young men would lay up furs with the goods they had brought from below, and after hunting beaver would resolve to go down in the spring, when they expect to have reason to fear the Sioux.

"Oct. 26.—Passing to the village, we found only two cabins there, and they were starting to winter at La Gasparde; we learned that five canoes of Pottawatamies and four of Illinois had set out to go to the Kaskaskia.

"27. We were detained in the morning by rain; in the afternoon we had fair weather and calm, and overtook at Sturgeon Bay, the Indians who preceded us.

"28. We reached the portage; a canoe which was ahead prevented our killing any game; we began our portage, and cabined for the night on the other side, where the bad weather gave us much trouble. Pierre did not come in till one o'clock at night, having got lost on a road on which he had never before been. After rain and thunder, snow began to fall.

"29.—Having been compelled to change our cabinage, we continued to carry the bundles. The portage is about a league long, and very inconvenient in some parts. The Illinois, assembling in our cabin in the evening, ask us not to leave them; as we might need them, and they know the lake better than we do, we promised.

"30.—The Illinois women finished our portage in the morning; we are detained by the wind. No game.

"31.—We start with pretty fair weather, and stopped for the night at a little river. The road from Sturgeon Bay, by land, is a very difficult one; we did not travel far on it, last fall, before we got into the woods.

"Nov. 1.—Having said holy mass, we halted at night at a river, from which a fine road leads to the Pottawatamies. Chachagwession, an Illinois, much esteemed in his nation, partly because he concerns himself with trade, came in at night with a deer on his shoulder, of which he gave us part.

"2.—Holy mass said, we travelled all day with fair weather. We killed two cats, which were almost clear fat.

"3.—As I was on land walking on the beautiful sand, the whole edge of the water was of herbs similar to those caught in nets at St. Ignace; but coming to a river which I could not cross, our people put in to take me on board, but we could not get out again on account of the swell. All the other canoes went on except the one that came with us.

"4.—We are detained. There is apparently an island off shore, as the birds fly there in the evening.

"5.—We had hard work to get out of the river. At noon we found the Indians in a river, where I undertook to instruct the Illinois, on occasion of a feast, which No-wasking-we had just given to a wolfskin.

"6.—We made a good day's travel. As the Indians were out hunting, they came on some footprints of men, which obliged us to stop next day.

"9.—We landed at two o'clock, on account of the fine cabinage. We were detained here five days, on account of the great agitation of the lake, though there was no wind; then by the snow, which the sun and a wind from the lake melted next day.

"15.—After travelling sufficiently, we cabined in a beautiful spot, where we were detained three days. Pierre mends an Indian's gun. Snow falls at night and melts by day.

"20.—We slept at the Bluffs, cabined poorly enough. The Indians remain behind, while we are detained by the wind two days and a half. Pierre, going into the woods, finds the prairie twenty leagues from the portage. He also passed by a beautiful canal, vaulted as it were, about as high as a man; there was a foot of water in it.

"21.—Having started about noon, we had hard enough work to make a river. The cold began from the east, and the ground was covered with a foot of snow, which remained constantly from that time. We were detained there three days; during which Pierre killed a deer, three wild geese, and three turkeys, which were very good.

The others passed on to the prairies. An Indian having discovered some cabins, came to tell us. Jacques went with him there the next day. Two hunters also came to see me. They were Maskontens to the numbers of eight or nine cabins, who had separated from each other to be able to live. They travel all winter with hardships almost impossible for Frenchmen, by very difficult roads; the land being full of streams, small lakes and marshes. They are very badly cabined, and eat or fast according to the spot where they happen to be. Having been detained by the wind, we remarked that there were large sand-banks off the shore, on which the waves broke continually. There I felt some symptoms of a dysentery.

"27.—We had hard enough work to get out of the river; and having made about three leagues, we found the Indians, who had killed some buffalo, and also three Indians, who had come from the village. We were detained there by a wind from the shore, immense waves that came from the lake, and the cold.

"December 1.—We went ahead of the Indians, so as to be able to say mass.

"3.—Having said mass and embarked, we were compelled to make a point and land, on account of the fog.

"4.—We started well to reach Portage River, which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere else; and also more tracks of animals and turkeys. The navigation of the lake from one portage to the other, is quite fine, there being no traverse to make, and landing being quite feasible all along, providing you do not obstinately persist in travelling in the breakers and high winds. The land along the shore is good for nothing, except on the prairies. You meet eight or ten pretty fine rivers. Deer hunting is pretty good as you get away from the Pottawatamies.

"12.—As they began to draw to get to the portage, the Illinois having left, the Pottawatamies arrived with much difficulty. We could not say mass on the feast of the Conception, on account of the bad weather and the cold. During our stay at the mouth of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three buffalo and four deer; one of which ran quite a distance with his heart cut in two. They contented themselves with killing three or four turkeys of the many which were around our cabin, because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge that he had killed, every way resembling those of France, except that it had like two little wings of three or four feathers, a finger long, near the head, with which they cover the two sides of the neck, where there are no feathers.

"14.—Being cabined near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there,

on my inability to go further, being too much embarrassed, and my malady not permitting me to stand much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, going to carry their furs to Nawas-kingwe. We gave them a buffalo and a deer that Jacques had killed the day before. I think I never saw Indians more greedy for French tobacco than these. They came and threw beaver skins at our feet to get a small piece; but we returned them, giving them some pipes, because we had not yet concluded whether we should go on.

"15.—Chachagwesson and the other Illinois left us to go and find their people and give them the merchandise which they had brought, in order to get their furs, in which they act like traders and hardly give more than the French; I instructed them before their departure, deferring the holding a council till spring, when I should be at their village; they gave us for a fathom of tobacco three fine buffalo robes, which have done us good service this winter. Being thus relieved, we said the mass of the Conception. Since the 14th, my disease has turned into a dysentery.

"30.—Jacques arrived from the Illinois village, which was only six leagues from here, where they are starving. The cold and snow prevent their hunting. Some having informed la Toupiné and the surgeon that we were here, and unable to leave their cabin, had so alarmed the Indians, believing that we would starve remaining here, that Jacques had great trouble in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry all our affairs.

"January 16, 1675.—As soon as the two Frenchmen knew that my illness prevented my going to them, the surgeon came here, with an Indian to bring us some whortleberries and bread; they are only eighteen leagues from here, in a beautiful hunting-ground for buffalo and deer, and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had, too, laid up provisions while awaiting us, and had given the Indians to understand that the cabin belonged to the blackgown. And I may say that they said and did all that could be expected of them; the surgeon having stopped here to attend to his duties, I sent Jacques with him to tell the Illinois who were near there, that my illness prevented my going to see them, and that if it continued I should scarcely be able to go there in the spring.

"24.—Jacques returned with a bag of corn and other refreshments that the French had given him for me; he also brought the tongues and meat of two buffalo that he and an Indian had killed near by; but all the animals show the badness of the season.

"26.—Three Illinois brought us from the head men, two bags of corn, some dried meat, squashes, and twelve beavers: 1st, to make me a mat; 2d,

to ask me for powder; 3d, to prevent our being hungry; 4th, to have some few goods. I answered them: firstly, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of the prayer, &c.; secondly, that I would not give them powder, as we were endeavoring to diffuse peace on all sides, and I did not wish them to begin a war with the Miamis; thirdly, that we were in no fear of starving; fourthly, that I would encourage the French to carry them goods, and that they must satisfy those among them for the wampum taken from them, as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come twenty leagues, to pay them for their trouble and what they brought me, I gave them an axe, two knives, three clasp knives, ten fathoms of wampum, and two double mirrors; telling them that I should endeavor to go to the village merely for a few days, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, to stay and die in their country, and said that they had been told that I would remain long with them.

"Feb. 9.—Since we addressed ourselves to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, to whom we began a novena by a mass, at which Pierre and Jacques, who do all they can to relieve me, received, to ask my recovery of the Almighty, my dysentery has ceased; there is only a weakness of the stomach left. I begin to feel much better, and to recover my strength. None of the Illinois who had ranged themselves near us have been cabin'd for a month; some took the road to the Pottawatamies, and some are still on the lake, waiting for the navigation to open. They carry letters to our Fathers at St. Francis.

"20.—We had time to observe the tide which comes from the lake, rising and falling, although there appears no shelter on the lake. We saw the ice go against the wind. These tides made the water good or bad, because what comes from above flows from the prairies and small streams. The deer, which are plentiful on the lake shore, are so lean, that we had to leave some that we killed.

"March 23.—We killed several partridges: only the male has the little wings at the neck, the female not having any. These partridges are pretty good, but do not come up to the French.

"30.—The north wind having prevented the thaw till the 25th of March, it began with a southerly wind. The next day game began to appear; we killed thirty wild pigeons, which I found better than those below (Quebec), but smaller, both young and old. On the 28th, the ice broke and choked above us. On the 29th the water was so high that we had barely time to uncabin in haste, put our things on trees, and try to find a place to sleep on some hillock, the water gaining on us all night; but having frozen a little and

having fallen as we were near our luggage, the dyke burst and the ice went down, and as the waters are again ascending already, we are going to embark to continue our route.

"The Blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering, that we have wanted nothing in the way of provisions, having a large bag of corn still left, meat and grease; we have, too, lived most peacefully, my sickness not preventing my saying mass every day. We were able to keep Lent only Fridays and Saturdays.

"31.—Having started yesterday, we made three leagues on the river, going up, without finding any portage. We dragged for half an arpent. Besides this outlet, the river has another, by which we must descend. Only the very high grounds escape inundation. That where we are has increased more than twelve feet. Here we began our portage more than eighteen months ago. Geese and duck pass constantly. We contented ourselves with seven. The ice still brought down, detain us here, as we do not know in what state the river is lower down.

"April 1.—As I do not yet know whether I shall remain this summer at the village or not, on account of my dysentery, we left there a part of what we could dispense with, especially a bag of corn, while detained by a strong south wind. We hope to-morrow to reach the spot where the French are, fifteen leagues from here.

"6.—The high winds and cold prevent us from proceeding. The two lakes by which we have passed, are full of bustards, geese, ducks, cranes, and other birds that we do not know. The rapids are pretty dangerous in some places. We have just met the surgeon, with an Indian, going up with a canoe-load of furs; but the cold being too severe for men who have to drag their canoes through the water, he has just made a cache of his beaver, and goes back to the village with us to-morrow. If the French get robes from the country, they do not rob them, so great is the hardship they experience in getting them."

Such is the letter which gives the earliest account of matters and things at Chicago. A correspondent from the spot would give, in 1861, a somewhat different picture.

Marquette doubtless returned by the same path, and, repassing Chicago, proceeded along the eastern shore of the lake till he felt the sweat of death upon his brow, and bade his comrades to take him ashore to die. The traditional account first committed to writing by Charlevoix, is imaginative. The authentic account shows the impossibility of the popular poetical account. Marquette expired at the river which bears his name.

The next who visited Chicago, seems to have been another missionary, Father Claude Allouez; who, in April, 1676, proceeded to the Kaskaskia

town by the same route. At Chicago he was met and welcomed by a party of eighty Illinois; the chief of whom came forward with the calumet of peace, and led him to his cabin.

In September, 1679, La Salle, with his party, started from Green Bay, but seem to have passed Chicago and gone on to the St. Joseph's, which Membré and Hennepin call the River of the Miamis. Membré mentions the Chicago River under the name of Checagoumement, up which was the village of Kaskaskia.

In a recently published letter, dated in November, 1680, La Salle is far from favorable to Chicago. The communication is greatly condensed:

"Very little or no anchorage in Lake Huron; no harbors, any more than in the Lake of the Illinois, in the north, west, or south. Many islands in both; dangerous in the lake of the Illinois, on account of the sand-banks off shore.

"This lake is shallow, and subject to terrible gales, without shelter, and the banks prevent approaching the islands. It may, however, prove, that on more frequent navigation, the difficulties will be less, and the ports and havens better known, as has happened with Lake Frontenac, the navigation of which is now easy and secure.

"The basin that you enter to go from the Lake of the Illinois to the Divine river is no ways suited for the communication; there being no anchorage, wind, or entrance for a vessel, or even for a canoe, unless there is a great calm: the prairies, by which a communication is pretended, being overflowed every time it rains, by the drainage of the neighboring hills. It is very difficult to make a channel and keep it open without its becoming immediately filled with sand and gravel, and you cannot dig in the ground without finding water; and there are sand-hills between the lakes and the prairies. Even were this channel possible at great expense, it would be useless, because the Divine river is unnavigable for forty leagues, from there to the great village of the Illinois. Canoes cannot pass there in summer, and there is, too, a great rapid this side of this village."

The same year, however, when finally starting to go down the Mississippi, La Salle (Dec. 1680) sent on Tonty and Membré, on Lake Michigan, "to go toward the Divine river, called by the Indians, the Chicagou." He himself followed with the rest of his party from St. Joseph's river, having evidently changed his unfavorable opinion, and concluded that it was the most practicable route. Marquette, the first explorer of the Mississippi, had wintered here, in 1674-5, and here, seven years later, stand La Salle and Tonty, the first to descend the great river to its mouth. They started on the Chicagou river in sleds, and, making the portage, entered the Desplaines. Their course down the Illinois



and Mississippi, is known, and would be out of place here. Returning, they, like Marquette, took the Chicago route; and Tonty mentions his reaching it, in June, 1683.

In 1685, ——— de la Durantaye, who had been stationed at Michilimackinac, erected a fort at Chicago, and it became a kind of depot; as Joutel mentions, in 1687, the arrival of three canoes from Canada, with supplies for Fort Louis. He, with Father Anastatius, and Mr. Cavelier, La Salle's brother, the survivors of the explorer's last expedition, were then in Illinois, and in the winter had gone to Chicago, in order to proceed to Canada, but were forced to return and winter at Fort Louis. In the spring they started again, and reached Chicago March 29, 1688. Here they were detained about a month, finding but little game, but inaugurating the manufactures of Chicago by making some maple sugar.

The next mention of Chicago occurs in the rather doubtful travels of the Baron Le Hontan. His discovery and exploration of the famous Long River, with its wondrous inhabitants, has long since been shown to be a pure fabrication, and we are constantly in doubt where to trust him elsewhere. Yet, as he was in the West, we may believe a part. After descending the Long River to the Mississippi, he went down to the Illinois river, he says, and ascended it to Fort Crevecoeur. After spending three days here, he went on to the Illinois village, and engaged, he tells us, the moderate force of four hundred men to carry his baggage over the portage. "This," he says, "they did in four days; for on the 24th (April, 1689), I arrived at Chekakon."

Ten years later another traveller passed by the spot; and we are indebted to his narrative for a better account of the various routes, than to any of his predecessors. This writer is the Rev. John Buisson de St. Come, a Canadian priest, who, zealously devoting himself to the Indian missions, was killed some years later by the savages of the Lower Mississippi.

Speaking of Green Bay, he says: "We should have greatly desired to pass by the end of this bay, and it would have been by far our shortest route; you go up a little river about sixty leagues long, which has only three leagues of rapids. You then make a portage, which is not long, and fall into the Wisconsin river, which is very fine, and which you are only two days descending to the Mississippi. It is indeed two hundred leagues from the spot where the river empties into the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois river in the same Mississippi, but the current is so strong that you soon make this distance. The Foxes, however, are on this little river that you ascend from the bay to get to Wisconsin, and they will not let any one pass for fear that they will go to

their enemies. They have already for this reason plundered several Frenchmen who wished to go that route. This obliged us to take the Chicago route. \* \* \*

"On the 10th of November, having started early from Milwaukee, we arrived in good season at Kipikavvi, which is about eight leagues distant. \* \* \* The Indians had led us to expect that we might ascend by this river, and after making a portage of about nine leagues, we could descend by another called Pistrui (Pistakee), which empties into the Illinois, about twenty-five or thirty miles from Chicago. We avoided this river, which is about twenty leagues long to the portage. It runs through very agreeable prairies; but as there was no water in it, we wisely inferred that there would be none in the Pistakee, and instead of shortening our route, we would have forty leagues portage to make. This obliged us to take the route by Chicago, which is about twenty-five leagues off. \* \* \*

"On the 20th, we cabined five leagues from Chicago, and should have got there early on the 21st; but a wind which suddenly sprang up from the lake, obliged me to land half a league from from Apkavv. \* \* \* Mr. de Montigny, Davion, and I, went by land to the house of the Jesuit Fathers, leaving our people with the baggage. There we found the Rev. Fathers Pinet and Binneteau, who had recently come from the Illinois, and were somewhat sick. I cannot express with what cordiality and marks of friendship these reverend fathers received us, during the time we had the consolation to remain with them. Their house is built on the bank of the little river, having the lake on one side, and a beautiful prairie on the other. The Indian village, of over one hundred and fifty cabins, is about a league up the river. There is another village, almost as large, both Miami."

This shows us, that the house raised temporarily by Marquette, had been permanently restored by Pinet and Binneteau, both of whom died in Illinois.

St. Come ascended the river till, as he says, "it was lost in the prairies," and then began the portage, which was three leagues long when the water was low, and only three-quarters of a mile in spring, when you could embark on a little lake that flows into a branch of the Illinois. We will not follow him in his course, and merely give the Indian account which he furnishes of Mountjolly (Mount Joliet, as it is now called). "Mountjolly," says St. Come, "is a mound of earth on the prairie, on the right as you go down, about thirty feet high. The Indians say, that at the time of a great deluge one of their ancestors escaped, and that this little mountain is his canoe turned up."

The next year, Father Gravier, one of the earli

est missionaries in Illinois, where he subsequently received wounds which caused his death, makes mention of the receipt, at Chicago, of a letter from Father Lamberville, then in France. He started from Chicago (still evidently a mission) on the 8th of September, 1700, and descended the Mississippi to its mouth, to visit the colony just founded by Iberville.

How long Chicago remained a mission station, does not appear. Father Charlevoix, the next traveller, was on Lake Michigan in 1721, and sailed from Fort St. Joseph's to go to Chicago. Unfortunately, bad weather forced him to put back, and deprived us of his description of Chicago; an accident for which Chicago certainly owes Lake Michigan a grudge. If he could not describe it, he nevertheless gives some information. "I believe," says he, "I told you in my last, that I had to choose between two routes, to get to the Illinois: the first was to return to Lake Michigan, coast along the south side, and to enter the little river Chicago. After ascending it five or six leagues, you pass into the Illinois river by two portages, the longest of which is a league and a quarter. But, as this river is a mere stream at this spot, I was told, that in the season which we were in (September), I would not find water enough for my canoe; so I took the other route, which is not without its difficulties, and not near as agreeable, but it is surer."

About the same time, De Lisle lays down Chicago on his maps, placing the Mascoutens near it, and giving the name of Chicago to the Desplaines, on his map of Louisiana. Bellin, in 1744, has on his map, R. et Port de Chicago; but neither notices a fort or mission there.

From this brief summary of early French notices, I infer that Marquette's cabin, in 1674-5, was the first white residence; that it was already a sort of Indian depot, and continued such when La Salle began the settlements on the Illinois river; that Durantaye erected a fort there in 1685; that between 1687 and 1699, the Jesuits established a mission there which lasted for a time, but had been removed before 1721.

An Illinois chief soon after this appears, bearing the name of Chicago; but the spot did not, it would seem, derive its name from him.

I must not close without acknowledging my indebtedness to William Barry, Esq., for information which led to this sketch, and guided me in it.

NOTE.—I am aware that Charlevoix in his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," vol. ii., p. 437, says that Perrot, in 1671, "went to Chicagou, at the head of Lake Michigan, where the Miamis then were." But he cites as his authority the "Memoires" of Perrot. This work, still unpub-

lished, though used by Charlevoix, Lafitau, and de la Potherie, I have, and find that, by Perrot's own statement, he went only to Green Bay, meeting the Miamis there. He does not mention Chicago at all. What Charlevoix says, is an inference of his own, and an incorrect one.

On p. 499, he says that Marquette labored among the Miamis of Chicagon till 1675, when he died on his way to Michilimackinac, and that Allouez succeeded him. The journal given in the preceding paper, and the Mississippi journal of Marquette, account for all his time, and are silent as to the Miamis of Chicagon; and Allouez succeeded him, not at Chicago, which he passed, but at the town of the Kaskaskias.

#### DR. ALBIGENCE WALDO, SURGEON IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.

[A paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, Nov. 29, 1866.]

BY MR. AMOS PERRY.

DR. ALBIGENCE WALDO was born in Pomfret, Conn., Feb. 27, 1750. He received his early training in the schools of his native town, and was instructed in Latin and the higher English branches, by the parish minister. His skill and eminence in the healing art, were acquired by study and practice in the county where he resided, by extensive observations in the army, and intercourse with the best physicians and surgeons, and by the perusal of the best medical works of that period. He was an intimate friend of David Humphreys, one of Washington's aids, who in his "Life of General Putnam," and in the following letter, acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Waldo, for many of the facts and incidents given:

HARTFORD, March 21, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I have been duly honored by the receipt of the letter in which you inform me of having compiled authentic documents for an essay on the life of Major-general Putnam.

"I am truly happy the task has fallen to your lot, because I know it is in good hands, and I will be much obliged if you will transmit them (under cover to me) to the care of Col. Wadsworth, in Hartford. Through this channel of conveyance, I shall become regularly possessed of them. At one time or another I hope to have leisure to do as much justice to the subject as can be effected by the pen of one who is an ardent admirer of the hero of the interesting memoir.

"I beg that my best respects may be presented to the General, and that you will believe me to be, sir

"Your most sincere friend & humble servant,

"D. HUMPHREYS.

"DR. WALDO."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, Dr. Waldo rushed to the scene of action; and on receiving tidings of the battles of Lexington and Concord, proceeded forthwith to Cambridge and Roxbury, where he remained until discharged on account of ill-health. That he was an admirer of Washington, is shown by his numerous statements and poetical effusions, and that the latter reciprocated the sentiment of esteem is equally clear from his having employed him to copy his orders to the troops, and presented him with a sword, still preserved in testimony of his high regard. He was a neighbor, intimate friend, and relative by marriage, of Gen. Putnam, and delivered the address in behalf of the Masonic fraternity, at his funeral. He left numerous writings on professional subjects, illustrated with well-executed drawings, and his widow made an earnest effort for their publication, shortly after his death. The manuscripts were carefully copied and placed in the hands of Rev. Manassah Cutler, D. D., of Hamilton, Mass., to be revised for the press. Want of means, alone, defeated this enterprise, causing the devoted widow many painful regrets. The letters, manuscripts, and documents of various kinds, together with surgical instruments, were for years kept in the old iron-bound trunk used by Dr. Waldo while surgeon in the army. Shortly before the widow's death, in 1830, she wrote a letter to an esteemed medical friend, desiring his aid in transmitting to her step-son, Capt. Albigece Waldo, of Cherry Valley, N. Y., the most valued of the manuscripts which had been the subject of so much unavailing effort.

The extensive practice of Dr. Waldo, as surgeon and physician, might be illustrated by extracts from his medical treatises and his account-books. He was well known in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and made occasional visits into many other States. The following letter, from an eminent medical contemporary, in connection with the subjoined statement, is alike interesting and instructive:

“LEICESTER, Feb. 7, 1795.

“DEAR SIR: About sun-set, this day, my eldest son received a kick from a horse, which has fractured his cranium. This is, therefore, in the name of your devoted friend, desiring you to make no delay in making us a visit. For God's sake, fail not! but let despatch and dexterity hasten you. I am in confusion, and know not what to say further. Only fail not. In haste, 8 o'clock, P. M. Yours, &c., AUSTIN FLINT.  
“DR. ALBIGENCE WALDO.”

Just thirty-six years after the date of this letter, this boy with a fractured cranium, is introduced

to us by the widow of his distinguished benefactor, in terms of respect as an eminent physician, and of gratitude for kindnesses received.

The box of manuscripts was sent to Cherry Valley, according to the widow's intentions; and those writings are to-day in the State of Missouri, fifty miles beyond St. Louis, with the exception of two poems, the original copies of which are in the possession of a grandson, Mr. Charles Albigece Waldo, of New York city. The old chest, however, with a motley collection of documents, after having stood for about fifty years in the garret of an old house, in Northampton, Mass., subject to the picking—not to say pilfering—of numerous antiquarians and autograph hunters, has been removed to Providence, R. I., and is now in the possession of Mr. John M. Cargill, a nephew of Dr. Waldo's second wife. Though deprived of many of its cherished articles, it still has treasures greatly to be prized by the historian, antiquarian, and physician.

Dr. Waldo's writings on surgery and the treatment of diseases, deserve examination; and when collected, may be placed in competent medical hands.

Dr. Waldo's social nature appears to have been well cultivated and developed. Numerous passages in his diary and poems show that home was the scene of his purest enjoyment. By his first wife, whose name was Lydia Hurlbut, he had four sons and two daughters—now all numbered with the dead. By his second wife, Lucy Cargill, who survived him more than a third of a century, he had two daughters; one of whom died in infancy, and the other in 1809. To each of these ladies he was devotedly attached, and uttered some of his finest sentiments in prose and verse, in setting forth their praises, under the epithet of Celia.

In religious matters, Dr. Waldo was a man of broad and catholic views. He was a member of a Congregational church, and on the first page of the articles of confession, has left the following record:

“A Couple of Reasons for my signing the enclosed agreements,—

“*First*.—I, having examined with carefulness, find it to be founded on that great Christian scale which unites mankind in the finely-polished golden chain of Equality and Brotherly Love; and cannot in my heart make any material objections to the modes and principles which it is designed to inculcate. If this reason is not sufficient, the second may peaceably be admitted.

“*Second*.—My only Brother has signed it after due consideration, and I wish to worship and get to heaven with my Brother.”

The following additional statement is taken from a letter written in reply to inquiries by Dr.

S. S. Purple, of New York, who has done, and is doing much to rescue from oblivion the names of the worthy surgeons of the Revolutionary army.

Dr. Waldo's knowledge of Latin was acquired under the instruction of Rev. Aaron Putnam, a respectable minister of the Gospel in Pomfret. His medical studies were pursued under the tuition of Dr. John Spaulding, of Canterbury, where he exhibited proof of decided genius.

According to Dr. Sumner, he sustained the position of the most eminent surgeon of his district.

On the 1st of July, 1775, at a special session of the General Assembly of Connecticut, he was appointed surgeon's mate of the 8th regiment, commanded by Col. Jedediah Huntington, who wrote Gov. Trumbull, in a letter dated, "Camp in Roxbury, Sept. 6, 1775: Dr. Waldo, of Pomfret, is discharged and gone home on account of his ill state of health."

On Dec. 14, 1776, he was appointed by the Committee of War, of Connecticut, chief surgeon of the ship *Oliver Cromwell*. On April 3, 1777, he was appointed regimental surgeon in Col. J. Huntington's regiment, in place of Dr. Philip Turner, then promoted to the directorship of the Hospital and Store of the State of Connecticut.

In the battle of Monmouth, and in winter-quarters at Valley Forge, where the American army underwent a general inoculation for small-pox, his professional services gained him great reputation. He evinced an ardent thirst for knowledge, and read with much interest all the medical publications to which he could have access. His influence was very great in forming, after the war, a medical society,\* in Windham county, where he resided, which was the first formed in the State of Connecticut. His benevolence and humanity were unbounded. He cared little for money, and has been known to give his last dollar in charity.

He died in 1794, greatly lamented, as may be seen in the highly eulogistic notice in the *Massachusetts Spy*, of Feb. 13, 1794. At his funeral General McLellan delivered the address, in behalf of the Masonic fraternity. A monument† was

\* The original minutes of the first meeting of this society, signed by Dr. Waldo, as Clerk, are still preserved among his papers.

† Inscription upon the monument:

"The Master Wardens and Brethren  
Of Moriah Lodge,  
In testimony of their esteem & respect  
For the virtues, talents, and usefulness  
Of their late worthy Brother,  
Erect this Monument  
To the Memory  
Of ALBIGENCE WALDO, Surgeon,  
Who, attentively studying the Works of God  
In the admirable frame of man,  
Rose to eminent distinction

erected in the principal cemetery of his native place, by Moriah Lodge.

The following first draft of a petition presented to the Connecticut Legislature, soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, is both biographical and historical:

"Your Petitioner, sincerely delighting in the encouragement and exercise of that military spirit, which so eminently distinguished itself among the majority of the people a little before the commencement of the war between Great Britain and the colonies, joined himself as a non-commissioned officer to a body of Light Horse under the command of Captain, now General McLellan, composed of the yeomanry of the neighborhood, and went with them towards Boston when the noted false alarm was given of the British movements. Immediately after the 19<sup>th</sup> of April or Battle of Lexington, he joined his neighbors and marched to Cambridge, where he tarried until they came home together; and the same year joined Col. Huntington's Regiment at Roxbury, as first-surgeon's mate, from which he was honorably discharged at his request, in consequence of a severe fit of sickness, by General Ward.\* In the autumn and winter of 1776, he was surgeon of the ship *Cromwell*, by an appointment of Gov. Trumbull. The ship not sailing, the prospects for good or evil being very doubtful, and the invitation, in the mean time, from Col. Huntington to join his new raised regiment or first command as surgeon, induced your P— to leave the ship, by the Colonel's having first obtained the Governor's permission, and attach himself to the regiment. He joined the regiment early in the year 1777, in New Jersey, and continued to do his duty with fidelity, and to the satisfaction of the officers and soldiers, and was discharged, in October, 1779. In the campaigns of 1777, in Jersey and Pennsylvania, the movements of the army were frequent, and they did not get into huts at Valley Forge, until near the middle of January. During the months of November, December, and a part of January, the situation and circumstances of the army were peculiarly uncomfortable from wet, from miserable tents, and the cold and raw winds—not to mention food, &c. Many froze to death in their tents; two at a small distance from your P—'s

In the noble art of healing;  
His name was Charity;  
His actions, Humanity;  
His intercourse with men, benevolence & love.  
Born in Pomfret, Feb. 27th, 1750;  
Died 29th, Jan. 1794."

\* In the autumn of 1775, your P— went to Bergen, Fort Lee, &c., surgeon of the 11th Regiment of Militia of Connecticut, and returned home with the regiment, who were uncommonly sickly, and required unusual exertions.

tent, which was similar to those of the soldiers.

"At this time, from mere cold, your P— contracted a numbness of the left hip, side, and thigh, which violent frictions and standing before a large fire in the open air only would relieve for the time. This complaint continued several years after, and has never left your P—, but was the next winter, at the camp in Reading, partly translated to his lungs, and produced an incessant night-cough, followed by debility and other hectic attendants, which still at times are highly afflicting.

When your P— left the regiment, in 1779, on furlough, with the firm intention of returning in thirty days, he found his family on the point of famishing with mere want of food and every other necessary. The continental money your P— had previously received for the sale of a little possession, and all the wages he could possibly spare at different times from the camp to his family, were, by depreciation, reduced to a trifle, and now wholly gone. Your P—, struck to the heart with the horrors of undeserved indigence, the silent sighs of a worthy wife, the looks of a tender offspring, the doleful prospect of rags and starvation, and a half-broken constitution, dropped the soldier's cockade; and with it, dropped the heartfelt tear, and has, by great exertions, protected them from the insolence of pressing want.

Your P— sent on to camp for a discharge from the army, and received strong invitations and encouragements to return, from Col. Starr, and Lieut.-col. Sill, and Lewis, of the regiment to which he belonged. He was, at length, visited by Capt. Shumway, of the said regiment (now colonel). He saw your P—'s situation, was convinced of the truth of his report, and frankly told your P— that it would not be consistent with humanity and your P—'s health, to return to the service of his country, and consequently obtained a discharge in October. The wages then due your P— were three months; which Capt. Lord, deceased paymaster to the regiment, gave at the time continental money, passed at a low rate, and the whole barely paid an attorney present a thirty shilling debt. This was the last public money your P— ever received. Nor were any rations added to these wages, as the paymaster died soon after, and I know not where to obtain them. Nor has your Petitioner ever received any remuneration for his losses by depreciation; but, instead thereof, has totally lost, by depreciation, the little all he possessed, and is disabled from paying some former debts, which now hang over his head like the awful clouds of a destructive tornado.

Your Petitioner, therefore, in consideration of these things—of his total inability to answer the

demands of his creditors from the foregoing causes, most humbly prays that he may be exonerated from his past debts—have an equal share in the bounty of his country for real losses and services; that he may have the privileges of a free citizen during the little remainder of life—those privileges for which he has contributed an over-proportionable share, and, as in duty bound, &c.

#### LOSSES IN CAMP—STOLEN.

	£.	s.	d.
A large, elegant mare, for which 100 silver dollars were offered, the day before. . . . .	30	0	0
Lost, in like money, while lean, . . . . .	25	0	0
Large new coverlid, . . . . .	2	2	0
Two pair shoes, . . . . .	12	0	
Silver shoe-buckles, . . . . .	1	4	0

[Among the most interesting of Dr. Waldo's papers, is a Diary, kept at Valley Forge, which we will begin in our next.]

#### VIRGINIA PAPERS IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL REGISTER.

##### ASSISTANCE BY LOTTERY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

19 Feb. 1614.—"WHEREAS it pleased their Ldps. some moneths past, at the humble suite of the Company of Virginia, to gyve order for the writing of certaine Letters unto the severall Cittyes and Townes of this Kingdome, inviting and perswading the Inhabitantes there, to adventure in a certeyne *Lottery* such somes of monye as they should thinck fitting, according to the Rules enclosed in the sayd Letters, therby the better to enable y<sup>e</sup> sayd Companye to proceede in that plantacion of Virginia. And forasmuch as upon further consideraon it was commanded by the Boarde, that stay should be made of the sayd Letters, untill further order might be gyven on that behalfe. It was this day (upon the humble suite of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smith, w<sup>th</sup> the rest of the Company of Virginia) thought fitting, and so accordingly ordered,—that the sayd letters should forthw<sup>th</sup> be delivered unto S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth, to the end they might be sent and dispersed according to their severall directions."

#### REBELLION IN VIRGINIA, IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

"At Whitehall, December the 22d, 1677.

"Present, the King's most excellent Majesty.

There being this day presented to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Council the humble Petition of Elizabeth Dudley,

Widdow & Relict of W<sup>m</sup>. Dudley, Senior late of Midd. County in Virginia, deceased, as well on her owne behalfe, as of James, Thomas, & Will<sup>m</sup>. her Sons. Setting forth that

Hee, being among others not only forced to take, but to administer Bacon's unlawfull Oath, which he did in no other manner, but with a Salvo to his Allegiance to his Majestie. That after his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s gracious Pardon was published, before the Pet<sup>r</sup>'s husband could obtain the benefit thereof, S<sup>r</sup>. Will<sup>m</sup>. Berkely forced from him a Bill, obligatory to pay him 15 hogshheads of tobacco, which he seized as for his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, but after converted them to his own use, and sent them into England, and because the Pet<sup>r</sup>'s husband embraced the said pardon, and therefore ought to have the benefit thereof, most humbly prays restitution of the said Goods, being all they have to live upon.

"His Majesty being very desirous to have the Petitioners restored to whatever may have been unjustly taken from him in the hurly and distraction of the late rebellion there, Was pleased to order and it is hereby accordingly ordered, That the Petitioners be, and they are Referred to the R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, who are to examine the Petitioners allegations, and to report to his Majesty in Council, what they conceive most fit for his Majesty to doe therein for the Petitioners reliefe, and thereupon his Majestie may declare his further pleasure."

"At Whitehall, the 19<sup>th</sup> of March, 1678-9.

"Present, the Kings most excellent Majesty.

"WHEREAS the R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords appointed a Committee for Trade & Ferraing Plantation did this day present to the Board the ensuing Reports in the case of Elizabeth Dudley, Relict of William Dudley and her three Sons, viz.

"May it please your Majesty

"Having in obedience to your Majesty's order in Council of the 22<sup>d</sup> of December 1677, examined

the Petition of Elizabeth Dudley, Widdow and Relict of William Dudley Sen<sup>r</sup>. late of Middlesex County in Virginia deceased, as well in her owne behalfe as of James, Thomas, & William her Sons. We find the Petitioners Allegations & Complaint to be as followeth:

"That altho the said W<sup>m</sup>. Dudley was commanded and forced in the time of the late Rebellion, to administer the Oath imposed by Nathaniel Bacon, yet he had never taken or plundered any Man's Goods but had used his best endeav-

ours to perswade the people to a submission to your Majesty's Governor.

"That before the Petitioner's husband could obtayne the benefit of your Majesty's Pardon, the Governor Sir William Berkeley, tooke from him a Bill obligatory to pay him fifteen hogshheads of Tobacco, by way of composition for his Pardon, which in March 1676, were seized by order of the said Governor to his own use.

"And the Petitioner has likewise produced the said bill, dated the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1676, which mentions the same to be in consideration of the Governor's clemency to her deceased Husband, in giving him his Pardon.

"And whereas we find this Case after examination by your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s late Commissioners of Virginia to have been by them represented unto Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> in the manner above mentioned. As also that about the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 1676, the whole Country had submitted to the Governor, and that this seizure appears to have been made by the Governor after the said Submission, in derogation of your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s gracious Pardon, signified unto all your subjects of Virginia, by your Royal Proclamation, dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1676. We are humbly of opinion That your Ma<sup>ty</sup> do order the Governor or Commander in Chief of Virginia for the time being and all other officers whom it may concerne, to cause Restitution of the said fifteen hogshheads of Tobacco, or the true Value thereof to be made unto the Pet. Dudley or her assignees by the Executor or Executors of Sir William Berkeley, that so the Petitioner may not be deprived of the full benefit of your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s Pardon by any force or pretence whatsoever.

"All which is most humbly submitted.

"Bridgewater Craven H. Coventry.

"Sunderland Ailesbury J. Ernle.

"Which being read at the Board, His Ma<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to approve thereof And did Order, That the Right honorable the Lord Culpepper, his Majesty's Governor of Virginia, and all other Officers whom it may concern, do cause Restitution to be made unto the Petitioner or her Assignes, of the said fifteen hogshheads of Tobacco, or the true Value thereof, according to the tenour of the above mentioned Report."

#### INCORPORATION OF CONNECTICUT

"Feb. 28, 1662-3.—Our Will and pleasure is y<sup>e</sup> you prepare a bill for Our Royal Signature for the incorporating John Winthorpe, Jo. Mason, Samuel Willis, Hen. Clerke, Mat. Allen, Jo. Tappan, Nat. Gold, Rich. Treat, Rich. Lord, Hen. Wolcot, Jo. Talcot, Dar. Clerke, Jo. Ogden, Tho. Wells, Obedias Brewer, Jo. Clerke, Anthony Hawkwirs, John Dening, Mat. Camfield, being principall persons in our Colony of Connecticut."

1677.  
Eliz. Dudley, of Virginia 10 (read) to the Committee of Trade, &c.

1679.  
Fifteen hogshheads of tobacco taken from Wm. Dudley, in Virginia, by ye late Governor, to be restored to his Widdow.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### CANADA.

**MONTREAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The monthly meeting of January 30, was adjourned to February 4, and held then in the usual place, the President, the Abbé Verreau, in the chair.

After the formal proceedings, the President offered to the Society from Mr. P. J. U. Baudry, a paper on the Marquis de Montcalm; from the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, the *Journal de l'Instruction Publique* for 1857, 8, 9, and 1860; from the ladies of the Hotel Dieu, the Necrology of the Hospital Nuns of St. Joseph, deceased since the foundation of the convent, that is to say, over two centuries; and from J. M. LeMoynes, Esq., of Quebec, l'Ornithologie du Canada.

Mr. L. Marchand presented from Sir L. H. La Fontaine, patron of the Society, a complete file of the *Montreal Herald*.

Mr. P. J. U. Baudry presented a copy of the first conveyances of the Island of Montreal.

The following questions were then submitted to the Society by Mr. R. Bellemare:

Should the cape and river, now forming the western limit of Gaspé, be called *Chat*, or *de Chate*? and it was the subject of a dissertation. An examination of several ancient maps, and among others, those of Champlain and John de Laët, carried the conviction that Champlain had given this cape the name of *de Chate* to honor and immortalize the memory of the Commander de Chattes, lieutenant-general and governor in America, his friend and protector on his first voyage to our shores.

A committee was appointed to select materials for a fourth part of the "Memoirs" of the Society.

### MARYLAND.

**MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—*Baltimore, Md., Jan. 3, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held on the evening of the above date, at the "Athenæum," the President, Gen. J. Spear Smith, in the chair.

After the reading and approval of the Secretary's record of proceedings at the last meeting, the Librarian announced various contributions made to the Society's collections, since the last report.

Mr. Fitch Poole, of South Danvers, Mass., nominated at the last meeting, was elected a corresponding member.

Rev. Dr. Morris, from the Committee on Natural History, reported proceedings; an interesting item of which was an account of examinations of

the nature and effect of certain arrow-poisons, made by barbarous tribes.

Rev. Mr. Chamberlain, on account of illness, obtained permission to postpone the reading of his proposed paper on architecture.

On motion of Mr. Streeter, a resolution was adopted, directing the Library Committee, in view of the Society's contemplated removal to the Peabody Institute, to select from the books of the Baltimore Library Company, formerly transferred to the Society, all works on the historical or kindred subjects, and add them to original collections of the Society.

*Feb. 7.*—The annual meeting of the Society was held this evening.

After the reading of the record, and the ordinary announcement of donations, the Corresponding Secretary read a list of autograph letters of governors and other distinguished men of Virginia, presented by Col. Thomas H. Ellis, of Richmond.

Mr. Streeter, from the Library Committee, reported that selection had thus far been made from the Baltimore Library, of about three thousand volumes, to be added to the Society's original collections.

Rev. Dr. Morris inquired whether the Committee on the Library possessed the power to dispose of works not selected by the special committee, to the Peabody Institute. Some discussion arose on the subject, which was closed by the adoption of a resolution proposed by Mr. Brantz Mayer, authorizing the committee to dispose of the works in question, as soon as it was ascertained that the Society possessed that power.

The President read a proposal to sell to the Society a sword, formerly the property of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

The Society then proceeded to vote for officers to serve during the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were declared elected:

*President*—Gen. J. Spear Smith. *Vice Pres.*—Hon. John P. Kennedy. *Cor. Sec'y*—Rev. Dr. E. A. Dalrymple. *Rec. do.*—S. F. Streeter. *Treas.*—John Hanan. *Librarian*—Dr. L. H. Steiner.

*Finance Committee.*—Jno. Hanan, Enoch Pratt, Josias Pennington.

*Committee on the Gallery.*—J. H. B. Latrobe, Samuel W. Smith, Alonzo Lilly, J. Stricker Jenkins, Joseph H. Meredith.

*Committee on Honorary Membership.*—J. D. Pratt, James Cortlan, C. Reese.

*Trustees of Athenæum.*—John S. Hopkins, Jonathan Meredith, Brantz Mayer.

*Council of Gov't of Athenæum.*—Robert Leslie, S. F. Streeter, J. Saurin Norris, C. Kidder.

*Library Committee.*—Rev. Dr. Morris, S. F. Streeter, Hon. Wm. F. Giles, Dr. L. H. Steiner.

Dr. J. I. Cohen, Geo. N. Warder, Geo. Wm. Brown, J. I. Thomsen, J. R. Drege, Dr. Gilman, Rev. Dr. Dalrymple, William Wallace, Jr.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, Feb. 14.*—The last regular monthly meeting of this Society was held in its rooms, on the above date.

Under the Presidency of Mr. Winthrop, whose name and lineage alone would almost entitle him to the position which he holds, and which he fills with such dignity, fidelity, and earnest devotion to its objects, the Society has of late years largely increased its activity, and produced valuable fruits. During his recent visit to Europe, he was not unmindful of its claims upon him, and many single contributions from him since his return testify to his zeal and generosity in its behalf, while the promise of yet another, of peculiar value and importance, has excited warm expectations among the members.

After the formalities of opening, Mr. Winthrop made reference in fitting terms to the recent decease of two highly honored and much beloved men, who, by a singular coincidence, occupied respectively the third place on the lists of the Presidents and Honorary Members of the Society, viz.: the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell, and John Wakefield Francis, M. D., of New York. In his warm and eloquent, though necessarily brief tribute to these excellent men, the President recognized their special claims to regard and honor from the Society. He referred to the eminent virtue and piety in his professional career, which gave Dr. Lowell so deep a place in the affectionate respect of this community, and then he recognized his long and faithful services as an officer of this Society, and a zealous laborer in its cause; closing by suggesting that the trust of preparing the usual memoir for the Society's collections, be assigned to the venerable Dr. Jenks.

Of Dr. Francis, the Nestor of New York literary, social, and professional circles, Mr. Winthrop spoke in cordial and loving appreciation, as a man whose head and heart were ever engaged in kindly service for others. Particular mention was made of his address delivered a few years ago at the dedication of the noble edifice erected by the New York Historical Society, which address, in its last edition, is expanded into a volume, rich with multiplied details on incidental topics, enlivened with hearty, quaint, and instructive matter concerning the social and literary progress of New York, and the wise, and good, and

distinguished men with whom Dr. Francis had associated.

The next incident in the business of the meeting is of a most opportune character in connection with the return of Washington's birthday.

Mr. Charles Deane, with proper preliminary and explanatory remarks, read a letter from Dr. Luther Parks, Jr., offering to the Society the possession of a well-preserved relic of the olden time, a complete helmet, purporting to have belonged to, and to have been worn by Sir Lawrence Washington, a brother of the progenitor of our own Washington. Dr. Parks received this relic from Mrs. Tillotson, an English lady, whose husband is of the family of the archbishop. The worthy lady did not wish to send her gift so far for a place in the Society's cabinets as a mere helmet with a supposititious claim, but as she was herself persuaded by force of competent evidence that it once belonged to its reputed owner, she might well trust to the Society to make all reasonable and possible effort to authenticate its alleged history. The gift was gratefully received, and we shall doubtless hear from Mr. Deane concerning the matter, as to his diligent and keen scrutiny the verification of the relic was intrusted.

There was sent for presentation to the Society very beautiful photograph copies, in gilt frames, of the original portraits of the Hons. Peter and Daniel Oliver, chief-justice and secretary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in our Revolutionary era. They are exquisitely finished pieces of art, and the descendant of one of those officials—who received hard measure for their loyalty—shows a kindly spirit in this gift.

The zealous antiquarian of Cambridge, a most keen and persistent and reliable investigator and reporter of the contents of ancient records, read a very curious paper relating to a series of the early Stewards of Harvard College, with a nuncupatory will of one of them.

Mr. Winthrop reminded the members that two different publishing committees were pursuing the labors intrusted to them, of preparing for publication as soon as possible, two volumes of original matter from the MSS. in possession of the Society, both of which will probably appear within three and nine months. He also announced that an honored member of the Society, Mr. Edward Everett, had obtained possession of original and unpublished letters of Washington, sufficient to fill a volume of collections, and proposed that he be invited to act as chairman, with two associates, on a committee for their publication in behalf of the Society. The proposition was gladly ratified by the members, and we may hope that within a year, or two years at furthest, such a precious volume, under such distinguished su-



pervision, will be offered to our enjoyment. There are several unpublished letters of Washington already in the cabinets of the Society, which it was voted should be referred to the same committee.

Finally, we report, that Mr. Winthrop announced that he had good reason for believing that a member of the Society had obtained possession from abroad of quite a collection of valuable unpublished documents relating to the earliest times and the foremost men of this colony. He thus referred to certain "Winthrop" and other papers which he had himself brought with him from England. He too was constituted chairman of a publishing committee of a volume to contain these papers. Thus it will be seen that the Society has in progress four volumes, each of the highest historic value. The Appleton Fund would allow of the publication of a volume each year. But those not skilled in labor, do not know how much time and how much toil are needed in the editing of ancient materials.

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—*Boston, Feb. 6.*—A monthly meeting was held in Boston, the President, Winslow Lewis, M. D., presiding. The Historiographer, Joseph Palmer, M. D., read a biographical notice of Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D., an honorary member, who died at Cambridge Jan. 20, aged 78.

Henry Clark, Esq., of Poultney, Vt., one of the Vice-presidents of the Society, read an interesting memoir of Hon. Rollin C. Mallory, of Vermont; and Daniel Henshaw, Esq., read a continuation of his *Reminiscence of New Hampshire Characters and Events*. Thanks were voted to Messrs. Clark and Henshaw, for their papers, and copies requested.

Col. Swett exhibited beautiful photographs of Baron Ricasoli, governor-general of Tuscany, and of Garibaldi.

After transacting other business, the meeting was dissolved.

**BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**—*Boston, Feb. 1.*—The meeting of this Society was held on the evening of the above date, the President occupying the chair. The Secretary brought forward a specimen of Chinese paper money, and a brass rod covered with Chinese copper coins, showing the method of carrying them, both of which were a donation from Mr. Wiggin, a member of the Society. The President exhibited some curious medals, which were referred to different members for explanation. One of them bears a head of Queen Dido; another, a sow with several young pigs; and a third celebrates the destruction of Kittaning. Mr. Davenport exhibited an eagle of gold from Pike's Peak, and presented some for-

eign coins which he had received for the Society from Rev. A. H. Clapp, of Providence, R. I.

The thanks of the Society were voted for the gift, and the Society adjourned.

*March 1.*—The monthly meeting was held at the time specified, and was an unusually large and interesting one. After the ordinary business of the meeting, Mr. Bryant presented Vaillant's work on Roman Coins, which was published at Paris, 1694, and Mr. Davenport presented a set of the new Canadian silver money. Mr. Colburn read a description of the medal on the destruction of Kittaning, which was referred to him at the last meeting, and the circumstances connected with its origin.

The President, Dr. Lewis, exhibited a curious old medal of Andrew Santio, and a beautiful and extremely rare shilling of Henry VII., bearing the numeral Septim.

Mr. Lamb exhibited a coin of Ferdinand II., of Naples, on which the words *Olim* and *Bomba* were artistically stamped, and a seal or die, which so much resembled the ancient coins of Nismes, that he supposed it must belong to that city.

Mr. Davenport exhibited some beautiful German medals, lately struck in honor of Luther and the Conference of Augsburg.

On motion of Dr. Shurtleif, it was resolved that the Boston Numismatic Society will do all in its power to expose those who alter the dates of coins, and those who make a trade of selling such as have been altered, thereby deluding the unsuspecting, and destroying confidence in rare specimens. The immediate cause of this resolution was a cent which was exhibited at the meeting, and which had been remarkably well altered from a commoner date, to the rare one of 1799.

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#### MINNESOTA.

**MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The annual meeting of this Historical Society was well attended.

On the platform, were the President of the Society, Governor Ramsey, the Vice-presidents, and of the honorary members, the Rt. Rev. Thomas Grace, D. D.

The President, after remarking that the Society was the oldest literary organization in Minnesota, stated that the Secretary would read the annual report:

The eleventh anniversary of the Society finds a broader field of labor than could have been anticipated at so early a period in the history of the State.

During the last year, however, it was impossible to add much to the library or the museum of

the Society, owing to the want of space in its present apartment, and the lack of means.

The Legislature of 1856 appropriated the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for the publication of the annual volume of the Society, postage, freight, binding of papers, etc.; but during the revulsions of 1858 and 1859, it was deemed expedient to make no attempt to publish the annual collections of the Society, and the appropriations for those two years has been waived.

Last summer the Society came into the possession of the valuable and interesting journal of a skiff-voyage from Prairie du Chien to the Falls of St. Anthony, by Major Stephen H. Long, written nearly half a century ago, and full of incidents worthy of perusal. As the document was the first written describing the condition of the Upper Mississippi after the late war with Great Britain, it is well worthy of preservation, and its publication appropriately belonged to our Society. It was, therefore, determined to print it as the volume of our collections for 1860, and employ a portion of the appropriation of that year, to which we are entitled, to defray the expense of publication.

By the kindness of the Librarian of the Parliament Library at Quebec, the Society has received copies of early correspondence with the French government, which sheds light on the fourth and last stockade erected by the French in Minnesota.

Within a few months, two of the early settlers, whose names were attached to counties of the State, have been removed to another world—Jean Baptiste Faribault, and Martin McLeod.

Governor Sibley, in an address before the Society, and Mr. John P. Owens, the senior editor in the State, and a writer in the *Central Republican*, have paid a tribute to the memory of the former. From these and other sources we glean the following facts:

“Jean Baptiste Faribault, at the time of his death, was probably the oldest white man in the Northwest. His father was quarter-master in the army of Montcalm. In early life, attracted by the romance and adventure of a trading life, he removed to Prairie du Chien, and at the time of his death had been a resident of the Mississippi Valley more than threescore years, and of Minnesota more than half a century.

In 1805 he was met by Pike, encamped just above this city, and three miles below Mendota. In this vicinity he resided for many years—at one time on Pike's Island, in front of Fort Snelling; then on the east side of the Mississippi, opposite the Fort, and just below the present ferry; and lastly, at Mendota.

At the time of his death he was eighty-seven years of age. His portrait has been requested by the Society, and it is hoped that some of his

many descendants will prepare a sketch of his life and adventures in this State, for publication in the Society's collections.

Martin McLeod was one of the Vice-presidents of the Society at the time of its formation, in 1849.

Like Faribault, he was a native of Canada, but of Scotch ancestry. Emigrating to Minnesota in 1837, he identified himself with the Indian trade. Of good address and literary tastes, he made a good impression on men. In the early councils of the State he was efficient, and one of the Reports on Education, to the Territorial Legislature, was from his pen.

The Executive Committee, at a meeting held Nov. 15, passed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That military officers, Indian agents, traders, missionaries, and other persons, resident in Minnesota previous to the treaties of 1837, be invited to present their portraits for the walls of the Historical Society room.

If the request meets with a favorable reception, we shall find on our walls portraits of Colonel Snelling, Major Long, General Taylor, John C. Fremont, and others connected with the army; Philander Prescott, J. B. Faribault, Joseph R. Brown, Allan Morrison, Henry H. Sibley, and others connected with the Indian trade in Minnesota, at that period; and the Ojibway and Dakotah missionaries, W. F. Boutwell, Sherman Hall, T. S. Williamson, the Messrs. Pond, T. H. Riggs, and perhaps Father Ravoux.

It is to the early papers of the State that the future historian must turn for the material, and the friends of the Society are urged to deposit any files of past years that have not been preserved.

The attention of the members of the Society is called to the various artificial mounds of the State, and any information concerning the localities or descriptions of such works will be thankfully received, for record, in view of the ultimate preparation of a descriptive catalogue and map of the State.

Last summer a mound was opened at Dresbach, in the southern part of Winona county, and in addition to several skeletons, shells, pieces of polished bone, necklaces of moose's teeth, a copper hatchet, an arrow-head, and fragments of earthen kettles, were found.

Similar results would follow from labor expended on other mounds.

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#### NEW YORK.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, March 5, 1861.*—The regular stated meeting of

this Society was held at its rooms, Eleventh-street and Second Avenue, on the above date, the President, Luther Bradish, Esq., in the chair. There was a full attendance, and the proceedings were of more than ordinary interest.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read by the Secretary, Dr. Osgood reported the receipt of some valuable documents, instancing, in particular, a letter from Hon. Josiah Quincy, written in his 90th year, and addressed to him, the speaker, its subject being the present critical state of the Union. Coming from such a venerable person, Dr. Osgood thought it was worthy of preservation in the archives of the Society. An amphora, brought from Alexandria by Capt. Simpson, was also presented, as likewise was a curious pitcher, of a form fashionable during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which contained what was currently regarded as a singularly accurate likeness of Washington, having been made in England during his administration. The article was known to the adepts in *virtu* as the "Washington Pitcher." It excited among the audience considerable curiosity, and was viewed with affectionate interest.

Several of these pitchers were made at this time, but the one thus presented to the Society is believed to be the only perfect one in existence. In presenting it, Dr. Osgood offered as a sentiment: "May Americans never forget to look upon the face of Washington, or cease to drink living waters out of his pitcher."

William C. Prime, Esq., in consideration of services rendered in the addition of the Abbott Collection of Egyptian Antiquities to the Museum of the Society, was elected a life-member.

The paper of the evening was then read by Dr. Fischer. The subject was, "The History of the Inquisition in America." "Columbus," he said, "pointed out to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his return to Spain, the vast area that in the new continent was opened to the zeal of the Church in the conversion of the Indians. Accordingly, twelve Spanish priests were commissioned to the work, but were enjoined to abstain from all means of annoyance and molestation. Subsequently, under Ferdinand and the Fifth, the work of proselytism having poorly succeeded, orders came from Spain for the Western Continent, with the view of establishing the Inquisition in the New World, and an Act passed May 7, 1516, appointed the bishop of Cuba to the office of Grand Inquisitor. The bishop, however, did not like the task, and three years after, the bishop of Porto Rico was appointed in his place, and made the Indians his special care. The earliest missionaries, in their ardor to make proselytes, admitted some into the Church before they were able to understand the first principles of Christian faith or duty. A

single clergyman baptized, in one day, 5,000 Mexicans, and in one year, 4,000,000 were admitted into the bosom of the Church. Many retained a veneration for their own superstitions, and when they thought themselves out of the reach of the Spaniards, met to celebrate their heathen rites. Several interesting instances of this nature are narrated by Prescott. The first notice that we have of an Inquisition in connection with this country, was organized on shipboard, for the purpose of detecting heretics on the high seas; but this was abandoned, because it interfered with navigation. Afterwards, Philip II. directed the attention of the American authorities to the heresy of Protestantism, and ordered it to be punished as it was in Spain. The first *auto de fe* took place in Mexico, in 1574. Another took place at Lima; sorcery, witchcraft, Judaism, and Protestantism, were the crimes alleged. Protestants and Israelites had come to America, enticed by the liberality of the government in secular matters, but most of them were publicly burnt, with imposing ceremonies. The Portuguese government did not follow the example of Spain; and in Brazil, no regularly organized Inquisition existed. Those suspected, were sent to Portugal to be tried, and if found guilty, to suffer the penalties attached to that crime.

Dr. Fischer proceeded to narrate in detail the history of the American dramatist Antonio Jose, the Jew, who wrote his plays in a dungeon, where he was confined by King John V., and who was subsequently burnt alive for his attachment to the faith of his fathers. His works have been repeatedly published, but without the name of their author, and his fate has been made the subject of a Portuguese drama. He was the most notable victim of the American Inquisition, and his history is of unusual interest.

At the conclusion of Dr. Fischer's address, Rev. Dr. Osgood stated to the meeting that those having the matter in charge, had thought it best to defer any proceedings in respect to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of the venerated Dr. Francis, to the next regular meeting. Mr. Bradish made a few remarks to the same effect, and the meeting adjourned.

AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—N. Y., Feb. 13, 1860.—This Society held their regular meeting on Tuesday evening of the above date, at the residence of George W. Pratt, Esq., in Twelfth-street—the President, George Folsom, LL. D., in the chair.

There were present, by invitation, Ex-governor Seymour, Rev. Mr. Temple, of Trinity College, Cambridge, Eng., Alexander J. Center, Esq., and Dr. Peter Wilson, of the Cayuga Nation. The Hon. Mr. Bertinatti, the Sardinian minister, and

Baron Steinberg, from Russia, who had been expected, were unable to attend.

A number of ancient Peruvian vases were exhibited, from the collection of the Rev. F. W. Taylor, chaplain of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Dr. Otis presented an ancient human figure of black earthen, broad and thin, from Costa Rica, unlike any in the Society's collections.

Letters were received from Professor Robinson, declining to prepare a paper on the late Rev. E. Smith, missionary in Syria; from Mr. David Wyrick and Rev. John W. McCarty, both of Newark, O., and both in relation to the discoveries in a mound near that place, last season; from President Benson, of Liberia, respecting an Arabic manuscript, written by a Mandingo negro; from Mr. Loosey, Austrian consul-general; from Mr. A. T. Cheney to Mr. Squier, with a printed account of his examination of numerous earth-works in Cattaraugus and adjoining counties.

Some account was given of a visit to individuals of three tribes of Africans. The members had the advantage of explanations afforded by Mr. Caldecott, the interpreter, who is intimately acquainted with their languages, manners and customs, and gave much information respecting them. The Hottentots are some of the last of their race, and resemble the Tartars more than the negroes—being light-complexioned, with high cheek-bones. The Hottentot language is almost entirely lost. One of the Caffres is six feet three inches in height. Mr. Caldecott says he is but a fair specimen of his tribe, which is the most powerful of that race, and the one which carried on the stubborn war against the British, a few years ago. Their language possesses the remarkable traits described by Barrow, and confirmed by Kay, in his "Caffrarian Researches."

Mr. Squier informed the Society, that he had seen the parents of the Aztec children in their native town, in Central America, where they were well known as singular beings, and unlike individuals of any other family.

The death of Dr. Francis, having been mentioned in terms of deep regret, the following resolutions were offered by Rev. Dr. Spencer:

"Whereas, It has pleased God, in his wise providence, to remove from our midst the venerable John W. Francis, M. D., LL. D., one of the Vice-presidents of the Am. Ethnological Society,

"Resolved, That, as citizens, not less than as Christians, we are called upon to mourn his departure from the world, at a time like the present, when wise and good men, when men of enlarged liberality and unselfish patriotism, are so necessary to the welfare and prosperity of our beloved country.

"Resolved, That we tender, most respectfully

and earnestly, our sincere sympathies to the family of Dr. Francis, in this, their profound and irreparable affliction.

"Resolved, That the Recording Secretary be directed to send to the family of our deceased Vice-president, a copy of these resolutions."

The President remarked, that the mournful event made a deep impression on his mind. Dr. Francis had taken a warm interest in this Society, though unable often to attend its meetings. The December meeting was to have been held at his house, at his invitation expressed in a note, and the notifications had been sent, when the sudden attack of his last sickness rendered a change necessary. Dr. Francis enjoyed public esteem and affection in an extraordinary degree. Several thousand persons, on the day of his funeral, passed through the church to take a last view of his face. He was ever ready to patronize every scientific enterprise, and he was devoted to various branches of useful study; so that I suppose scarcely a half-hour of his leisure was not employed in research on some subject to which his varied tastes inclined him. And, combined with this love of science, he had great power as a writer, expressing himself with readiness and vigor on various subjects—a quality which few possess in an equal degree; and his writings, as well as his conversation, were enlightened by a genial humor, equally rare. I hope to see his collections published.

After a few other appropriate remarks, the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Dr. Wilson then read a paper concerning the traditions of his people, the Five Nations of New York, on the origin of the first human beings, the beginning of the world, the multiplication of the former and the growth of the latter. It was listened to with deep attention.

Rev. Mr. Taylor made some interesting statements respecting the vases obtained by him in Peru, chiefly from the graves opened by the excavations on the Arica and Tacna Railroad.

A paper on the same subject, and on the sheet gold obtained from those grounds, written by Mr. Ewbank, was then read.

Mr. Center then mentioned a Cyclopean wall at Copan, Central America, undescribed in any publication, but reported to him by most credible witnesses, about 800 feet long, 40 feet high, — feet thick, formed of immense hewn stone. The Peruvian vases he regards as designed only to be buried in the graves by the ancient inhabitants, like those of Chiriqui, as the pigments with which they are ornamented are superficial, and easily washed off.

A committee was appointed to inquire and report on the discoveries in the mound near Newark, Ohio.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—*Philadelphia, Feb. 11, 1861.*—A stated meeting was held, J. Francis Fisher, Vice-pres., in the chair. The Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D. D., was then introduced, and read an interesting Memoir of John Fanning Watson, the Annalist of Philadelphia.

An appropriate resolution of thanks was passed, and a copy of Dr. Dorr's paper was requested for preservation. This being the evening for the election of officers, the chairman appointed Dr. G. H. Burgin and Samuel L. Taylor, Esq., tellers to conduct the election. They subsequently reported that the following gentlemen had been chosen:

*President*—Joseph R. Ingersoll, LL. D. *Vice-presidents*—Samuel Brick, Charles Miner, J. Francis Fisher, and George Chambers. *Treas.*—Charles M. Morris. *Cor. Sec'y*—Horatio Gates Jones. *Rec. do.*—John Jordan, Jr. *Librarian*—Townsend Ward.

*Library Committee.*—B. H. Coates, M. D., Charles J. Biddle, John A. McAllister.

*Publishing do.*—Morton P. Henry, Charles H. Hutchinson, John Ashurst, Jr.

*Finance do.*—Edward Armstrong, Joseph Carson, M. D., Aubrey H. Smith.

*March 11.*—A meeting of this Society was held this day, the Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, presiding. On taking the chair, the President, who had been elected at the February meeting, addressed the Society at considerable length. He alluded to our present unhappy troubles, and then sketched the historic glories of Pennsylvania, her naval services in the Revolution and late war, and no less important services in the cabinet and field.

He alluded to Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers, and to the historic labors of Mr. Motley.

He concluded in the following words:

"If, indeed, the instructions of history consist in example, what teaching can be found in all the circle of its acknowledged wisdom equal to that derived from the illustrious man whom the world agrees to venerate—whose fame in history expands with the lapse of years? Why should not the great majority of the people adopt the principles and emulate the conduct of this their great exemplar? No department of civil administration or military command failed in his care, for he was eminently good, as well as virtuously great. Two of the incidents of his public life, not perhaps intimately familiar to every one, should nevertheless be kept especially in view, because they were peculiarly his own. Congress, in 1776, passed a resolve, in 'perfect reliance on his wisdom, vigor, and uprightness,' constituting him in all respects a military dictator for six months. In the exercise of this unlimited power, he fully justified the

confidence reposed in him; and at the proper moment he laid down his authority gracefully, which had been accepted and used only for the public good. A still more striking display of becoming patriotism and modesty occurred in 1782. Great discontents prevailed among officers and soldiers respecting arrearages of pay. They manifested themselves, we learn, in audible murmurs and complaints, which foreboded serious consequences. A new and energetic system was meditated. The project was communicated to the General, and in the letter so addressed to him, he was offered the title of king. Washington, almost disturbed from his habitual equanimity, replied with an expression of painful sensations, and declared that he must view the information of there being such ideas existing in the army with abhorrence, and reprehend it with severity."

Mr. Jones, the Corresponding Secretary, read the letter of General George Gibson, commissary-general of the army, son of Col. George Gibson, who fell at the head of his regiment at "St. Clair's defeat," and now in the eighty-sixth year of his age, addressed to his nephew, George Gibson, Jr., U. S. A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2, 1861.

DEAR GEORGE: In order that a part of the history of our county may not be lost entirely, I shall now give you a history of the "Stony Ridge Convention," that you may lay it before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

It is probable that there are not five persons alive at present, who have any recollection or even traditional knowledge of the "Stony Ridge Convention," held in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, during the Revolution.

It took its name from a stony ridge five miles east of Carlisle, at which place, in a small log tavern kept by "Mr. Tom Bell," it held its meetings.

It was composed principally of the elders of the old Presbyterian church. The members performed the duties of recruiting sergeants in obtaining recruits, and after procuring a number, sent them to the Philadelphia line. All the appointments of officers from that county were made on the recommendation of this Convention.

The county then consisted of what now composes Cumberland, Perry, Franklin, Mifflin, Juniata, and perhaps another of the adjoining counties.

The appointments were excellent, as shown by the services of the five Butlers, the three Armstrongs, two Alexanders, McGaw, Denny, Parker, Smith, and a host of others whose names now live in our history, and many of whose bones have long since mouldered in the fields where our hard battles were fought.

I have recently heard these facts from the mouths of George Brown and a Mr. Miller, both residents of Carlisle in those early days. My father having been in the army, as a young man I had some curiosity about things concerning it, and used to get the old latter, Brown, to tell his story, and then see the stocking-weaver, Miller, and listen to his account, which corroborated fully what the other said.

I am now an aged man myself.

Affectionately, your uncle,

GEORGE GIBSON.

Capt. GEORGE GIBSON, JR.,  
Schuylkill Arsenal, Phil., Penna.

The Librarian, Mr. Ward, then announcing the various donations which had been received since the last meeting, called particular attention to a book of great rarity, and of inestimable value to the Society, presented by a late member, Dr. Richard Seldener. It is a history of the churches of New Sweden, published at Stockholm in the year 1759. Israel Acrelins, its author, was for several years rector of the Swedish church near Wilmington, Delaware, and returned thence to Sweden, in the year 1756. Very fortunately, a good portrait of him was preserved at the rectory. This the Librarian has recently borrowed from the Rev. Charles Breck, of Trinity church, Wilmington, and a copy had been made of it by Mr. C. Schuessle, who now presented it to the Society.

Mr. Ward then congratulated the members upon a very important addition which had just been made to the library of the Society. He said that, during many years, the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, had been possessed of a large series of volumes and pamphlets, much more than a thousand in number, illustrative of French history—particularly of the period of the great Revolution. The pursuits of the Academy being confined to Natural History and the Physical Sciences, the collection in question had failed to receive from students of civil history the attention which it deserved. Two members of the Historical Society, desirous to promote the interests of both institutions, had liberally proposed to purchase the collection for the sum of five hundred dollars, and present it to the Society. The Academy, responding to the spirit of the proposal, had agreed to the terms of it, upon condition that the collection should be permanently deposited in the Society's library.

The Librarian added, that one of the donors had also generously contributed a bond for the sum of one thousand dollars, to found a perpetual fund for the care of the collection. The arrangement of the volumes will be made at the earliest practicable time.

Several new members were elected, and thereupon the meeting was adjourned by the presiding officer.

#### LOUISIANA.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Baton Rouge, La., Nov. 20, 1860.*—Pursuant to notice, this Society met in the State Library, at 6½ o'clock, of the evening of the above date.

The Hon. Dan'l D. Avery was called to the chair as President *pro tem*.

The proceedings of the regular meeting of the Society in May, were read and approved.

The Hon. J. N. Carrigan, Curator of the Society, made a report acknowledging the reception of the following donations: One hundred and eighty-four boxes of French and Spanish MSS., pertaining to local and general affairs in Louisiana, beginning with transactions at Biloxi, Mobile, and Dauphine Island, from A. D. 1701 to 1803, obtained from the Notarial offices of Pedisclaux and De Armas in New Orleans, pursuant to a Joint Resolution of the General Assembly of Louisiana, at the session of 1860.

Four original letters of Gen. Philemon Thomas, presented by his grandson, John Gayle.

A curious aboriginal relic found near the State House. This relic consists of a block of silicious limestone, about twelve inches square, with a conical projection on the upper side, rising about seven inches, and appears to have been hewn into its present form, by some metallic instrument. Its original shape was a parallelogram, some portion of it being broken off. It was presented by Mr. John Fletcher.

A collection of mineralogical specimens from different portions of the globe—North and South America, Norway, Italy, and Australia.

Several books, autographs, &c.

The following gentlemen were elected honorary members of the Society: Hon. George Baneroff; W. Gilmore Simms, Judge A. B. Meek, Hon. H. F. Claiborne, Hon. Edward Everett, E. J. Forestall, and M. M. Thomassy. Corresponding members: Hon. John E. King, J. McVea, A. Walker, A. C. Wilson, and N. O. Peck.

Resident members: Hon. Wm. B. Walker, Wm. G. Waller, Dr. Hugh Diver, and A. B. Payne, Esq. Col. F. M. Kent, Treasurer of the Society, made a report, which was received and adopted.

A resolution was adopted, requesting the publishers of newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals, to furnish copies of the same.

After providing for a public lecture at the anniversary meeting of the Society on the second Monday in February, 1861, the meeting adjourned.

## Notes and Queries.

## NOTES.

DR. FRANKLIN.—The following anecdote was related to me, a few years ago, by a gentleman of this city, who was a descendant of one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital:

At the first meeting held to consider the establishment of the hospital, one of the persons present said that he was opposed to having any hospital; that the result would be that sick persons would come to Philadelphia from all the colonies, to be cured.

"If that should be the case," said Dr. Franklin, "we shall do more good than we expected."

M. E.

PHILADELPHIA.

CHAMBERSBURG, PA.—The following advertisement from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, for July 19, 1764, refers to the founding of this town:

"Notice is hereby given to the Publick that there is a Town laid out on Conegojig Creek, on both sides of the Great Falling Spring where it falls into said Creek, by Benjamin Chambers, of Cumberland County. Lots may be had on reasonable terms and firm Deeds granted for them by said Chambers; the day appointed for drawing said lots is the 28th day of June inst. being Thursday. The situation of this town is very good for water and stone, both free and marble, and sand all handy to the spot, and a well timbered part of the country adjoining it; within said town is a good Grist Mill, Saw Mill and Grind stones going by water. The Articles of the Town shall be read on the day appointed for the drawing of the Lots and the terms of sale published by me. BENJAMIN CHAMBERS.

THE MAYOR'S FEAST (From a Philadelphia paper for September 30, 1736).—"Thursday last, William Allen, Esq., Mayor of this city for the year past made a feast for his citizens at the State House, to which all the strangers in town of note were also invited. Those who are judges of such things say that, considering the delicacy of the viands, the variety and excellency of the wines, the great number of guests, and yet the easiness and order with which the whole was conducted, it was the most grand and the most elegant entertainment that has been made in these parts of America."

WHAT BECAME OF THE PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES BANK? (vol. v., p. 87).—The Philadelphia *Bulletin*, quoting the article in our last, gives it in part, and adds:

"The editor of the *Magazine* is in error concerning the ignorance of at least one of the reporters of the Philadelphia press, if he alludes to them in his remarks concerning 'penny-a-liners.' The writer of this article was familiar with the circumstances of the case; but he was silent about them at the time for proper and sufficient reasons; nor would he now write a word concerning the matter were it not already made public through the pages of the *Magazine*. 'J. J. S.' has also fallen into several errors in his communication, although his story is in the main correct. A very large number of documents, of rare value to the curiosity hunter and the collector of autographs, were rescued from among these papers; and we know of several collections in Philadelphia which have been enriched by the autographs and other treasures which fell into the hands of the trustees of the bank after the failure of the institution. The trustees made a proper disposition of the papers, and it is only to be regretted that some of the curiosities among them were not rescued from ultimate destruction."

We must, however, correct its error in ascribing any portion of the article to the editor of the *Historical Magazine*. It was all from J. J. S., and we do not see how the editor of the *Bulletin* came to attribute any portion to us. The editorial remarks in the *Magazine* are generally, if not always, in brackets.—ED.

MAME VOCABULARY.—We are indebted to Buckingham Smith, Esq., for the following account of a very rare work on the Mamé language, and a vocabulary drawn from it:

ARTE  
Y VOCABULARIO  
EN LENGUA MAME.  
DIRIGIDO

A nuestro Reverendissimo Padre Maestro F. Marcos | Salmeron, Calificador del Supremo Consejo de la In | quisición, General de todo el Orden de N. Señora de | la Merced, Señ or de la Varonia de Algar.

.S. PETRVS NOLASCO

(Followed by a wood-cut of the saint, having his name as above.)

Con licencia en Mexico.

Por Francisco Robledo, Impresor del Secreto del S. Oficio. 1644.

MEM.—8vo, 87 folios of pagination preceded by three printed pages, the title-page inclusive. The author was F. Diego Reinoso, whose name appears in the dedication. The *Arte* occupies the thirty-six first leaves; the *Vocabulario* the remainder.

The letters *d, f, c, r,* are little used, and the *g* not at all. the vowel *u* being employed instead. The double *ee*, represented by the capital *E*, have the sound of *k*, in Spanish, or *e*, in English, delivered with strength.

B. S.

Acorn, <i>koke</i> .	Lip, <i>tochon nitzu</i> .
Air, <i>kiakik</i> .	Little, <i>chimchim</i> .
Alligator, <i>ain</i> .	Lizard, <i>ismiac</i> .
Arm (of man), <i>kop, tzulap</i> .	Maize, <i>tobak icim</i> .
Ashes, <i>tzeah</i> .	Male (of man), <i>xenok, icham</i> .
Battle, <i>lahul</i> .	Man (or woman), <i>vuinak</i> .
Bear, <i>tzutz kap</i> .	Moon, <i>ichau, keia</i> .
Beard, <i>imatzi</i> .	Mosquito, <i>viz</i> .
Black (thing), <i>kaktih</i> .	Mother, <i>chu</i> .
Bladder, <i>chul</i> .	Mouth, <i>tzi</i> .
Blood, <i>chik</i> .	Nine, <i>beluh</i> .
Blue, <i>chan</i> .	Nose, <i>cham</i> .
Bow, <i>zimah</i> .	Oak tree, <i>pacham</i> .
Canoe, <i>pasce</i> .	Parrot, <i>ixko</i> .
Cloud, <i>muh</i> .	Partridge, <i>zechuluk</i> .
Coney, <i>izchik</i> .	Pine, <i>tzah</i> .
Cornfield, <i>kohon</i> .	Pond, <i>nahap</i> .
Crab, <i>chap</i> .	Quail, <i>tzichim</i> .
Dart, <i>talzimah</i> .	Red (thing), <i>kam</i> .
Day, <i>kih</i> .	River, <i>tziah</i> .
Dove, <i>zulcum, choom</i> .	Salt, <i>atzam</i> .
Eagle, <i>tivu</i> .	Sea, <i>palu</i> .
Ear, <i>xihin</i> .	Serpent, <i>kam</i> .
Earth, <i>chocr</i> .	Seven, <i>vuk</i> .
Eat, <i>vuun</i> .	Seventeen, <i>vuk lahuk</i> .
Eight, <i>vuakxak</i> .	Seventy, <i>lahuk tuh amu- chim</i> .
Egg, <i>hoz</i> .	Six, <i>vuakak</i> .
Eleven, <i>humlahuk</i> .	Sixteen, <i>vuaklahuk</i> .
Eye, <i>zuitz tuba kni</i> .	Sixty, <i>okal</i> .
Eyebrow, <i>xivuitz</i> .	Sky, <i>kak, kih</i> .
Eyelash, <i>xivuitz</i> .	Snake, <i>kan</i> .
Face, <i>vurz</i> .	Squirrel, <i>kuk</i> .
Father, <i>man</i> .	Stag, <i>chek vuon</i> .
Fifteen, <i>volakuh</i> .	Star, <i>cheu</i> .
Fifty, <i>la hun toccal in</i> .	Stick, <i>tze</i> .
Fish, <i>kiz</i> .	String, <i>akil</i> .
Five, <i>hoe</i> .	Sun, <i>kih</i> .
Flea, <i>kiak</i> .	They, <i>achu or ache</i> .
Flower, <i>imakul</i> .	Thirteen, <i>oxlahuk</i> .
Fly, <i>ahim</i> .	Thirty, <i>vuinak lahuk</i> .
Foot, <i>eam</i> .	Thou, <i>aiu</i> .
Forehead, <i>palah</i> .	Three, <i>oze</i> .
Forty, <i>kavuinak</i> .	Tongue, <i>ak</i> .
Forty-one, <i>hum toccatin</i> .	Tooth, <i>tivuitze</i> .
Four, <i>kiache</i> .	Town, <i>amak</i> .
Four hundred, <i>omuk</i> .	Tree, <i>tze</i> .
Fourteen, <i>kiah lahuk</i> .	Turtle, <i>petz</i> .
Good, <i>ban</i> .	Twelve, <i>kahlakuh</i> .
Great, <i>rim</i> .	Twenty, <i>vuinkim</i> .
Green, <i>chax</i> .	Two, <i>kabe</i> .
Hair, <i>zumal</i> .	Two hundred, <i>ochuk</i> .
Hammoek, <i>utz</i> .	Viper, <i>vuoh tzoh</i> .
Hand, <i>kop</i> .	Virgin, <i>kopoh</i> .
He, <i>ahul, aki</i> .	Water, <i>a</i> .
Head, <i>vui</i> .	We, <i>ao, aoio</i> .
Heart, <i>kuh koloh</i> .	Whiskers, <i>imatzi</i> .
Hill, <i>vuitz</i> .	Wife, <i>xichiluh</i> .
Horse, <i>ha</i> .	Wind, <i>kiakik</i> .
House, <i>cheh</i> .	Wizard, <i>ahka</i> .
Hundred (100), <i>okal</i> .	Woman, <i>zuuh</i> .
Husband, <i>iximilah</i> .	Yellow, <i>kam</i> .
I, <i>ain</i> .	You, <i>ae</i> .
Large, <i>nim</i> .	Yuca, <i>tizn</i> .
Light, <i>kanal</i> .	

BROADSIDE ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WARREN.—The Broadside containing the following 111 lines, is remarkable for being printed mostly in *italics*,—and the prominent substantives are generally in heavy-faced type, either Roman or small capitals:

Mr. Drowne, of N. Y., has the original.

H. T. D.

LINES Sacred to the Memory of JOSEPH WARREN, who fell in the Battle at Charlestown, fighting gallantly for his Country.

SEEN their Care for all the Great,  
Whensoe'er they meet their fate;  
Shades heroic throng around,  
Pleas'd to tend th' expiring Ground;  
Pleas'd to mark the favour'd Place  
Where they end their glorious Race,  
Round the Turf, or grassy Sod,  
Palms with Yews they learn to nod;  
There, by silent Luna's Rays,  
Oft a fun'ral dirge they raise.  
So, on some appointed Hill,  
Heav'n's last Mandate to fulfill,  
When with Blood they seal their Cause,  
Die to save their Country's Laws,  
Joy'd at such a nameless Sight,  
Countless Worthies quick alight;  
Rapt in soft, celestial Flames,  
Stepping to sublimer strains,  
Thus in solemn Pomp they rove,  
There admire a Brother's Love:  
As the mystic March goes round,  
All the neighb'ring Vales resound.  
Thus, when WARREN late was slain,  
Passing Mourners heard them plain.

"CATOS, HAMPDENS, SYDNEYS, come,  
YE OF BRITAIN, GREECE, OR ROME,  
YE for JUSTICE who did plead,  
YE for FREEDOM who did bleed,  
Quit a While th' elysian Land,  
Join in one harmonic Band,  
Come, instal a HERO NEW,  
Who deserves to rank with you;  
Bring the laurel leaf along,  
Swell the chorus with Conq'ror's Song,  
Fix upon his Head the Crown,  
For he's worthy of Renown.  
He for Justice boldly plead,  
He for Freedom nobly bled.

"Take him to our Seats above.  
There proclaim his gen'rous Love;  
Tell how oft Earth's Senates rung,  
Charm'd by his mellifluous Tongue;  
Tell how oft his patriot zeal  
Strove to save the British Weal;  
Midnight Vigils how he kept,  
All his Ease and Int'rest left,  
Greatly firm in Virtue's cause,  
Sworn t' oppose tyrannic Laws.

"Tho' his Form divinely fair,  
Tho' most graceful ev'ry Air,  
Tho' in Healing great his Skill,  
Tho' most kind his constant Will,  
Tho' his social virtues great,  
Tho' they shone from early Date,  
Not with these the patriot Flame,  
Must we now pretend to name;



These are all beneath the Strains  
Due to Heroes' spouting veins.  
"Northern Blasts he never fear'd,  
Nor e'en princely Guilt rever'd;  
Prostituted Force he scorn'd,  
Slav'ry's Myrmedon's he spurn'd;  
Bravely bent to meet the Foe,  
Dealing Death in ev'ry Blow,  
Great in Ruin when he fell,  
Proud to die, he cry'd 'tis well.  
Dying Patriots now we sing,  
Jointly touch the highest String;  
Jointly all your pow'rs devote,  
Blow for them the highest Note.  
Earth can nothing greater boast,  
Dying Patriot is her most;  
Heav'n can nothing greater know,  
E'en where Fires seraphic glow,  
Worthy such of Angel's Praise,  
Such should have divinent Lays.  
"Fair America is blest,  
Hence arose our welcome Guest;  
She such Sons shall never want,  
Nor shall Tyrants such e'er daunt.  
Scorching Flames, and Fields of Blood,  
All shall work the greatest Good.  
Slav'ry clanks her Chains in vain,  
Despots there shall never reign:  
Yet fair Liberty shall stand,  
Yet shall sway that happy Land;  
Yet her godlike sons shall rest,  
Of their Birthrights still possess.  
They the World throughout shall save,  
They shall make the Timid brave.  
Tho' their present peace is marr'd,  
Tho their future Struggle hard,  
Britain's Sons, degenerate grown,  
For their Folly yet shall mourn.  
Griev'd their ancient Sires look down,  
Curse their Measures, give a Frown,  
Swear the Glory is transferr'd,  
YOUNG AMERICA'S preferr'd;  
Heav'n is fixt her ardent Friend,  
She shall see a glorious End;  
Long in Bliss her Sons shall reign,  
Till their native Skies they gain;  
Join Orchestras, chant AMEN!" }  
"Quite o'erwhelm'd with swooning Joy,  
(So extatic such Employ)  
Passing Mourners, waking found  
Neither Shades nor faintest Sound.  
Hear, ye Sons of Freedom, hear,  
Banish hence your ev'ry Fear;  
Trust, for once, a Prophecy,  
Know, the *Period* draweth nigh.

PROVIDENCE, July 27, 1775.

B. B.

A CURRENCY QUESTION (from a Philadelphia paper for January 8, 1740-1).—"Great quantities of English Half-Pence being imported here since the falling of the exchange, to be passed as Permits, some considerable Dealers were apprehensive we should be overstocked with them, and began last week to refuse them otherwise than at the rate of five for fourpence. Their example being followed by many of the shop keepers, while others continued to take them for

penance apiece, it occasioned considerable confusion in small dealings. And the bakers refusing to make any more bread 'till the money was settled, the Mob rose on Friday night, and went round the town, breaking the windows of several merchants and others, and very much disturbed the city. They began to assemble again the night following; but by the vigilance and resolution of some of the magistrates, they were timely suppressed, and the city has since remained quiet."

REFUGEES' LIBRARIES—(from the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, for March 11, 1779).—"This day the sale of the Libraries of the absentees commences, at 11 o'clock A. M., at the Province House (formerly so called). It will begin with the books on Divinity, and be continued from day to day (as formerly advertised) until the whole is sold.

MONUMENT TO WASHINGTON.—Among the memorials issued to the memory of Washington, at the time of his death, I have an engraving of a monument, and with it the following description:

"MONUMENTAL ENGRAVING.

Inasmuch as the sons of COLUMBIA consider themselves unrivalled in every laudable attempt at *Gratitude*, to such of their number as appear to be directed by the Divine influence to stand forth in defence of their country's Liberty and Laws; and the name of WASHINGTON standing first in the record of American *Virtue, Glory, and Fame*, they conceive it their duty to patronize and approve the Engraving agreeable to this description as the Design of a Monument sacred to the Memory of the late General GEORGE WASHINGTON; that patriots may see *his Effigies*, as well as *hear the Great and noble Deeds of the Father of his Country*.

DESCRIPTION, VIZ.:

1st. An high finished white Marble *Monument* rising on pyramidal form.

2d. On the left of the Piece, a *war-worn veteran* with his arms grounded, in surprise at the Sight of his General's Funeral Pile; with his right hand he wipes the falling tear; and with his left he motions his distress of mind. In the person of the *war-worn veteran* you behold a lively representation of the Grief of all the Army of America, for the loss of their beloved *General and Commander in Chief*.

3. The Genius of *Columbia*, on the right, reclining on her spear, erect in her right hand; and her left responsive of her deep distress. In the Genius of *Columbia* you see a lively Emblem of

the Grief of all *America*, for the loss of the *Father* of her *Country*.

4th. *Minerva* retires from her shield, and seated near the Trophies of War, presents and supports the LIKENESS of the *departed Hero*. As *Minerva* is called the Goddess of *Wisdom*, in the heathen mythology, and she supports his likeness, it shews in the Design, that he was always supported by *Wisdom* in all his Measures and Transactions. In the Goddess *Minerva*, you see *Wisdom* grieving for the loss of one of the wisest *Men* of the *Age*.

5th. The Genius of *Mars* approaches with the Helmet of Defence; but, finding the General is no more, is stunned with surprise. In the Genius of *Mars* you behold *Valour* and *Courage* grieving for the greatest *Hero* of the *Age*.

6th. The Genius of *Minerva*, attending with the shield of the Gorgon Head. As this is the shield of *Minerva*, it supposes in the Design, that he was shielded by *Wisdom* in all his Difficulties and Dangers.

7th. *Fame*, with wings expanded, holding the Trump, on the Banner of which is inscribed the names of those places where *signal victories* have been obtained; and in her left hand a Wreath, enclosing the words *Pater Patriæ*. You likewise see *Fame*, grieving for the most famous *Man* of the *Age*.

8th & 9th. The Genii of *Liberty* and *Truth*, with the Emblems, both assisting to adorn his brow with laurels; and on the top of the Pile, an *Urn* blazing with the incense of *Memory* and *Love*, which will never be extinguished.

The above Piece has already been patronized by their Excellencies Governors Strong, Gilman, Bowen, and Trumbull, and near six hundred respectable characters in their respective States, and will be published only by subscription."

W. G. B.

Boston, Oct., 1860.

BOOKS WITHOUT INDEXES (vol. iii., p. 368).—I beg you to call the attention of the most learned of the medical profession to an indication of mental obliquity upon the part of authors and publishers (especially those of the United States), which has already worked incalculable evil in the Republic of Letters, and threatens to work more. Within the last few years, as is well known to literary men, many authors who have devoted anxious days and nights of careful research to various departments of learning, have published bulky volumes professing to contain the results of such investigations, but presenting to the eye of the reader nothing save a confused mass of matter, almost totally useless for want of an alphabetical index. So much for authors; and if they be partially excused on the plea of that want of

practical common-sense to which mental abstraction is supposed to be unfavorable, what shall be said for publishers, men of business, who are sometimes found willing to risk their capital by printing—perhaps even stereotyping—such confused masses of matter, without insisting upon the addition of a copious alphabetical index?

Is it a fear of trouble upon the part of the author, a dread of expense on the part of the publisher, that disgraces literature by *Indexless* books?

But will the author let the toil of years be lost to a large part of the world—for lost it surely is—rather than a few days or weeks of labor to make the whole available? Will the publisher risk thousands of dollars on the plates of what should be a valuable work, and yet grudge the outlay of a few more dollars for the paper and print of an Index? A man unaccustomed to books, after reading this article, would be apt to say—"Such stupidity is incredible; surely this writer cannot be in earnest." Alas, it is too true! I have known of instances where indexes were objected to by publishers, because they were too minute—took up too much room? A carefully prepared index to a set of one of the most important of late American publications, was reduced, perhaps, one-half, to diminish the expense of paper and print! An American editor of an English work, boasts, in the extreme of his stupidity, that he has saved the American purchaser of the book the expense of an Index!

Let the remedy be applied forthwith. Let Lord CAMPBELL'S proposition be carried out at once.

"So essential," remarks his lordship, "did I consider an index be to every book, that I proposed to bring a bill into Parliament to deprive an author who publishes a book without an index, of the privilege of copyright; and, moreover, to submit him for his offence to a pecuniary penalty." (Preface to Chief Justices, vol. iii.)

After "author," above, add "or publisher," and let such a bill be passed at its next Legislature by every State which boasts an author, publisher, or printing-press. What would be thought of an architect who built a large house and left it without staircases for exploration? What, then, shall be said of an author or publisher who sends a book into the world without an Index?

BIBLIORHME.

ANTHONY WAYNE.—From the inscription on a monument in Radnor churchyard (St. David's Episcopal church), which is fourteen miles west of Philadelphia, we learn that "MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE was born in Waynesborough, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1745. After a life of honor and usefulness, he died in December, 1796, at Erie, Pennsylvania, then a military post

on Lake Erie, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States. His military achievements are consecrated in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen. His remains are here deposited." The above is on the north side of the monument. On the south side is inscribed: "In honour of the distinguished military services of MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE, and as an affectionate tribute of respect to his memory, this stone was erected by his confrères in arms, the Penn. State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4th, 1809, thirty-fourth anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, an event which constitutes the most appropriate eulogium of an American soldier."

It may not be generally known that the remains of Anthony Wayne were first interred near the block-house, which stands on the high bluff which commands the entrance to the harbor of Erie, and they lay there until 1869, when his son went on from Chester County, Pa., to Erie, in a sulky (a two-wheeled carriage), and removed them to their present resting-place. On arriving at Erie, he employed "Old Doctor Wallace," so called to distinguish him from the present Dr. Wallace, to take up his father's remains, pack the bones in as small a space as possible, and lash them on to the hind part of his sulky. Dr. Wallace took up the remains, and found them in a perfect state of preservation, except one foot. He had been buried in full uniform, and the boot on the decayed foot was also decayed, while the other boot remained sound; and a man by the name of Duncan had a mate made to it, and wore them out. Duncan's foot, like the General's, was very large. Dr. Wallace cut and boiled the flesh off the bones, packed them in a box, lashed them on to the carriage, and they were brought and deposited beside the rest of his family, in the above-named churchyard.

I visited General Wayne's old residence in the summer of 1857, and found every thing much as he had left it. The house is an elegant old two-story mansion, now occupied by his grandson. The parlors and sitting-room, they informed me, were as in the days of the General himself. There are portraits and engravings of the men of the Revolution, hanging on the walls, as they were when appointed to the command of the western army, on the 3d of April, 1792. Around the house and over the farm, the fences and buildings are in good condition, yet they assured me it is about as he left it. Every thing appeared as though it had belonged to a gentleman of the old school—a race said to be now extinct. The premises looked, and I felt as though the old hero, whose very name was once a terror to the murderous red-man, might be expected back in an hour or so, and a dreamy impression seemed to steal over

me that if I waited a little I should see him. I should like much to have questioned him about Three Rivers, and Brandywine, and Germantown, and Monmouth, and Stony Point, and Yorktown, and the Indians, and how Erie appeared when she was only a year old? And I seemed to hold my breath and listen as many an old Indian had done, for his footsteps and his fearful oaths; yet he didn't come, and after a little, I passed on some three miles to his resting-place.

LEMUEL G. OLNSTEAD.

HEZEKIAH NILES.—We copy with pleasure from the *Nota Cestriensis*, of Dr. Arlington, now publishing in the *Village Record*, the following sketch of the editor of *Niles' Register*, regretting only that Dr. D., was unable to give more details:

Hezekiah Niles was born October 10, 1777, at the residence, then, of James Jeffris (now of John James), on the east side of the main branch of the Brandywine, near Jeffris' Ford, where the British force under Howe and Cornwallis crossed, on their circuitous route from Kennett Square to turn Washington's right in the memorable engagement of the 11th of September. When Howe's army moved from the Head of Elk for Philadelphia, it was generally expected that the march would be by way of Wilmington, Delaware—and many of the inhabitants of that place sought to evade the evils of such a visit by retiring, with whatever property they could conveniently remove, up the country to and around the forks of the Brandywine. A number of grocers and merchants sent their choice liquors, and other valuables, to the house of Emmor Jeffris (now David Meconkey's), on the west side of the ford,—where they happened to be exactly in the route of the enemy, and became the prey of the spoilers. Mrs. Niles, being a resident of Wilmington, and near her confinement, sought a refuge in the family of James Jeffris, aforesaid, where Hezekiah was born, about four weeks after the military passed by. On this ground he is claimed as a Chester county man. The Hessian auxiliaries of Britain were notorious for maltreating and plundering the inhabitants. They menaced the life of Mrs. Niles for hesitating to surrender her personal property; and her son mentions more than once in his *Weekly Register*, that the myrmidons of George the III. threatened to bayonet him before he was born.

When Hezekiah was old enough to engage in a profession, he was apprenticed to learn the "Art preservative of all Arts," and at the close of the last century, was one of the firm of Bonsall & Niles, Printers and Publishers in Wilmington. In 1801, this firm was employed in publishing a revised edition of the political writings of John

Dickinson, in two handsome octavo volumes; on which occasion the compiler of these *Notes* (then a student of medicine), had the honor to be one of the proof-readers. The printing establishment in which Mr. Niles was then concerned, was unsuccessful. The disaster was ascribed to the reckless mismanagement of his partner. In a letter to this compiler, dated *Baltimore, Jan. 12, 1815*, introductory to a correspondence of some twenty years,—which elicited from Mr. Niles nearly one hundred familiar, hastily-written epistles,—he says: "It is with much pleasure I recognize my friend in 'the lad that used to carry physic to my house;' and believe me, I am much pleased with the high mark of respect and honor that my brethren (in principle) of *solid* Pennsylvania have conferred upon him,—on which I beg leave heartily to congratulate him. In return for his polite and friendly communication, I will say of myself, that my history has been infelicitous. I am now doing a good business—very good. But the old firm of Bonsall & Niles left me *minus* by at least \$25,000. All of which I fought against, and have *unfashionably* paid;—so that, except what I count on my business, I am yet poor. But *nil desperandum* ever was, and is, my motto." For some time after the failure, Mr. Niles was connected with a periodical, to which he contributed amusing essays under the title of "Quilldriving, by Geoffrey Thickneck:" and then, he became, for several years, editor of a daily paper in the city of Baltimore. But the great work of his life was his incomparable *Weekly Register*, a compendium of general intelligence, commenced at Baltimore, in 1811, and conducted by H. Niles, for a quarter of a century, with untiring industry and consummate ability. Referring to it, in one of his letters, he says—"Whatever may be its merits, I can say this,—that it is the most *laborious* publication that (I believe) ever issued by the editorship of one man. A daily paper—of which I had six years' experience—is mere play compared with the toil of this thing."

*Niles' Weekly Register* contains the principal public documents of its time; it is replete with statistics, and presents a condensed yet faithful summary of passing events, in all that period,—especially during the war 1812—styled the "Second War of Independence." It is a work absolutely indispensable to every student of our country's history; and voluminous as it is, the day is no doubt coming when it will be deemed worth its weight in silver. He also compiled a volume entitled, "Principles and Acts of the Revolution," highly illustrative of opinions and events in that stormy period.

Hezekiah Niles was a kind, amiable, sagacious man,—an earnest politician, and a zealous republican. Skilled in the science of political economy,

He was at once a ready writer, and an accomplished advocate of the protection due to our national industry. Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, and Hezekiah Niles, of Baltimore, were among the ablest, and the most steadfast champions of the policy known as the "*American System*." Our country has never yet acknowledged its indebtedness to the labors of these faithful patriots.

In the latter years of his life, Mr. Niles was disabled by a paralytic affection, and retired to Wilmington, Delaware; whither he went, as he said "to die and be buried with his kindred." He departed this life on April 2, 1839, in the 62d year of his age.

A DESCENDANT OF MONMOUTH IN AMERICA.—The Duke of Monmouth (natural son of Charles II.) married, first, the Duchess of Buccleuch; and secondly, Henrietta Maria *Wentworth*, baroness of Nettlested, and by her had one son, who was deemed illegitimate, and was consequently disinherited. But one Col. Smyth, an adherent of his father's, took him to Paris and had him educated, and subsequently left him his property, upon which he took the name of *Smyth* in addition to his own. In after life he took part in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and at the age of seventy-two was attacked on a bridge in the Highlands, by three royalist soldiers, in expectation of reward, when he fell over the parapet and was drowned, together with two of his assailants. This Col. Wentworth-Smyth left a son Ferdinand (six years old), by Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert Needham, a great-grand-daughter of the Duke of Monmouth. He, Ferdinand Smyth-Stuart, spent some time at the University of Edinburgh, where he studied medicine, but afterwards emigrated to America, and settled in Maryland, where he acted in the twofold character of physician and planter.

When the American war broke out, he became a captain in the West Virginian Regiment, and was taken prisoner and kept in irons for eighteen months in Philadelphia. Afterwards he was captain in the Loyal American Regiment, and was afterwards transferred to what is now the 42d Highlanders. He had landed property to the extent of 65,000 acres, which he valued at £244,000, which he lost; for which the British government gave him £300 a year as a compensation, which was, after a while, withdrawn. He was then reduced to great poverty, and was glad to accept the office of barrack-master. After that, he returned to this country, and settled in Vernon-place, Bloomsbury Square. He was unfortunately knocked down and run over by a carriage and killed, December 20, 1814, leaving a widow destitute, two sons and a daughter.—*London Notes and Queries.*

YANKEE DOODLE.—When sending my communication to the *H. M.*, in July, 1858 (vol. ii, p. 214), I was not aware of the existence of three old broadsides with the music printed, in all probability, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; which fact is of some importance in establishing the great popularity of Yankee Doodle in this country at that time.

They are entitled as follows:

1. "D'Estaing eclipsed, or Yankee Doodle's Defeat. By T. Poynton."
2. "Yankee Doodle, or the Negro's Farewell to America. The words and music by T. L."
3. "Yankee Doodle, or (as now christened by the saints of New England), the *Lexington March*."

The music to the two first-mentioned ballads is original; the third is adapted to the old tune.

EDWARD F. RIMBAULT.

CURIOUS STATEMENT AS TO VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND.—In a report presented to Pope Innocent XI., by Monsignor Urbano Cerri, secretary of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, of which Sir Richard Steele published a translation, entitled "An Account of the Present State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World. London: 1715," is the following: "Virginia, under which I comprehend New England, is a vast country full of woods and lakes, and has a vast and uncultivated plain. It abounds with cattle, fowl, and fish. Some time after it was discovered, the king of England sent thither a Catholic earl, and another nobleman, who was a heretick. Those two lords were attended by Protestants and Catholics and two priests; so that the Catholics and hereticks performed for a long time the exercise of their religion under the same roof. Afterwards, the earl being returned into England, and giving an account of the nature of that country, many wealthy Puritans were desirous to remove thither, as they did in great numbers in the year 1630. To prevent the progress of their doctrines, the general of the Capuchins was ordered to send into that country a mission of his own order; and several French and English religious went thither accordingly. That mission was renewed in 1650, at the solicitation of the queen dowager of England; but it has been since forsaken. There are in Virginia about fifty thousand inhabitants, most of them infidels, many heretical, and few Catholic Christians."

[It is not easy to make much of this strange confusion; but there are some points in it worth notice. Lord Arundel of Wardor, may be the Catholic earl, being, we think, a count of the Holy Roman Empire. The accounts of Weymouth's Expedition speaks of setting up crosses,

and it may be that like Lord Baltimore, subsequently, Lord Arundel in this sought to found a colony where a Catholic might continue to practise the religion of his fathers without being liable to the penalties of high treason. Should the supposition be true, the archives of Wardor Castle, and those at Rome, may help our Maine friends to elucidate the history of Weymouth's voyage.

The idea of Capucins being sent over to look after the Pilgrim Fathers seems ludicrous enough; it will do to stand with the French picture of the burning of a witch in New England, where Mather and his flock are represented as Indians. But Capucins were actually missionaries in Maine, though from allusion to the dowager queen of Charles I., it would be more probable that a Capucin mission in Maryland, is intended. That such a one existed, there is other proof.]

#### QUERIES.

WICKAMISH.—I have been informed that this is the name of a tree of whose wood the Indians make baskets; and that a tea made from its bark has the singular effect of producing a flow of milk, even in old women; and that the Indian women use it for that purpose. This queer story I have through only one person—from the lady who saw an old squaw of sixty or more suckling a grandchild.

Can any of your correspondents substantiate or disprove this curious account? P.

THE ARREST OF COUNT ROCHAMBEAU.—Who was the militia captain who had Rochambeau arrested on Lake Mohegan, N. Y. (then called Crom Pond, the Crampon of Soulès and Robin), as described by Soulès in his "*Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise?*" H.

THE TURKISH CANNON-BALLS AT THE PARK GATE, N. Y.—At the southern entrance of the City Hall Park, New York, was formerly a marble gateway surmounted by two marble balls, presents from the Turkish government to Commodore Perry, and by him presented to the city. When were these taken down, and what has become of them? F. B. H.

[In "Valentine's Manual," for 1849, p. 434, it is stated that these balls were removed with the gateway, in 1847, but the account given of the balls differs from the above. According to the writer of that statement, the balls were obtained by one Mr. Mazanna, a Greek pilot, who was with Commodore Nicholson in 1817 and 1818, at

the Island of Rhodes, and that they were procured from Thebes.]

They are now at the north and south entrances of the park in Union Square. D.

CAMPBELL'S HISTORY OF THE WESTERN COUNTRY.—Rev. John P. Campbell, of Chillicothe, Ohio, who died in 1814, left a MS. history of the western country. In the *Portfolio* of June, 1816, it is said that the MSS. of the Rev. Dr. Campbell had been placed in the hands of a friend to be prepared for publication. It is believed that they were never printed. If not, can any of your readers inform us where they may be found?

E. H. D.

EMPIRE STATE.—When and how did this name of the State of New York, originate? H.

BUCKEYE STATE.—Is it true that Ohio is so called from the chestnut-trees, locally termed *Buckeye*? H.

MOHOCK.—Did the term *Mohock*—so much in use in Queen Anne's time to designate what we call *roadies*—originate here, in the name of an aboriginal tribe, our Mohawk Indians? If not, what is the origin of the term? It is constantly employed by the old British essayists.

COL. STEPHEN MOYLAN.—Can any of your Philadelphia correspondents give the inscription on the tombstone of this soldier of the Revolution? He was buried beside St. Mary's Church, apparently. H.

PINE'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—When the effects of Pine, the artist, were disposed of by lottery, as then permitted by the laws of Pennsylvania, among the list of objects was a portrait of Washington, by Pine. Can any of your readers tell what became of it?

The portrait of Washington, by Pine, was found in Montreal, in 1816 or '17, by the late Henry Brevoort, who purchased it; and it has been in his or his family's possession since that time. The history of the picture during the intervening period from 1790 to 1816, is not known. When brought to New York from Montreal, it was at once recognized as Pine's work, by Trumbull, Peale, Dunlap, and many persons who had seen it in the artist's possession. It was exhibited at the Athenæum in Boston, in 1829. B.

CENT OF 1815 (vol. ii., pp. 152, 211; iii., p. 339).—Will any of the readers of the *Historical Magazine*, be so kind as to inform me why no cents were issued from the mint in the year 1815. I have endeavored to discover the reason, but with no success. E. H. N.

NEW YORK.

#### REPLIES.

SONG—BOSTON FOLKS (vol. iv., p. 184).—I find in the *Boston Traveller*, Feb. 28, 1861, the song inquired for by your correspondent; but it relates to the Massachusetts Convention for adopting the Federal Constitution, not to the visit of Washington. Below I give the verses with the *Traveller's* introductory remarks. BOSTON.

#### CONVENTION SONG.

["Soon after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1787, by Massachusetts, the following characteristic song was written in Philadelphia, by a Yankee bard, on the occasion, and published throughout the United States. Hope is entertained that the result of the proceedings of another Convention will diffuse equal joy among the people, though it should not be celebrated by a procession, nor be immortalized in song.]

The 'vention did in Boston meet  
But State House could not hold 'em  
So they went to Federal-street,  
And there the truth was told 'em.  
Yankee doodle, keep it up!  
Yankee doodle, dandy,  
Mind the music and the step,  
And with the girls be handy.

They every morning went to prayer;  
And then began disputing;  
Till opposition silenced were,  
By arguments refuting.  
Yankee, &c.

Then 'Squire Hancock, like a man  
Who dearly loves the nation,  
By a Concil'atory plan,  
Prevented much vexation.  
Yankee, &c.

He made a *woundy* Fed'ral speech,  
With sense and elocution;  
And then the Yankees did beseech  
T' adopt the Constitution.  
Yankee, &c.

The question being outright put,  
(Each voter independent),  
The Fed'ralists agreed to adopt,  
And then propose amendments.  
Yankee, &c.

The other party seeing then  
The People were against them,  
Agreed like honest, faithful men,  
To mix in peace amongst 'em.  
Yankee, &c.

The Boston folks are ducced lads,  
And always full of notions;  
The boys, the girls, their mams and dads,  
Were filled with joy's commotions.  
Yankee, &c.

So straightway they procession made,  
Lord, how *nation* fine, sir!  
For every man of every trade  
Went with his tools—to dine, sir.  
Yankee, &c.

John Foster Williams in a ship  
Join'd with the social band, sir,  
And made the lasses dance and skip,  
To see him sail on land, sir!  
Yankee, &c.

“AMERICA ILLUMINATA: BY DR. JESPER SWEDBERG” (vol. iv. p. 340).—Rev. Wm. B. Hayden, assisted by Rev. Dr. Muller, who is acquainted with the Swedish language, has examined a copy of this book, which has been many years in Harvard College Library. He has given some account of it in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, for Feb., 1861. He says, “That it is a small 24mo, of 176 pages, in black-letter, with illuminated title-page, printed at Skara, 1732, and dedicated to King Frederick and Queen Ulrica Eleonora. It is written for the most part in Swedish, with translations of the principal letters into Latin, together with a few paragraphs in English and German. It begins with a notice of the discovery of America, by Columbus and Vespucci; referring next to settlements and to efforts towards Christianization. Then follows an account of the Swedes on the Delaware. From the first settlement, in 1638, to 1687, when the Bishop’s connection with the churches began, the history is quite general; but from this period to the publication of the book, the account appears to be full and particular. There are descriptions of the country, its climate and productions; of the Indian tribes, their manners and characteristics; and of the European colonists by whom the American-Swedes were surrounded. New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Canada are mentioned, and the form of government then existing in the Province of Pennsylvania. The religious denominations in those contiguous colonies are not omitted; and there are frequent allusions to Quakers, Presbyterians, and Baptists, as well as to the Church of England. The margin of the work is filled in many places with authorities referred to for facts stated; and several quotations are made from different writers in America. The

range of writers seems large for that period; and Bishop Swedberg must have made an extensive examination of the literature of the subject as it existed in his day.”

Mr. Hayden produces, in the magazine, translations from the Latin portions of the book; and in the course of his article, expresses an opinion that the whole book, “*America Illuminata*,” ought to be translated, as it contains much interesting matter, and possesses much historical value in connection with the early colonial history of the Swedes on the Delaware. He makes the following allusion to three chapters which ought to be in a biography of Emanuel Swedenborg:

“The complete biography of Swedenborg, no doubt, when it comes to be written, will contain three chapters not hitherto included. One on the Swedish people, another on the Reformed Church in Sweden, and a third on the Swedberg family; all having direct reference to the influences by which Swedenborg was surrounded in early life, and which served therefore to form and modify his character. In one of these, his father would necessarily hold a conspicuous place.” F.

WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK, 1799 (vol. v., p. 91).—I shall be curious to hear confirmation of this visit. In any case, your correspondent, “I J. G.” is mistaken in supposing that General and Mrs. Washington were the guests of Sir John Temple, who *died* in November, of the *previous year*. The visit is not likely to have been paid to his widow, then in deep mourning; but, it is barely possible that, in her absence from town, the family mansion may have been temporarily rented for the occupation of the General. That so interesting a circumstance should not have been handed down among the traditions of the family, militates against its probability. A relative of the writer, the favorite grand-daughter of Lady Temple, and long a member of her household, expired only within the past year; but among her many reminiscences of the period in question, on which she was fond of dwelling, no allusion to such an occurrence is remembered. W.

CHARLOTTE TEMPLE (vol. v., p. 91).—“Charlotte Temple,” about whom your correspondent “Penn” inquires, may fairly be presumed to have been a member of this family, several of whom, including Sir John himself, are buried in Trinity churchyard. The pedigree, it is true, contains no corresponding entry, but it cannot be relied upon as absolutely perfect. W.

BOOKS PRINTED BY FRANKLIN (vol. iii., p. 121).—“The History of the Quakers,” published

in 1728, of which Franklin printed forty sheets, was: "The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers. By William Sewell. 3d edition." Folio. 6 preliminary leaves, 694 pp. Index, 16 pp.

PAWNEE SLAVES (vol. iii., p. 183).—In Knox's "Historical Journal," p. 438, the author, meeting the word *Pani* in Vandreuil's Capitulation, article 47, which stipulated that "negroes and panis of both sexes, shall remain in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians, to whom they belong," gives this note: "I believe this implies convicts or malefactors condemned to slavery," not knowing that the Panis (Pawnees) were a western tribe, and that the term in actual use, meant simply Indian slaves.

S.

CURIOUS EPITAPH (vol. v., p. 88).—In the (London) *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1773, at p. 133, is the copy of a long inscription on a tablet in St. Andrew's Church, Canterbury, to the memory of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Swift, who died June 12, 1592; in which inscription occur the lines alluded to. It would seem from the statement on the tablet, that it had been erected by a son of Dr. S., who succeeded him in the rectorship, and therefore it was probably of a much earlier period than the tombstone in Newport, R. I., or of Dr. Porson.

R—A.

SCALPING (vol. v., 25).—Rawlinson's "Herodotus," b. iv., ch. 64. (iii. p. 58), thus describes Scythian scalping: "In order to strip the skull of its covering, he makes a cut round the head above the ears, and laying hold of the scalp, shakes the skull out; then, with the rib of an ox, he scrapes the scalp clean of flesh, and softening it by rubbing between the hands, uses it thenceforth as a napkin. The Scyth is proud of these scalps, and hangs them from his bridle-rein; the greater the number of such napkins that a man can show, the more highly is he esteemed among them; many make themselves cloaks, like the capotes of our peasants, by sewing a quantity of these scalps together." In a note, he refers to the use in Athens and Euripides of the word *aposeythizo*, in the sense of *I scalp*.

Some, following the Vulgate version of Deut. xxxii. 42-3, have supposed it not unknown to the Jews, who certainly at times mutilated fallen foes (1 Kings xviii. 25).

In these northern parts, the custom seems to have passed from the Iroquois to the Algonquins. Gookin ("Mass. Hist. Col.," vol. i., p. 162) speaks of a Mohawk scalping Massachusetts Indians, as a new custom.

C. P.

## Notes on Books.

*Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College appointed to visit the Library, for the Year 1860.* Submitted Jan. 31, 1861. Boston: Rand & Avery. 8vo, 40 pp.

A HIGHLY satisfactory exhibition of the affairs of this ancient library, which, under recent impulses, bids fair to be, if it is not already, for America, what the Bodleian is for the universities of England. The number of volumes, we are here told, now in Gore Hall, is over 91,500, and the number of unbound pamphlets, not less than 50,000, and a new library building is more than hinted at. Numerous donations, in answer to an appeal for gifts of books, quite embarrass the librarian's report with their bare enumeration. One of these, the bequest of Clarke Gayton Pickman, a gentleman of Boston, and a graduate of 1811, who died last year, is of special importance, consisting of more than three thousand volumes of good English literature, in the best condition. But of more value than any chance additions, even of this liberal nature, is the sum given by William Gray, of Boston, of five thousand dollars a year, for five years; for this can be expended for that which the library stands most in need. The attachment of the alumni of Harvard to their *alma mater*, shown in these gifts, is well worth noting. It indicates an influence which it would be beneficial for all institutions of the kind to cultivate; and the surest way to gain it, we may remark in passing, will be for the colleges to attach the undergraduates by wise and generous treatment, that they may remain friends when they become men. We congratulate Mr. Sibley in the details of his report, though we fear this influx of prosperity under his administration, as in other cases of accumulation of property, brings with it increased care and weariness.

*History of the United Netherlands; from the Death of William the Silent, to the Synod of Dort, with a full view of the English-Dutch struggle against Spain, and of the origin and destruction of the Spanish Armada.* By John Lothrop Motley, LL. D., D. C. L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, &c. Volumes I. and II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, 532, 563 pp.

THIS new work of Mr. Motley has already been received with extraordinary favor, not only by the public,—ever ready to appreciate dramatic action and vivid portrayal of character,—but by the judicious few, who control the nicer and more



enduring decisions of literary fame. In fact, the author is admitted in the present portion of this history, to have brought forward new materials of great interest, which alone would entitle his production to great respect; and at the same time to have argued a most important historical question with eminent ability. His new material, indeed, drawn from an extensive research into the archives of Spain, which lay bare the minutest acts and motives of the reign of Philip II., and the political conduct of that extraordinary monarch, as well as a thorough handling of the documentary stores of Holland, and a most successful use of the manuscripts of the State-paper office in London,—this affluence of resources, gives to the present work a distinctive character, even among the many laborious and original historical writings by which such investigators as Helps, Froude, and others, have, of late, made themselves an enviable reputation. Mr. Motley's diligence and success in bringing to light the secret diplomacy of Philip and his general, Alexander of Parma, is worthy of the highest praise. It is one of those lessons in the history of princes which is written once for all; for nothing can be more thorough in an exhibition of this kind, or more instructive. To the minutest incidents of war, and the working of the new political relations on individual character in Holland, growing out of the great contest for liberty, much attention is given, and with effect. The stirring incidents of the siege of Antwerp, are told with dramatic interest, while the story of the Armada may be said to be new, for the first time, adequately presented to the English reader. Indeed, it has never been fully understood before.

This, we may remark, is especially a book to be read a second time to be fully enjoyed; at first, to master the novel facts and incidents, and then, to study at leisure the developments of character and action, as they naturally influence one another.

It gives us pleasure to learn from Mr. Motley's preface, that this work is likely to be continued through the period of the Thirty Years' War to its close at the Peace of Westphalia.

#### *Origin of Legislative Assemblies in New York.*

By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1861. 48 pp.

NEW YORK, as settled by the Dutch, was not, like the neighboring English colonies, possessed of a legislative assembly. The people had no voice in the laws by which they were governed. Discontent naturally prevailed, and when the English rule began, the incoming English were no less clamorous for an assembly in which they

should be represented. A half-way measure, intended to quiet the people, but really giving nothing, was granted in 1665; but it was not till 1683, that Gov. Dongan actually arrived with instructions to call an Assembly. The first assembly held two sessions, and was dissolved by the death of Charles II., in 1685. The second Assembly immediately called, met in November, of the same year, and was dissolved by order of James II., January 20, 1687. The old *régime* of "Governour and Council" again obtained, until the reins of government were wrested from the hands of Nicholson by Leisler, who convoked an Assembly, which met in April, 1690, and remained in session till October. The following spring Slough-ter arrived with instructions to call an Assembly. This met in the same year, 1691, and after resolving that all prior laws were null, declared itself the first Assembly; and it is so regarded in the published colonial laws. This attempt to wipe out all prior legislation, equally unwise and impolitic, created much confusion; and Dr. O'Callaghan, in this little treatise, gives the history of the Legislative Assemblies, *temp. Jac. II.*, and the revolutionary assembly of 1690. Among other interesting matter, is a sketch of the life of Col. Dongan, the governor of New York, by whom the first Assembly was called.

#### *Bulletin of the American Ethnological Society.*

Vol. I., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1860, and January, 1861. New York: C. B. Richardson & Co., 1861. 8vo, 72 pp.

THIS Society has begun the record of its transactions in a very creditable form. The present number contains the proceedings of the meetings stated, of which we have given less detached reports in our columns, and also a report on the Indians of Andaquí, New Granada; a paper by the Rev. M. M. Albis, read at the meeting in Feb., 1859, a curious and satisfactory report. The number is illustrated with an engraving of an inscribed stone hatchet, found in Pemberton, New Jersey.

*Cuba for Invalids.* By R. W. Gibbes, M. D., Columbia, S. C. New York: Townsend & Co., 1860. 12mo, 214 pp.

OUR friend, Dr. Gibbes, was compelled by ill-health to visit Cuba last winter, and intended, we believe, to repeat his visit the present season; but has yielded to the call of his State to serve her actively—not, we trust, at the expense of health. This volume, the result of his experience, is not a physician's prescription to the sick, in spite of its title. Written without pretension, it is a most practical volume for any one, sick or

well, purposing to visit Cuba. The country, its life, manners, amusements, conveyances by land and water, hotels, &c., are all well described, and useful directions given; but the sanitary advice, coming as it does from a skilful and thoroughly educated physician, from actual experience and observation, renders it invaluable as a guide.

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*Collections of the Ulster County Historical Society.* Vol. I., part 2. Kingston (N. Y.): 1860. 8vo, 77-177 pp.

THIS number is a decided improvement on the first; and besides the proceedings of the meetings in June and October, contains notes on the Esopus Indians, and also on the treaty with that tribe, a list of Sheriffs, Colonial Statutes relating to the county; Clinton Papers, relating to Ulster County; a very interesting and exhaustive paper on Vaughan's Expedition up the Hudson, in 1777, by G. W. Pratt, who has availed himself of English archives, hitherto almost unexplored. Specimens of letters of denization and church-membership, complete the number.

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*The Firelands Pioneer*, published under the supervision of the Firelands Historical Society. A Quarterly Magazine. Vol. II. Nos. 1, 2, 3, Sandusky: H. D. Cooke & Co., 1859-60.

THESE numbers almost complete the second volume of contributions to the history of Ohio, issued by the Fireland Historical Society; and contains a great deal of matter for the local history of the district to which they refer. The Society is active, and will obtain hereafter, as it now deserves, great credit.

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*A Description of the Medals of Washington, of National and Miscellaneous Medals*, and of other objects of Interest in the Museum of the Mint: to which are added Biographical Notices of the Directors of the Mint, from 1792 to the year 1851. By James Ross Snowden, the Director of the Mint. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860. 4to, 203 pp.

*A Description of Ancient and Modern Coins* in the Cabinet Collection at the Mint of the United States. Prepared and arranged under the direction of James Ross Snowden, Director of the Mint. Philadelphia: J. Lippincott & Co., 1860. 2 vols. 8vo, 412, 412 pp.

THESE beautiful volumes contain a full description of the numismatic collection at the Mint, which embraces some coins and medals of excessive rarity. The works are beautifully got up; the medals engraved; the coins represented by a

new process, giving each in relief in its color, gold, silver, or copper.

We regret that some pieces are not more fully described, but yet cannot fail to acknowledge the beauty and usefulness of these manuals, which are a valuable addition to the library of the American numismatist.

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## Miscellany.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq., is now preparing, for immediate publication, "New York during the Revolution; being a collection of original papers, now first published from the manuscripts in the possession of the Mercantile Library Association," an interesting volume, announced some time since.

THE fourth and last volume of Help's "Spanish Conquest in America," has just appeared.

A FLAT HEAD, or Selish grammar, by Mengarini, will shortly be published as the second volume of the "Library of American Linguistics."

THE Maine Historical Society are about to prepare for the issue of a new volume of their Collections; and the Montreal Society announce a continuation of their *Mémoires*. The Virginia Historical Society has also a second volume in press.

THE Historical Society of Ohio lost, in February, its venerable President, Col. JOHN JOHNSON, who was found dead in his bed at Washington, D. C. He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1775, and accompanied Wayne's army to the West, in 1793. He was long Indian Agent, and made the Wyandot treaty of 1841-2.

THE site of an Indian village and cemetery is undergoing examination in the city of Montreal. It lay near Sherbrooke-street, on a dry, sandy knoll, and was apparently the abode of the Algonquin tribe, known as the Iroquet; or, as the Iroquois and Hurons called them, Onotchataronon, the original inhabitants of Montreal Island, and who must not now be confounded with the Iroquois, who were of a different race and language.

An account was read before the Natural History Society of Montreal, and is published in the *Journal of Education* with illustrations. The articles found comprise, besides human skeletons, pottery, clay, pipes, bone implements, but no arrow-heads, or other stone weapons.

### General Department.

DIARY KEPT AT VALLEY FORGE BY ALBINGENGE WALDO, SURGEON IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY. 1777-1778.

Nov. 10, [1777].—Capt. Lee, of the Light Dragoons brought in Capt. Nichols of the English Packet whom he took prisoner at New Castle. I heard Capt. Nichols observe that one hour before he was taken he had the following reflections:—“His Majesty has made me commander of a fine ship—a packet too; I need not ever fight. I have nothing to do but transport gentlemen and ladies of the first rank. I have a fine stock of provisions aboard, hens, turkeys, geese, pigs, ducks, wine and cider. I have a good interest at home, and what is above all, an agreeable family. I am not troubled in my mind. In short, I've nothing to make me uneasy, and believe I am the happiest man in the world.”

Capt. Nichols was now the unhappiest man in the world. His reflections were turned upon the vicissitudes of life, the sudden changes of fortune and the variety of events that may happen to a man in the course of a few hours.—If we would set our reasons to work and believe what is undeniably true that there is no dependence to be put on the whiffling wind of fortune, we could bear disappointments without anxiety. A man of the least observation will find every state changeable, and while he considers this mutability of time and things, he will be better prepared to undergo the misfortunes of life and the disappointments inseparable from it. When a disappointment overtakes us unguarded by such reflections, it often throws us into a fit of anger which vents itself on those connected with us or appears in opprobrious words against the Providence of God.

An incessant cannonading at or near Red Bank this day.—No salt to eat dinner with.

Nov. 11, 12, 13 & 14th.—Nothing material happened.

Nov. 15th.—An attack was made on Fort Mifflin by 4 ships, 4 Batteries, & 1 Gally. Our People fired from Fort Mifflin—1 Battery—12

Gallies & two Shearbacks or small ships. The firing was incessant all Day. Our People defended themselves with unparallel'd bravery amidst a continual storm of Balls 'till at length when Capt. Lee's company of Artillery were almost all cut off, and a reinforcement had stood at the Guns till 9 o'Clock in the evening the Garrison evacuated the fort, after having spiked up the Cannon. Capt. Stephen Brown, was kill'd by a shot from the round-top of a Ship that had haul'd up in pistol shot of the Fort.

Mem.—Fort Mifflin was a Burlesque upon the art of Fortification.

Nov. 19th.—The Boston & Hampshire Regiments began to join the Grand Army. This Day Huntington's Brigade consisting of Prentice's—Bradley's—& Swift's—march'd for Red Bank—which the Garrison evacuated before we arriv'd. Greens Division next day march'd for the same place,—who, with Huntington's Brigade & the Garrison consisting of Varnum's Brigade met at Mount Holly 5 miles east of Burlington, where we Encamped till the Evening of the 25<sup>th</sup>. Mount Holly—so call'd from a little Mount nigh the town—is a Compact & Pleasant Village—having a great proportion of handsome women therein. Near this Town, in a Wood, a Hermet has dwelt this 27 years, living on Bread and water. His bed is a hole dug in the ground about one foot and a half below the surface, and cover'd at pleasure with a board—over this is built a small bark hut hardly big enough for a man to set up in. When he goes to bed he crawls into his hut and at the further end slips into his hole which he calls his grave, draws the Board over and goes to sleep. He crawls night and morning on his hands and knees about two rods to a particular tree, to pray. He says he was warn'd of God in a particular Dream when he first came to America to take this course of Life. He has many Latin and other Books in his lonely Cell—and is said to write considerably. He kisses every man's hand that visits him and thankfully accepts what is gave him, except Money, which he refuses. His Beard is done up in a loose club under his chin—he is small of stature and speaks very fast, he talks but little English—chiefly German or Latin. He says he shall come out purified &

live like other folks if he continues in this state till he is 80. He says he often wishes for Death—being frequently affected with pains of Body by this method of life. He never goes near a fire in the coldest time. Much is said about the reasons of his doing penance in this manner—but chiefly that he murdered his own sister—that he kill'd a Gentleman in a Duel while an officer in the French Service. He was in the German Service also among his countrymen the Germans.

*25th Nov.*—In the Evening we march for Haddenfield (not far from Red Bank) where we arrived in the morning of the

*26th Nov.*—Lay in the Forest of Haddenfield—cold and uncomfortable. 2 hessian deserters came in who declar'd our little parties had kill'd a number of the Enemy—13 Prisoners were bro't in—2 women.

*Nov. 27th.*—Return'd to Mount Holly—Same Day, Green's Division and Glover's Brigade (who had arriv'd from the Northward 2 Days before) march to Burlington. Morgan with his Riflemen were left with the militia to harrass the Enemy as they were Recrossing the River from Red Bank to the city.

*Nov. 28th.*—The remainder of us marched to Burlington. P. M.—the rear of the army crossed over to Bristol. A Storm prevented the Baggage going over this Night, which prevented Dr. L. & myself crossing with our horses.

*Nov. 29th.*—Storm increas'd—About one, p. m. An alarm was made by a report that the enemy were within 15 minutes march of the Town to take the Baggage. Those of us who had horses rode up to Burdowntown. The Baggage and the Sick were hurried out of Town the same way, but had not got 2 miles before they were turn'd back on its being a false Alarm. For the sake of good living however Dr. L., Parson E. & myself went to Burdowntown up the River—liv'd well & cross'd over to Winsor next Day—and arriv'd at Bristol in the Evening when I had my Shoes and Silver Buckles stole—Dr. L. had a valuable Great Coat stole the Day before at Burlington.

*Dec. 1st.*—We marched to Head Quarters and our Division (McDougals) encamped on the Left of the Second Line. Our former Station was in the Center of the Front Line. Here Huts of sticks & leaves shelter'd us from the inclemency of the Weather and we lay pretty Quiet until

*Dec. 5th.*—At 3 o'clock A. M. the Alarm Guns were fired and Troops immediately paraded at their several Alarm posts. The Enemy were approaching with their Whole Strength to give us Battle. Nothing further remarkable ensued this Day—at Night our Troops lay on their Arms—the Baggage being all sent away except what a man might run or fight with.

*Dec. 6th.*—The Enemy forming a Line from

towards our right to the extremity of our left upon an opposite long height to our's in a Wood, Our men were under Arms all Day and this Night also—as our Wise General was determined not to be attack'd Napping.

*Dec. 7th.*—Alarm given. Troops on their several posts. Towards Noon Col. Ch. Webb's Regt were partly surrounded and Attack' on the Right of the Army. They being overpower'd by Numbers—retreated with loss—the brave Capt. Walbridge was wounded in the head—Lieut. Harris kill'd. A scattering fire through to the left soon began & continued a few minutes, till our Piquets run in. The firing soon ceased on the Right & continued on the Left, as tho' a General Attack was meant to begin there—On this supposition the Left were Reinforced. But a scattering fire was kept up by Morgan's Battallion, at Intervals all Day—and concluded with a little skirmish at Sun Set. Our Troops lay on their Arms this night also. Some firing among the Piquets in the night.

*Dec. 8th.*—All at our Several Posts. Provision & Whiskey very scarce. Were Soldiers to have plenty of Food & Rum, I believe they would Storm Tophet. Our Lines were on a long high hill extending about three Miles—all Man'd. An Abettee in front from Right to Left—another in the rear of the Left, with a Cross Abettee near the Extremety. (See the figure.)

Five men from each Regt in Varnum's & Huntington's Brigades as Volunteers joi'd Morgan's Rifle Men to Harass the Enemy, and excite an Attack. Some Regt were ordered to march out if an Attack should begin in earnest. This Afternoon a small Skirmish happen'd near the Enemies lines against our left. Towards Night the Enemy fired some Cannon against our Right, & 2 against our left. Their horse appear'd to be busily moving. In the Evening there were but two spots of fires in the Enemies Camp—One against our Park (or main center); the other against the extremity of our Left, when the evening before they extend from almost Our Right to our Left. At 12 o'clock at Night our Regt with Sixteen more were Ordered to parade immediately before his Excellencies Quarters under Command of Sullivan & Wayne. We were there by One—when Intelligence came that, the Enemy had made a precipitate retreat and were safely got into the City. We were all Chagren'd at this, as we were more willing to Chase them in Rear, than meet such Sulkey Dogs in Front. We were now remanded back with several draughts of Rum in our frozen bellies—which made us so glad we all fell a Sleep in our open huts—nor experienced the Coldness of the Night 'till we found ourselves much stiffened by it in the Morning.

*Dec. 9th.*—We came from within the breast-

works, Where we had been coop'd up four tedious Days—with Cloaths & Boots on Night & Day,—and resumed our old Hutts East of the Breastwork. The rest of the Army Chiefly had their huts within the Lines. We are insensible what we are capable of enduring till we are put to the test. To endure hardships with a good grace we must allway think of the following Maxim:—"Pain succeeds Pleasure, & Pleasure succeeds Pain."

*Dec. 10.*—Lay still.

*Dec. 11.*—At four o'clock the Whole Army were Order'd to March to Sweeds Ford on the River Schuylkill, about 9 miles N. W. of Chesnut hill, and 6 from White Marsh our present Encampment. At sun an hour high the whole were mov'd from the Lines and on their march with baggage. This Night encamped in a Semi Circle nigh the Ford. The Enemy had march'd up the West side of Schuylkill—Potter's Brigade of Pennsylvania Militia were already there—& had several skirmishes with them with some loss on his side and considerable on the Enemies. An English Serj. deserted to us this Day—and inform'd that Webb's Regt. kill'd many of their men on the 7<sup>th</sup>—that he himself took Webb's Serj. Major who was a former Deserter from them, and was to be hanged this day.

I am prodigious Sick & cannot get any thing comfortable—what in the name of Providence can I do with a fit of Sickness in this place where nothing appears pleasing to the Sicken'd Eye & nauseating Stomach. But I doubt not Providence will find out a way for my relief—But I cannot eat Beef if I starve—for my stomach positively refuses such Company, & how can I help that?

*Dec. 12th.*—A Bridge of Waggons made across the Schuylkill last Night consisting of 36 waggons, with a bridge of Rails between each. Some Skirmishing over the River. Militia and dragoons brought into Camp several Prisoners. Sun Set.—We are order'd to march over the River—It snows—I'm Sick—eat nothing—No Whiskey—No Baggage—Lord—Lord—Lord. The Army were 'till Sun Rise crossing the River—some at the Wagon Bridge, & some at the Raft Bridge below. Cold & Uncomfortable.

*Dec. 13th.*—The Army march'd three miles from the West side the River and encamp'd near a place call'd the Gulph and not an improper name neither—For this Gulph seems well adapted by its situation to keep us from the pleasure & enjoyments of this World, or being conversant with any body in it—It is an excellent place to raise the Ideas of a Philosopher beyond the glutted thoughts and Reflexions of an Epicurian. His Reflexions will be as different from the Common Reflexions of Mankind as if he were unconnected with the world, and only conversant with

material beings. It cannot be that our Superiors are about to hold consultation with Spirits infinitely beneath their Order—by bringing us into these utmost regions of the Terraqueous Sphere. No—it is, upon consideration, for many good purposes since we are to Winter here—1<sup>st</sup> There is plenty of Wood & Water. 2<sup>dy</sup> There are but few families for the soldiery to Steal from—tho' far be it from a Soldier to Steal—4<sup>ty</sup> There are warm sides of Hills to erect huts on. 5<sup>ty</sup> They will be heavenly Minded like Jonah when in the belly of a great Fish. 6<sup>ty</sup> They will not become home Sick as is sometimes the Case when Men live in the Open World—since the reflections which must naturally arise from their present habitation, will lead them to the more noble thoughts of employing their leizure hours in filling their knapsacks with such materials as may be necessary on the Journey to another Home.

*Dec. 14th.*—Prisoners & Deserters are continually coming in. The Army who have been surprisingly healthy hitherto—now begin to grow sickly from the continued fatigues they have suffered this Campaign. Yet they still show spirit of Alacrity & Contentment not to be expected from so young Troops. I am Sick—discontented—and out of humour. Poor food—hard lodging—Cold Weather—fatigue—Nasty Cloaths—nasty Cookery—Vomit half my time—snoak'd out of my senses—the Devil's in't—I can't Endure it—Why are we sent here to starve and freeze—What sweet Felicities have I left at home;—A charming Wife—pretty Children—Good Beds—good food—good Cookery—all agreeable—all harmonious. Here, all Confusion—smoke Cold—hunger & filthyness—A pox on my bad luck. Here comes a bowl of beef soup—full of burnt leaves and dirt, sickish enough to make a hector spue,—away with it Boys—I'll live like the Chameleon upon Air. Poh! Poh! crys Patience within me—you talk like a fool. Your being sick Covers your mind with a Melanchollic Gloom, which makes every thing about you appear gloomy. See the poor Soldier, when in health—with what cheerfulness he meets his foes and encounters every hardship—if barefoot—he labours thro' the Mud & Cold with a Song in his mouth extolling War & Washington—if his food be bad—he eats it notwithstanding with seeming content—blesses God for a good Stomach—and Whiles it into digestion. But harkee Patience—a moment—There comes a Soldier—His bare feet are seen thro' his worn out Shoes—his legs nearly naked from the tatter'd remains of an only pair of stockings—his Breeches not sufficient to cover his Nakedness—his Shirt hanging in Strings—his hair dishevell'd—his face meagre—his whole appearance pictures a person forsaken & discouraged. He comes, and crys with an air of wretchedness

& despair—I am Sick—my feet lame—my legs are sore—my body cover'd with this tormenting Itch—my Cloaths are worn out—my Constitution is broken—my former Activity is exhausted by fatigue—hunger & Cold—I fail fast I shall soon be no more! and all the reward I shall get will be—"Poor Will is dead."

People who live at home in Luxury and Ease, quietly possessing their habitations, Enjoying their Wives & families in peace—have but a very faint Idea of the unpleasing sensations, and continual Anxiety the Man endured who is in a Camp, and is the husband & parent of an agreeable family. These same People are willing we should suffer every thing for their Benefit & advantage—and yet are the first to Condemn us for not doing more!!

Dec. 15th. — Quiet.—Eat Pessimens, found myself better for their Lenient Operation. Went to a house, poor & small, but good food within—eat too much from being so long Abstemious, thro' want of palatables. Mankind are never truly thankful for the Benefits of life, until they have experienc'd the want of them. The Man who has seen misery, knows best how to enjoy good. He who is always at ease & has enough of the Blessings of common life is an Impotent Judge of the feelings of the unfortunate.

Dec. 16th. — Cold Rainy Day.—Baggage ordered over the Gulph, of our Division, which were to march at Ten—but the baggage was order'd back and for the first time since we have been here the Tents were pitch'd, to keep the men more comfortable. Good morning Brother Soldier (says one to another) how are you?—All wet, I thank 'e, hope you are so.—(says the other.) The Enemy have been at Chesnut hill Opposite to us near our last encampment the other side Schuylkill—made some Ravages—kill'd two of our Horsemen—taken some prisoners. We have done the like by them.

Dec. 18th. — Universal Thanksgiving—a Roasted Pig at Night. God be thanked for my health which I have pretty well recovered. How much better should I feel, were I assured my family were in health—But the same good Being who graciously preserves me—is able to preserve them—and bring me to the ardently wish'd for enjoyment of them again.

Rank & Precedence make a good deal of disturbance & confusion in the American Army. The Army are poorly supplied with Provision, occasioned it is said by the Neglect of the Commissary of Purchases. Much talk among Officers about discharges. Money has become of too little consequence. The C—ss have not made their Commissions valuable Enough. Heaven avert the bad consequences of these things!!

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up the Bristol Road—and so got out unnoticed. He inform'd—that Cornwallis was embark'd for England—and that some High-landers had gone to N. York for Winter Quarters.

There is nothing to hinder Parties of the like kind above mention'd, continually coming out between Delaware and Schuylkill—and plundering and destroying the Inhabitants.

Our brethren who are unfortunately Prisoners in Philadelphia, meet with the most savage & inhumane treatments—that Barbarians are Capable of inflicting. Our Enemies do not knock them in the head—or burn them with torches to death—or flee them alive—or gradually dismember them till they die—which is customary among Savages & Barbarians—No—they are worse by far—they suffer them to starve—to linger out their lives in extreme hunger. One of these poor unhappy men—drove to the last extreme by the rage of hunger—eat his own fingers up to the first joint from the hand, before he died. Others eat the Clay—the Lime—the Stones—of the Prison Walls. Several who died in the Yard had pieces of Bark, Wood—Clay & Stones in their mouths—which the ravings of hunger had caused them to take in for food in the last Agonies of Life!—"These are thy mercies, O Britain!"

Dec. 21st.—Preparations made for huts. Provision Scarce. Mr. Ellis went homeward—sent a Letter to my Wife. Heartily wish myself at home—my Skin & eyes are almost spoil'd with continual smoke.

A general cry thro' the Camp this Evening among the Soldiers—"No Meat!—No Meat!"—the Distant vales Echo'd back the melancholly sound—"No Meat! No Meat!" Immitating the noise of Crows & Owls, also, made a part of the confused Musick.

What have you for our Dinners Boys? "Nothing but Fire Cake & Water, Sir." At night—"Gentlemen the Supper is ready." What is your Supper, Lads? "Fire Cake & Water, Sir."

Dec. 22d.—Lay excessive Cold & uncomfortable last Night—my eyes are started out from their Orbits like a Rabbit's eyes, occasion'd by a great Cold—and Smoke.

What have you got for Breakfast, Lads? "Fire Cake & Water, Sir." The Lord send that our Commissary of Purchases may live on, Fire Cake & Water, till their gluttony Gutts are turned to Pasteboard.

Our Division are under Marching Orders this morning. I am ashamed to say it, but I am tempted to steal Fowls if I could find them—or even a whole Hog—for I feel as if I could eat one. But the Impoverish'd Country about us, affords but little matter to employ a Thief—or keep a Clever Fellow in good humour—But why do I talk of hunger & hard usage, when so many

in the World have not even fire Cake & Water to eat. The human mind is always poring upon the gloomy side of Fortune—and while it inhabits this lump of Clay, will always be in an uneasy and fluctuating State, produced by a thousand Incidents in common Life, which are deemed misfortunes, while the mind is taken off from the nobler pursuit of matters in Futurity. The sufferings of the Body naturally gain the Attention of the Mind:—and this Attention is more or less strong, in greater or lesser souls—altho' I believe that Ambition & a high Opinion of Fame, makes many People endure hardships and pains with that fortitude we after times Observe them to do. On the other hand, a despicable opinion of the enjoyments of this Life, by a continued series of Misfortunes—and a long acquaintance with Grief—induces others to bare afflictions with becoming serenity and Calmness.

It is not in the power of Philosophy however, to convince a man he may be happy and Contented if he will, with a *Hungry Belly*. Give me Food, Cloaths—Wife & Children, kind Heaven! and I'll be as contented as my Nature will permit me to be.

This Evening a Party with two field pieces were order'd out. At 12 of the Clock at Night, Providence sent us a little Mutton—with which we immediately had some Broth made, & a fine Stomach for same. Ye who Eat Pumpkin Pie and Roast Turkeys—and yet Curse fortune for using you ill—Curse her no more—least she reduce your Allowance of her favours to a bit of Fire Cake, & a draught of Cold Water, & in Cold Weather too.

23<sup>d</sup>.—The Party that went out last evening not Return'd to Day. This evening an excellent Player on the Violin in that soft kind of Musick, which is so finely adapted to stir up the tender Passions, while he was playing in the next Tent to mine, these kind of soft Airs—it immediately called up in remembrance all the endearing expressions—the Tender Sentiments—the sympathetic friendship that has given so much satisfaction and sensible pleasure to me from the first time I gained the heart & affections of the tenderest of the Fair. A thousand agreeable little incidents which have Occurr'd since our happy connection—and which would have pass'd totally unnoticed by such who are strangers to the soft & sincere passion of Love, were now recall'd to my mind, and filled me with these tender emotions, and Agreeable Reflections, which cannot be described—and which in spite of my Philosophy forced out the sympathetic tear—I wish'd to have the Musick Cease—And yet dreaded its ceasing—least I should loose sight of these dear Ideas—which gave me pain and pleasure at the same instant—Ah Heaven why is it that our harder fate so often

deprives us of the enjoyment of what we most wish to enjoy this side of thy brighter realms. There is something in this strong passion of Love far more agreeable than what we can derive from any of the other Passions—and which Duller Souls & Cheerless minds are insensible of, & laugh at—let such fools laugh at me.

*Dec. 24<sup>th</sup>.*—Party of the 22<sup>d</sup> returned. Huts go on Slowly—Cold & Smoke make us fret. But mankind are always fretting, even if they have more than their proportion of the Blessings of Life. We are never Easy—always repining at the Providence of an Allwise & Benevolent Being—Blaming Our Country—or faulting our Friends. But I don't know of any thing that vexes a man's Soul more than hot smoke continually blowing into his Eyes—and when he attempts to avoid it, is met by a cold and piercing Wind.

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*Dec. 25<sup>th</sup>, Christmas.*—We are still in Tents—when we ought to be in huts—the poor Sick, suffer much in Tents this cold Weather—But we now treat them differently from what they used to be at home, under the inspection of Old Women & Doct. Bolus Linctus. We give them Mutton & Grogg—and a Capital Medicine once in a While—to start the Disease from its foundation at once. We avoid—Piddling Pills, Powders, Bolus's Linctus's—Cordials—and all such insignificant matters whose powers are Only render'd important by causing the Patient to vomit up his money instead of his disease. But very few of the sick Men Die.

*Dec. 26<sup>th</sup>.*—Party of the 22<sup>d</sup> not Return'd. The Enemy have been some Days the west Schuykill from Opposite the City to Derby—There intentions not yet known. The City is at present pretty Clear of them—Why don't his Excellency rush in & retake the City, in which he will doubtless find much Plunder?—Because he knows better than to leave his Post and be catch'd like a d—d fool cooped up in the City. He has always acted wisely hitherto—His conduct when closely scrutinised is uncensurable. Were his Inferior Generals as skillfull as himself—we should have the grandest Choir of Officers ever God made. Many Country Gentlemen in the interior parts of the States—who get wrong information of the Affairs & state of our Camp—are very much Surprized at G! Washington's delay to drive off the Enemy—being falsly inform'd that his Army consists of double the Number of the Enemy's—such wrong information serve not to keep up the spirit of the People—as they must be by and by undeceiv'd to there no small disappointment;—it brings blame on his Excellency—who is deserving of the greatest encomiums;—it brings disgrace on the Continental Troops, who have never evidenced the least backwardness in doing their duty—but on the con-

trary, have cheerfully endur'd a long and very fatiguing Campaign. 'Tis true they have fought but little this Campaign; which is not owing to any Unwillingness in Officers or Soldiers—but for want of convenient Opportunities, which have not offer'd themselves this Season; tho' this may be contradicted by many; but Impartial Truth in future History will clear up these points, and reflect lasting honour on the Wisdom & prudence of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Washington. The greatest Number of Continental Troops that have been with his Excell<sup>y</sup> this Campaign, never consisted of more than Eleven thousand;—and the greatest Number of Militia in the field at Once were not more than 2000. Yet these accounts are exaggerated to 50 or 60,000. Howe—by the best, and most authentic Accounts has never had less than 10,000. If then, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Washington, by Opposing little more than an equal Number of young Troops, to Old Veterans has kept his Ground in general—Cooped them up in the City—prevented their making any considerable inroads upon him—Killed and wounded a very considerable number of them in different Skirmishes—and made many proselytes to the Shrine of Liberty by these little successes—and by the prudence—calmness—sedateness—and wisdom with which he facilitates all his Operations. This being the case—and his having not wantonly thrown away the lives of his Soldiers, but reserved them for another Campaign—(if another should Open in the Spring) which is of the utmost consequence—This then cannot be called an Inglorious Campaign. If he had risk'd a General Battle, and should have prov'd unsuccessful—what in the name of heaven would have been our case this Day—Troops are raised with great difficulty in the Southern States—many Regiments from these States do not consist of one hundred men. What then was the grand Southern Army before the N. England Troops joined them and if this Army is Cut off when should we get another as good. General Washington has doubtless considered these matters—and his conduct this Campaign has certainly demonstrated his prudence & Wisdom.

This Evening, cross'd the Schuylkill with Dr. Col<sup>l</sup>—eat plenty of Pessimens which is the most lenient, Sub Acid & Subastrigent fruit, I believe that grows.

Dec. 27<sup>th</sup>.—My horse shod. A Snow. Lodg'd at a Welchman's this Night, return'd to Camp in the morning of 28<sup>th</sup>. Snow'd last Night.

(Concluded in our next.)

NOTE.—The following anecdote is under date of Dec. 21 :

Very poor Beef having been drawn in our Camp the greater part of this season—A Butcher bringing a Quarter of this kind of Beef into Camp one day who had white Buttons on the knee of his breeches—A soldier cries out—There, there, Tom is some more of our fat Beef—by my soul I can see the Butcher's breeches buttons through it."

WILL OF HERNANDO DE SOTO. ADELANTADO OF FLORIDA. 1539.

Found at Seville among the papers in the suit of Isabel de Bobadilla, his widow, against Hernan Ponce de Leon, De Soto's partner.

*In Dei nomine, Amen.* Know ye who shall see this testamentary letter, that I, the Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, being of sound body and in free mind, such as my Redeemer Jesus Christ has been pleased to bestow on me, believing firmly in what believeth and holds the Holy Mother Church, in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one only true God, promising as a faithful Christian, to live and die in his holy Catholic faith, mindful of the blood that Jesus Christ shed for me as the price of my redemption, and endeavoring to repay and satisfy so great benefit, knowing that death is a natural thing, and that the more I shall be prepared for it the better will he be pleased, I declare that I commend my soul to God who created it of nothing, and redeemed it with his most holy passion, that he place it among the number of the elect in his glory, and I order the body to the earth of which it was made.

First, I command, should God take me from this present life on the sea, my corpse be so disposed of that it may be taken to the land wheresoever our Lord shall be pleased it shall come to port, and should a church be there, or should one there be built, that it be deposited in it until such time as there are arrangements for taking it to Spain, to the city of Xerez, near Badajoz, where it be consigned in the church of San Miguel in the sepulchre where lies my mother; and in that church I order that of my goods a site and place be bought where a chapel be built that shall have for its invocation Our Lady of the Conception, in which edifice and work I desire there be expended two thousand ducats, one thousand five hundred in the structures and inclosure, and the five hundred in an altar-piece representing the same Invocation of our Lady of the Conception; and I order that vestments be made, with a chasuble and two dalmatics, and antependium and cope, with three albs, and a chalice of silver, and two other chasubles for daily use, for which I direct be paid of my goods, other three hundred ducats; and I order that the mentioned vestments be of silk, of the color which to the patron and my executors, and to those of the said chapel, shall appear well; and I order that of my goods be bought a perpetual rent of twelve thousand maravedis, in good possession, which shall be given to a chaplain who shall say five masses each week for my soul, the souls of my parents, and that of Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my wife, and he shall be appointed



by the patron of the chapel with the understanding that should there be a clergyman of my race who desires to be chaplain, it be given to him in preference to any other, and that he be the nearest of kin should there be two or more.

Also, I order that if the body of my father, or of my mother be in Badajoz, or in any other part whatsoever, not in that chapel, they be taken out and brought thence and be entombed there where my body shall be, or should be, placed; which is in the midst of the chapel in such manner that the foot of the sepulchre adjoin the foot-stone of the altar, on which I order there to be placed a tomb covered over by a fine black broadcloth, in the middle of which be put a red cross of the Encomiendas of the order of the Knights of Saint Jago that shall be for use on week days, and another pall of black velvet with the same cross in the midst, with four escutcheons of brocade bearing my arms; which escutcheons I wish and order be likewise placed on the chapel, altar-piece, and railing, and vestments, in such manner as to the patron and executors shall appear most becoming.

Also, to the end that this chapel and chaplaincy be kept in appointment and repair, the chapel and the income alike, I order that Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my wife, be the patroness; and, after her, should God give me children, I desire the patron to be my eldest legitimate son, or my eldest legitimate daughter should I have no male child, that they, or either of them, who shall be the patron, may buy the site for and make the said chapel and do all the foregoing appertaining to it, and buy the said twelve thousand maravedis, and appoint the chaplain. And should God not grant me legitimate sons or daughters, I order that after the lifetime of my wife, the patron be Juan Mendez de Soto, my brother, and after his life his eldest son; and if he be without a male child, I order that the successor to that patrimony be the elder son of Catalina de Soto, my sister; and should she have no male child, be the successor thereto the eldest son of Maria de Soto, my sister; and, if it happen of the designated patrons there should be no issue male, I order the patronage to succeed to the next nearest of kin, being always male.

Also, in order that the chapel, and vestments, and rent for the chaplaincy, may always be available, and that in each year on All Saints day a mass be sung, and another on All Souls day, with its vigil and offerings of bread and wine, there shall be a perpetual rent of five thousand maravedis on good possessions to be bought with my goods, and I order that they be used in no other way than for what is expressed.

Also, I order that the day my body be interred, it be followed by the curas and clergy of the parishes with their crosses, and by the orders

there may be in the city aforesaid, and there be paid them what is customary; and I require that each cura with the clergy of their church sing a mass on that day and they be paid what is usual; and I order that on the same day there be thirty masses said for me, and be paid therefor what is customary.

Also, I order that there be said twenty masses of *requiem*, in the said chapel, for the soul of the Captain Compañon, and pay for them what is usual.

Also, that there be twenty masses of our Lady of the Conception, said in the chapel.

Also, I order that ten masses of the Holy Ghost, be said in the chapel.

Also, I order that ten masses be said of All Saints in said chapel.

Also, I order that ten masses be said, five of them of the Passion, and five of the Wounds, in the aforesaid my chapel.

Also, I order that sixty masses be said for souls in purgatory, in my said chapel; all which masses shall be said by whom my executors shall please.

Also, for the fulfilment of these pious uses, I order to each of them one real.

Also, I order to the redemption of captives, two reals.

Also, I order that inasmuch as I gave Isabel de Soto in espousal to Don Carlos Enriquez, and it was understood should be given with her in marriage and for dowry whatever I might think best, I order that of my goods there be given to him three thousand ducats, which are the dowry of marriage of the said Isabel de Soto, my cousin.

I confess to have received in dowry with Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my legitimate wife, seven thousand Castellanos, which, at the time I make this my will, I have received two thousand Castellanos, being within my control, in the House of Contratacion; in Spain are deposited other two thousand; and the remaining three thousand are in the possession of the debtor to whom was sold certain cattle in which the dowry was assigned.

Also, I admit that at the time I married Isabel de Bobadilla I sent her in marriage pledge, six thousand ducats; all which, the seven thousand Castellanos of dowry, as well as the six thousand ducats of *arras*, I order that she have and inherit of my goods, as her undivided property that belong to her of my said estate.

Also, I command that of my goods be given to my nephew Pedro de Soto, five hundred ducats.

Also, I order that to a boy, whom they say . . . . . be given four hundred ducats from my goods.

Also, I order that to a daughter I left in Nica-

ragua, called Doña Maria de Soto, married to . . . . . be given one thousand ducats from my goods.

Also, I order to be given to Alonso Ayala, my mayordomo, from my goods, three hundred ducats.

Also, I order to . . . . . be given, for the good services he has done me, three hundred ducats of my goods; to Castro, my carver, I order fifty ducats from my goods.

Also, I order two thousand ducats for the marriage of the maids of Doña Isabel, who are Maria Arias, and Catalina Ximenes, and Mexia, and Arellano, and Carreño; which will be divided among them by Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my wife, as shall appear well to her, and they shall have served her.

Also, I order to Doña Leonor de Bobadilla, in marriage, one thousand ducats, for the service that she and Niño de Tobar have rendered; of which I desire she have five hundred, and he five hundred, to avoid delicacy or doubts.

Also, I order to Leonor de Bolaños two hundred ducats, for her services.

Also, I acknowledge and declare that I have made a writing of companionship with the Captain Hernan Ponce de Leon, in which are contained many things, as will appear by it, which was executed before Domingo de la (*illegible*) public notary, resident in Lima, and of that city, in the province of Peru, which was amended and reaffirmed with some additions, by another writing made and executed before Francisco Sestero, and Francisco de Alcoer, notaries of His Majesty, in the town of San Christobal, of the Havana, in the Island of Fernandina, named Cuba, which I have present: whence I say and declare that of all the goods that to me belong, or can be mine, of which I have no exact knowledge, I admit that of the whole, one-half I possess, are his; and of all the goods whatsoever he possesses and has, the half are mine, by reason of the partnership and brotherhood that we have formed, as contained in those writings.

Also, I declare that, in the event my body cannot be had for taking to sepulture to Spain, as is set forth, it be no impediment or hindrance to the founding of that chapel and the chaplaincy, aforesaid; but that all be done as in this my will is expressed and declared.

Also, I order that this my will being executed in the manner it sets forth, of the remainder of my goods, be purchased one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis of perpetual rents, in good possessions, which shall be joined with the other one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis of revenues which I have belonging to me of my share in the royal rents of silk, in the city of Granada, which, taken together, amounts to three hundred

thousand maravedis, of which I wish, and order to be made two parts, one, being one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, Doña Isabel de Soto, my wife, to have and enjoy all her lifetime, and the other one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis be employed yearly, in marrying three orphan damsels, daughters of some that be of my line, and to the fifth degree the poorest that can be found; the which shall be employed by Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my wife, in their marriage, on whom I confer all my power complete to that full object, and they whom she shall elect and name, shall be elected and named as though I myself had done so; and if it happen that damsels shall not be found of my lineage to the fifth degree, I wish and order that they be any other damsels, orphans, daughters of nobility, of the poorest there may be in the city of Xeres, near Badajoz, who likewise are to be selected and named by Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my wife; and I order that after her days, the said rent of one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis I leave to her during life, be united to the other hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, being three hundred thousand maravedis of rent employed in the marriage of six damsels yearly, in the same manner as hereinbefore declared of the three, to each of whom shall be given fifty thousand maravedis for their dowry—the half in money, the half in apparel and furniture; and for its better execution, I leave for patrons and administrators of the three hundred thousand maravedis' rent, the very reverend fathers, the prior, or president, of the Convent of Santo Domingo, of the city of Badajoz, and the minister of the Convent of the Santissima Trinidad, of that city, and the prior of Santo Agustin, of that city, and of the guardian of San Francisco, which is within that city, who now are or shall be, to whom I give my complete power to that end, and I order that the persons whom they name and designate, stand named and designated as if by me; and I entreat them as favor, and charge their consciences, that it be done with all diligence, for it is in the service of Our Lord mindful of all in the foregoing contained in this that they be all six damsels of nobility of my line the nearest of kin and to the fifth degree, and should there be no relatives of my line within this grade, I desire they be daughters of nobility, orphan damsels, the poorest there are in the city of Xeres of Badajoz, and should there be no orphans that are of the poorest, I give them the full power I have and possess, and of right belonging to me, to receive the said three hundred thousand maravedis, and have an administrator that they may be collected, to whom shall be paid such salary for his trouble as they shall deem just; and, that there may be memory of this, I desire that each of these reverend fathers have one thou-

sand maravedis of alms which, with what will have to be given the administrator, shall be taken from the said three hundred thousand maravedis.

And I order, to make compliance with and protect this my will, and behests in it contained, I leave as my executors, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, my wife, Captain Hernan Ponce de Leon, Juan Mendez de Soto, my brother, and Gutierrez Garay de Cardenosa, and in default of him, his son Hernan Gutierrez Cardenosa, to whom and to each I give *in solidum* all my complete power, with general administration and with all its incidences and dependences and accidents, annexes and connexes. So much, in such case as may be requisite, that without authority of judge, or superior, but of their own inherent, they may enter upon those my said goods and take of them all that may be necessary and sell them at public outcry, or otherwise at very low, or at bad price, to comply with all the requirements of this my will according as they are therein contained, discharging them conformably to law.

Made in the town of San Christobal of the Havana, on the tenth day of the month of May, in the year of the birth of Our Redeemer Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine.

EL ADELANTADO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

All in this will contained is correct, and was set forth in the presence of Señor Fray Juan de Gallegos, and Señor Fray Francisco de la Rocha.

FRAY JUAN DE GALLEGOS,  
FRAY FRANCISCO DE LA ROCHA.

Besides this, and over what is set forth, I order that all the debts that it shall appear at any time I owe by information or truth spoken, be paid from my goods; and inasmuch as I caused some soldiers to be quartered of my armament in the city of Santiago, and the other towns of this Island, the inhabitants of which gave them subsistence, if any thing, because of this should be asked, let there be paid of my goods whatsoever shall appear I am indebted in this behalf.

Made on the said day of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine years.

EL ADELANTADO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

Witnesses:

FR. JUAN DE GALLEGOS,  
FR. FRANCISCO DE ROCHA.

## CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE BEFORE COLUMBUS.

MAUNDEVILLE'S TRAVELS.

EDITOR HIST. MAG.: I think it would be a pleasure to your readers, if you were to insert in the *Magazine* some reference to America and to the circumnavigation of the earth, made centuries before the voyage of Columbus. They will prepare us for whatever strange evidences of Europeans and Asiatics having visited this continent in remote times may cast up. With this view I send "Maundeville's Travels," a book exceedingly popular, before the age of printing, and of which more copies (of the 14th century) are to be found in different languages, than of any other except the Bible. Like Marco Paulo, Herodotus, and most old writers, he inserts many foolish stories; but they do not in the least affect his veracity about what he saw, and not at all the extract I would wish you to make, viz.: the whole of the seventeenth chapter, or nearly the whole. Irving, in his life of Columbus, says the Great Admiral was well acquainted with this book, and you can judge with what interest he perused and reperused this chapter. I think Mr. Irving never saw the work, since he has not noticed this remarkable part of it. E.

### CAP. XVII.

*Of the evylle Customs used in the Yle of Lamary: and how the Erthe and the See ben of round Forme and schapp, be pref of the Sterre, that is clept Antartyk, that is fix in the Southe.*

Fro that Contree go men be the See Ocean, and be many dyverse Yles, and be many Contrees, that were to longe for to telle of. And a 52 jorneyes fro this Lond, that I have spoken of, there is another Lond, that is fulle gret, that men clepen Lamary. In that Lond is fulle gret Hete: and the Custom there is such, that men and women gon alle naked. And thei scornen, when thei seen ony strange Folk goynge clothed. And thei seyn, that God made Adam and Eve alle naked: and that no man scholde schame, that is of kyndely nature. And thei seyn, that thei that ben clothed, ben folk of another World, or thei ben folk, that trowen not in God. And thei seyn, that thei beleeven in God, that formede the World, and that made Adam and Eve, and alle other thinges.

\* \* \* \* \*

But in that Contree, there is a cursed Custom: for thei eten more gladly mannes Flesche, than ony other Flesche: and zit is that Contree habundant of Flesche, of Fische, of Cornes, of Gold and Sylver, and of alle other Godes. Thidre gon Marchauntes, and bryngen with hem Children, to selle to hem of the Contree, and thei

byzen hem: and zif thei ben fatte, thei eten hem anon; and zif thei ben lene, thei feden hem, till thei ben fatte, and thanne thei eten hem: and thei seyn, that it is the best Flesche and the swetest of alle the World. In that Lond, ne in many other bezoude that, no man may see the Sterre transmontane, that is clept the Sterre of the See, that is unmevable, and that is toward the Northe, that we clepen the Lode Sterre. But men seen another Sterre, the contrarie to him, that is toward the Southe, that is clept Antartyk. And right as the Schip men taken here Avys here, and governe hem be the Lode Sterre, right so don Schip men bezond the parties, be the Sterre of the Southe, the which Sterre apperethe not to us. And this Sterre, that is toward the Northe, that we clepen the Lode Sterre, ne apperethe not to hem. For whiche cause, men may wel perceyve, that the Lond and the See ben of rownde schapp and forme. For the partie of the Firmament schewethe in o Contree, that schewethe not in another Contree. And men may well preven be experience and stoyle compassement of Wytt, that zif a man fond passages be Schippes, that would go to serchen the World, men myghte go be Schippe alle aboute the World, and aboven and benethen. The whiche thing I prove thus, afre that I have seyn. For I have been toward the parties of Braban, and beholden the Astrolabre\* that the Sterre that is clept the Transmontayne, is 53 Degrees highe. And more forthere in Almayne and Bewmet† it hathe 58 Degrees. And more forthe toward the parties septentrioneles, it is 62 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Mynutes. For I my self have mesured it by the Astrolabre. Now schulle ze knowe, that azen the Transmontayne, is the tother Sterre, that is clept Antartyke; as I have seyd before. And tho 2 Sterres ne meeven nevere. And be hem turnethe alle the Firmament, righte as dothe a Wheel, that turnethe be his Axille Tree: so that tho Sterres beren the Firmament in 2 egalle parties: so that it hathe als mochel aboven, as it hathe benethen. Afre this, I have gon toward the parties meridionales, that is toward the Southe: and I have founden, that in Libye, men seen first the Sterre Antartyk. And so fer I have gon more forthe in tho Contrees, that I have founde that Sterre more highe; so that toward the highe Lybye, it is 18 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Minutes (of the whiche, 60 Minutes maken a Degree). Afre goynge be See and be Londe, toward this Contree, of that I have spoke, and to other Ysles and Londes bezonde that Contree, I have founden the Sterre Antartyk of 33 Degrees of heghte, and no mynutes. And zif I hadde had

Companye and Schippyng, for to go more bezonde, I trowe wel in certeyn, that wee scholde have seen alle the roundnesse of the Firmament alle aboute. For as I have seyd zou be for, the half of the Firmament is betwene tho 2 Sterres: the whiche halfondelle I have seyn. And of the tother halfondelle, I have seyn toward the Northe, undre the Transmontane 62 Degrees and 10 Mynutes; and toward the partie meridionale, I have seen undre the Antartyk 33 Degrees and 16 Mynutes: and thanne the halfondelle of the Firmament in alle, ne holdethe not but 180 Degrees. And of the 18, I have seen 62 on that o part, and 33 on that other part, that ben 95 Degrees, and nyghe the halfondelle of a Degree; and so there ne faylethe but that I have seen alle the Firmament, saf 84 Degrees and the halfondelle of a Degree; and that is not the fourthe part of the Firname. For the 4 partie of the roundnesse of the Firmament holt 90 degrees: so there faylethe but 5 Degrees and an half, of the fourthe partie. And also I have seen the 3 parties of alle the roundnesse of the Firmament, and more zit 5 Degrees and an half. Be the whiche I seye zou certeynly, that men may envirowne alle the Erthe of alle the World, as well undre as aboven, and turnen azen to his Contree, that hadde Companye and Schippyng and Conduyt: and alle weyes he scholde fynde Men, Londes, and Yles, als wel as in this Contree. For zee wyten welle, that thei that ben toward the Antartyk, thei ben streghte, feet azen feet of hem, that dwellen undre the transmontane; als wel as wee and thei that dwellyn undre us, ben feet azen feet. For alle the parties of See and of Lond han here opposites, habitables or trepassables, and thei of this half and bezond half. And wytethe wel, that afre that, that I may perceyve and comprehende, the Londes of Prestre John, Emperour of Ynde, ben undre us. For in goynge from Scotland or from England toward Jerusalem, men gon upward always. For oure Lond is in the lowe partie of the Erthe, toward the West: and the Lond of Prestre John is the lowe partie of the Erthe, toward the Est: ond thei han there the day, whan wee have the nyghte, and also highe to the contrarie, thei han the nyghte, whan wee han the Day. For the Erthe and the See ben of round forme and schapp, as I have seyd befor. And that that men gon upward to a Cost, men gon downward to another Cost. Also zes have herd me seye,\* that Jerusalem is in the myddes of the World; and that may men preven and schewen there, be a Spere, that is pighte in to the Erthe, upon the hour of mydday, whan it is Equenoxium, that schewethe no schad we on no syde. And that it scholde ben in the myddes of the World David wytnessethe it in the Psautre,

\* In our author's time, astronomers had attained but very little accuracy in taking observations.

† Bohemia.

\* Page 79.

where he seythe, *Deus operatus est salute in medio Terre*.\* Thanne thei that parten fro the parties of the West, for to go toward Jerusalem, als many iorneyes as thei gon upward for to go thidre, in als many iorneyes may thei gon fro Jerusalem, unto other Confynnes of the Superficialtie of the Erthe bezonde. And whan men gon bezonde tho iorneyes, toward Ynde and to the foreign Ysles, alle is envyrnyng the roundnesse of the Erthe and of the See, undre oure Contrees on this half. And therefore hathe it befallen many tymes of o thing, that I have herd cownted, whan I was zong; how a worthli man departed somtyme from oure Contrees, for to go sereche the World. And so he passed Ynde, and the Ysles bezonde Ynde, where ben mo than 5000 Yles: and so longe he went be See and Lond, and so enviroind the World be many seyns, that he fond an Yle, where he herde speke his owne Langage, callinge on Oxen in the Plowghe, suche Wordes as men speken to Bestes in his owne Contree: whereof he hadde gret Mervayle: for he knewe not how it myghte be. But I seye, that he had gone so longe, be Londe and be See, that he had enviroind alle the Erthe, that he was comen azen enviroynunge, that is to seye, goynge abonte, unto his owne Marches, zif he wolde have passed forthe, til he had founden his Contree and his owne knouleche. But he turned azen from theus, from whens he was come fro: and so he loste moche peynefulle labour, as him self seyde, a gret while afre, that he was comen hom. For it befelle afre, that he wente in to Norweye; and there Tempest of the See toke him; and he arryved in an Yle; and whan he was in that Yle, he knew wel, that it was the Yle, where he had herd speke his owne Language before, and the callinge of the Oxen at the Plowghe: and that was possible thinge. But how it seemeth to symple men unlearned, that men ne mowe not go undre the Erthe, and also that men scholde falle toward the Hevene, from undre! But that may not be upon lesse, than wee mowe falle toward Hevene, fro the Erthe, where wee ben. For fro what partie of the Erthe, that men duelle, outhr aboven or benethen, it seemeth always to hem that duellen, that thei gon more righte than ony other folk. And righte as it seemeth to us, that thei ben undre us, righte so it seemeth hem, that wee ben undre hem. For zif a man myghte falle fro the Erthe unto the Firmament; be getterre resoun, the Erthe and the See, that ben so grete and so hevy, scholde fallen to the Firmament: but that may not be: and therefore seithe oure Lord God, *Non timeas me, qui suspendi Terra ex nichilo* † And alle be it that it be possible thing, that men may so envyroune alle the World, natheles of a 1000 persones, on ne myghte not happen to return-

en in to his Contree. For, for the gretnesse of the Erthe and of the See, men may go be a 1000 and a 1000 other weyes, that no man cowde redye him perfityly toward the parties that he cam fro, but zif it were be aventure and happ, or be the grace of God. For the Erthe is fulle large and fulle gret, and holt in roundnesse and aboute envyroun, be aboven and benethen 20425 Myles, afre the opynyoun of the olde wise Astronomeres. And here Seyenges I repreve noughte. But afre my lytyle wytt, it seemeth me, savynge here reverence, that it is more. And for to have bettere understondyege, I seye thus, Be ther ymagyned a Figure, that hathe a gret Compas; and aboute the poynt of the gret Compas, that is clept the Centre, be made another litte Compas: than afre, be the gret Compas devised be Lines in manye parties; and that alle the Lynes meeten at the Centre; so that in as many parties, as the gret Compas schal be departed, in als manye schalle be departed the litille, that is about the Centre, alle be it that the spaces ben lesse. Now thanne, be the gret compas represented for the firmament, and the litille compas represented for the Erthe. Now thanne the Firmament is devysed be Astronomeres, in 12 Signes; and every Signe is devysed in 30 Degrees, that is 360 Degrees, that the Firmament hathe aboven. Also, be the Erthe devysed in als many parties, as the Firmament; and lat every partye answer to a Degree of the Firmament: and wytethe it wel, that afre the Auctores of Astronomye, 700 Furlonges of Erthe answeren to a Degree of the Firmament; and tho ben 87 Miles and 4 Furlonges. Now be that here multiplyed by 360 sithes; and than thei ben 31500 Myles, every of 8 Furlonges, afre Myles of oure Contree. So moche hathe the Erthe in roundnesse, and of heghte envyroun, afre myn opynyoun and myn undirstondynge. And zee schulle undirstonde, that afre the opynyoun of olde wise Philosophres and Astronomeres, oure Contree ne Irelond ne Wales ne Scotland ne Norweye ne the other Yles costynge to hem, ne ben not in the superficialte cowntee aboven the Erthe: as it scheweth be all the Bokes of Astronomye. For the Superficialtee of the Erthe is departed in 7 parties, for the 7 Planetes: and tho parties ben clept Clymates. And our parties be not of the 7 Clymates: for thei ben descendencye toward the West. And also these Yles of Ynde, which beth evene azenst us, beth nocht reckned in the Clymates: for thei ben azenst us, that ben in the lowe Contree. And the 7 Clymates strechen hem envyrounyng the World.\*

\* The extract above given is taken from Halliwell's edition, London, 1839. Maundeville was an English physician, who died at Liege, Nov. 17, 1371: more than a century before the voyage of Columbus. The reader will observe that the *z* is put for *g* and *y*.

\* Psalm lxxiv. 12.

† Job xxvii. 7.

## THE WOODHULL DISCUSSION.

WE intend to reprint from the *Home Journal* of February 12, 1848, and subsequent dates, a correspondence on the death of General Woodhull, between James Fennimore Cooper, Lorenzo Sabine, Henry Onderdonk, Jr., and H. C. Van Schaack. Mr. W. J. Davis, who preserved them at the time, has furnished us the series, and they are, we think, worthy of being placed in an accessible form.

## I. Letter of Mr. Cooper.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—At page 264 of Sabine's "American Loyalists" is the following paragraph:

"His treatment of Gen. Nathaniel Woodhull, an estimable whig of New York, who became his prisoner in 1776, should never be forgotten. *There seems no room to doubt*, that when that unfortunate gentleman surrendered his sword to De Lancey, he stipulated for, and was promised protection; but that his royalist countryman basely struck him, and permitted his men to cut and hack him at pleasure."

The De Lancey alluded to here, was Oliver, the son of Oliver, who was the second son of Stephen, the Huguenot. This Oliver De Lancey, was educated in Europe; put early in the 17th Light Dragoons; was a captain at the commencement of the Revolution; became a major in 1776; a lieutenant-colonel a year or two later, and succeeded André as adjutant-general of the British army in America. On his return to Europe, he was made deputy-adjutant-general of England. As a major-general he got the colonelcy of the 17th Light Dragoons; was subsequently made barrack-master-general of the British Empire; rose through the grade of lieutenant-general to that of general, and died some six or eight and twenty years since, nearly at the head of the English Army List.

The imputation of Mr. Sabine, ought not to rest on a man who ran such a career, unless merited. I have no means of learning this writer's authority, but I much question if it be any better than that I now quote in contradiction of his statements. Mr. Thompson, the historian of Long Island, was related to Gen. Woodhull, lives among the connections of his family, and near the scene of the event itself. At p. 411, vol. ii., of Thompson's "Long Island," is the following paragraph, article—"Woodhull," viz.: "The General (Woodhull) on being discovered, gave up his sword in token of surrender. The ruffian who first approached him (said to be Major Baird of the 71st), as reported, ordered him to say, 'God save the king; the General replied 'God save us all,' on which he most cowardly and cruelly assailed the General with his broad sword, and would have killed him on the spot, if it had not been for the

interference of an officer of more honor and humanity (said to have been Major De Lancey, of the Dragoons), who arrested his savage violence."

It furnishes some reason for distrusting Mr. Sabine's sources of information, that he has certainly fallen into numberless errors throughout his work. Among the De Lanceys introduced there is great confusion. The James De Lancey mentioned at p. 246, is confounded throughout the article with his cousin of the same name. He wishes to describe James, the son of the James who died at the head of the government of the colony in 1760, by Anne, daughter of Col. Heathcote; but, in a large portion of his article, does, in fact, describe James, the son of Peter, of West Chester, by Elizabeth, daughter of Lt.-gov. Cadwallader Colden. James, the son of James, the person intended to be described, held no situation in the army during the War of '76; neither lived or died in Nova Scotia, and had a wife whose name was Margaret, and not Martha. This James De Lancey went to England early in the struggle, and lived and died at Bath.

The same confusion exists in Mr. Sabine's account of his two Olivers De Lancey. They were father and son, and both general officers. Mr. Sabine says that the father went to England, got a seat in parliament, and died in 1788. He is of opinion that Mr. Van Schaack alludes to this gentleman where he speaks of an old friend who declared that Beverly should "hold his bones." Now, Gen. De Lancey, the father, died in command on Long Island, about the middle of the war, and was buried in the family vault in Trinity Church. The person who was desirous of leaving his bones at Beverly, in Yorkshire, has, most probably, been some descendant of the ancient family of Beverly, which migrated to Virginia nearly two centuries since, and has diffused its blood as well as its name over so many southern families. The Beverly Robinsons of New York, were of this connection; and one of that family may have wished to die at Beverly.

It is a fact worth mentioning, that the memorable seat of the Beverlys, at Beverly, in Yorkshire, after an alienation of more than a century, has returned to the old stock, one of the Virginia Beverlys having purchased it, and dwelling there at this hour. But, between the De Lanceys and the Beverlys, there was no connection, and there was no motive why General De Lancey should wish to "leave his bones there." Gen. De Lancey, the father, was not in Parliament, as stated by Mr. Sabine, though his son was; nor could the father be "considered as belonging to the Council," in 1782, having been dead several years.

Mr. Sabine makes a daughter of Lt.-gov. Jas. De Lancey marry Sir William Draper, so well

known for his controversy with Junius. Sir William married Susan, daughter of Oliver De Lancey, Senior, and the sister of the person whom he supposed to have permitted the outrages on Gen. Woodhull.

Oliver De Lancey belonged to the middle, or Bloomingdale branch of his family, which is now extinct in the male line; its last man having been killed at Waterloo, in the person of Sir Wm. H. De Lancey, the quarter-master-general of Wellington's army. There is no very near relative in this country to defend the memory of the accused; though a daughter is living in England. Still justice should be done, and, in the interest of truth, I have written this communication. I complain not of the temper of Mr. Sabine's book, which is sufficiently liberal and well-intentioned. Its fault, in my opinion, is in attempting that which, in the nature of things, it would almost exceed the means of any man to do with entire accuracy. Nevertheless, Mr. Sabine has collected much curious information that is true; and the great difficulty in his case, will be, as I apprehend is usual with historians, to winnow the kernel from the chaff. Yours, truly,

J. FENNIMORE COOPER.

Feb. 12, 1848.

## II. *Van Schaack's Reply to Mr. Cooper.*

MANLIUS, Feb. 22, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: I have read a communication from Mr. J. Fennimore Cooper, published in a recent number of the *Home Journal*, containing some strictures on Mr. Sabine's work in regard to the "American Loyalists," and correcting a very important misstatement made by the author with respect to one of the De Lanceys. The very liberal character of Mr. Sabine's contributions to the *North American Review*, and of the historical essay from his pen prefixed to "The American Loyalists," are a sufficient guaranty that no *intentional* misstatements have been made by him; nor do I understand Mr. Cooper to impute any thing of the kind, although some of his strictures are calculated to discredit (more than Mr. Cooper intended) the general character of the work referred to. I am satisfied that it would be a very acceptable service to Mr. S., if others would, like Mr. Cooper, point out any errors (and there are doubtless many) in the work referred to, not only with a view to their correction in a future edition, but to that justice which I am very sensible Mr. Sabine is anxious to render to the memory of individuals now in their graves; and I doubt not, Gentlemen, that the pages of the *Home Journal* will be cheerfully opened to such contributions.

Mr. Sabine is doubtless in an error, in supposing that a remark contained in the correspond-

ence of Peter Van Schaack to which he alludes, has reference to Oliver De Lancey; and his inference from it that General De Lancey died in England in 1785, is therefore not supported. The quotation he makes is contained in a letter written, not by, but to, Mr. Van Schaack, after his return from England, by Mr. John Watts, dated London, 25th Dec., 1785: "Our old friend has at length taken his departure from Beverly, which he said should hold his bones; he went off without a pain or struggle—his body wasted to a skeleton, his mind the same. The family are most of them collected in town. There will scarcely be a village in England" (says Mr. Watts) "without some American dust in it, I believe, by the time we are all at rest."—(*Life of P. V. S.*, p. 411.)

Mr. Watts here doubtless refers to Colonel *Beverly Robinson, the elder*; the same individual whom Mr. Van Schaack alluded to in his usual classical style, in a letter from London, to his brother in America, dated Nov. 19, 1783: "Our old friend, Col. B. R., sent for me the other day. He lives in a little box some miles out of town, in the plainest manner possible. I found him very unwell: what a reverse! But, like the ancient temples of the gods, he is venerable even in ruins. He is much noticed by the neighbors; and that cheerfulness which reigned in the family of old, still continues in a great degree. I am happy in showing him marks of attention, on account of the old connection our family has had with him."—(*Life of P. V. S.*, p. 647.)

Mr. Cooper again errs, in supposing that Brigadier-general De Lancey died "several years previous to 1782." A letter is before me, written by him 28th Nov., 1781. Another letter written to my uncle, then in New York, and on intimate terms with General De Lancey, by Goldsbro' Banyar, dated Redhook, June 8, 1782, contains this paragraph: "You often see General De Lancey. Tell him I exist, and so long, shall cherish the same attachment to him, and my other friends. Early impressions are rarely effaced or lessened by the vicissitudes of life, and years serve as so many rivets to these, as well as to our opinions."

All these individuals,—Beverly Robinson, John Watts, Oliver De Lancey, and Goldsbro' Banyar,\* were leading men of business in the province of New York for many years antecedent to the Revolution, and men of high character for benevolence, pure-mindedness, and integrity. Lineal descendants of the two former, are now among our most respectable citizens.

\* Mr. Banyar was deputy-secretary of the Colony of New York; and was long a resident of Albany, where he died. His only son married the daughter of Gov. Jay, and died without issue. Mrs. B., the younger, still survives.—Eds.

Great credit is due to Mr. Sabine for the immense labor performed by him in the preparation of his work. One serious objection to it, is its want of fulness in individual cases; and which, for lack of materials, could only have been avoided by entirely omitting any notice of persons to whom it was not in his power to do ample justice.

In his notice of Oliver De Lancey, Mr. Sabine has omitted to mention the destruction of that gentleman's mansion at Bloomingdale, and the rude treatment of its inmates (females) by a small party of the "American advanced water-guard," who (as appears by Governor Clinton's letter to the council of safety), in the latter part of November, 1777, "slipped down in a dark night, passed the enemy's shipping, and burnt General De Lancey's house."

The council of safety severely condemned this act, as is shown by their answer to the governor's letter: "The information which we received, as well in your Excellency's last letter, as by other channels, of the burning of General De Lancey's house, gave this council great uneasiness. We think this a most unequal method of waging war with the enemy, because neither we nor they can possibly destroy any but what are properly our own houses; and we fear that so conspicuous an example as the destruction of Mr. De Lancey's mansion-house, will be most industriously followed by the enemy, to the ruin of many of the good subjects of this State. For those reasons, sir, we must earnestly entreat your utmost exertions to put a stop to practices, on our part, which may be attended with the most destructive retaliations by the enemy."

I am very respectfully yours,

H. C. VAN SCHLAACK.

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## Societies and their Proceedings.

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### MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, March 6, 1861.*—The monthly meeting of this Society was held on the afternoon of the above date at their room, No. 13 Bromfield-street, the President, Dr. Winslow, in the chair. The Librarian, John H. Sheppard, reported that 60 bound volumes, 160 pamphlets, 42 newspapers, and 11 manuscripts had been presented to the library the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. J. W. Dean, reported that letters accepting membership, had been received from General Asa Howland, of Conway, Mass., and George E. Allen, of West

Newton, Mass., as resident members; Rev. Henry Miles, of Florence, Italy, and Edward Burgess, of Poughkeepsie, New York, as corresponding members.

The Historiographer, Dr. Palmer, read biographical memoirs of Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, N. J., a corresponding member of the Society, who died on the 4th February last, aged 58, and Dr. John Wakefield Francis, of New York, also a corresponding member, who died 8th of February last, aged 71 years.

John H. Sheppard, Esq., the Librarian, read an eloquent and highly interesting memoir of Commodore Samuel Tucker, a naval hero in the Revolutionary War. The following is a brief abstract of the paper.

"Of those heroic men who were distinguished in the American Revolution, the characters of far the greater part have been depicted by able pens. Monuments have been erected, biographies written, and the elegant historian, like Bancroft, has adorned their memories with unfading wreaths. Even at this very day thirty millions of free and happy people feel their hearts burn with patriotism and delight at the unrivalled success of the eloquent Everett in redeeming, separating, and consecrating, as a holy place of remembrance, that beautiful spot on the banks of the Potomac, where the Father of his Country lived and died.

"But there is one of no mean rank in the day of the struggle—a pioneer of our infant navy—who took more prizes, fought more sea-fights, and gained more victories than, with a few exceptions, any naval hero of the age. And yet he lies in a rustic cemetery, where the place is but little known, with only a frail slab of slate to preserve his very name, while his exploits are almost forgotten amidst the splendor of a national prosperity which he helped to achieve.

"Who is Com. Tucker?" was lately asked by a scholar and one of the *élite* in the Athens of our country; so little is known of him by the present generation. And yet, he was a very remarkable man in the War of the Revolution. 'His biography,' said the late Pres. John Adams to the Hon. Benj. W. Crowninshield, secretary of the navy, in a letter of Jan. 18, 1818, 'would make a conspicuous figure even at this day in the naval annals of the United States.'

Mr. S. then proceeded to give a brief outline of his life:

Samuel Tucker was born at Marblehead, November 1, 1747; he was the third child of Andrew and Mary Tucker, who had eight children. His parents were emigrants from Dundee, in Scotland. They paid great attention to his education, and wished to have sent him to college; but his whole soul was bent on the sea, and at eleven years of age he ran away and enlisted on



board of an English war-ship, the Royal George, where he served several years, and acquired much knowledge of signals. At seventeen he was second mate of a merchantman—at twenty-one commanded a ship—and soon after married. His adventures and escape from England at the breaking out of war—his preservation of the ship and cargo of Robt. Morris, Esq., the great financier—his receiving a commission as captain in the navy from General Washington, among the earliest officers, and his great success at sea, were all set forth.

In March 15, 1777, he was appointed commander of the frigate Boston, and in February, 1778, he was ordered to take out the Hon. John Adams, whose son John Quincy, accompanied him, as envoy to France. Mr. S. described the voyage, the capture of the Marthia, and the storms which they experienced.

Com. Tucker returned home in October, 1778, and took several prizes on the way. That year and the two following, he made several cruises, and made a great many captures, and some of them after a sharp and bloody conflict. In September, 1780, the Boston was ordered to join Com. Whipple's squadron for the defence of Charleston, S. C., which was finally taken, and the little squadron captured; yet Tucker rendered some valuable and essential services in this siege. On his return to Boston in June, 1781, after he was exchanged, he took command of the "Thorn"—one of his captures the year before—and in her took a great many prizes, and had some bloody battles. At the close of the war he was thanked by Congress for his services. Com. Tucker lived six years in Fleet-street, Boston—thence dwelt till 1792, in Marblehead, from which he removed to Bristol, Me., and died March 10, 1833.

The following extract describes the storm on his voyage in the Boston to France:

"The scene at this time on board his ship must have been terrific. In the noon of night, in the 'dead of darkness,' to borrow the awful image of Prospero in the Tempest, the rush of the billows, the rage and foam of the Atlantic, the rattling of ropes and creaking of timbers and spars, the dread roar of the angry winds, the glaring sheets of fire at times flashing over sea and sky, the sight of three wounded men and the fall of others by a stroke of lightning, the tall masts trembling beneath the blast, and to all this the dismal echo from the pump that there was water in the hold, were enough to appall the boldest veteran that ever faced the cannon's mouth in battle. Well might the captain in his distress, alarmed for his distinguished charge and anxious crew, while before him was darkness, and around him was a furious storm of rain and thunder and lightning, threatening every moment to sink him and them

—well might he under such a mass of sea-sorrows pour forth that short and simple prayer from his heart, which stands recorded in the journal of that day: 'May God protect us and carry us through our various troubles.' Gladly must every serious mind contemplate such a precious fragment of faith, uttered by one of the noblest commanders in the Revolutionary War.

"Yet, when we gaze at this awful picture, and summon up the scene to our view through a long vista of eighty years—as we sit by our cheerful firesides in this happy land, there seemed to be a moral grandeur and sublimity in his position. We see the dark outline of his stalwart form on the deck of the frigate, which he had trod without rest for hours, at spells illumined by the blaze of lightning, erect and commanding, and hear him issue his orders to the intrepid seamen with a voice rising above the tempest. He alone is calm and collected, *curisque ingentibus æger*; concealing his deep anxieties, he is peering through the black clouds after some ray of light, and comforting his brave companions with the hope of safety; while near him stands the sturdy patriot of Braintree, ready to cry aloud, this storm is the hand of God to shield us from our enemy."

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Sheppard for his interesting paper, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for its archives.

After transacting some private business, the meeting was dissolved.

April 3.—At a regular quarterly meeting of this Society, Wednesday afternoon, the following gentlemen were admitted to membership: Louis A. Surette, Concord; Abram E. Cutter, Charlestown; Wellington L. G. Hunt, Boston, and Bradford Kingman, Brookline, resident members; and Benjamin Horn, Troy, N. Y.; Israel Rapp, Philadelphia, and Jarvis M. Hatch, corresponding members. Dr. Palmer, the biographer, read biographical sketches of Lemuel Shaw and Daniel Appleton White, honorary members of the Society, who died March 30.

An exceedingly interesting paper on the Life and Literary Labors of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, was read by E. R. Humphreys, LL. D., of Cambridge.

#### NEW YORK.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, April 3, 1861.*—The regular meeting of this Society was held at its rooms in Second Avenue, on the above date, the President in the chair. The hall was crowded. The receipt from Commodore Levy of an autograph letter of General

Greene, written in 1781, was acknowledged. Also from Mr. Holcomb, two quill pens used by Humboldt in the composition of *Cosmos*. A portrait of Col. Rutgers, a well-known New York patriot of the Revolution, was also presented.

The Librarian announced that the jewelry of the Abbott Collection had been placed in the library hall, and in another case some of the rarities belonging to the Society—Eliot's Bible, Gen. Gates' commission, a volume of Bradford's *Gazette*, the first paper printed in New York, a copy of the Boston *News-Letter*, and a Dutch proclamation for thanksgiving, in 1674.

After the nomination of new members, the Librarian, Geo. H. Moore, Esq., read, instead of the usual paper, a sketch of Gouverneur Morris, by the late Dr. Francis, completed during his last illness, and addressed to Henry B. Dawson. It was in the happiest style of Dr. Francis, being an eloquent and appreciative picture of one of the most distinguished and able men of the era of the Revolution.

The Rev. Dr. Osgood reported, from the Executive Committee, resolutions on the death of Dr. Francis, prefaced by the following memorial from the pen of Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq.:

"One of the most efficient members, liberal donors, and eloquent advocates of the New York Historical Society is no more. Born on the 17th of November, 1789, in this, the city he so loved, and whose annals he so ably illustrated—prepared for college by two accomplished graduates of Dublin University, his father, an intelligent and honest emigrant from Germany, and his mother, a Philadelphia lady of Swiss extraction, John Wakefield Francis, received the degree of A. B. from Columbia College, in 1809, and of M. D., in 1811. During his student life he established the *American Medical and Philosophical Register*—for four years a valuable repository of science and biography; long the partner of the celebrated Dr. Hosack, and the first individual who received a degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons—at the very outset of his professional career, he became identified with the educational system and the scientific journalism of the country. In 1814, he was appointed lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine in the College of Physicians and Surgeons; and when that institution was merged in the medical department of Columbia College, he was called to the chair of *Materia Medica*; and, with characteristic liberality, declined all fees for the first course of lectures, in order to spare the then inadequate treasury of the college. In order to complete his professional education, he soon visited Europe, and enjoyed the instruction, the society, and in several instances the warm friendship, of the prominent

scientific men of the Old World,—including Cuvier, Denon, and Gall, in Paris; Gregory, Playfair, Bell, and Brewster, in Edinburgh; and Rees and Abernethy in London—he contributed to the former's *Encyclopedia* on American topics, and was offered a partnership in medical practice, by the latter. Upon his return to New York, Dr. Francis was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine. Having filled these various and responsible situations with signal ability, and the great pleasure and satisfaction of the Faculty and students, Dr. Francis resigned them successively, and devoted himself thenceforth to the practice of his profession, wherein, for half a century, he exercised a remarkable and benign influence; and endeared himself to countless families among us and to more than one generation. In 1822, in conjunction with Drs. Beck and Dyckman, he edited the *New York Medical and Surgical Journal*. He has held important offices in connection with all our public charities, and literary societies, and his name is indissolubly and gratefully associated with Bellevue Hospital, the Woman's Hospital, the State Inebriate Asylum, the Typographical, Horticultural, Fine Arts, Ethnological, and other Societies, and none more efficiently than our own. He was first President of the New York Academy of Medicine (1847); and before each of these, and many other humane, literary, and scientific bodies, he has delivered memorable addresses illustrative of their respective objects—which with his contributions to medical literature and the record of his Personal Reminiscences, form a unique and valuable as well as interesting monument of his patriotic zeal and industry, and a precious source of local and characteristic information. Dr. Francis died at about three o'clock, on the morning of the 8th of February, 1861, in the full possession of his faculties, surrounded by those most dear to him, sustained by faith and deeply mourned by the poor to whom he had so long gratuitously ministered—by the lovers of knowledge, of original character, of manly zeal, of disinterested sympathy, and of genuine probity.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Whereas*, It has pleased God to call from this world JOHN WAKEFIELD FRANCIS, we, the members of the New York Historical Society record upon our annals our sense of his services and our respect for his memory; therefore

*Resolved*, That this Society is indebted to Dr. Francis for invaluable aid almost from the very beginning of its existence to the close of his life; that he has bestowed upon it his time, thought, time, and means, cheered and sustained it through its early struggles, and by his pen, voice, and influence, joined most effectively in the efforts to

place it upon the present prosperous foundation.

*Resolved*, That we are grateful to his memory for the large public spirit, ready sympathy, extensive learning, varied talent, and indomitable zeal that identified him with this city, and made him a living compend of its history, and his life a standing memorial of its men, interests, and institutions.

*Resolved*, That we hold in peculiar regard his contributions to the science and literature of his times, especially those that relate to persons and things of the past and the passing age, and that we wish success to the effort making to publish his works under the editorship of one of our own members.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased.

AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY. — N. Y., March 18.—This Society held their regular March meeting on the above date, at the residence of the President, George Folsom, LL. D., who took the chair.

Letters were read from Rev. E. Webb, giving account of a *Tamil* book, written on strips of palm-leaves, from Travancore, presented last year by Councillor Tompson, director of the Royal Museum of Denmark. The title of the book being lost, and certain parts supplied by a second hand, it is difficult to ascertain its character.

Dr. Peter Wilson, in a letter, gave some interesting information about the languages of the Five Nations of New York, and the means by which the English alphabet has been adapted to writing them. He will communicate more on their traditions, &c. A letter from Mr. Wharton, attesting the *bona-fide* discovery of the small engraved stone found in the great mound near Grave Creek, Va., about twenty years ago, in his presence; and also describing a modern inscribed stone, in English, dug in that neighborhood, dated about 200 years ago.

The Hebrew-inscribed stone dug from earth-works near Newark, Ohio, last year, were placed on the table, having been sent to the Recording Secretary for exhibition to the Society, by Mr. David Wyrick, the discoverer and proprietor. Several objects accompanied them, which were taken from near the grave in the bottom of a mound.

The committee appointed in February on those objects, were not prepared to report, in consequence of the illness of their chairman, Mr. Squier; but remarks were made by several individual members, on various points, and questions were asked of a Jewish gentleman, Mr. G. R. Lederer, which were answered in an intelligent manner.

A number of small carved stones were exhib-

ited by Mr. Davis, from his very extensive collection of various relics from Western mounds, resembling some of those above mentioned. The Society were informed that Mr. Squier has similar objects.

A paper was read, furnished by Mr. Wyrick, which contained a history of the "Great Stone Pile," from a small earth mound under which, the second engraved stone was taken. It was accompanied with maps, drawings, plans, and sections, fully illustrating the descriptions and all the particulars of the excavations made, and the objects discovered. The Stone Pile was a conical mound, one hundred and sixty feet in diameter, and forty-five or fifty feet high, inclosed by a low elliptical earthen wall, with a ditch inside and a gateway at one end. The "Pile" was composed entirely of loose rough stones, apparently brought many years ago, by hand, from the hill-side below, and, when first discovered, shaded by the native forest. About half the stones (or about 25,000 cart loads) have been removed, for use on roads and the canal; and parts of a circular row of small earthen mounds have been discovered, which were entirely concealed by the outer portions of the "Pile." None of these had ever been opened until last autumn, when the grave and objects above mentioned were exhumed by Mr. Wyrick and five of his friends. The engraved stone was inclosed in a smooth, spheroidal stone box, about eight inches long, which was cemented together by a whitish substance, not yet analyzed, singularly placed in grooves; but it was opened by a seam running longitudinally through the middle. The inclosed stone is of a peculiar form, but fits tight in the bottom of the box, which is carved so as to receive it exactly. On the upper side of the former is the figure of a man, in relief, with a beard and large gown, with the very square Hebrew letters, M. Sh. H. over the head, and with an elevated rim, containing characters likewise engraved; and all other parts of the stone, except a kind of handle, are covered in like manner.

This stone was deciphered and translated that evening, by the Rev. John W. McCarty, the pastor of the Episcopal church in Newark, and proved to contain an abstract of the Ten Commandments. The alphabet employed is not found in Gesenius; but most of the letters are easily recognized by their resemblance to the square, or common Hebrew print, which has been in use ever since the third century, though more perfectly square; and those which differ most from them are easily recognized by their situation, and by their resemblance or identity with certain more ancient alphabets. The L and AIX are those of the Maccabee coins, except that the L is reversed.

Mr. Lederer considered both the inscriptions genuine and ancient.

Dr. Davis exhibited the sticks with which the Peco Indians play a game something like "Jack-straws."

The following persons were elected corresponding members:

Hon. G. Bertinatti, the Sardinian minister; J. W. Durivalle, and Alex. J. Taylor, Esqs., of California.

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### OHIO.

OHIO PIONEER ASSOCIATION. — *Cincinnati*, March 30, 1861.—The regular quarterly meeting of this Association took place at the City Building, on the above date.

Mr. Eden B. Reeder, from the Executive Committee, reported that the Wesley Chapel had been secured for the celebration of the anniversary of the settlement of Ohio, which will take place on April 7. Mr. Reeder announced that the Rev. Mr. Montfort, the Elder, who had been preaching in the Ohio Valley for the past sixty years; the Rev. John Thompson, who had been preaching in Ohio for the last seventy years, and others, were expected to be present and take part in the ceremonies.

The Association proposed to meet at the chapel on Fifth-street, between Sycamore and Broadway, at half-past ten o'clock on the morning of the 7th, when the ceremonies commence by an opening prayer by Chaplain Browne.

Mr. Orr, from the Monument Committee, reported that the foundation for the monument has been laid at the grounds appointed—Spring Grove Cemetery.

The Secretary reported that one hundred and fifteen dollars had been subscribed by the members for the payment of laying the foundation-stone for the monument.

On motion of Mr. Reeder, the Monument Committee was authorized to arrange for the formal dedication of the lot, and for the conveyance of members and their families to the ground.

Mr. Reeder announced that he had received a telegraphic dispatch containing the intelligence of the death of James Caldwell, father of John D. Caldwell, the Secretary, a member of the Association, who died yesterday morning in Zanesville, Ohio.

James Caldwell, member of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association, died at Zanesville, Ohio, March 30, 1861. He was born June 13, 1791, in Ohio county (West Augusta), Va. He arrived in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1811, at which place he settled in 1812. His father, William Caldwell, was

a member of Captain Faulkner's company, and was killed in the battle (St. Clair's defeat), Nov. 4, 1791.

His mother was Margaret Caldwell, daughter of William Caldwell, who for Revolutionary services obtained a large tract of land on Brush Run, seven miles west of Catfish (since called Washington, Washington county, Pa.)

These two branches of the Caldwell family had previously settled near Carlisle, and in the Ligonier Valley.

James Caldwell, the deceased, came to the Northwest Territory in 1796.

Joseph Coffin, Esq., presented several designs for a monument—which was referred to the appropriate committee.

Elder Stratton presented a document containing a history of the First Presbyterian Church on Fourth-street, and the officers and members, which was read.

On motion, the Association adjourned.

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### Notes and Queries.

#### NOTES.

THE PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE OF LORD BALTIMORE, FOR TWENTY YEARS A PRISONER FOR DEBT.—In Col. A. W. McDonald's report on his mission to England, he says (at p. 6): "I sought out the representative of the Baltimore family, and finally discovered him a prisoner for debt in the Queen's Bench prison, to which some twelve years hence he had been transferred from the Fleet prison, after having been there confined for more than eight years."

HEZEKIAH NILES (vol. v., p. 120).—The sketch is by "Dr. Wm. Darlington," and not "Arlington," as incorrectly printed.

AMERICANISMS—THE PROGRESS OF CORRUPTION.—The Dutch sliced cabbage Kohl slau, has, among the vulgar, got to be *Cold slaw*; this was bad enough. But as an offset to the last we find in a country paper, on the bill of fare of a dinner, *Hot slaw*. As the cabbage has thus disappeared, it may be necessary to chronicle the word, to save some future investigator the difficulties attendant on the inquiry into the meaning of the word *slaw* and the determining of its true botanical designation.

DISPATCH POST IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.—The following was the usual inscription on letters requiring to be delivered with *dispatch*. This one was copied from a letter of Cromwell, and other members of the Privy Council, in the reign of Henry VIII.:

‘To my lord of  
Norfolk’s grace  
In hast hast  
post hast  
bast for thy  
Lief and  
Uppon payn of  
hanging.”

G. A.

Feb., 1861.

CHARLES CARROLL’S SUPPLEMENT TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—In the year 1826, says a writer in the *Washington Union*, after all save one of the band of patriots whose signatures are borne on the Declaration of Independence, had descended to the tomb, and the venerable Carroll alone remained among the living, the government of the city of New York deputed a committee to wait on the illustrious survivor, and obtain from him, for deposit in the public hall of the city, a copy of the Declaration of 1776, graced and authenticated anew with his sign manual. The aged patriot yielded to the request, and affixed, with his own hand, to a copy of the instrument, the grateful, solemn, and pious supplemental declaration which follows:

“Grateful to Almighty God for the blessings which, through Jesus Christ our Lord, he has conferred on my beloved country in her emancipation, and in permitting me, under circumstances of mercy, to live to the age of eighty-nine years, and to survive the fiftieth year of American Independence, adopted by Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, which I originally subscribed on the 2d day of August of the same year, and of which I am now the last surviving signer, I do hereby recommend to the present and future generations the principles of that important document, as the best inheritance their ancestors could bequeath to them, and pray that the civil and religious liberties they have secured to my country may be perpetuated to remotest posterity, and extended to the whole family of man.

“CHAS. CARROLL, of Carrollton.

“August 2, 1826.”

THE WHIPPING-POST IN PHILADELPHIA (from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 28, 1736).—“Saturday last, a woman who had been taken picking of pockets in the market, a week before, was exposed in the market upon the balcony of the court-house, with her face towards the peo-

ple, that every one might know her; after which she received a whipping.”

There are persons now living who remember when the pillory and whipping-post stood at the west end of the market, between Third and Fourth streets, in Market-street. The court-house mentioned above, stood at the Second-street end of this market-house. From the balcony Whitfield preached to the thousands gathered between him and the Delaware river.

W. D.

PHILADELPHIA.

AN EASTERN PRINCE IN AMERICA (from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for November 3, 1737).—Last week Schich Sidd, an Eastern Prince, arrived here with his Attendants, and is treated with great respect. 'Tis said he is recommended by His Majesty to the Charity of all good Christians.

A FAMILY GATHERING (from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 5, 1720).—“On the 30th of May past, the Children, Grandchildren, and Great Grandchildren of Richard Buffington, *Senior*, to the number 115, met together at his house in Chester County, and also his 9 Sons and Daughters in Law, and 12 Great-Grandchildren in Law. The old man is from Great Marle, upon the Thames in Buckinghamshire, in Old England, aged about 85, and is still hearty, active, and of perfect memory. His eldest son, now in the 60th year of his age, was the first born of English descent in this province.”

This is the earliest notice which I have seen of the family gatherings now so common in this country, particularly in the New England States.

M. E.

PHILADELPHIA.

MAME VOCABULARY (vol. v., p. 117).—The list does not contain all the numerals, but there is enough to infer that one is *hume*; and ten, *lahuh*. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are the digits with *lahuh* added. Twenty is *vuinkim*, and thirty is evidently twenty ten; forty, two twenty; but forty-one and fifty seem to relate to *oxcal*, sixty, *i. e.*, one towards sixty, &c.; seventy would seem to refer in the same way to eighty; but as that is not given, we can only conjecture that from its initial word *lahuh*.

THE PHILADELPHIA FIREMEN (from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for December 10, 1753).—“This little city, but esteemed great of its age, owes not more at this day for its long streets and fair stores to architects of any kind, than to those worthy inhabitants who have always started at the first warning to oppose and extinguish the rage of fire.”

A PASSAGE IN THE EARLY LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—In the year 1737 a young man lost his life in Philadelphia, during a pretended initiation into the mysteries of Free Masonry. In the *Mercury*, a Philadelphia paper of the time, an attempt was made to connect Franklin with the transaction, which occasioned the following letter, to be found in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 479, from February 7, to February 15, 1737-8.

“Some very false and scandalous aspersions being thrown upon me in the *Mercury* of yesterday, with regard to Dr. Jones’s affair, I find myself obliged to set that matter in a true light.

Some time in June last Mr. Danby, Mr. Alrichs, and myself, were appointed by the Court of Common Pleas as Auditors to settle an affair between Dr. Jones and Armstrong Smith, then depending in said Court. We met accordingly at a Tavern in Market-street, on Saturday morning before the Tragedy was acted in the Doctor’s cellar. Dr. Jones appeared and R—n as his Attorney, but Smith could not be readily found. While we waited for Smith in order to hear both parties together, the Doctor and R—n began to entertain us with an account of some diversion they had lately had with the Doctor’s apprentice, who being desirous of being made a Free Mason, they persuaded him that they could make him one, and accordingly taught him several ridiculous signs, words, and ceremonies, of which he was very fond. ’Tis true I laughed (and perhaps heartily, as my manner is), at the *Beginning* of the Relation, but when they come to those circumstances of their giving him a violent purge, leading him to kiss T.’s posteriors and administering to him the diabolical oath which R—n read to us, I grew indeed serious, as I suppose the most merry man (not inclined to mischief) would on such an occasion. Nor did any one of the company except the Doctor and R—n themselves seem in the least pleased with the affair, but on the contrary, Mr. Danby said if they had done such tricks in *England they would be prosecuted*, Mr. Alrichs, *that he did not believe they could stand by it*, and myself, *that when the young man came to know how he had been imposed upon he would never forgive them*. But the Doctor and R—n went on to tell us that they designed to have yet some further diversion on pretence of raising him to a higher degree in Masonry. R—n said it was intended to introduce him blindfold and stripped into a room, where the company being each provided with a rod or switch should chastise him smartly, which the Doctor opposed and said he had a better invention; they would have a game at snap-dragon in a dark cellar, where some figures should be dressed up that by the pale light of burning brandy

would appear horrible and frighten him d—bly. Soon after which discourse, the young man himself coming in to speak with his master, the Doctor pointed at me and said to him *Daniel, that gentleman is a freemason, make a sign to him*. Which whether he did or not, I cannot tell; for I was so far from *encouraging him* in the delusion or *taking him by the hand and calling him Brother*, or welcoming him into the fraternity, as is said, that I turned my head to avoid seeing him make his pretended sign and looked out of the window into the garden: and all those circumstances with that of my *desiring to have notice that I might be present at the snap-dragon*, are absolutely false and groundless. I was acquainted with and had a respect for the young lad’s father, and thought it a pity his son should be so imposed upon, and therefore followed the Lad down stairs to the door when he went out, with a design to call him back and give him a hint of the imposition; but he was gone out of sight and I never saw him afterwards; for the Monday night following, the affair in the cellar was transacted which proved his death. As to the paper or oath, I did desire R—n when he had read it to let me see it, and finding it a piece of a very extraordinary nature, I told him I was desirous to show it to some of my acquaintance, and so put it in my pocket. I communicated it to one, who mentioned it to another, and so many people flocked to my house for a sight of it, that it grew troublesome, and therefore when the Mayor sent for it I was glad of the opportunity to be discharged of it. Nor do I yet conceive that it was my duty to conceal or destroy it. And being subpoena’d on the Trial as a Witness for the king, I appeared and gave my evidence fully, freely, and impartially, as I think it becomes an honest man to do. And I may call every one to whom I read the paper, to witness that I always accompanied it with expressions of detestation. This being the true state of the case, I think I may reasonably hope that I am so well known in the city, where I have lived near fourteen years, that the false and the malicious insinuations contained in the *Mercury*, will not do the injury to my reputation that seems intended.

B. FRANKLIN.

\* \* I suppose A. B. will answer for himself.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do certify that we were present at the time and place above mentioned, when Dr. Jones and J—n R—n revealed their proceedings with Daniel R—s; and we do very well recollect that they were not countenanced or encouraged by any person present, but on the contrary. And that Benjamin Franklin, in particular did speak against it, and did neither approve of what had been already

done (as related by the Doctor and R—n), nor desire to be present at what was proposed to be further done with the said Daniel R—s, as is falsely insinuated in Mr. Bradford's last *Mercury*. And this we declare sincerely and freely, without any motive than the desire of doing justice to the reputation of the said Benjamin Franklin. Witness our hands this 15th day of February, 1737-8.

JOHN DANBY,  
HARMAN ALDRICH.

The above named John Danby being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and Harman Aldrichs being duly affirmed on their respective Qualifications, did declare that the contents of the above certificate were true.

Sworn and affirmed  
Before me on the 15th  
of January, 1737-8.  
WILLIAM ALLEN."

GIVING UP TAVERN-KEEPING.—The following is the style in which publicans retired from business, in 1776: "This may inform the Public that Capt. Caleb Sanborn, who has so long occupied a Tavern in Hampton Falls, is determined to resign that business into the hands of some others, and live a more retired life for the future.

"CALEB SANBORN.

"HAMPTON FALLS, Aug. 30, 1776."

—*New England Chronicle*, Sept. 12, 1776.

TREASON IN 1779 TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.—"We learn that pardons have been issued to sixteen of the persons found guilty of high treason, and who received sentence of death at a court of Oyer and Terminer lately held at Gloucester, New Jersey. One other, who had departed from the American service and entered into that of the enemy, was condemned at the same time and was to have been executed yesterday."—(Boston) *Independent Chronicle*.

PRECEDENCE IN THE ARMY OF AMERICA, 1760.—Extract from His Majesty's Instructions to the General and Commander in Chief of His Forces in North America; Respecting the Rank and Precedence to be observed between the said Commander in Chief and other Officers of His Majesty's Forces in America and the Governors, Lieut. Governors, &c. of His Majesty's Provinces and Colonies, Viz:

"Whereas we have thought fit to establish certain Rules (which you will receive herewith) for the Rank and Precedence to be observed, between

the Commander in Chief, Generals, and other Officers of our Forces in America, and the Governors, Lieut. Governors and Presidents of the Council, of our several Provinces and Colonies, It is our will and pleasure that you do cause the said Rules to be observed upon all occasions; and that you Publish, affix, and Disperse the same as you shall Judge Proper in North America."

Copy of the Rules Delivered with the above Instructions established by the King under His Sign Manual, and Countersigned by the Secretary of State, for the Rank and Precedence to be observed in North America.

GEORGE R.

Whereas our late Royal Grandfather of ever glorious and Happy Memory, did fix Certain Rules with Regard to the Rank and Precedence to be observed between the Commander in Chief, Generals, and other officers of His Majesty's Forces in America, and the Governors, Lieut. Governors, and Presidents of the Council of the several Provinces and Colonies; and we in order to prevent all Disputes, having thought fit to fix the same Rules with Regard to the Rank and Precedence to be observed between the Commander in Chief, Generals, and other officers of our Forces in America and the Governors, Lieut. Governors, and Presidents of the Council of our several Provinces, and Colonies, do hereby declare that it is our Will and Pleasure that the following Rules be observed with Respect to the Rank and Precedence of the said Persons in America:

VIZ:

1<sup>st</sup> The Commander in Chief of our Forces, by Commission under our Great Seal of Great Britain.

2<sup>d</sup> Captains General, and Governors in Chief of our Provinces and Colonies, when in their respective Governments as appointed by Commission under our Great Seal of Great Britain.

3<sup>d</sup> General Officers upon the Staff.

4<sup>th</sup> Captains General and Governors in Chief of our Provinces and Colonies when out of their Respective Governments.

5<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Governors and Presidents of Council when Commanders in Chief of our Provinces and Colonies in their Respective Governments.

6<sup>th</sup> Colonels.

7<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Governors and Presidents of Council, when Commanders in Chief of our Colonies out of their Respective Governments.

8<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Governors of our Provinces and Colonies not being Commanders in Chief in their Respective Governments.

9<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Governors of our Provinces and Colonies not being Commanders in Chief out of their Respective Governments.

10<sup>th</sup> Governors of Charter Colonies, when in their Respective Colonies.

11<sup>th</sup> All Field Officers under the Rank of Colonels.

12<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Governors of Proprietary Governments out of their Respective Governments.

13<sup>th</sup> Governors of Charter Colonies out of their Respective Colonies.

All Captains Generals and Governors in Chief of our Provinces and Colonies to take Rank according to the Dates of their Commissions.

All Lieut. Governors of our Provinces and Colonies the same.

All Lieut. Governors of Proprietary Governments the same.

Governors of Charter Colonies according to the Dates of their Charters.

Given at our Court of St James's,  
the Seventeenth Day of December, 1760,  
in the first Year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

W. PITT.

We are indebted for the above to J. Watts de Peyster, Esq., who found it among his family papers.

HADDONFIELD, N. J.—In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for January 1, 1740-1, the name of this town is spelt Hattonfield. W. D.

PHILADELPHIA.

COL. F. K. HUGER'S ATTEMPT TO RESCUE LAFAYETTE.—“The Marquis de la Fayette, and Baron de Kalb, on their first arrival on the shores of America, landed on North island in Winyaw Bay, and were welcomed with the most cordial hospitality by the family of Major Huger, who made it their summer residence.

Anxious to pursue the object of their voyage, they speedily, under the guidance of their friendly host, removed to Charleston, and from thence to the army commanded by Washington, in which they both in a very short time, received honorable appointments.

It required but a short acquaintance with Lafayette to feel interested in his success. He was greatly admired by his entertainers; and their sentiments in his favor, continually increased by his rising fame; it is not to be wondered at, that the son of the family, by constantly hearing the encomiums bestowed on his gallantry, and love of liberty, should have cherished that enthusiastic attachment to his character, that led to as noble an act of friendship and heroism, as adorn the pages of chivalry.

The circumstances attending this generous exertion of friendship, are so highly interesting in

themselves, and honorable to my gallant countryman, Colonel Francis Kinloch Huger, that I trust I shall rather be commended than blamed, for more particularly detailing them.

When at an early period of the French Revolution, La Fayette discovered, that the liberty which he had so zealously contended for, and which he had so fondly hoped to see established in his beloved France, was insulted and trampled on; and that the government and destinies of the nation had passed into the hands of men far more ambitious of self-aggrandizement than to promote the true interests of their country. When he saw that the very individuals, who but a little before had enthusiastically professed themselves to be the apostles of benevolence and philanthropy, bewildered by the wildest chimeras of the imagination, and dreaming of perfections incomparable with the frailty of humanity, were now to be satisfied only by unlimited increase of power, and appeased in their resentment by the increasing effusion of blood. When in the scowls of the giddy multitude, it was evident that the life which he would have sacrificed with delight for the public welfare, was now to be aimed at by the dagger of the assassin. Distracted by the view of evils that he could not prevent, and foreseeing the miseries that would speedily fall on a deluded people, he retired into voluntary exile, to seek an asylum in a foreign land, where, unnoticed and unknown, he might pity and lament them. It could scarcely be imagined that under such circumstances, showing no disposition to hostility, uttering no word that could offend, or sentence that indicated a wish to disseminate the principles of his own political creed, and from the reduced number of his adherents, incapacitated from doing injury, that he should have been regarded, either as an object of apprehension or distrust; much less that the effort to procure the inestimable blessing of freedom to his country, should subject him to penalties, that cannot be otherwise considered, when weighed in the scales of justice, than as outrages to every principle of honor and humanity. Yet, without the slightest commiseration for his forlorn condition, or sympathy in his unmerited disgrace, he had scarcely entered the dominions of the sovereigns allied against France, before he was arrested and delivered up to Austria, and conducted to Olmutz, to suffer every rigor of persecution, in solitude and in a dungeon. The world, however, viewed not his misfortunes with cold indifference. Petitions for his release were presented from all quarters; and in the British House of Commons, the motion made for the interposition of the government in the sufferer's behalf, must ever do honor to the memory of General Fitzpatrick. Unhappily, the emperor's irritation was, at the



moment, excited to the highest pitch, and he remained inexorable.

The anxious wish to save from captivity a man who had boldly stepped forward the champion of liberty, originated with Dr. Bolman, a young Hanoverian, active, intrepid, and intelligent, but communicated confidentially to his friend Huger, with an inquiry, if he was inclined to second the enterprise, was embraced with alacrity, and entered on with ardor, that insured his unremitting efforts to produce its accomplishment. The preparatory arrangements were speedily settled. Huger feigned indisposition, and Bolman, assuming the character of his attending physician, horses were purchased, and after visiting several German cities, the friends arrived at Olmutz. Constantly intent on the object of their association, an acquaintance was speedily formed with the jailer, to whose custody the illustrious prisoner was committed, and without appearing to take too great an interest in his fate by speaking occasionally of the severity of his treatment, which they candidly acknowledged, they thought disproportioned to his offence, obtained permission to send him books, that might beguile the tedium of solitude, and afford some mitigation of his griefs. The jailer, a simple, benevolent man, saw no impropriety in the transaction, while the books delivered were subjected to his inspection, and the opportunity afforded of ascertaining that there was nothing improper in their contents. Thus, a correspondence was established. La Fayette, informed of the source of this unhopèd-for indulgence, at once conceived that more was meant than met the eye; he, therefore, carefully perused the book, and found, in different places words written with a pencil, which being put together gave him the names of the parties, and a clue to their designs, which, if approved would determine them at all hazards, to free him from his captivity. The book was returned with an open note, thanking them for their civility in sending it, and an assurance, that it had been read with marked attention, and that he was in the highest degree charmed with its contents. In this manner, and by the stratagem of writing in lemon juice on the back of a note, in its visible contents altogether trivial, with a hint in the book sent—*Quand vous aurez lu ce billet mettez-le au feu*; which when complied with, caused the intended communication distinctly to appear in legible characters; he was made acquainted with other arrangements, and the day fixed on to further plans in execution. They had already been apprised by the jailer, that his prisoner though generally closely confined, was permitted under the charge of proper attendants, to take exercise without the walls; that he rode in an open cabriolet, accompanied by an officer, and attended by an armed soldier, who

mounted behind by way of guard; and that when at a distance from the walls, it was their custom to descend and walk together, for the better enjoyment of the exercise.

On the day appointed, La Fayette was requested to gain as great a distance from the town as possible, and on their approach, by an appointed signal, to discover himself, as he was unknown to both.

Every preliminary being arranged, the friends quitted Olmutz, well mounted, Bolman leading a third horse, and in anxious expectation awaited the approach of the object of their solicitude.

The city is situated about thirty miles from Silesia, in the midst of a plain, which, taking the town as a centre, extends three miles each way, without the interposition of woods, rocks, or impediments of any kind. From the walls, every thing passing within these limits, could be distinctly seen. Sentinels were posted at all points, to give the alarm whenever prisoners endeavored to escape, and considerable rewards offered to all who contributed their aid to secure them. These were indeed appalling difficulties, but not sufficient to check the ardor of youthful enthusiasm, intent to break the chains of a hero, against whom no accusation rested, but an ardent and unceasing effort to better the condition of his fellow-men.

La Fayette, at length appeared, accompanied by his usual attendants. The preconcerted signal was given and returned. A conflict speedily succeeded which gave freedom to the prisoner. The led horse was presented by Huger, who exclaimed: "Use the means, sir, that are offered for escape, and may Fortune be your guide;" but before he could mount, the gleam of the sun upon the sword that had been wrested from the officer, startled the animal who broke his bridle and fled. Bolman rode off in pursuit, hoping to overtake him. In the interim, Huger, with a generosity truly chivalric, insisted that La Fayette should mount the horse he himself rode, and hasten to the place appointed for a general rendezvous. "Fly," he exclaimed, "the alarm is given, the peasants are assembling, save yourself." The advice was followed, and in a little time the fugitive was out of sight. Bolman, who had in vain pursued the frightened horse, now returned and taking Huger up behind him, galloped away, following the route of La Fayette. They had gone but a little way, when the horse unequal to such a burden stumbled and fell, and Bolman was so terribly bruised, as to be scarcely able to rise from the ground. The gallant Huger aided his exertions to remount, and superior to every selfish consideration, earnestly entreated him to follow La Fayette, declaring that he could easily reach the woods which bordered the plain, and in their

recesses find security. Bolman, though with extreme reluctance, complied.

During the rencontre which had taken place, the soldier who had remained with the cabriolet, instead of assisting the officer, ran off towards the town; but the alarm had been given long before his arrival there. The transaction had been seen from the walls, the cannon fired, and the country raised. Bolman evaded his pursuers by telling them that he was himself in pursuit. Huger, less fortunate, was marked by a party who never lost sight of him, and being overtaken, was seized and carried back in triumph to Olmutz. Meanwhile La Fayette was advancing in his flight, and had actually progressed ten miles, when arriving at a spot where the road divided, he was at a loss which to choose, and unluckily took the wrong one. Its direction very speedily induced him to suspect the truth, and he stopped to make inquiry of a man, who concluding that he was a prisoner attempting to escape, gave him a wrong direction, running to a magistrate to communicate his suspicion, so that La Fayette at a moment that he believed himself regaining a road that would give him security, found himself surrounded by an armed force and again a prisoner. To the interrogation of the magistrate, his answers were so apt and ready, and a tale invented to account for the rapidity of his movement, so plausible and so satisfactory, that expressing his conviction of his innocence, he was about to dismiss him, when a young man entering the apartment, with papers which required the magisterial signature, after fixing his eyes attentively on the prisoner, said—"This is General La Fayette; I was present when he was delivered up by the Prussians to the Russian commandant at ——. This is the man, I cannot be mistaken." This declaration at once settled his fate. He too was triumphantly conducted to Olmutz. Bolman escaped into Prussian Silesia, but after two days was arrested and delivered over to the Austrian authorities.

On the arrival of Huger at Olmutz, he was carried before Count Archo, the military commandant of the city, a veteran of high respectability, who conducted himself during the examination, with gentleness and humanity, but after some inquiries delivered him over to the civil authority.

Three days after this, chained hand and foot, the dauntless enthusiast was again brought before the commandant and civil officer, to be further interrogated. The temper and disposition against him seemed essentially changed.

The civil officers, this day, took the lead in the examination; and when Huger complained with strong expressions of indignation at his treatment, the judge imperiously demanded—"Know you,

the forfeit of your conduct?" An answer being returned in the negative, he solemnly and impressively replied, "Your life." But, apparently to remove the impression that such a sentence was calculated to produce, Count Archo immediately turned the discourse into a panegyric upon the emperor, telling him that his youth, his motives, and conduct, could not but secure his clemency. "Clemency," said Huger; "how can I expect it from a man, who did not act even with justice towards La Fayette." A check was immediately given to the boldness of the prisoner, and Count Archo then mildly added—"I judge of others from my own feeling. The attempt to injure me I freely forgive; and if ever I shall need a friend, I wish that friend may be an American."

Count Archo's entire conduct, was probably intended, not only to encourage hope in the prisoner, but to beget some consideration for him, and to give him consequence in the eyes of the civil officer, which might induce him to treat him better, and with greater respect than he had at first seemed inclined to do. And it certainly had its effect. Yet with what shadow of excuse can the conduct of the emperor be palliated? A heart possessed of any claim to generous feeling, or capable of justly appreciating the enthusiasm of disinterested friendship, would have spurned the idea of treating with rigor an intrepid youth, whose generous ardor in a cause that he idolized, constituted the only crime alleged against him. But chains—a dungeon—restrictions, both in food and clothing, were imposed by the imperious fiat of power, and his sufferings regarded with an apathy degrading to the character of man. Yet the ardent spirit that gave birth to the enterprise, did not under such appalling circumstances forsake him. His mind was at peace with itself, and his fortitude remained unshaken.

During a long and rigorous confinement, hope embellished the anticipations of more propitious fortune, and constancy enabled him with firmness to support the immediate goadings and pressure of calamity. Restored at last to freedom, he sought his native country—became conspicuously serviceable in a military capacity; and now, in tranquil retirement, possesses as much of happiness as domestic felicity and the universal esteem of his fellow-citizens can possibly bestow.—*Garden's Anecdotes* (1822).

ANTIQUITY OF THE LOBBY OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.—As far back as 1705, the Lobby was provided for, there having passed "An Act to charge this Colony with £143 10s. 10d., for fitting up a Room for the General Assembly with a Lobby."

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN NEW YORK.—The early history of the Anglican Church in New York, seems to have been treated with a kind of neglect, most of our writers making the organization of Trinity Church its starting point. Its earlier history is however curious.

It dates absolutely from the conquest by the Duke of York. As the kings of England from the time of Henry VIII., united in their persons the papal and regal powers; the extent of ecclesiastical power was conterminous with that of the regal, and where the sovereign was king he was head of the Church, and the Church consequently existed in the eye of the law.

By the articles of capitulation of the Dutch authorities, in 1664, it was agreed that: "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline;" but the English then in the colony or those who might thereafter come in, could not claim any such privilege, nor Dutch or English claim exemption from the payment of church-rates as established in England.

New York from this time was deemed a part of the diocese of London, or a dependence on the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The Duke of York, however, as a Catholic felt doubtless no especial zeal in establishing the Anglican Church, and if a chaplain of the Established Church attended his expedition, his name does not seem to have been recorded.

The duke's laws, promulgated in 1664, directed: 1. The erection of a church in each parish; 2. Eight overseers to be chosen by the householders of the parish, who with the constable were to choose two as church-wardens; 3. Ministers to produce to governor, proof of ordination by some Protestant bishop or minister in some part of his majesty's dominions or the dominions of some foreign prince of the Reformed religion. The duties of overseers were, among other things, the making and proportioning the levies and assessments for building and repairing the churches, provision for the poor, and maintenance of the minister. Subsequent laws directed churches to be built in three years, reduced the number of overseers to four, and at last imposed a double rate in towns that had not made a sufficient maintenance for their minister.\*

In 1674, James, by an order of July 1, established a regiment at New York, with a chaplain, who was receive a salary of £121 6s. 8d., "to commence from y<sup>e</sup> time y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers come on board and to be paid at New Yorke, and to be estimated after y<sup>e</sup> rates of Beaver there."†

\* Duke's Laws, New York Hist. Soc. Coll., I, i. 336, 407, 423.

† N. Y. Coll., Doc. iii., p. 220.

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The first of these chaplains, the Rev. John Wolley, is the first clergyman of the Church of England of whose labors here we have any record. He was the author of a "Journal of a Residence in New York," published in London, in 1701, and reprinted by Mr. Gowans, of New York, in 1860. In the introduction to this latter edition, Dr. O'Callaghan has given the result of his labors to trace the history of the pioneer of the Episcopal Church in the city of New York.

The place of ministration was the chapel in Fort James, and even this was for many years shared with the Dutch clergyman and his congregation; but from 1674 a regular series of Episcopal chaplains succeeded, as to whom however we have few details, the Rev. John Miller, chaplain from 1692-5, speaking rather unfavorably of some of his predecessors, though not by name, in his "Description of the Province and City of New York."

In 1677, the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction extended to all the colonies, complained of the neglect to establish a ministry in the various colonies,\* and the next year Andros wrote: "The Duke maintains a chapline which is all the certaine allowance or Church of England, but people's free gift to y<sup>e</sup> ministers."†

This condition lasted till James' accession to the throne, the Legislature convened in 1683, which established freedom of worship, making no change in the state of affairs. In 1686, Dongan wrote: "The Great Church which serves both the English & the Dutch, is within the Fort, which is found to bee very inconvenient therefore I desire that there may be an order for their building another, ground already being layd out for that purpose, & they wanting not money in Store wherewithall to build it."‡

King James found the machinery of government in the hands of a party who controlled him and his successors, and the plan of actually establishing the Church took a decided form. The instructions sent out to Dongan in 1686 differ essentially from those which emanated from James, as duke. This Catholic governor, under a Catholic king, of a province where the mass of the people were Dutch Calvinists, was required to see that the Book of Common Prayer was read every Sunday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. No minister was to be preferred to any benefice without a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose power in matters ecclesiastical was to extend to all but the collating to benefices, marriage licenses, and probato of

\* Ib., p. 253.

† Ib., p. 262.

‡ Ib., p. 415.

wills, which important points were reserved to the governor.\*

During the two ensuing years we find nothing done, however, to carry out this part, the governor being doubtless not over-zealous in the matter.

When James fell and the tidings reached New York, the ignorant and ambitious Leisler outwitting his fellow-captains in the one regiment of militia which New York could boast, made himself master of the fort, and by immense letter-writing and haranguing worked the people up to a state of excitement that demoralized the colony, evoked anarchy, laid the country open to savage inroads, and closed with his own ignominious death on the scaffold; a result to be regretted only from the fact that it made him a kind of political martyr.

Some most strangely have assumed his conduct to have been a struggle in behalf of the Dutch Church against the Established Church; but, unfortunately, the documents all militate against this convenient theory. All parties were so unanimous in their denunciations of James and Catholicity, that no domestic clashings of Protestants appear. Nicholson, who alone represented the Church of England, retired. The council who claimed to hold the reins of government, were mostly of the Dutch Church,† and it is by no means clear that Leisler was a Calvinist, all the probability being that he was a Lutheran. Certainly he was no friend of the Dutch or French clergymen in the city.‡ Of an Episcopalian party at the time no trace appears in any document, and the only Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Alexander Innes, who had been chaplain in the fort from 1686, took his departure soon after the commencement of the troubles, bearing, as Leisler states, testimonials from the French and Dutch clergymen. The Episcopalians must have been few ("Here bec not many of the Church of England,"§ said Dongan), or they would have organized as a Church, like the Dutch and French Calvinists and the Lutherans.

Leisler's acts were not recognized in England, where Nicholson had been regarded as lieutenant-governor, and Sloughter subsequently appointed. The latter was sent by the Dutch Stadtholder, as King of England, to rule over former subjects of Holland; but the power that controlled the Catholic James, controlled the Reformed Dutch William, and the latter, like the former, gave his governor of New York instructions to establish the Church of England. The instructions to

Sloughter are a copy of those to Dongan, with the additional injunction as to the maintenance for each orthodox minister.\*

Sloughter on his arrival made this an early object of his care. On the 18th of April, 1691, the Assembly, on the recommendation of the governor to introduce a "Bill for settling the Ministry and allotting a maintenance for them in each respective City and Town within this Province, that consists of Forty Families and upwards," sent to the attorney-general to draw such a bill. The act as framed, was read on the 1st of May, but, "not answering the intention of the house, was rejected, and ordered that another be brought in."† The explanation of this is, doubtless, that the attorney-general drew such a one as would lead to the establishment of the Church of England, in conformity with Sloughter's instructions. The death of the governor left the matter in this state, yet the subject was not entirely dropped. On August 23, 1692, it was ordered that a bill may be drawn for the better observance of the Lord's day, and that each respective town within this province have a minister or reader to read Divine service. But Col. Benjamin Fletcher, the new governor, was a man zealously attached to the Church of England. On his arrival and at the first meeting of the Assembly he urged the settlement of a ministry. The house took it up reluctantly. On the 1st of April, 1693, it was "Ordered that the Committee formerly appointed for the settling of the Ministry and Schoolmasters do forthwith proceed upon that business."‡ But the session came to a close without any action in the matter, which drew out a sharp rebuke from the governor.§ When the new Assembly met in September, he again recommended the matter in such urgent terms, that a committee was appointed on the 12th, and three days after, their report was read and approved, and "it was ordered that a bill be brought in for the establishment of it (a Ministry) accordingly." The speaker on the 19th, brought in a "Bill for settling the Ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the City and County of New York, County of Richmond and Westchester, and Queens County." It passed two readings, and was referred back. On the 21st it came up again amended, and passed the house, who transmitted it to the governor. The next day Fletcher and his council returned it with an amendment, requiring the minister, when called by the wardens and vestry, to be presented to the governor for approval and collation, but the house replied, "that they could not agree thereunto, and pray that it may pass without

\* N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. iii., p. 688.

† *Ib.*, p. 588. And on the other hand see Leisler's letters to the English bishops.

‡ N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. iii., p. 646, n.; p. 651, n.

§ *Ib.*, p. 616.

\* N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. iii., p. 688.

† Journals of the Assembly.

‡ Journal, p. 80.

§ Smith's New York, vol. i., p. 130.

that amendment, having in drawing of the bill due regard to the pious intent of settling a ministry for the benefit of the people."

The governor replied to the house warmly, declaring that he had by letters-patent right to collate or suspend any minister in the colony,\* but nevertheless gave his assent to the bill.

The act of Sept. 22, 1693, obtained by so much endeavor, did not on its face establish the Church of England. It provided that a good sufficient Protestant minister to officiate and have care of souls should be called, inducted, and established within a year in the city and county of New York, one in Richmond, two in Westchester, and as many in Queens; 2, that New York and Westchester should each raise £100 for the maintenance of their respective ministers; 3, that ten vestrymen and two church-wardens should be annually chosen by all the freeholders; 4, that wardens pay the maintenance to the minister in four quarterly payments.†

We have seen that under it Fletcher claimed the right of inducting: the Rev. Mr. Miller, the Chaplain in the fort, took a broad view of it. Considering apparently that the act established a benefice or living, and that the governor by his commission had the right of presentation, he in February, 1694, demanded to be inducted into the parish of Trinity, but his claim was not acknowledged.‡

Papers exist to tell when the first elections were held under this act. The vestrymen and church-wardens were actually chosen, and seem even to have acted. In 1695, five of them, a minority, applied to the Legislature to know whether they could call a dissenting clergyman, and the Assembly, gave it, as their opinion, that they could.§ The proceedings of this board, when given to the public, will throw considerable light on the obscure matter.

Meanwhile the Episcopalians in the city of New York began, under the encouragement of Fletcher, to take steps to organize, and build a church, and having secured the ground commenced the erection of Trinity. On the 6th of May, 1697, Caleb Heathcote and others, "present managers of the affairs of the Church of England in the City of New York," petitioned Fletcher for a charter. This petition recites the act of 1693, that there was then no Church, that petitioners had built one, asks to be incorporated, and that the maintenance given under the act be assigned to the pastor, and a grant of lands near the church be given. || The governor on the same

day issued a charter in the name of the king, though by what authority does not appear, which recites the act, assumes it to apply solely to the Church of England, incorporates the managers as church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church, declares it to be the only parish church, and then proceeds: "And our Royal pleasure is, and we by these presents do declare that the said Rector of the said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protestant minister, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Act of Assembly, made in the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne, entitled an Act, &c.; and such we do further of our like speciall grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, give, grant Ratify, endow appropriate, and confirm unto the said Rector and his successors forever the aforesaid yearly maintenance of £100."

The rector named in this charter was the Bishop of London, whose income was thus increased by a tax levied on all the inhabitants of the city of New York, and this by a mere act of the governor against the intention and will of the Legislature. It would be curious to study the details of this transaction, and ascertain how Fletcher was able to carry it through, as he apparently did, without eliciting a protest from the members of the Reformed Dutch Church; but the submission was to all appearance absolute, and though some of Fletcher's extravagant grants were set aside, including a lease to Trinity Church, in August, 1697, no allusion is made to the charter of Trinity, and by the consent of the governed, the church-wardens and vestrymen to be elected by all the freeholders of the city, under the act of 1693, found most of their powers vested in the church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church elected by the Episcopalians only.

Dr. Berrian in his "History of Trinity Church" (page 13), is singularly inaccurate as to this charter. He says: "In the fifth year of the reign of William and Mary, 1697, by an act of Assembly, approved and ratified by and with the consent and authority of the Governor, a royal grant and confirmation were made of a certain church and steeple, &c." But there is no such act in the Colony Laws, and 1697 was not 5 William and Mary, and Fletcher's Royal Charter, is the only known charter of Trinity.

#### QUERIES.

"PRESENT" IN THE ADDRESS OF LETTERS.—Can any one of your readers state the origin of the *American* system in addressing letters, on which the word "Present," is inserted? The custom does not prevail in England. G. A.

\* Smith's New York, vol. i., p. 130.

† Laws of the Colony of New York.

‡ O'Callaghan, Col. Doc., vol. iv., p. 182, n.

§ Journal, p. 53. April 12, 1695.

|| Doc. Hist., vol. iii.

TOY BIBLE, 1765.—Can any reader give the full title of this toy Bible? The title-page in the front of the Old Testament, in my copy, is torn out, that in front of the New reads:

*Salvator  
Mundi*

The Third Edition  
with Amendments.  
Boston: Printed  
for N. Proctor:  
near Scarlet's  
Wharffe. 1765.

A. A. F.

ETHAN ALLEN.—Did Ethan Allen, in 1781, act openly for the British? Will some of our Vermont friends answer this question? YORKER.

FIRST SETTLERS OF PHILADELPHIA.—Can any of the readers of the *Historical Magazine*, inform the writer if there is a list of the names of the persons who came over to America with Wm. Penn, in his first and second voyage to Philadelphia? If so, where are they to be seen?

PHILADA.

A. DE B. M.

FOURTH OF MARCH.—Why was this selected as the "Inauguration Day" of our Presidents, and by whom?

G. A. B.

RICHMOND, Va., April 8, 1861.

NEW ENGLAND PSALTER, 1730.—What libraries contain a copy of the following:

THE  
NEW ENGLAND PSALTER,  
Or,  
Psalms of David.

With the  
Proverbs of Solomon.  
And Christ's Sermon on the  
Mount.

(The British Coat of Arms is here inserted.)

Boston, N. E. Printed for Thomas Hancock, at the Bible and Three Crowns, 1730.

"OLD DOMINION."—Will the editor of the *Historical Magazine*, or his correspondent who furnished the article (vol. iii., p. 250), on the "Origin of the term Old Dominion," give the authorities on which the statements therein are made? I have seen in "Mass. Hist. Coll.," vol. vii., p. 283, pretty much the same story, communicated by Dr. James Mease, describing among other old American coins the Virginia cent, as it is called, of 1773, but without any authorities.

What were the arms of Virginia, quartered as stated? It is certainly important that such interesting particulars should be duly verified; or if traditional, that the truth should be elicited, by the process of criticism. G. H. M.

ARMY CHAPLAINS AT NEW YORK BEFORE 1700.—The chaplains of the regiment at New York, were the only Episcopal clergymen in the colony prior to the erection of Trinity Parish and the instalment of Rev. Mr. Vesey. Can any reader of the *Magazine* give a list of these chaplains, with the date of their appointment and time spent here?

DOMINIE VAN DRIESSEN'S SERMONS.—MR. EDITOR: Will you permit me to inquire whether copies of the book below mentioned, are common?

It has this title:

De Aanbiddelyke Wegen Gods | inzyne Sou-  
veraine Bestieringe, | Besonder over de Machten  
deser | Weereld, Verklaart en toegepast | in Drie  
Predicatie, door | Petrus Van Driessen, V. D. M.,  
| Te Nieuw-Albania.

Te Nieuw-York,  
Gedruckt by J. Pieter Zenger,  
MDCCLXXVI.

The work is an 8vo of 79 pp. with a title-page printed in red and black ink, dedicated to Governor Burnett, in a very long and flowery address. There are three sermons in Dutch, well drawn out.

On the title-page is written in the hand of that day, "J. Jans' Bleecker's Boeck him Vereest van Doemine Van Driessen 1, 10<sup>th</sup>, 1726;" and it has remained in the possession of Mayor Bleecker's descendants to this day.

CHARLES CLINTON.—The ancestor of the distinguished family of that name in the State of New York, came from Ireland to this country in the year 1729, and soon afterwards settled at Little Britain, in Orange, then Ulster county.

The tradition is, that he organized a party of immigrants in County Longford, composed of his friends and neighbors, and chartered a ship for Philadelphia or New York, in 1729, and sailed probably from Dublin, in the month of May, of that year. On the passage, it was ascertained that the captain had formed the design to starve the passengers, of whom there were ninety-four in number, in order to seize their property. Many of the passengers died, among whom were a son and daughter of Mr. Clinton. It was at one time proposed to wrest the command from the captain, and Clinton was desired to take the

lead; but he dissuaded them from committing any act of mutiny, and finally, upon paying the captain a considerable bonus in money, he was induced to quicken sail, and landed at Cape Cod, in the month of October. The following spring the party removed, and formed a settlement in the place to which they gave the name of Little Britain, situated about eight miles southwest of Newburgh.

It was customary for parties emigrating to this country, in those times, to enter into a compact for mutual protection and assistance. Was there any such agreement made by the party who came over with Col. Clinton; and if so, where can a copy of the same be procured? What was the name of the ship that brought them over, and what were the names of the persons composing the party? W. E. W.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., April 5, 1861.

[Campbell says that they started from Dublin, in May, 1729, in the George and Ann, for Philadelphia, and that Charles Clinton paid the passage money of the whole ninety-four, and that the receipt is preserved among his papers.

#### REPLIES.

BLAIR McCLENACHAN (vol. v., p. 91).—He was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, Philadelphia. His family still reside on his place and can doubtless give further details. H. H.

INTRODUCTION OF MERINO SHEEP.—HUMPHREYS, LIVINGSTON, OR LE COUTEULX (vol. iv., p. 278; v., pp. 26, 61, 92).—Since a former communication relating to the introduction of merino sheep into the United States, I have been shown a letter which throws additional light upon the subject, and proves beyond a doubt that Mr. Le Couteulx first introduced them.

The letter was written by Robert Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a short time after Mr. Le Couteulx and lady had sailed for their native land, and inclosed a letter which accompanied the sheep from Cadiz. I have been permitted to copy the letter from Mr. Morris. It reads as follows:

“PHILADELPHIA, October 30, 1789.

“DEAR SIR:—The enclosed letter came by the Frigate Alliance, from Cadiz, which I suppose passed you in the River as you were going down. I have taken the two sheep and sent them to the Hills, where good care shall be taken of them. I find by Mad<sup>m</sup>. Couteulx's letter to Mrs. Morris, that you had a fine passage down the River and Bay of Delaware. I hope the same good luck

may attend you during the whole voyage, and that you may soon land and find the Troubles of France all settled & your Family and Friends all in good Health.

“I will preserve some of the Breed of these sheep to be restored to you should you ever return to this country, and with great regard I remain

“Dear Sir, Your Affectionate Friend

“and humble servant,

“ROBT. MORRIS.

“MR. LE COUTEULX DE CAUMONT, Paris.”

I find by memoranda upon the back, that it was “Received at Paris, January 24th, 1790,” consuming nearly three months in the passage, and also that it was “answered.” Mr. Le Couteulx returned to this country the ensuing February. Q.

ANOTHER REPLY.—In the Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, p. 101, Boston, 1861, is the following:

“In 1793, the late Hon. William Foster, of Boston, then a young man travelling in Spain, smuggled a ram and two ewes on to the ship *Bald Eagle*, Captain John Atkins, and after a long passage and some sickness, landed them safely in Boston, and gave them to his friend Andrew Cragie, Esq., of Cambridge; there being then no manufactories, and perhaps no proper appreciation of their splendid fleeces, and being probably a trouble to Mr. Craigie, he killed and ate them; fifteen years after that time he paid for similar sheep \$1,000 a piece.”

It is quite likely that the writer in the *New England Palladium*, of June 4, 1802, had reference to this importation. S. A. G.

GROTON, Mass.

CAMPBELL'S HIST. W. COUNTRY (vol. v., p. 24). In your *Magazine* for April, a question is asked in regard to Dr. Campbell's “History of the Western Country.” A brief note is prefixed to the June No. of the *Port Folio* for 1816. I issued proposals, and obtained a number of subscribers for this work, and made some advances to the Rev. Mr. Frost to meet *current expenses* of his own. The work was in a very unfinished state, and Mr. F. borrowed it from me to show to Wm. Darby, and get some aid from him; although he stated to me that he had *aided* Dr. Campbell in making some surveys and drawings, &c., of fortifications. Some contract was made with Darby to publish the work and not complied with, when it came back to my hands, to be *held* as some security for advances.

*Frost* disappeared, as it always does once a year. He had some *small* pecuniary engagements which were to be paid out of the profits of his book! although he professed all these were to go to Mrs. Campbell.

In 1819, a gentleman from Kentucky called upon me, very well introduced, and stated that the friends of Mrs. C. were anxious to have the MSS. which were improperly obtained by *Frost*, and I handed them over to him on a pledge to reimburse me for my advances; but *cash* being scarce then at that time, *it never came to hand*.

In 1825 and 1826, *Frost* wrote to me some letters about *his* MSS., and the defamation of his character, &c., and this is the last I know of the matter.

H. HALL.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS IN VERSE (vol. v., p. 60).—The writer of "Rambles about Portsmouth," in the *Portsmouth Journal*, under date of March 23, 1861, says:

Prominent among the Poets of the Revolution, whose verses carried spirit into the camp, and stirred up the patriotic fires of those who performed the statesman's duties at home, was that philanthropic man, Jonathan Mitchell Sewall, Esq., whose home was in Portsmouth, and whose last place of abode was the house in Gates-street, now occupied by his daughter, his only survivor.

The New York *Historical Magazine* for February, has been forwarded to us, in which is an inquiry, who was the author of "The Versification of Washington's excellent Farewell Address, by a gentleman of Portsmouth, N. H., printed in 1798."

This Versification we have before us. It was written by Mr. Sewall and published, with the author's characteristic modesty, without his name. The poem, if such it may be called, occupies forty-four octavo pages, and is almost a literal presentation of the latter in rhyme—the author endeavoring to shun any of the finisel decorations of poetic ornament, "not indulging to his own fancy on such momentous subjects, handled before with such masterly perfection."

Mr. Sewall was born in Salem, Mass., in 1748, and died in Portsmouth, in 1808. He studied law with Judge John Pickering, of Portsmouth; became a member of high standing as a lawyer, but no less eminent as a statesman and poet. He was the writer of the stirring song of the Revolution entitled "War and Washington," beginning "Vain Britons boast no longer," &c, which was sung in every camp throughout the country.

One of our venerable citizens has recently given us a pamphlet containing a Fourth of July Oration delivered at Portsmouth, in 1788, "By one of the Inhabitants." There is no clue in the book to show who that inhabitant was. The title-page

presents as a motto and apology for withholding his name, the following expressive quotation from Pope:

"Who builds a church to God, and not to fame,  
Will never mark the marble with his name."

This was the first Fourth of July Oration delivered in Portsmouth after the Declaration of Independence. The modest author was Jonathan M. Sewall. It was a patriotic production of much higher literary merit than many public addresses which have their authors' names in conspicuous capitals.

In the last years of Mr. Sewall, his talents became eclipsed by indulgence of an appetite for drink, which shortened his days. But charity casts a veil over this weakness, when his record shows him an honest man, the advocate not only of the cause of his country, but also of the injured, however humble their situation. His gravestone bears the following epitaph:

In vain shall worth or wisdom plead to save  
The dying victim from the destined grave;  
Nor charity, nor helpless nature's pride,  
The friend to him, who knows no friend beside;  
Nor genius, science, eloquence, have power,  
One moment to protract the appointed hour  
Could these united his life have relieved,  
We should not weep, for Sewall still had lived.

SONG—BOSTON FOLKS (vol. iv., p. 124).—The song as given in the last number of the *H. M.*, lacks the following concluding verses, which are given in the version of the song in J. S. Loring's "Hundred Boston Orators," p. 112:

O then a whopping feast began,  
And all hands went to eating,  
They drank their toasts, shook hands and sung—  
Huzza for 'Vention meeting!

Now, politicians, of all kinds,  
Who are not yet derided,  
May see how Yankees speak their minds,  
And yet we are not decided.

Then from this sample, let 'em cease  
Inflammatory writing;  
For freedom, happiness, and peace,  
Are better far than fighting.

So here I end my Federal song,  
Composed of thirteen verses;  
May agriculture flourish long,  
And commerce fill our purses



## Notes on Books.

*The Chronicles of Milwaukee*; being a Narrative History of the Town from its earliest period to the present. By A. C. Wheeler. Milwaukee: Jerman & Brightman, 1861. 12mo, 303 pp.

THIS is a very gossipy sketchy volume, giving in a pleasing form the most material facts in the history of this western city, whose name has figured indeed on maps, and been known to civilized ears since the days of Marquette; but which can date back, even as a traders' post scarcely beyond 1818, and as a settlement not beyond 1835.

*Memoirs of Samuel Smith, a soldier of the Revolution, 1776-1786.* Written by himself; with a Preface and Notes, by Charles I. Bushnell. New York: Privately printed, 1860. 41 pp.

THIS simple record of a private soldier, who reached a very advanced age, is here presented in handsome form with notes, by Mr. Bushnell, who appends, as one of the illustrations, an engraving of a very rare Dutch medal, on the retreat of the American army from Rhode Island.

*Seventh Annual Report of the State Commissioner of Common Schools to the Governor of the State of Ohio.* For the year ending August 31, 1860. Columbus: 1861.

THE great question of proper education is here discussed, and the evil tendency of crowding and cramming, shown. After all, is not the result expected of a common-school training this: that the pupil shall be able to read correctly and intelligently; to write a letter on business or mere civility without errors of grammar or orthography, in a neat hand; and to make such calculations as are required in every-day life? Certainly the school that effects this satisfies parents; and no school that fails to do it, no matter how much scientific knowledge it has afforded in a smattering way, will do justice to the pupil. The evil is the greater, inasmuch as State schools have now to a great degree crushed private academies. The public schools are no longer schools for the children of the needy; the education they afford is no longer like the food doled out by the almshouse, a charity to the poor. The State has to a considerable extent monopolized teaching. If, then, a system of education is adopted and enforced, which does not produce the required result, that system becomes a curse, and not a blessing.

*Flushing—Past and Present.* An Historical Sketch. By Rev. G. H. Mandeville. Flushing, 1860. 24mo, 180 pp.

THIS attractive little volume of Long Island local history begins sadly with the statement of the loss of early documents of the town. An immense number of the papers of the various towns on Long Island and in other old portions of the State have been lost and are going to destruction daily; and we trust that before it is too late some State action will provide for the removal of archives to some general county depository. As Flushing was incorporated as early as 1645, and has consequently passed its second centennial, its archives, had they remained, would be of great interest in our early history. Mr. Mandeville has used all the material that has escaped the ravages of time, and has produced a most interesting little volume. A few inaccuracies meet our eye; but the work, in general, bears marks of care and diligence, no less than well-ordered arrangement.

*Notes on the State of Sonora.* By Charles P. Stone. Washington: 1861. 8vo, 28 pp.

WE are indebted to the author for this valuable account which, with his permission, we hope to lay soon before our readers. Its value as a contribution to the history of a State directly on our border, cannot but be seen, and Mr. Stone has examined quite thoroughly.

*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, 1861.* D. T. Valentine. New York, 1861. 12mo, 700 pp.

THAT some idea of what this manual has grown to, we may state in addition, that it contains some seventy steel and lithographic illustrations, four maps, and several *fac-similes*.

The matter at the end of the volume, purely historical, amounts to nearly two hundred pages, and embraces an account of the Early Architecture of the city; the General Laws of New Amsterdam; sketches of Mayors Dnane, Varick, Livingston, Clinton, Willett, Radcliff, with portraits; a sketch of the de Peyster family, with portraits and other illustrations; old Dutch Deeds; the Conquest from the Dutch; Trinity Church-yard, by Hon. F. R. Tillou; the Murder of Miss Sands; the Celebration of the Laying of the Atlantic Telegraph, with copious illustrations; Old Buildings in William-street; List of Marriages in the Dutch Church Records; Ordinances of the Director-General of New Netherland; the Great Fires of New York; a Certificate of Character, in 1660; and Slavery in New York. Few Histor-

ical Societies send out a volume containing more, or more important matter than this, and the volumes of the "Manual" contain more matter relative to the history of the city than the "Collections of the New York Historical Society" do for the whole State.

Mr. Valentine is in himself one of our most valuable historical societies, and no one can pretend to write a history of the city without this collection. It is creditable to the city that she thus annually saves from destruction so much tending to illustrate our early history.

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### Miscellany.

HON. JOHN McLEAN, the oldest of the nine justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, died at his residence in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 3.

He was the son of an Irish weaver, and was born in Morris county, New Jersey, March 11, 1785; and while yet a youth his father moved to the then almost unsettled backwoods of Ohio. After such education as the resources of that region afforded, he began life for himself in Cincinnati. Choosing the law for his profession, and obtaining employment in the office of the clerk of Hamilton county, he found time to pursue his studies under the direction of Arthur St. Clair, a prominent counsellor and son of the Revolutionary general of the same name. In 1807, young McLean was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Lebanon, Ohio, having just previously married Rebecca, daughter of Dr. Edwards, of South Carolina.

In October, 1812, he became a candidate for Congress, and was elected by a large majority. In 1814 he was again elected to Congress by a nearly unanimous vote—a circumstance of rare occurrence; and remained a Member of the House of Representatives until 1816, when the Legislature of Ohio, having elected him judge of the Supreme Court of the State, he resigned his seat in Congress at the close of the session. He remained six years upon the bench of the Supreme Court, and attained an enviable position as a sound and able jurist. In 1822 he was appointed commissioner of the general land office by President Monroe; and in 1823 he became postmaster-general, both of which offices he filled with ability. In the year 1829 he was appointed by President Jackson, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, after he had refused the offer of the war and navy departments. He entered upon the discharge of his duties at the January term of

1830, and has performed the duties of that station for a period of thirty-one years. In his social relations he was beloved and esteemed, and was prominent in all the benevolent movements of the Methodist Church, to which he belonged.

WE invite attention to the very curious and interesting contributions in this number from Buckingham Smith, Esq., former secretary of legation of the United States in Spain, being no less than the will of the great Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto, giving all the possessions he might leave, in part to found a mortuary chapel and obits for himself, his wife, and parents, and in part to give marriage portions to poor girls of noble families, the de Sotos to the fifth degree of kindred to be preferred. He wished to lie in a chapel of "Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception," and strangely enough was deposited in the great river which more than a century afterwards received the name of Immaculate Conception, from Father Marquette.

In this number we begin also the Diary of Dr. Waldo, begun just before the army went into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, and giving an account of the surprise intended by the English at Whitmarsh, but defeated by Lydia Darragh. This paper was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, by Amos Perry, Esq., to whom we are indebted for it.

THE Hakluyt Society of London, has just printed as its yearly volume, a work of considerable interest to all Americans, but of special interest to New Yorkers. The title of the volume is, "Henry Hudson, the Navigator. The original manuscript in which his career is recorded, corrected, partly translated, and annotated, with an introduction."

THE History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, from its first settlement, in 1640, to the year 1860; the whole interspersed with numerous incidents, anecdotes, biographical and genealogical notes, and embellished with maps, portraits, views of ancient and modern residences, &c., by George Wingate Chase, is ready for the press, and will soon appear.

CHARLES SCRIBNER announces a new revised edition of the "Cyclopædia of American Literature," by Messrs. Evert A., and Geo. L. Duyckinck, with a supplement bringing it down to the present year.

ERRATA.—In the number for April, 1861, page 119, column 1, line 6 from the bottom, for *Pennits*, read *Pennies*; and page 115, column 1 line 16, for *Brick*, read *Breck*.

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V.]

JUNE, 1861.

[No. 6.]

## General Department.

## NOTES ON THE STATE OF SONORA.

BY CHARLES P. STONE.

THE Mexican State of Sonora, is bounded on the north by that portion of United States territory, called *Arizona*, in the jurisdiction of New Mexico; on the east by the Mexican State of Chihuahua, from which it is separated by the great mountain chain, the Sierra Madre; on the south by the State of Sinaloa, from which it is separated by the river *del Fuerte*; and on the west by the Sea of Cortes (Gulf of California), and the territory of Lower California.

The northern boundary line commences on the west, at the point of the Colorado river, twenty miles below the mouth of the Gila river, lat.  $32^{\circ} 29' 44.45''$  N., long.  $114^{\circ} 48' 44.53''$  W., and runs on a great circle of the earth, southeasterly to the intersection of  $31$  deg.  $20$  min. north, and the  $111$ th meridian of longitude west of Greenwich; thence it follows the parallel  $31$  deg.  $30$  min., east, to near meridian  $108$  deg. west; thence the boundary line runs north to parallel  $31$  deg.  $47$  min., when it again turns east, following that course to the summit of the great chain which is the limit between Sonora and Chihuahua. The eastern boundary line, has never been exactly determined on the ground by the Mexican government; but it is to be marked along the crest of the Cordillera, which runs nearly south, with occasional deflections from a right line.

The uncertainty which exists as to the exact course of the eastern boundary, makes it extremely difficult to make a calculation of the area of the State. But as nearly as I can at present estimate, it seems to be about eighty thousand square miles, all included between the parallels  $26$  degrees and  $32\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north latitude. The State is washed, along its western boundary for more than  $500$  miles, by the waters of the Sea of Cortes; and has the advantage of many large and many small rivers: 1st. The *Colorado of the West*, which forms a portion of the western boundary, and is navigable for small steamers

hundreds of miles above its mouth. 2d. The river *Yaqui*, which, rising in the northeastern part of the State, flows nearly the whole length of it from north to south, receives, among others, the waters of the river *Mulatos*, and empties into the sea some twenty-five miles south of Guaymas. 3d. The *Fuerte*, forming the southern boundary. 4th. The *Mayo*, the course of which lies between those of the *Fuerte* and the *Yaqui*, where it turns west. 5th. The river *Sonora*, which rises in the north of the State, east of the middle meridian, flows southerly as far as Ures, the capital, and then turns westerly past Hermosillo, towards the sea (receiving in its course the little river *San Miguel*), which, however, it never reaches, its waters being appropriated for irrigation along its whole course, and those which escape this use being lost in the sand-plains near the coast. 6th. The river *San Ignacio*, which rises near the northern boundary and the middle meridian, flows south to La Magdalena, and thence westerly past Altar, to sink in the sand-plains of the coast, having first received the waters of the river of Altar, an intermittent stream.

The river *Santa Cruz*, which rises in American territory, flows south, west, and northwest, re-entering our territory after a course of some fifty miles in Sonora.

The face of the country presents every possible diversity of appearance and formation. Along the coast, from the Colorado to the island of Tiburon, are found vast plains of barren sand, broken only by the isolated short ranges of volcanic hills. Proceeding along the coast to the south, spurs from the interior ranges of mountains jut out into the sea, and make a rock-bound coast until you pass below Guaymas, when the eye rests with pleasure on the broad and fertile valleys of the *Yaqui* and the *Mayo* rivers, backed by the great mountain mass of the Cordillera in the distance.

In traversing the interior, one is surprised in passing through long tracts of desert, that there can be a country so sterile and utterly unproductive; and the next hour, is astonished at the wonderful beauty and fertility of some broad and well-watered valley, which is entered. The foreigner will find himself wondering at the luxuriant crops

produced by the imperfect cultivation in use there, and at the broad leagues of excellent lands left uncultivated for want of a little outlay of labor in clearing them and supplying them with the necessary irrigation. It would be hard to find, in any quarter of the globe, more worthless or barren and unreclaimable land than some along the northwestern coast, and it would be impossible to find more productive and beautiful agricultural lands than those along the rivers of the south, centre, and east of the State, or richer pasturage, for millions of cattle, than is afforded by the foot-hills of the sierras, and the rolling hills and plains of the centre and northeast of Sonora.

Notwithstanding the great extent of sea-coast, the State has but one good port, capable of receiving shipping of all classes, in any important number. This is the port of Guaymas, situated in lat. 27 deg. 55 min. 34.46 sec. N., lon. 110 deg. 56 min. 4 sec. W. of Greenwich. This port is perfectly landlocked, has a safe and deep entrance, affording at low tide five fathoms of water, and is sufficiently spacious to meet the requirements of a first-class commercial town. The port is divided into what are called the inner and the outer harbor, the first being used by all vessels drawing less than seventeen feet of water, the latter affording good and safe anchorage for ships drawing from four to five fathoms. A good supply of back-water is furnished by the large but shallow bay of Old Guaymas, which discharges, at each ebb-tide, a strong current through the outer harbor.

Near the mouth of the river Mayo, is the port of Santa Cruz, an open roadstead, where vessels sometimes discharge cargo. It is not a harbor. Between the Mayo and Fuerte rivers, there is a small harbor, in what is called the Bay of Ajio-bampo; it is perfectly landlocked, and has deep water and good holding-ground; but the entrance is crooked, and on the bar, it has, at low tide, only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms of water. A few miles northwest of Guaymas, there is an excellent harbor, perfectly landlocked, and affording entrance and protection to vessels of the largest class; but it is very small, and cannot shelter more than three or four large ships at a time, if swinging at their anchors.

What is called the harbor of Lobos, north of the island of Tiburon, affords shelter in one part from northerly, and in another from southerly winds; but in no part of the so-called harbor, is a vessel safe from all winds. The same remark applies to the "*Bay of Pincate*," called on the English charts "*Adair Bay*," near the mouth of the Colorado river; but the anchorage is bad, the bottom being rocky in many places, and there is no protection from westerly winds. This bay

has the additional disadvantage of the want of a bold shore; and as tides sometimes rise twenty odd feet above low-water mark, vessels are obliged to anchor at a great distance from the dry landing. Guaymas must therefore always remain the port of Sonora, for all foreign commerce; and through it must pass all imports destined for that State, and the territory of Arizona on the north.

The principal towns and cities in Sonora, are Hermosillo, Ures, Alamos, Guaymas, Altar, La Magdalena, and Arispe.

#### *Hermosillo,*

The first in population and present commercial importance, was originally established as a military station, under the name of the "*Presidio of Pitic*." Afterwards it became a pueblo, under the same name, and then was declared a *ciudad*, or city, under the present name. The population was estimated to be 5000 at the time of Iturbide's government (1822), and in 1840 it was estimated at 13,000, including domesticated Indians. In 1850, Velasco estimated it at 15,000; but from the best sources of information within my reach, while there in 1858-'9, I am inclined to think he overestimated it; for, although the population has undoubtedly diminished, it has not done so with such rapidity as to reduce it to its present number, which I think does not exceed 11,000 souls, including the resident Indians.

The city is pleasantly situated on the north bank of the Sonora river, at a point nearly north of Guaymas harbor, and about one hundred miles distant from it.

It contains but few public buildings, and these are not large or handsome; but many of the dwelling-houses are spacious, handsomely built, and richly furnished. Many of the private dwellings of the richer class have gardens and vineyards of several acres in extent attached to them, producing, in their season, abundance of figs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, melons, and grapes. The surplus water of the river is skilfully turned through the town in small canals, furnishing an abundant supply of water for domestic purposes, and for irrigating the gardens, orchards, and vineyards, as well as the numerous grain-fields on the outskirts of the city. The climate is healthful; and agreeable, excepting during the months of July and August, when, during the day, the heat is excessive; the thermometer sometimes ranging as high as 95 or 100 deg. Fahr.; but even in those months, the nights are cool and agreeable, as the sea-breeze from the gulf invariably sets in when the sun goes down. Hermosillo receives annually from abroad, through the port of Guaymas, about two millions of dollars' worth of foreign goods, which are sold thence to the mer-

chants of the interior towns. These goods consist of cloths, cotton goods (especially the coarse brown sheetings), lawns and other goods for dress, hardware of every description, iron and steel for all purposes of mining and agriculture, a little machinery, and lumber from California and the southern coast. She boasts of two steam-power flouring mills, several mills worked by horse-power, a manufactory of wagons, producing excellent work, and numerous small mechanical branches of art. Her vineyards produce, annually, for home consumption, from 1000 to 1500 barrels of brandy, and some wine. Above and below Hermosillo, along the river, the lands are exceedingly productive, and yield unrivalled crops of wheat and corn, and some little sugar. Long trains of wagons are constantly plying between Hermosillo and Guaymas, carrying down hides, wheat, and flour for exportation, and bringing back foreign goods. The wheat of this region is the finest I have ever seen; and it is so highly esteemed in that great wheat-growing country, California, that it is to be sent there to be used for seed; commanding, in the market of San Francisco, a price 50 per cent. above that of native wheat. The crops are put in in November, and harvested in May; they rarely suffer from rust or smut, but do some years from late frosts in the spring, after the berry has formed.

#### *Ures,*

Which has been the capital of the State most of the time since 1838, is situated in a beautiful portion of the Sonora river valley, forty-seven miles, by the post-road from Hermosillo. It was founded very early, by the Jesuit fathers, as a missionary station; and in the Jesuit records of Father Alegre, I find the *pueblo of Ures*, mentioned in the notes of the year 1646. It seems to have been first occupied as a mission, about the year 1635, by the apostolic priest Father Pedro Mendez, who labored forty years in those regions, and subjected tribe after tribe to the rules of civilized life. It derives its name from that of the tribe of Indians found there when the missionaries entered. The town is but poorly built, and, for a capital city, is singularly destitute of public buildings.

The population was estimated at 7000 in 1850. At present it hardly rises to half that number. The country along the river, above and below Ures, is picturesque and very productive. The principal crops are wheat and corn. Some little sugar and tobacco are also produced. Cotton has been successfully grown here, and yielded remarkably well; but in consequence of the loss of one or two crops by some peculiarity of the season, its culture has been entirely abandoned.

Tobacco yields there an abundant crop, and its quality is excellent.

#### *Alamos*

Is a mining town situated between the rivers Mayo and Fuerte, and is (1859) the second place in Sonora in respect to population, which amounts to about six thousand souls.

Alamos represents a large amount of wealth, drawn from the mines of silver, which abound in the district, and have been successfully worked since about 1690.

From its situation, far removed from the country of the Apaches, it is free from the attacks of those savages, and industrial pursuits can be carried on in its neighborhood with much more safety than about the towns of the north and centre.

The mines being abundant and productive, but little attention, comparatively, is paid to other branches of industry; but there are some extensive and well-conducted ranchos and haciendas, which supply grains, coarse sugar, beans, beef, and working animals, for the purposes of the district. In times of quiet, and absence of revolution (which during the past few years have been few and short), this district has supplied large numbers of mules and horses for the markets of California.

#### *Guaymas,*

Or *San Fernando de Guaymas*, is built close to the waters of the inner harbor of Guaymas, already mentioned, and contained, in 1859, a population estimated at from 2500 to 3000 souls, supported principally by the foreign commerce.

The town is surrounded, on the land side, by high hills, nearly destitute of vegetation; and from the north, these hills crowd down so abruptly upon the town, as to leave but little room for extension in that direction; but to the east, west, and southwest, there is abundance of space for a large commercial town. The climate is oppressively hot during the months of June, July, August, and September. For many days in succession, the thermometer ranges, throughout the day, at 95 to 98 degrees Fahrenheit; and, being closed in by dark rocky hills, which absorb the heat of the sun during the day and evolve it after sunset, the nights of this season are almost as oppressive as the days. To add to the discomfort during the summer, there sometimes blow, from the north, strong winds; which, gathering heat and fine dust from the parched plains of the interior, serve almost to suffocate every living thing exposed to them. These simoons, which fortunately are not very frequent, drive the inhabitants within doors, where—with windows, doors, and shutters closed—they suffer intensely from

the stifling heat. During the rest of the year the temperature is very agreeable; frost occurs in December and January.

The supply of drinking water for the town, comes in wells from the outskirts—most of them at least thirty yards deep. The water is slightly tainted with salts, but is very healthful, and after a few weeks' use, the taste is found to be agreeable. Should Guaymas ever become a large town, it will be necessary to construct large tanks for the preservation of rain-water, and to bring an additional supply from springs some sixteen miles from the harbor.

The business of importing and selling, on commission, foreign goods, is all in the hands of foreign houses, of which the principal are: one Venezuelan, two Spanish, one American, and one German, altogether perhaps representing a business capital of perhaps one and a half millions of dollars, and receiving by purchase and on commission, imports to the amount of \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 annually of goods from foreign ports and those of the west coast of Mexico. To meet the value of the imports, there are shipped, principally, silver and gold bullion to Europe and California; flour for the supply of Mazatlan, San Blas, Manzanillo, Colima, and Acapulco; wheat, copper, and hides, to California. There are owned, in Guaymas, and constantly employed in the trade there, two barks and two large schooners, besides many small coasters, of an aggregate tonnage of probably fifteen hundred or two thousand tons, which are all employed in traffic between Guaymas, San Francisco, and the ports of the west coast. The heavy imports are usually direct from England, and come in English bottom.

The export of flour probably reaches twenty or twenty-five thousand barrels per annum, and of wheat, in good seasons, perhaps 20,000 bushels. With different regulations concerning the exportation of mineral ores, a large trade might be carried on there in the ores of copper and silver from localities where it is difficult to reduce them. At present, the exportation of silver ores is prohibited by law. Hides, form an important article of export; but I have been unable to procure any exact information as to the number shipped. The health of Guaymas is always good. It has once been visited with the cholera; but with this one exception, it seems to have been always free from epidemics. The residents are sociable with strangers, and very hospitable.

#### *Altar*

Was established as the military post for the protection of the northwestern missions, about the year 1700. It had but little white population until after the revolution against the Spaniards; but in the year 1837, gold placers having been

discovered in the neighborhood, the population increased rapidly, until it reached an estimate of 6000, including Indians. With the decline of the placers, the population began to diminish; and it is not now a place of great importance. Near the northern frontier, on the bend of the San Ignacio river, is the now flourishing town of "*La Magdalena*." Of but little importance before the acquisition of Arizona by the United States, and known only for its annual fairs and its exposed position to the attacks of the Apache Indians, it has, since 1853, rapidly improved in appearance and condition, as well as in population; and an active trade exists between this town and the settlements of Arizona, which draw from Magdalena their principal supplies of corn, flour, beef, &c. The population appeared to be about 2000, in 1859, and several merchants there seemed to be doing a thriving business.

#### *Arispe*

Was, in the time of the Spanish rule, the capital of the province, and continued so through the government of Iturbide; and in 1822, contained more than 2000 inhabitants. Now, it hardly contains 600 souls. It is delightfully situated on the Sonora river, in the midst of a fertile country, and surrounded by excellent pastures and mines of silver; but the country far and near, is devastated by the Apaches, who approach without apparent fear, to the town itself, and strip the pastures of all the cattle and horses which come in their way. For this cause, the population has steadily diminished ever since its abandonment as the capital.

This was the point selected by President Buchanan for the principal military station of troops of the United States, which he recommended Congress to establish in Sonora, to give protection against the hostile Indians. As soon as his message was published in Sonora, Arispe was, by the governor, again declared the capital of the State. But it would be highly dangerous for the governor to attempt to visit his new capital, with an escort of at least fifty of his best soldiers.

Allowing liberally for the population scattered through the villages, mines, haciendas, and ranchos, the white and mixed population of Sonora cannot exceed 60,000 souls.

The Indian population is large, and, properly regulated, would be exceedingly useful. As it is, the labor of the State, in mines and agriculture, is really performed by the Indians. Of these, the most numerous tribe is that of the Yaquis. This tribe now occupy the same territory in which they were found by the Spaniards, in 1533, when Diego de Guzman\* made an excursion among

\* Buckingham Smith, "Coleccion de Documentos," published 1857, Madrid, pp. 95, et seq.

them, seeking captives to enslave. Guzman who had been accustomed to instantly putting the Indians to flight, on his appearance among those of Simolou, was astonished to find these people forming in squadrons to oppose him, and in the first engagement he had two of his men and ten of his horses wounded. He retired from the Yaqui river, without gaining a single captive. An attempt was made by the Spanish captain, Martinez de Hurdaide, about the year 1699, to bring the Yaquis to terms by force of arms. This he three times attempted, with ill success, losing each time a large number of his men, and being each time obliged to retire from their country.\*

Eight years later, the Jesuit priests, Fathers Rivas and Basilio, went among the Yaquis accompanied only by a few friendly Indians, and in the course of very few years gathered the entire nation, which could then assemble from eight to ten thousand fighting men, and must have numbered from 40,000 to 50,000 souls, into towns which they established along the river; and reduced them all to civilization and Christianity. From that day to this, the Yaqui Indians have retained their pueblos, or towns, along their river, governed by chiefs of their own tribe, appointed by the Spanish and Mexican governments.

The towns are, counting from the coast up the *Belen*, near the mouth, *Huivirivis*, *Rahun*, *Potam*, *Bicam*, *Torin*, *Bacum*, *Cocori*; the last being near the mountains. The Yaquis have, from the earliest time, been exceedingly jealous of all whites, and have looked with displeasure on the residence of any in their towns, excepting always the Catholic priests, who are highly respected by them, as a class from whom they have always received kindness and benefits, and never injuries.

The lands of the Yaqui valley, are unsurpassable for beauty and fertility. Nearly every crop known in America, from sugar and coffee, to corn and wheat, can be raised with success; one crop each year growing from the supply of water furnished the soil by the annual freshets, and one more can be raised by a little care in irrigating.

Formerly, large herds of cattle, bands of horses, and immense flocks of sheep, were to be found near these Indian towns; and a single mission on the river was possessed, during the last days of the Spanish rule, of more than *forty thousand sheep and goats*. But the frequent wars which have been made upon them during the past forty years, have nearly destroyed the cattle and sheep. During the war of 1857-'8, thousands of cattle and sheep were driven off by the State troops, and sold in the upper country.

From that time to this, there has been almost continuous war between the Yaquis and State

authorities; and the condition of the towns must be very miserable. These Indians are not only the most numerous, but are the best laborers in the northwest of Mexico. They are of good stature, strongly built, and well made. They form the great body of farm-laborers, workers in the mines, porters, and long-shoremen in the ports, and pearl-divers in the gulf. The usual price of their labor, is from four to six dollars per month, with a ration of corn. It is difficult to form an estimate of their numbers, since from their manner of living, it is not easy to find out the populations of the towns, and there are at all times many thousands scattered through the State as servants, miners, and laborers. I think they may number in all, perhaps twenty thousand, including women and children, notwithstanding the great losses they have sustained in the late wars. In the year 1740, when an insurrection occurred among them, they presented a mass of ten thousand fighting men for giving battle to the Spaniards. In the conflicts following this rising, they are said to have lost five thousand men left dead on the field of battle.\*

The origin of the name "Yaqui," is thus given by Father Rivas, the first priest who went among them: "It happened to me, when I entered this country, they came to see and welcome me according to their custom; and they spoke in so loud a tone, that I, being surprised, and deeming it a token of arrogance unusual among the nations I had visited, said to them, in order to moderate this arrogance, that it was not proper for them to speak in that rough tone, when coming peaceably to salute the priest who came to teach them the word of God. . . . Their reply was: '*Dost thou not see that I am a *Hiaqui*?*' and this they said, because the word and name *Hiaqui* signifies *one who speaks in shouts*."

The *Mayo* Indians occupy towns on the river of the same name. They were first reduced by the Jesuit priest Father Pedro Mendez, in the early part of the seventeenth century. They were from the first a docile and laborious people, given to agriculture, and raising considerable crops of Indian corn at the time of the entry of the Spaniards. Their name comes from their position, and means in their own language *boundary*, they having been bounded on both sides by hostile tribes, and kept confined within their boundaries. Father Mendez assembled them in towns, and these towns they still hold, named *Santa Cruz* (near the sea), *Echojoa*, *Guitajoa*, *Cuirimpo*, *Nabajoa*, *Nezia*, *Canamoa* (or *Camoa*), *Canicari*, and *Macollagui*. The number of these Indians does not probably exceed 10,000 to 12,000. From long continued intercourse with the Yaquis, they have become very like them in their

\* Rivas, *Historia de los Triunfos de la Fe*, Madrid, 1645.

\* Velasco.

habits, customs, and hates, and they have sometimes joined the Yaquis in their wars against the whites. In the early days of Spanish occupation, they were anxious to have the whites among them, and encouraged their immigration to their lands.

The *Onavas* and *Opata* Indians, occupy towns east and southeast of Ures; they, like the two preceding tribes, were christianized in the early days of Spanish occupation, at which time they occupied the whole western slope of the Sierra, from the headquarters of the Sonora river to Nuri, near the Yaqui towns. They were then esteemed different tribes in different localities, and are named in the old records as *Jobas*, *Tequimas*, *Tequis*, and *Coguinachies*. Now, they are few in number, and more given to service in the army than to labor on the farms and in the mines. Yet, in times of peace, they are laborious and industrious in cultivating their fields. Until within a few years, they have formed an important portion of the troops of Sonora, and they have rendered signal services against the Apaches; but they are now at war with its government.

The *Ceris* are a peculiar tribe of Indians, occupying the island of Tiburon and the neighboring coast.

They are yet in a perfectly savage state, and live solely by fishing and hunting. Having been at war with the whites from the time of the first missions, they have become reduced in numbers to about three hundred, counting some eighty warriors. They are of large stature, well made, and athletic. In war, and in the chase, they make use of poisoned arrows, the wounds from which are almost always fatal. In preparing the poison, it is said they procure the liver of a deer or cow, and by irritating rattlesnakes and scorpions with it, cause it to be struck by a great many of these reptiles. They then hang up the mass to putrefy in a bag, and in the drippings of this bag they soak their arrow heads. I cannot vouch for the truth of this statement, but it is current in Sonora. I was informed by a gentleman in Hermosillo, that one of his servants, who was slightly shot by a *Ceris*' arrow, died quickly from the effect of the wound (which mortified almost immediately), in spite of the best medical treatment. Their language is guttural, and very different from any other idiom in Sonora. It is said that on one occasion, some of these Indians passed by a shop in Guaymas, where some Welsh sailors were talking, and on hearing the Welsh language spoken, stopped, listened, and appeared much interested; declaring that these white men were their brothers, for they had a tongue like their own. They are very filthy in their habits, and are said to be worshippers of the moon.

### *The Papagoes*

Are a tribe of Indians occupying the northwestern frontier of the State, and were formerly called the lower Pimas. They live principally by hunting, and pursue their game near Hermosillo, and between there and Guaymas. They are very warlike, and are bitter enemies of the Apaches, from which cause they have of late years been very useful to the whites. These Indians were visited in 1687, by the Jesuit priest, Francisco Ensebio Klm (called, in the Spanish, Kino), who established missions and towns among them, gathered them into communities, and taught them civilization and Christianity. He obtained an order from the audience of Guadalajara, that his neophytes should not be enslaved by the Spaniards, either in the mines or on farms, for five years after their conversion; and this term was afterwards prolonged to twenty years. So long as this order was enforced, these Indians advanced rapidly in civilization; but this remarkable man, who, alone, braved the dangers of long journeys through Sonora to the Gila and Colorado rivers, who preached and taught the gospel and arts of civilization to the Papagoes, Apaches, Pimos, Yumas, Cocopas, and Maricopas, establishing missions and villages along the whole length of the Gila, where the troops of the king dared not enter, except in numerous force, died in 1710, and his neophytes were left to the mercy of the speculators of the day. In spite of the protestations of the few priests left behind him in the missions by Father Klm, the tamed Indians were forced into the mines, and to excessive labor on the plantations; and soon roused to insurrection, the Papagoes drove the whites from among them. From that time to the present, except a slight revolution in 1840, they have contented themselves with the independence of all Spanish and Mexican government they have always enjoyed, in fact, and have been willing to recognize the Mexican government so long as it does not interfere with them in their own country. Fortunately for them, the country they occupy is not very valuable for agricultural purposes, and I believe they do not object to the whites searching for minerals there.

### *The Apaches,*

The great scourge of Sonora, do not make their residence in great numbers within the limits of the State.

The tribes or bands which most frequently enter to commit depredations, are the *Mescaleros*, the *Gilenos*, the *Pinals*, the *Coyoteris*, and the *Chiricuagis*. All these bands live within United States territory, and only enter Sonora for purposes of plunder, or to fly pursuit from the Amer-



ican troops. In the time of Spanish rule, when respectable garrisons were kept up, and while the missions were maintained, the Apaches were kept at bay by the exertions of the troops, aided by large bands of the mission Indians. Their depredations were then mostly confined to small attacks on the extreme frontier settlements, and the frontier was then along the Gila river and the San Pedro. But when the Jesuits' expulsion was afterwards succeeded by a partial breaking up of the missions, the whites lost the support of many bands of friendly Indians, and the Apaches soon carried on their campaigns down to a new frontier, embracing Arispa, Fronteras, and La Magdalena. This was followed by a retiring of the larger populations southward; and the Apaches have steadily encroached on the territory of the State, until now, they kill, destroy, and rob, as far south as the vicinity of Guaymas. During my residence in Sonora in 1858-'9, a band of these savages drove off cattle and killed a herdsman within ten miles of the port, and I myself have pursued them within forty miles of that town. It is melancholy to behold this conquest of civilization by savages in this century, and to pass through beautiful valleys known to have been once teeming with the wealth of a civilized population, and then evidently containing thousands of families, to find them a solitude, and with nothing to mark their past prosperity, but the crumbling walls of the dwellings of their former occupants, and the nearly obliterated marks of lost cultivation.

A single mission, that of *Cocospera*, at the time the Jesuits had charge of the missions, branded in one year 10,000 head of horses and cattle, the increase of that year; and possessed, at the same time, many thousands of sheep and goats. Now, not a hoof exists there, and the horses of a company of cavalry, should one be stationed there, would hardly be safe from the attacks of the Apaches.

The mission of Matape once selected from its herds 800 milk-white bulls, and sent them to Guadalupe; now, a caravan guarded by twenty Mexican soldiers, is not safe half a mile from the centre of Matape. A single rancho in the north, once boasted of thirty thousand head of horned cattle; now, the buildings are gone to decay, and not a domestic animal is found there.

I have known, within the past two years, cattle and horses to be driven off in large numbers, within a few miles of Hermosillo; and am informed that during the last spring, a higher officer of the State, travelling with an escort between Ures and Arispe, was attacked by the Apaches, lost all his baggage and animals, and was himself saved only by the speed of his horse.

The Apaches enter the State from the north-

east, in bands of from fifty to three hundred. Breaking up into small parties of from six to twelve, a district is assigned to each party. They carefully reconnoitre the ranchos during the first week of the moon, and ascertain where the best and fleetest broken horses are kept; this ascertained, they take advantage of the full moon, seize the well-broken and fleet horses, mount them themselves, and having thus secured good mounts, and deprived their enemies of them, they collect all the stock of the place, and whirl it away to an agreed-upon point of rendezvous, where the whole band will soon be assembled; and with the collected plunder, all push rapidly to the mountains, and by difficult and dangerous passes regain their homes.\*

They rarely attack armed men unless obliged to do so in securing their plunder, or when they have great superiority of numbers; but once engaged, they struggle desperately, and never give or expect quarter.

They always endeavor, during their raids, to capture women and children; these they do not generally kill, but retain in captivity, making slaves of the women, and bringing up the children, if taken young, in their own habits; some of the boldest and most desperate of their warriors, are the sons of their enemies thus captured in childhood.

The tribes which I have thus hurriedly described, embrace all now in Sonora, excepting a few of the Co-co-pa nation, who live along the banks of the Colorado. These are described in the report of Lieut Michler, to be found in Emory's report of the Mexican Boundary Commission. The records of the Jesuits name many other tribes and nations, such as the *Nebomes*, *Guaimas*, *Sobaypuris*, *Nures*, *Ures*, &c.; but these were often only separate villages of the same nation, and, in other cases, the small tribes have become merged in the nations which have been described. Counting all the Indians within the State limits and outside the white pueblos and cities, I do not think their numbers can exceed 60,000; so that the entire population of the State, counting whites, those of mixed blood, civilized, half-civilized, and barbarous Indians, will not exceed 120,000—or  $1\frac{5}{17}$  inhabitants to each square mile of territory—and I am inclined to think this estimate considerably too high to be sustained by a careful census.

\* In June, 1859, a large band of these savages from near the Gila, entered Sonora. When passing the mail-stage station, at Dragoon Springs, they stopped and held a talk with the station-keeper. The chief said, jokingly, that he was going down to drive up stock from the great "*Apache Rancho*," Sonora. That there they allowed the Sonorans to live, simply for the purpose of raising and herding stock for the Apaches.

From my own observations, and from the best information I was able to obtain while in Sonora, I estimate that there are at least six millions of acres of the best possible quality of arable land within the State, with water for irrigation at convenient distance. There is more than the same quantity of land suitable for cultivation, but requiring the outlay of capital and labor to make it available. One-third of the whole territory may be looked on as valueless for agricultural or grazing purposes, and the balance, or say twenty millions of acres, is available for grazing purposes.

Great as the agricultural resources of the country are, there is no doubt but that the mineral resources are greater. Commencing at the south, are found the silver mines of Alamos and Vayoreca, which have been successfully worked from 1690 to the present day, and now yield abundantly of rich ore. Between the Mayo and Yaqui rivers are the rich silver veins of Vayoreca; on the Rio Chico, a branch of the Yaqui, on the slopes of the Great Sierra, is the district of Trinidad, abounding in mines of silver, copper, and lead. At San Marcial, seventy-five miles north-east of Guaymas, silver mines are worked in spite of the frequent raids of the Apaches, and revolutions of the Yaquis. At San Xavier, in the same direction, there were formerly several silver veins worked with enormous yield; and even now, although the Apaches almost possess the district, the silver veins are worked with some degree of success. In the neighborhood of Oposura, there are a large number of valuable veins of silver, some of which have been opened and successfully worked; but all of which are now, and long have been given up, from fear of the Apaches. Along the river Sonora, there are many mines, abandoned for years past, because they cannot be worked in safety. One of these was reopened in 1858, but the son of the owner and his servants were killed by the Apaches, almost at the outset, and the workings were immediately abandoned.

North of La Magdalena, are the famous mines of the *planchas de plata*, from which were taken, during the seventeenth century, lumps of native silver, a number of which weighed 500 pounds each. One mass was found, about 1770, which weighed, according to the Jesuit records, 3,500 pounds. Numerous attempts have been made during the present century to reoccupy this region. In 1817 an expedition of 200 men was started for the purpose, but they failed to find the place. The famous expedition of the French Count Raousset de Boulbon, in our own time, was formed with the design of getting possession of this mine. General Blanco, about the same time, with a large force, examined the district where the treasure was supposed to exist; but while he

found and denounced a number of rich silver veins, he failed to find the masses of pure silver.

In the Jesuit records of the middle of the last century, I find the following:

"In 1730, there was discovered near the garrison of Pimeria, a mine, from which was taken, in a short time, a quantity of silver so great, that the inhabitants of New Spain were astonished; and it was doubted whether it was a mine or a hidden treasure of the Indians."

But silver is not the only precious metal found in Sonora. On the river Mulatos, a gold mine is now worked with great success. The metal is found in a vein of decaying quartz, and is of very high standard. Gold is worked also in veins near Barajita, on the road from Hermosillo to la Magdalena. These ores produce a steady result, but are not what would be called rich in California.

In the same region, further west, large quantities of gold were discovered about the year 1800, in placers; the gold was scattered over the surface of the ground in nuggets from the size of a mustard-seed up to that of a large pea, and hundreds of lumps were found, weighing from six and eight ounces each, to two hundred and sixteen ounces. In a few years all the gold on the surface was picked up, and some excavations were made in which gold was found disseminated through the soil; but as the placers were far from running water, the labor of transporting the dirt several leagues to water was too great to make the workings profitable; and they were finally abandoned, after having produced some millions of dollars in gold.

Gold is found along the courses of the Mulatos and Sonora rivers, and on some portions of the Yaqui.

Copper ores abound in the State—some of them rich. In the northwestern part, several varieties are found, including the carbonate, red oxide, and sulphuret.

Near *Nacosari* are numerous veins of excellent copper ore; also along the Yaqui, below the mouth of the Mulatos, and in the mountains north of Hermosillo.

Zinc is found between the rivers San Miguel and Sonora. Rich veins of lead in the neighborhood of Matape, and along the western slope of the Sierra; and sulphuret of antimony in large quantities in various parts of the State.

I am satisfied that could the *Apaches* be conquered, and population and capital introduced into Sonora, a just and wise government maintained, and guaranties furnished to labor and capital, this State would quickly rival California in the amount of her mineral productions, and would soon outdo the best stock-raising States of our own country, in the production of horses, mules, and horned cattle.

To recapitulate. The State has an area of—say 80,000 square miles. Of this area, more than one-fifth is susceptible of cultivation. More than one-third is good grazing-land, and full one-third is valueless for agricultural or grazing purposes.

The population is not more than  $1\frac{5}{6}$  persons of all ages, sexes, and colors, to each square mile of territory.

One-half the territory is ravaged by the hostile Apaches, almost without attempt at defence on the part of the inhabitants.

The richest portion of the State is occupied by civilized Indians, in almost constant revolution. Nevertheless, the State produces from three to five millions annually, of the precious metals, and sufficient breadstuffs to supply the population and furnish a considerable amount for export.

She possesses in her different districts, soil and climate suited to the production of almost every grain and fruit known in America. She would be able, if administered by a strong and just government, affording protection to life, property, and industry, to multiply her mineral products at least ten times, and her agricultural products almost indefinitely. She possesses a port advantageously situated for supplying imports to all her own territory, as well as that of Eastern Chihuahua and Arizona; and that port, it will be seen by a glance at the map, is the easiest one on the Pacific coast to be reached by a railway from the Gulf States of our country.

One day these resources and advantages will be developed and enjoyed; but such a consummation cannot be attained until a strong government shall rule the destinies of Mexico.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December, 1860.

DIARY KEPT AT VALLEY FORGE BY ALBINGENGE WALDO, SURGEON IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY. 1777-1778.

(Concluded from our last.)

*Dec. 28th.*—Yesterday upwards of fifty Officers in Gen! Green's Division resigned their Commissions—Six or Seven of our Regiment are doing the like to-day. All this is occasion'd by Officers Families being so much neglected at home on account of Provisions. Their Wages will not by considerable, purchase a few trifling Comfortables here in Camp, & maintain their families at home, while such extravagant prices are demanded for the common necessaries of Life—What then have they to purchase Cloaths and other necessaries with? It is a Melancholly reflection that what is of the most universal importance, is most universally neglected—I mean keeping up the Credit of Money.

The present Circumstances of the Soldier is  
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better by far than the Officer—for the family of the Soldier is provided for at the public expence if the Articles they want are above the common price—but the Officer's family, are obliged not only to beg in the most humble manner for the necessaries of Life,—but also to pay for them afterwards at the most exorbitant rates—and even in this manner, many of them who depend entirely on their Money, cannot procure half the material comforts that are wanted in a family—this produces continual letters of complaint from home. When the Officer has been fatiguing thro' wet & cold and returns to his tent where he finds a letter directed to him from his Wife fill'd with the most heart aching tender Complaints, a Woman is capable of writing—Acquainting him with the incredible difficulty with which she procures a little Bread for herself & Children—and finally concluding with expressions bordering on despair, of procuring a sufficiency of food to keep soul & Body together through the Winter—that her money is of very little consequence to her—that she begs of him to consider that Charity begins at home—and not suffer his family to perish with want, in the midst of plenty. When such, I say—is the tidings they constantly hear from their families—What man is there—who has the least regard for his family—whose soul would not shrink within him? Who would not be disheartened from persevering in the best of Causes—the Cause of his Country,—when such discouragements as these ly in his way, which his Country might remedy if they would?—

*Dec. 28.*—Building our Huts.

*Dec. 29th.*—Continued the Work. Snow'd all day pretty briskly.—The party of the 22<sup>d</sup> return'd—lost 18 men, who were taken prisoners by being decoyed by the Enemies Light Horse who brought up the Rear, as they Repass'd the Schuylkill to the City. Our party took 13 or 14 of their Horsemen. The Enemy came out to plunder—and have strip'd the Town of Derby of even all its Household furniture. Our party were several times mixed with the Enemy's horse—not knowing them from our Connecticut Light Horse—their Cloaks being alike.

So much talk about discharges among the Officers—and so many are discharged—his E—y lately expressed his fears of being left Alone with the Soldiers only. Strange that our Country will not exert themselves for his support, and save so good—so great a Man from entertaining the least anxious doubt of their Virtue and perseverance in supporting a Cause of such unparallel'd importance!!

All Hell couldn't prevail against us, If Heaven continues no more than its former blessings—and if we keep up the Credit of our Money which has now become of the last consequence. If it

Credit sinks but a few degrees more, we shall then repent when 'tis too late—& cry out for help when no one will appear to deliver. We who are in Camp, and depend on our Money entirely to procure the comforts of life—feel the Importance of this matter—He who is hoarding it up in his Chest, thinks little more of it than how he shall procure more.

*Dec. 30th.*—Eleven Deserters came in to-day—some Hessians & some English—one of the Hess<sup>m</sup> took an Ax in his hand & cut away the Ice of the Schuylkill which was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick & 40 Rod wide and waded through to our Camp—he was  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour in the Water. They had a promise when they engag'd that the war would be ended in one year—they were now tired of the Service.

Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Askins commanded the 8000 who were out over the Schuylkill the Other Day—but part of two Brigades were left in the City. Cold Weather. Hutts go on moderately—very cold lying in Tents—beyond what one can think.

*Dec. 31st.*—Ajutant Selden learn'd me how to Darn Stockings—to make them look like knit work—first work the Thread in a parallel manner, then catch these over & over as above.

VALLEY FORGE, Dec. 31st, 1777.

Doct. Waldo Surgeon of Col. Prentices Reg<sup>t</sup>, is recommended for a Furlow.

J. HUNTINGTON, B. General.

Apply'd with the above for a furlow, to Doct. Cochran, who reply'd—"I am willing to oblige every Gentleman of the Faculty, but some of the Boston Surgeons have by taking an underhand method of getting furlows, occasion'd a Complaint to be lodg'd with his E-y, who has positively forbid my giving any furlows at present. We shall soon have regimental Hospitals erected—and general Ones to receive the superabundant Sick from them;—if you will tarry till such regulations are made—you will have an honourable furlow, and even now—I will, if you desire it—recommend you to his Excellency for one—but desire you would stay a little while longer—and in the mean time, recommend to me some young Surgeon for a Regiment, and I will immediately appoint him to a chief Surgeoncy from your recommendation—I shall remember the rascals who have us'd me ill."

I concluded to stay—& immediately set about fixing accommodations for the Sick &c. &c.

We got some Spirits and finish'd the Year with a good Drink & thankful hearts in our new Hutt, which stands on an Eminence that overlooks the Brigade, & in sight of the Front Line. The Major and Commissary Little are to live with us which makes our Hutt Head Quarters.

In the Evening I joyfully received a Letter from my good & loving Wife. The pleasure and satisfaction a man enjoys upon hearing of the health & peace of a Friend, and more especially of a Wife, on whose affections & peace his own happiness depends, is a greater pleasure than \* \*

1778. *January 1st.*—*New Year.* I am alive. I am well.

Hutts go on briskly, and our Camp begins to appear like a spacious City.

A party of our Army at Wilmington took a Ship in the Delaware from New York tother day in which were a Number of Officers Wives and about 70 or 80 men.

His Excellency Issued an Order this day that No one in the Army should have a new Coat made without first obtaining a pattern.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nothing tends to the establishment of the firmest Friendship like Mutual Sufferings which produces mutual Intentions and endeavours for mutual Relief which in such cases are equally shar'd with pleasure and satisfaction—in the course of this, each heart is laid open to full view—the similar passions in each, approximate themselves by a certain impulsive sympathy, which terminates in lasting esteem.

Bought an embroidered Jacket.

How much we affect to appear of consequence by a superfluous Dress,—and yet Custom—(that law which none may fight against) has rendered this absolutely necessary & commendable. An Officer frequently fails of being duly noticed, merely from the want of a genteel Dress;—and if joined to this, he has a bungling Address,—his situation is render'd very disagreeable. Neatness of Dress, void of unnecessary superfluities is very becoming—and discovers a man at least to have some Ambition—without which he will never make any figure in life. A man Appears to much greater advantage, especially among strangers, with a genteel Dress, which will naturally prepossess the Company in his favour, before they hear him speak. In this way,—even the fool may pass for a man of consequence—A man ought always to dress according to his business let his Abilities be what they will;—for if his Business is not sufficient to support a Credible appearance in the world, let him discontinue it and undertake some other branch. But these are tritles not to be compared with Virtue and good Sense: by these is the road to true fame & Glory,—by these we walk thro' the world with the least hazzard—and obtain that peace of mind; that variety of agreeable Reflection—and that esteem among the Virtuous & Amiable, which the Vicious Fool is a stranger to.

*Jan. 3d.*—Our Hutt, or rather our Hermits

Cell, goes on briskly—having a short allowance of Bread this morning we divided it with great precision—eat our Breakfast with thankfull hearts for the little we had—took care of the Sick, according to our dayly practice—and went to Work on our little humble Cottage. Now ye poets give me my Wife & Children, with your daisies, your Roses, your Tulips and your other insignificant poetical materials, & I believe I should be pretty contented in this humble Cottage which the muses have so often described.

Another Ship was taken from the Enemy this Week—the lading taken out & the Ship burnt. The other Ship mention'd New Years day—was loaded with Officers Baggage and Medicines—with other valluable matters—and Cloathing for 2000 men Compleat.

#### MARTIAL GLORY.

*The hint taken from the following line of Pope:*

“Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss & Thunder.”

Soldiers! would you acquire a lasting fame;  
Would you be pleased with a Hero's name;  
Have you a wish, to be a Martial Wonder;  
Rush furious on your foes—& fearless blunder,  
Thro' Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss and Thunder.

Fresh Beef and Flour make me perfectly Sick—especially as we have no Spirits to drink with it;—but others stand it, so must I.

To day his Excellency in Orders acquainted the Troops of the Congress's high approbation of their spirited perseverance and good Conduct this Campaign,—that Rations should be raised monthly in proportion to the rise of the Articles of life—that the Congress were exerting themselves to supply the Commissary, and Cloathiers Departments, with a greater quantity of better Stores, than hitherto, that the Troops may be Supply'd with a greater quantity of Provision than they have been of late;—and that a Month's Wages extraordinary shall be given to every Officer & Soldier who shall live in Hutt's this Winter.

Good encouragement this—and we think ourselves deserving of it—for the hunger—Thirst—Cold & fatigue we have suffer'd this Campaign—altho' we have not fought much—yet the oldest Soldiers among us have called the Campaign a very severe & hard one.

\* \* \* \* \*  
*Sunday, Jun. 4th.*—Properly accouter'd I went to work at Masonry—None of my Mess were to dictate me—and before Night (being found with Mortar & Stone) I almost completed a genteel Chimney to my Magnificent Hutt—however, as we had short allowance of food & no Grogg—my back ached before Night.

I was call'd to relieve a Soldier tho't to be dy-

ing—he expir'd before I reach'd the Hutt. He was an Indian—an excellent Soldier—and an obedient good natur'd fellow. He engaged for money doubtless as others do;—but he has serv'd his country faithfully—he has fought for those very people who disinherited his forefathers—having finished his pilgrimage, he was discharged from the War of Life & Death. His memory ought to be respected, more than those rich ones who supply the world with nothing better than Money and Vice. There the poor fellow lies not Superior now to a clod of earth—his Mouth wide open—his Eyes staring. Was he affrighted at the scene of Death—or the consequences of it?—doubtless both;—but he has doubtless acted agreeable to the dictates of Nature in the course of his whole life—why should he then be afraid of the consequences of Death. Where then is his immaterial part taken its flight—undoubtedly the scene Changes, and admits him into another State,—and there fixes him forever.—but what is that state—is it happy or miserable. He has been an honest fellow—has done his duty to his Maker and his fellow creatures as far as his Inclinations and Abilities would permit of,—therefore we'll suppose him happier now than ever.

What a frail—dying creature is Man. We are Certainly not made for this world—daily evidences demonstrate the contrary.

Ah! frail—vain man—ye jest of fortune *Here*  
Riches thy bane—and Poverty thy Curse  
All pleasures glut thee—pain afflicts thy heart,  
Thy Body only food for Death & worms.  
Look upward then—O Man—the God of Worlds  
Has form'd another World for thee—by far  
Superior to this Orb on which we dwell.

The Marquis De le Fayette, a Volunteer in Our Army—and he who gave three Ships to Congress, is very agreeable in his person and great in his Character; being made a Major General—Brigadier Conway, an Irish Colonel from France, took umbrage thereat, and resigned—but is now made Inspector General of the Army—he is a great Character—he wore a Commission in the French Service when he was but ten years old. Major General Lord Stirling, is a man of a very noble presence,—and the most martial Appearance of any General in the Service—he much resembles the Marquis of Granby—by his bald head—& the make of his face—and figure of his Body—He is mild in his private Conversation, and vociferous in the Field;—but he has always been unfortunate in Actions.

Count Polaski—General of the Horse is a Man of hardly middling Stature—sharp Countenance—and lively air;—He contended a long time with his Uncle the present King of Poland for the Crown—but being overcome he fled to France—and has now joined the American Army, where

he is greatly respected & admired for his Martial Skill, Courage & Intrepidity. Genl Green & Genl Sullivan are greatly esteemed. Baron De Kalb, a Major General is another very remarkable Character, and a Gentleman much esteemed.

Jan'y. 5th.—Apply'd for a Furlow, Surg<sup>n</sup>. Genl not at home—come back mumping & Sulkey.

Jan'y. 6th.—Apply'd again—was deny'd by reason of Inoculations being set on foot—and because the Boston Surgeons had too many of them gone—one of whom is to be broke for his lying & deceiving in order to get a furlow—and I wish his cursed tongue was pull'd out, for thus giving an example of scandal to the New England Surgeons, tho' the Connect' Ones are well enough respected at present. Came home sulkey and Cross—storm'd at the boys—and swore round like a piper and a fool till most Night—when I bought me a Bear Skin—dress'd with the Hair on:—This will answer me to ly on—Set on

\* \* \* \* \*  
Case;—it serves to keep off those melancholly Ideas which often attend such a person, and who loves his family and wishes to be with them. If I should happen to lose this little Journal, any fool may laugh at that finds it,—since I know that there is nothing in it but the natural flowings & reflections of my own heart, which is human as well as other Peoples—and if there is a great deal of folly in it—there is no intended Ill nature—and am sure there is much Sincerity, especially when I mention my family, whom I cannot help saying and am not ashamed to say that I Love.

We have got our Hutts to be very comfortable, and feel ourselves happy in them—I only want my family and I should be as happy here as any where, except in the Article of food, which is sometimes pretty scanty.

The Brigg taken from the Enemy (& mention'd New Year's Day is the greatest prize ever taken from them—There is Scarlet—Blue—and Buff Cloth, sufficient to Cloath all the Officers of the Army — & Hats—Shirts—Stockings—Shoes—Boots—Spurs—&c. to finish compleat Suits for all. A petition is sent to his Excellency, that this Cloathing may be dealt out to the Regimental Officers only—at a moderate price—Excluding Commissaries—Bull Drivers &c.—there are 4 or 5000 Apelets of Gold & Silver—Many Chests of private Officers Baggage—& General How's Silver Plate—& Kitchen furniture, &c. This Cargo was sent to Cloathe all the Officers of the British Army.

8th.—Unexpectedly got a Furlow. Set out for home. The very worst of Riding—Mud & Mire.

We had gone thro' Inoculation before this furlow.

Lodged at—Porters	£0 12 0
Breakfasted at Weaver Jan'y 9 <sup>th</sup> . just by	
Bartholomews	0 5
Grogg	0 4
Hyelyars Tavern 3½ from Caryls, dined	0 5 10

Shocking riding!

Lodged at a private house three miles this side Delaware in Jersey & Break-

fasted	0 6 0
Treat Serj. Palmer with Baggage	0 5 2
Mattersons Tavern 13 m De War	0 4 0
Mattersons	£0 2 0
Conarts Tavern 10 M.	0 5 0
Sharps or McCurdys, 4M.	0 13 0
Capt. Porter's Cross Road 2 M. from	
McCurdy's Lodged—5 Dol. 1 Sixth	£1 11 0

Breakfasted at the pretty Cottagers Jan'y

11 <sup>th</sup>	0 5 0
1 M. from Porters—Horses	6 0
Lodging &c.	0 11 0
Bullions Tavern (Vealtown)	0 5 0
Morristown Din'd	0 5 0

Poquonnack 10 M. from N. Y. at Jennings Tavern & a narrow Bed—Lodg'd here. Landlady w<sup>th</sup> Teethache—Children keep a squalling

	0 19
Room's or Romer's Tavern—Good Tavern—11 Mile from Jennings	0 20 0

For 2 boles Grog & Phyal of Rum Vaulk's house—

	0 10 0
Honey & Bread & Oats	0 12

Good Old squeaking Widow Ann Hopper, 26 M. from Jennings's, fine Living,

for Horse, Supp'r, Lodg'd, Break <sup>a</sup>	£0 12 0
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Satyr Tavern—Lodged & Supped	0 9 6
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Judge Coe's, 9 M. from King's Ferry	
Dinner, Oats	0 6 0

8 19 6

Clubb.

Adams £4 9 9 Paid

Waldo £4 9 9

Jan'y. 14.—Alone. Lodged at Sherald's.

Left Mr. Adams sick	0 9 0
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15.—On the road to Fredericksburgh	0 7 0
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## THE WOODHULL DISCUSSION.

(Continued.)

III. Letter of Mr. Sabine.

Messrs. Editors: The strictures of J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq., in the *Home Journal*, of Feb' 12, have attracted my attention. I sincerely thank him for the real or supposed errors in the "American Loyalists;" and every other gentle-

man who shall enable me to correct the mistakes, which undoubtedly exist in its pages, shall receive my acknowledgments. Mr. Cooper evidently intended to be just and courteous; but, unless I misapprehend the force of *some* of his remarks, your readers have probably derived impressions which should be removed.

The difficulties which beset me, and which persons far better informed, and far more diligent, cannot escape, when attempting to trace the history of the exiled losers in the War of the Revolution, are alluded to in the Preface to my work, are apparent to those who reflect upon the subject, and need not be repeated here. Still, it may be necessary to say, that my discouragements often tempted me to abandon the task in despair, and that (as is there said), to weave into correct and continuous narratives the allusions of books and state-papers,—to join fragmentary events and incidents, to distinguish persons of the same surname or family name, when only that name was mentioned,—and to reconcile the disagreements of various epistolary and verbal communications, seemed at times utterly impossible.

Again: referring to the Preface, I may be permitted to disown the ambitious plan which Mr. Cooper apparently, though perhaps unintentionally, imputes as the "fault" of my work, since, I beg to say, that it was my sole design and hope to add *something* to the stock of knowledge obtained by previous gleaners, and not, as he seems to imagine, to accomplish what, "in the nature of things, it would almost exceed the means of any man to do with entire accuracy." But I took unwearied pains to be correct as far as I went, and often spent days in patient toil to arrive at results which, when ascertained, were stated in a single line or sentence.

The embarrassments which attended the disposal of the Butlers, Johnsons, and De Lanceys, of New York, the Penns, of Pennsylvania, and of Governor Hutchinson, and the Winslows, of Massachusetts, are fresh in my recollection. On turning to my authorities now, I find nothing which I related of the De Lanceys, that the most careful writer, who, without personal knowledge, is compelled to consult printed or manuscript testimony, would not consider trustworthy. The circumstance that one writer (who cites an English magazine) says: "Oliver De Lancey died at Beverley, England, Oct. 27, 1785, aged 68;" that he was "late of New York," and "lost a large estate by his loyalty," led to the confusion pointed out by Mr. Cooper with regard to the two Oliver De Lanceys, and caused me to consider that the facts, which really belong to the notice of the younger Oliver, should be, as they are by me, embraced in the article devoted to the senior Oliver; and the more especially, since Allen's "Biograph-

ical Dictionary"—a work of established reputation—says that the latter was the member of Parliament, thus giving me additional reason for supposing that the latter was alive at the passage of the confiscation act, and at the time of the publication of the New York Almanac for 1782. And hence, to conclude, that as, in the references in both, the word *junior* is omitted, the mention is of Oliver De Lancey, the father, and not of the son. Again, Allen says, that the wife of Sir William Draper was the daughter of James De Lancey, the lieutenant-governor.

Still again: I could not but think, from the information which I obtained in the British colonies of the sons and grandsons of loyalist officers, who served in one or the other of "De Lancey's Battalions," that the Col. James De Lancey who figured in the affairs of Nova Scotia, and died there, was *the* James De Lancey, who was the friend of Jay, &c. But I defer most cheerfully to the better knowledge of Mr. Cooper, remarking, however, that I cannot accuse myself of the want of due care.

The agency of the younger Oliver de Lancey, in maiming the worthy Gen. Woodhull, was not stated without examination. I cannot here cite all the evidence on which my opinion was formed. To judge severely of my fellow-men ever gives me pain; and the readers of my work, I may venture to affirm, have found but few such judgments in its pages. The passages from Thompson, quoted by Mr. Cooper, did not escape my observation during my inquiries. As far as I am competent to decide, the "History of Long Island" is a faithful, and, generally, an accurate book; and had Mr. Thompson *positively* said that De Lancey interfered to *save* his whig countryman, I should have qualified the censure. While direct testimony does not, I think, exist that the loyalist officer *did* thus interfere, there is proof that, with his own hands, he inflicted blows upon his prisoner. I doubt, in truth, whether the 71st, which was a Highland regiment, had any thing to do with the affair. Thus, Robert Troup, who was a lieutenant in Col. Lasher's battalion of New York militia, was a fellow-prisoner with Woodhull, listened, as would seem, to his latest declarations, and in January, 1777, testified to them under oath. While he (Troup) "was confined on board a transport," he deposed that "Brigadier-general Woodhull was also brought on board, in a shocking mangled condition; that he asked the general the particulars of his capture, and was told that he had been taken by a party of light-horse, under command of Capt. Oliver De Lancey; that he was asked by the captain if he would surrender; that he answered in the affirmative, provided he would treat him like a gentleman, which Capt. De Lancey assured him he would: whereupon

the general delivered his sword, and that immediately after, said Oliver De Lancey, Jr., struck him; and others of his party, imitating his example, did cruelly cut and hack him in the manner he then was," &c., &c. Other details, with Troup's statement, may be found in Onderdonk's "Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County, New York," pp. 104, 105, 106. I will not trespass upon your kindness to pursue the subject any further at the present time. In concluding this communication, I have to repeat my respectful acknowledgments to Mr. Cooper, for the general tone of the article which has caused me to trouble you; and to request that every passage in the "American Loyalists" supposed to contain errors, may be pointed out to me by letter, or otherwise, since, above all things, I desire to do justice to, and to speak truly of, those who are mentioned in its pages.

I am, gentleman, your friend and servant,  
LORENZO SABINE.

EASTPORT, Me., Feb. 19, 1848.

#### IV. Letter from Mr. Cooper.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Several private letters have been written to me, in addition to the published communication of Mr. Van Schaack. They leave no doubt that I was mistaken in saying that Brig.-general De Lancey died in the war. He unquestionably did die at Beverley, in 1785; and his body is interred in the choir of the minster, while a monument standing near the transept records his services. By an extract from a manuscript history of the Revolution, written by the late Judge Thomas Jones, of Fortneck, and which manuscript is now in the possession of the De Lancey family, I also learn that Oliver, Sen., left New York at the evacuation, in 1783, went to England, and died at Beverley.

My own mistake has arisen from some strange misapprehension of the meaning of one whom I was questioning on such subjects, with a view to print a little family history for private use. My informant's mind has probably reverted to some other person, when I supposed he was talking of Oliver De Lancey. My error has been one of more than thirty years' standing, and, in that time, I may have misstated the facts, in writing to some twenty persons.

Whether Gen. De Lancey was in Parliament or not, does not appear by my letters. I said he was *not*, because I believed him *dead*; but now, that he is so unexpectedly revived, I profess to have no knowledge on the subject. I can see no reason why he should choose Beverley for a residence; still, if he went to England, he must live somewhere, and he might select that town, as well as any other. If really a member *from* Beverley, it would at once explain his wish to die

there. Oliver De Lancey, Sen., so far as I can discover, had not a drop of English blood in his veins. His father was a Frenchman, and of purely French extraction, for centuries. His mother was a Van Cortlandt; *her* mother a Schuyler; and *her* mother, a lady from Holland, whose name I can neither spell nor pronounce; though Judge Benson, my authority for this latter fact, tried hard to teach me how to do both.

I think it, probable, moreover, that of the three conjectures concerning the allusions in the memoirs of Mr. Van Schaack, that of Mr. Sabine's is the true one, while Mr. H. C. Van Schaack and myself are mistaken. Mr. Van Schaack thinks that Mr. Watts referred to the elder Beverley Robinson. He is probably ignorant that Mr. Watts and General De Lancey were brothers-in-law, a circumstance that, taken in connection with the facts that Oliver, Sen., did certainly die at Beverley, as well as the date of his (Mr. Watt's) letter, renders it highly probable that Mr. Sabine's conjecture, after all, is the true one.

In all other respects, I believe, my statements are accurate, and Mr. Sabine has been misled. I do not now allude to the outrage on Gen. Woodhull, about which I never professed to know any thing beyond the authority quoted. I learn that Mr. Sabine has some imposing authority on this point, to which, however, he made no reference in his book; but, as I see you promise us a letter from that gentleman on the subject, I shall reserve my remarks until it appears.

Mr. Van Schaack is quite right in supposing I did not question Mr. Sabine's *intentions*. I think as much was distinctly said in my former letter; still, he has not consulted good authorities in very many instances, in reference to persons and families of the Middle States. Take one instance in proof of what I say. At page 687, Mr. Sabine gives the issue of Harry White and Eve Van Cortlandt. One son he gives as *Lieutenant-general* White. I do not know that this gentleman is now living, but I think he must have been made a *general* years since—I saw him a lieutenant-general, nearly thirty years ago. The difference is of little moment as a fact in history, but in personal accounts, like those of Mr. Sabine, it becomes a mistake. The same error exists in the rank of John White, whom Mr. Sabine calls *Rear-admiral* White. This gentleman died as Sir John Chambers White, *vice-admiral* of the White, two or three years before Mr. Sabine's book appeared. Here he is two steps in naval rank out of the way, in addition to overlooking the Order of the Bath. Peter Jay *Monroe* should be *Munro*; and this gentleman, instead of marrying the Dowager Lady Hayes (Anna White), did in fact marry her sister, Margaret White. All these errors are to be found in four consecutive lines of the book. They



are, unquestionably, the fruits of difficulties inherent in the subject. I agree with Mr. Van Schaack in thinking the omissions of the most moment. I will point out a few. Mr. Sabine tells us that a daughter of Brigadier-general Skinner, of New Jersey, married Sir Wm. Robinson, the late Commissary-general; but he does not tell us that her sister married the present Field-marshal Sir George Nugent, Bart., at this hour the oldest officer, in the way of service, in the British army. He tells us that one son was Capt. John Skinner, of the royal packet-service, between Dublin and Holyhead; but he does not tell us that another was Lieut.-gen. Philip Skinner, of the British army. He does not tell us that Generals De Lancey and Skinner were sons of two of the daughters of Stephen Van Cortlandt, a fact of some interest, as connected with their common career in the Revolution.

On page 677, Mr. Sabine gives the name of John Watts, of whom he disposes in just four lines and one word. All that he says is accurate, but observe how much he omits. John Watts, the gentleman mentioned by Mr. Van Schaack, married Anne De Lancey, a daughter of the Huguenot. Of children, that grew up and married, there were three sons, Robert, John, and Stephen, and four daughters. Robert married Lady Mary Alexander, a daughter of Lord Sterling's, and has left a numerous issue. John, the person whom Mr. Sabine calls "the late venerable John Watts," and who made the munificent donation to the Orphan Asylum, married his cousin-german, Jane De Lancey, and left descendants, one of whom is the Captain Philip Kearney, 1st dragoons, who lost an arm lately, in charging up to the gates of Mexico. This last fact, however, was too recent to be mentioned by Mr. Sabine. Of the daughters, the only one named by Mr. Sabine, was Mary, who married Sir John Johnson. This is accurate: Lady Johnson having been the mother of the late Sir Gordon Johnson, and the grandmother of the present Sir William. This is the only daughter Mr. Sabine mentions. Susan married Philip Kearney, of New Jersey, and among other children, was the mother of Stephen Watts Kearney, Brigadier-gen. U. S. Army, whose services in New Mexico and California, and march across the continent, now form a part of the history of the country. Anne (I think it was) was unquestionably the female mentioned in this brief allusion of Mr. Sabine's, at page 409, viz.:—"A Captain Kennedy and *wife*, of New York, went to England, and were there in 1785." I think Mr. Sabine, himself, will smile when he reads what follows.

Archibald Kennedy, the person named, was the descendant of a Scottish family of rank, a branch of which came to America early in the eighteenth

century. He was put in the navy, where he served with reputation, and became the Commodore Kennedy, of whom all the old Ante-revolutionists so often spoke. Mr. Sabine will find him mentioned in Franklin's autobiography, as having saved the vessel in which both were going to Europe, from shipwreck. Commodore Kennedy resided in the house at the corner of Broadway and the Battery; that has now been in possession of the Prime family, for the last thirty or forty years. He built that house, I believe. He was twice married; firstly, to a Macomb, an aunt of the late Major-general Macomb's, I *think*, who died without issue. His second wife was the Anne Watts, who was the mother of all his children, and who accompanied him to England. In 1792, the elder branch of the Kennedys failed, and Commodore Kennedy succeeded to the titles and large estates of his family, as Earl of Cassilis (pronounced Cass-ils), in the kingdom of Scotland. Both Lord and Lady Cassilis died previously to 1795, when their eldest son, also born in America, succeeded earl. This Lord Cassilis was made a peer of the United Kingdom in 1806. He married an heiress of the Erskines, whose estate was settled on the second son. This second son was subsequently known as the Hon. Mr. Kennedy Erskine, and married one of the daughters of William IVth, by Mrs. Jordan. This lady was the Lady Kennedy Erskine who was so often mentioned in the English journals, during the reign of her father. In consequence of the connection between their children, as I have always supposed, early in the reign of William the IVth, Lord Cassilis was elevated to the peerage, and became Marquis of Ailsa, his present rank, if living. I advise Mr. Sabine to shake the Skinner family-tree well; it will yield him excellent nuts to crack. I have been amused with the quotation Mr. Van Schaack has given us, in connection with the burning of the Bloomingdale house. It is as much as if the Council of Safety had said, "We meant to confiscate that house, and it was like burning our own property." As respects the treatment of the females on that occasion, it was not very gentle certainly, but was probably a mere consequence of the wish that they might not escape and give the alarm. Besides servants, the only persons in the house were Mrs. De Lancey (Phila Franks, of Philadelphia), her daughter Charlotte, afterwards the wife of Field Marshal Sir David Dundas, at one time commander-in-chief of the British army, and Elizabeth, a daughter of the Richard Floyd mentioned by Mr. Sabine, at page 289. The last was subsequently the mother of my wife, and I have often heard her relate the particulars. Poor old Mrs. De Lancey, who was as deaf as an adder, hid herself in a dog-kennel, and came near being burned

there; while her daughter and her friend, two of the loveliest women America ever produced, wandered about in a wood for hours, *barefooted* in their night-clothes, and in the month of November! Towards evening of the succeeding day, they stole into the seat of the Althorpes, one of the adjoining houses.

I must conclude. It has been stated to me by letter, that Mr. Sabine is not alone in saying that Sir William Draper married a daughter of *James De Lancey*. I have never supposed that Mr. Sabine has stated any thing for which he did not *believe* he had authority. But he, and all others who have fancied this, are wrong, as I will now show by the highest proof of which the case admits. Your female readers, in particular, may pardon a good deal of dry explanation, for the sake of learning how marriages were managed in the olden time:

By THE HONORABLE

CADWALLADER COLDEN, ESQUIRE,

His Majesty's Lieutenant-governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in AMERICA.

To ANY PROTESTANT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL:

*Whereas*. There is a mutual purpose of marriage between Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath, of the one party, and Miss Susanna De Lancey, daughter of the Honorable Oliver De Lancey, Esquire, of the other party, for which they have desired my License, and have given Bond, upon condition, that neither of them have any lawful Let, Impediment of Pre-Contract, Affinity, or Consanguinity, to hinder their being joined in the Holy Bonds of Matrimony: These are therefore to authorize and empower you, to join the said Sir William Draper and Susanna De Lancey in the Holy Bonds of Matrimony, and them to pronounce man and wife.

*Given under my Hand and the Prerogative Seal of the Province of New York, at Fort George, in the City of New York, the Tenth day of October, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., Anno: Domini, 1770.*

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

By His Honor's Command,  
Go. BANTAR, D. Sec'ry.

On the back of this license, which is *printed* with blanks for names and dates, and in one corner, is written in a fair round hand,

*"The within named couple were married by me, Octo. the 13th, 1770. SAM'L AUCHMUTY."*

The original of this document has been lying among my papers five and thirty years, having descended to my wife from a maiden aunt, along with divers other curious relics.

Yours, &c.,

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### MARYLAND.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Baltimore, March 7, 1861.*—The chair was occupied by Gen. J. Spear Smith, the President of the Society. After the usual reading of the record, donations were announced by the Librarian, as having been received from the Am. Philosophical Society, and U. S. Department of the Interior. The Corresponding Secretary presented a volume entitled "Calendar of State Papers from 1574 to 1660," from the author, Wm. Noel Sainsbury, a corresponding member of the Society.

The Annual Report of the President was read, showing the affairs of the Society, in every department, to be in a satisfactory condition. The Treasurer's statement shows a balance on hand of \$359. The Finance Committee have invested, from the annual surpluses, \$1400. The Council of Government of the Athenæum have in the Savings Bank, applicable to keeping the building in repair, \$1032 52; and on hand, for current expenses, \$272 65. The Gallery Committee report on hand the sum of \$500, which will probably be appropriated to the purchase of some work of art. All officers and committees have attended faithfully to the duties of their respective departments.

These details were presented thus particularly, that it might be seen that the Society, on the eve of its removal to the Peabody Institute, was in a most flourishing and prosperous condition. In view of the approaching removal, the President recommended the appointment of various committees, to confer with the Mercantile Library Association respecting occupying a part of the Society's rooms in the Athenæum; furnishing the new rooms, removing books, &c., and obtaining a legal transfer from the trustees of the Peabody Institute of the apartments designed for the Society.

Mr. Brantz Mayer offered resolutions to meet these recommendations of the president, which were adopted.

The Special Committee on the Library reported that over 4000 volumes on historical and kindred subjects have been added to the Society's original collections, by selection from the works formerly belonging to the Baltimore Library Company, but now the property of the Society.

The President announced changes in the membership during the past year, as follows: died, 7; resigned, 8; removed, 3.

Appropriations for the year were made amounting to \$1440.

*April 4.*—In the absence of the President, Philip I. Tyson, Esq., was called to the chair.

After the reading and approval of the record, the Librarian announced donations from Prison Alleviation Society, of Philadelphia; State of Rhode Island, U. S. Treasury Department, Hon. Anthony Kennedy, Ulster (N. Y.) Historical Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a note from John H. Alexander, Esq., accompanying a collection of papers remaining from the proceedings of the Geological Association, in the years 1835 and 1836.

Mr. Tyson gave an account of the Association, and its members; among whom were Prof. Duca- tel, Dr. Doornick, Prof. Aiken, himself, and other gentlemen, at that time interested in science.

Dr. Abraham Arnold and John Cummings Brown were elected active members.

Mr. Streeter, from the Council of Government, reported that a conference had been held with a committee representing the Mercantile Library Association, and that they had discussed certain measures, to be adopted in case of the removal of the Historical Society to the Peabody Institute. The principal of these were, that the Society would retain its proprietorship of the Athenæum Building; that it would reserve for its own uses the upper floor, and transfer the second floor, under a satisfactory lease, to the Library Association; that the expenses of the building should be borne by the latter, while the Society continues its monthly contribution towards the fund for repairs. Some privileges in regard to the Gallery, were asked by the Association.

On motion of Mr. B. Mayer, the Council of Government was desired to continue its negotiations, and to report to the Society.

Mr. Mayer read a letter addressed by him, as chairman of the furnishing committee, to the trustees of the Peabody Institute, asking an appropriation for a portion of the furniture for the Society's Rooms, and stated that the subject had not been acted upon by the trustees. The ground of the application was, that the Society will leave its own building, and ample accommodations, to take charge of the Institute, and ought not to be subjected to an expenditure of a considerable amount, in addition to these sacrifices, for the purpose of conforming to the wishes of Mr. Peabody.

Dr. Morris, from the Library Committee, reported that the special committee had concluded its labors of selection, and that, as Librarian of the Peabody Institute, he had selected about 3500 volumes, from the books formerly belonging to the Baltimore Library Company, to be purchased by the Institute; but he had been informed that the Library Committee of the trustees had decided not to purchase them.

Mr. Streeter explained the circumstances connected with the transaction.

On motion of Mr. Mayer, the subject was laid on the table.

Rev. Dr. Morris read an interesting paper on the "Old Stone Mill, at Newport, R. I."

Adjourned.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, April 11, 1861.*—The annual meeting of this Society was held at their rooms in Tremont-street. There was a large attendance, and among those present were the venerable senior member, Josiah Quincy, and Wm. C. Bryant, an honorary member. The President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, was in the chair.

The President, besides allusion to the annual meeting, referred in brief terms to the deaths of two resident members, Judge White of Salem, and Judge Shaw; he was followed by Professor Parsons, President Felton, Ex-president Walker, Josiah Quincy, and Hon. James Savage, whose warm eulogies on these eminent men were listened to with the deepest interest. Resolutions of respect for the deceased were unanimously adopted.

Charles Deane, Esq., chairman of the Standing Committee, read an elaborate report, reviewing, in detail, the operations of the Society during the past year, and the present state of the Society, showing great prosperity. Its library is receiving constant donations. It has now four publishing committees; one volume of collections is going through the press, and two others are in preparation, which will contain the Winthrop Papers and Washington Letters,—all from originals and never printed. These promise to result in publications of extraordinary historic value.

The Treasurer distributed a printed report of the finances, which closes by stating that the income of the Society consists of an annual assessment on each resident member, of five dollars, or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission-fee of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the income of the Dowse Fund; the sales of the publications of the Society; and the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams," and remarking that there is no fund for the purchase of books, and that a permanent income for this object, that would enable the Society, from time to time, to purchase works on American history not in its library, would very largely add to its means of usefulness.

The following were chosen officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

*President*—Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop. *Vice-presidents*—Jared Sparks, Hon. David Sears. *Recording Sec'y*—Rev. Chandler Robbins. *Cor. do.*—Joseph Willard, Esq. *Treasurer*—Hon. Richard Frothingham. *Librarian*—Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. *Cabinet Keeper*—Dr. Samuel A. Green.

*Standing Committee*—Leverett Saltsonall, Esq., Thomas Aspinwall, Esq., Rev. Sam'l K. Lothrop, Hon. Charles H. Warren, Rev. Robert C. Waterson.

The meeting then dissolved.

N. E. HISTORIO-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, April* —, 1861.—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held on the above date, at their rooms, No. 13 Bromfield-street, the President, Winslow Lewis, M. D., in the chair.

The Librarian, Mr. Sheppard, reported that twenty bound volumes and two hundred and fifteen pamphlets had been presented to the library during the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. John Ward Dean, reported that letters accepting membership, had been received from Beriah Batfield, Esq., M. P., F. R. S., of Nestor Hall, Devontry, Northamptonshire, England, and James Riker, Esq., of Harlem, N. Y., author of the "Annals of Newtown, L. I."

The Historiographer, Dr. Palmer, read biographical memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Clark, of Ware, Mass., who died 27th March last, aged 43; and Hon. John McLean, who died in Cincinnati, Ohio, 4th April last, aged 76 years—both having been corresponding members of this Society.

Rev. Alfred P. Putnam, of Roxbury, read a learned and most interesting paper on the Art of Printing, from its first invention to the present time.

On motion of Rev. F. W. Holland, the thanks of the Society were presented to Mr. Putnam for his valuable paper, and a copy was requested for its archives.

Rev. Mr. Holland read a brief but very interesting paper on the capture of Major André, with remarks on André's Life, by Winthrop Sargent, recently published. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Holland for his valuable paper, and a copy was asked for preservation in the archives of the Society.

After the transaction of some private business the meeting was dissolved.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Boston, April* 5, 1861.—The regular monthly meeting was held on the afternoon of the above date.

After the transaction of the regular business of the meeting, several valuable donations were received. The President, Dr. Lewis, presented a

large and convenient cabinet for the collection of the Society. A valuable donation from England, was announced by the Vice-president, Mr. Colburn. It comprised some very fine coins of the English series, beginning with William the Conqueror.

A donation of a South American periodical, containing an article on the coins and medals of that country, was received through the Secretary.

The Society passed the customary vote of thanks. Several coins were exhibited, among which some very curious ancient ones attracted particular attention. Dr. Shurtleff read a short article on the military services of Lawrence Washington, particularly the attack on Carthage, by Admiral Vernon, in 1751, and exhibited a medal struck in honor of the admiral. The Society discussed the subject of obtaining a more convenient room for its meetings, and adjourned.

#### NEW YORK.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, May* 7, 1861.—A meeting of the above Association was held at their rooms on Tuesday evening. The spacious hall of the building was filled to repletion in every part. There was a large number of ladies present. Hon. Luther Bradish presided.

Prof. W. Wright Hawkes read a very interesting paper, on Major-general Alexander McDougall. The paper was a full biography of the life of that distinguished soldier. The general entered the army in 1756, and served as brigadier-general in 1776, under Washington, and was engaged in the battle near White Plains, in 1777, and at German-town, in the same year. In 1778, he prosecuted the works at West Point. He entered Congress in 1781, and died at the age of 55, during the session of the Congress, and was buried under his own pew, in the old Presbyterian church, in Wall-street. At the conclusion of the biography, the learned speaker, in a few remarks, paid a high tribute to the learning, worth, and soldierly qualities of Gen. McDougall.

On motion of Dr. Osgood, the thanks of the Association were tendered to the author of the papers, George H. McWhorter, of Oswego.

A sketch of the history of the United States flag, was then given by Dr. Gardner.

Benson J. Lossing made some remarks in regard to the flag of our country, and his feelings on being able to greet it on entering Kentucky.

Dr. Osgood moved that the thanks of the Association are eminently due, and are hereby tendered to Gen. Winfield Scott, for the patriotic stand he has taken in supporting the flag of the country, which were unanimously adopted.

Professor Greene corrected an error in regard to

a flag, said to be that of Gen. Greene's regiment, during the Revolution.

It was resolved that a flag should be raised over the building as soon as practicable.

Major Robert Anderson was proposed and elected an honorary member of the Society; after which an adjournment took place.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—*Providence*, April 15, 1861.—The quarterly meeting of this Society was held this evening, at the Cabinet, on Waterman-street.

Don Bartolome Mitre, and Don Domingo Jamineto were elected honorary members.

The Commission of Coddington, sent to the Society by Hon. J. G. Palfrey, of Cambridge, Mass., was accepted for publication.

The Secretary read an interesting document also received from Mr. Palfrey, being a copy of the transactions of a committee of the English Admiralty, in 1650, in relation to the petition of William Coddington, praying "for the grant of two islands, viz.: Aquidnick, *alias* Rhode Island, and Qunnunagate Island, lying in the Narragansett Bay," and his "appointment to be Governor of said Islands," together with the action of the committee upon the petition of Edward Winslow, "on behalf of William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth in New England, and his associates," for a patent for Kennebeck river. This document was prefaced by a brief notice of Coddington, prepared by the Secretary. The document itself is a copy of the records of the Admiralty, obtained by Dr. Palfrey during his late visit to England, and will probably appear in the next volume of the Society's collections.

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### Notes and Queries.

#### NOTES.

**SHAY'S REBELLION.**—The following opportune epistle of Peter Thacher, D. D., pastor of the Brattle-Street Church, Boston, addressed to the patriotic Thomas Cushing, which I copied from the original in the possession of William H. Newman, Esq., of Boston, his grandson, and to which I add a few notes, may be regarded as a ministering admonitory commentary on the political spirit of our country in this exciting period.

J. S. LORING.

Boston, Sept. 15, 1786.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR: I promised before you went away, to give you the secret or private history of our affairs here; whether I shall be able to comply with my promise or no I am doubtful, but I will endeavor to inform you of every thing which I know.

The council adjourned on Monday after you left us, with only sanctioning the measures agreed upon before you went away; the proclamation was issued, and appeared to be universally agreeable to the people here, and we heard that it was very acceptable to those in the country. On Tuesday the court at Worcester took place, the militia did not turn out and they were finally stopped. An account of these matters you will see in the papers, and therefore I need not repeat them. The judges, particularly Ward, behaved exceedingly well.

The general consent of judgment among the friends of government appeared to be in favor of its exerting energy, and Concord court was approaching. The governor issued his orders to Major-gen. Brooks, and called upon the artillery company of Roxbury. Brooks, upon examination, found that he could raise a thousand men, which would have been amply sufficient.

On Friday last we had a town meeting. Adams\* was chosen moderator. One man, a Signourney at the north end, opposed the town's doing any thing upon the question; but he was not supported. Doctor Jarvis† made one of the florid, declamatory speeches which do not always convey the true meaning; but it was easy to see that he favored the insurgents and was not disposed to do any thing to discourage or oppose them. A committee was appointed whose names you will see in the paper, who on Monday reported the address to the governor and the people which was received without opposition. A great alteration had, however, taken place in the minds of the people in and around this town with respect to the coercive method which the governor had adopted. Those who a week before had censured the proclamation for being too gentle and lenient, and who thought government could not exist unless its energy was exerted, now deprecated bloodshed, and thought it best to temporize with the people and give way to their humor. They censured the governor severely, and the Hancock's friends improved the opportunity with all their industry; they trumpeted it around that, had he been governor, this difficulty would not have taken place; that he was a popular gov-

\* This was Samuel Adams, as John Adams was at that time the minister at the Court of St. James.

† Charles Jarvis, a famed Boston orator, of whom a political opponent says: "A fairer intellect, more cultivated mind, warped not from truth and government."

ernor and would not strain points too high; Mr. Bowdoin had too great notions of the dignity of government, and was not capable of steering the vessel in a storm, as Mr. Hancock had done.

But all this had no effect upon the governor; he continued firm in his purposes, and resolved to follow the advice of the gentlemen whom he consulted before they went away, in addition to whom he had called in the members of the Senate in town and the Boston seat. But on Sunday, Col. Prescott, of Groton, and Mr. Savage, came to town frightened out of their wits, and begged that the orders for the militia be countermanded: they represented the general disaffection of the country and the dangerous consequences which might arise from an exertion of force. This, however, would not have availed, had not the town of Concord sent out to call in the committees of a number of towns to mediate with the people and to support government; this furnished a good pretext, and the orders were countermanded.

On Tuesday, a number of persons assembled at Concord, and were joined with a party from Worcester; they were in general very contemptible, and behaved in an insolent and abusive manner. They paid no attention to the committees, but insisted upon it that the court should not sit. In the afternoon they got most of them drunk, and were clamorous and abusive. The judges made no attempt to open the court, but in the most pusillanimous manner left the town, and the dignity of government was, in this instance, laid prostrate. On Wednesday, the council advised the governor to call the general court together on that day fortnight, which is accordingly to take place. At Taunton, Gen. Cobb protected the court, who thought it best to adjourn; and we have not heard from Berkshire. What measures the court will pursue, no man can say, but the people in the country begin to be seriously alarmed. In Hampshire they are associating to support government; and the conduct of the mob at Concord towards the committee, incensed them highly. The Supreme Court sit the next week at Worcester; should they attempt to stop it, they would injure their cause much with the people, but without some further violence on their part, I am afraid the court will go to temporizing, and the force of government still further weakened.

You cannot imagine what high spirits the matter has given to friend Hancock. He is gone to Connecticut in a one-horse chaise, to show his humility, and hopes, I doubt not, to come in fully the next year.\* Adams has behaved well. The

\* "O happy vantage of a kneeling knee!"

Hancock succeeded Bowdoin, in 1787; which station he retained until his decease, in 1793.

lawyers stand aloof, except Sullivan,\* who has done well, and appear to be waiting for an opportunity to secure themselves, or to unite in the dissolution of the government.

I have thus given you as particular an account as possible of the state of things here; I have felt myself deeply interested in them, and know not that I have omitted any particular of importance. The governor has discovered that he meant to do his duty, let it have what effect it might upon his election. An instance of this he gave in sending to the judges of the Supreme Court, a few days since, and asking them whether they desired to be taken by government, in order to support them? If they did, he would take them, let the popular streams run ever so strongly the other way. They declined his offer, saying "that they could not answer the purposes of their sitting under such circumstances."†

You are certainly one of the most fortunate men in the world. If there are any difficulties by your conduct in which you might forfeit your popularity, either a friendly fit of the gout, or a journey on public affairs extricates you from them. Your family will write to you without doubt. Mr. Balch's‡ family besides, but particularly your niece, Peggy, desire to be affectionately remembered to you. We wish for your return, as we wish you very much.

I sincerely wish you discretion and success in your public mission, and a safe and happy return to your family and friends, and am

Your highly obliged and  
grateful serv<sup>t</sup>,

PETER THACHER.

His Hon. Gov. CUSHING.

CANADA ALMANAC.—The Upper Canada *Gazette*, Niagara, Nov. 23, 1796, has the following:

"Now preparing, and will in a few days be committed to the press, the Upper Canada Calendar for 1797, being a pocket almanack containing, besides Astronomical calculations, lists of the Legislature, Executive and Military officers, times and places of holding Courts, &c. being the first book of the kind ever executed in the Province."

\* James Sullivan, afterwards governor of the State, a personal friend of Hancock.

† Although the vigorous Bowdoin was superseded by John Hancock, with an almost entire new Legislature, the same decisive measures against the malcontents were pursued, until the insurrection was entirely quelled. All honor to Bowdoin and Hancock! for manfully they did "withstand the rude eye of rebellion and welcome home again discarded faith." Notwithstanding the rather detractive tone of our divine in reference to John Hancock, he pronounced a eulogy over his remains, before they were laid aside in cold mother earth.

‡ Nathaniel Balch, whose great powers of witicism made him famous as Gov. Hancock's jester.

THE PITCHER PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—  
We take the following from Littell's *Living Age*:

Mr. Lossing, in his very beautiful and interesting book about Mount Vernon, has inserted a copy of a eulogy on Washington, pasted on the back of the so-called *Pitcher Portrait*, for which he says, very kindly, he is indebted to me, and adds: "Mr. Hall and others of Mr. Smith's friends have been under the impression that that accomplished gentleman was the author of the eulogy; but the explicit statement of Mr. Peale, and concurring circumstances, appear to remove all doubt of the truth of the common tradition in the Washington family, that it was written by an unknown English gentleman." It is not my business to inquire into the "concurring circumstances" which Mr. L. has not thought proper to place before the public; but I will take it as a favor if you will publish the following statement, which I believe is substantially the same as that furnished to Mr. Lossing by me, upon which the claims of Mr. Smith are grounded, as my desire is to establish the claim of a Philadelphian to the authorship of this splendid composition.

H. HALL.

Many years ago, John R. Smith, Esq., of this city, handed me a paper, of which the following is a copy. The history that he gave me was that he saw in a window a common Liverpool earthenware pitcher, on which was a portrait of Washington, which he considered an excellent likeness. He purchased the pitcher, and showed it to Bishop White, Judge Peters, and James Reed, Esq., all of whom had been friends and associates of Washington. They pronounced it to be *one* of the best likenesses they had ever seen. The picture was cut out, framed, and sent to Judge Washington, at Mount Vernon. These lines were written by Mr. Smith, and placed on the back of the picture. Some years afterwards among the visitors to Mount Vernon, were some ladies, one of whom found this inscription, and made a very imperfect copy of it, which was soon after published, and, perhaps from the association, was attributed to an Englishman. It occasioned some discussion, and the authorship was, of course, given to Mr. Smith by those who had seen the original MS. This fact I got from a venerable relic of Revolutionary times, who knew the author, and all about the circumstances—Mrs. Susan R. Eckard, now in the eighty-third year of her age, having her mind fresh and vigorous, and well stored with anecdotes of Revolutionary times. She was present when Washington delivered his Farewell Address, at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, of which a graphic sketch has been written within the last two years.

The Hon. Charles Jared Ingersoll, who was well acquainted with Mr. Smith, tells me he frequently talked with him about it, and was very proud of it as his own composition. The Hon. Horace Binney well remembers its being talked of as Mr. Smith's. This was the contemporary evidence of the time, and as Mr. Binney knew Mr. Smith to possess a mind fully capable of such a composition, he was just as well satisfied that it was written by him as that "Hail! Columbia" was written by Judge Hopkinson. This united testimony should put an end to all question on the subject. I may also state that the Hon. Wm. J. Duane, a contemporary and acquaintance of Mr. Smith, frequently talked with him about it as *his own composition*.

J. B. H. Smith, Esq., of Washington city, writes: "It has ever been the belief in our family, and I have heard it from boyhood, that my uncle, John R. Smith, was the author, and I think I once saw a copy of them in his handwriting." Mr. Smith's father had a copy of the Pitcher Portrait, with the eulogy on the back of it.

I claim it, therefore, as an American tribute to the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It may very properly occupy a column of the *Mount Vernon Record*, and will, doubtless, gratify the hearts of thousands of readers of your paper. It should be spread before the world for its truthfulness and sublimity of style. Should any gentleman of the fast-anchored isle put in a claim for paternity there, which may be *well founded*, it will be highly gratifying to us in America to know that, in that day, while England was mourning over the loss of the finest jewel in her crown, there was one man who fully appreciated the character of "Our Washington."

HARRISON HALL.

John Dorsey, Esq., framed a number of these portraits for his friends; and no doubt some of them are still to be found in this city.

[The editor of *The Living Age* knew Mr. John R. Smith, very well, and that he was said to be the author of the inscription,—but cannot furnish any testimony on the subject. That of Mr. Ingersoll's and Mr. Binney's opinion, seem to be sufficient.

We had for some years been wishing to record in *The Living Age*, a piece we had heard, so many years ago, commended as the best character of Washington ever written; but knew not to whom to apply. (Had our old master, Mr. James Pemberton Parke, been living, he doubtless could have supplied it.) So we are glad to find it in the *North American*. Upon examination of the copy in Mr. Lossing's book, we find that either he or his printer has in two or three words altered

the text as furnished by Mr. Hall, and in so doing has not improved it.

The portrait on the Liverpool pitcher was copied from Stuart's, and it was said that some slight, accidental variations had made the likeness better. We were familiar with it for years, in the house of the late Jonathan Smith, Esq., of Philadelphia.]

WASHINGTON:  
THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY,  
THE FOUNDER OF LIBERTY,  
THE FRIEND OF MAN.

History and Tradition are explored in vain  
For a Parallel to his Character.  
In the Annals of Modern Greatness  
He stands alone,  
And the noblest Names of Antiquity  
Lose their lustre in his Presence.

*Born the Benefactor of Mankind,*  
He was signally endowed with all the Qualities  
Appropriate to his *Illustrious Career*.  
*Nature made him Great,*  
And, Heaven directed,  
He made *himself Virtuous*.

Called by his Country to the *Defence* of her *Soil*,  
And the *Vindication* of her Liberties,  
He led to the field  
*Her Patriot Armies*;  
And displaying in rapid and brilliant succession  
The United Powers  
Of *Consummate Prudence*  
And *Heroic Valor*,  
He Triumphed in Arms  
Over the most Powerful Nations  
Of Modern Europe:  
His Sword giving *Freedom to America*,  
His Counsels breathing *Peace to the World*.

After a short repose  
From the *tumultuous vicissitudes*  
Of a *Sanguinary War*,  
The commanding energies of  
WASHINGTON  
Were again destined to a *new career*  
Of *Glory and Usefulness*.  
*The Civic Wreath*  
Was spontaneously placed  
By the *Gratitude of the Nation*  
On the brow of the DELIVERER of his COUNTRY.

He was twice *solemnly invested*  
With the powers of *Supreme Magistracy*,  
By the *unanimous vote*  
Of a *Free People*;  
And in his EXALTED and ARDUOUS Station,  
His *Wisdom* in the *Cabinet*  
Transcended the *Glories of the Field*.

The *Destinies of Washington*  
Were now complete.  
Having passed the meridian of a *Devoted Life*,  
Having founded on the Pillars  
OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE  
The SPLENDID FABRIC  
Of a *Great Republic*.  
And having firmly established  
The Empire of the West,  
He solemnly deposited on the *Altar of his Country*,  
His *Laurels* and his *Sword*,  
And retired to the *shades*  
OF PRIVATE LIFE.  
A *Spectacle so New* and so *Sublime*  
Was contemplated by *Mankind*,  
With the *Profoundest Admiration*.  
And the name of WASHINGTON,  
Adding new *Lustre to Humanity*,  
Resounded  
To the *remotest regions of the Earth*.

*Magnanimous in Youth*,  
Glorious through *Life*,  
Great in *Death*;  
His highest *Ambition*  
The *Happiness of Mankind*;  
His *noblest Victory*  
The *Conquest of Himself*.  
Bequeathing to *America*  
The *Inheritance of his Fame*,  
And building his *Monument*  
In the *Hearts of his Countrymen*,  
He lived  
The *Ornament of the Eighteenth Century*;  
He died  
LAMENTED BY A MOURNING WORLD.

Shortly after the above was published, a gentleman called upon me, with the album of his wife. In this book was copied this tribute to Washington, by Thos. Gilpin, Esq., the great manufacturer of paper at Brandywine Mills. It was made from a copy given to him by John R. Smith, as *his own composition*. Mr. Gilpin was an intimate friend of Mr. Smith, whom he said often spoke to him about it, and was very proud of it. Thos. Gilpin was a plain, unassuming gentleman, of the society of Friends; of strict purity and integrity, and perfectly reliable. I was well acquainted, and had large business transactions with him, and saw the MS. in his own handwriting. H. HALL.

AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES IN HOLLAND.—One Jean vander Mere, an apothecary in Delft, had a museum there in 1663, wherein, among other natural and artificial rarities, were "many sorts of Indian Tobacco Pipes from New Belgium."—*Ray's Low Countries*. G. H. M.



THE CAPTURE OF CORNWALLIS.—The following extract of a letter from Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough, furnishes a curious contemporary commentary concerning the capture of Cornwallis:

“DUBLIN CASTLE, Jan. 22, 1782.

“\* \* \* We stayed in town to dine quietly with Lord Rawdon [who had been taken prisoner by a cruiser on his return to England, and was a spectator from a French man-of-war of Lord Cornwallis's disaster], whose accounts of America are interesting, and when he can venture to quit his reserve (for which he has good reasons), very intelligent. Nothing is more demonstrable than that the last fortunate enterprise of the French forces in conjunction with the rebel army succeeded against every reasonable probability. If Graves\* had fought; if, not fighting, he had interrupted the Rhode Island squadron, or at least prevented its junction (it carried the intrenching tools and battering cannon); if, doing neither, he had not undertaken to proceed to the relief on a fixed day (which induced Lord Cornwallis to remain); if Sir Henry Clinton could have occupied Washington in the White Plains; if, not doing that, he had endeavored to prevent his march towards the Delaware; if not preventing it, he had only hung on his rear with large detachments which would have occasioned a delay in the junction of the French and the rebel force—if Lord Cornwallis had not fixed himself on a post peculiarly exposed both to sea forces and land forces; if he had preferred Cape Fear, or other situations, off which large ships cannot lie in safety, if he had marched back towards Carolina; if he had marched forwards into Maryland; if he had met a part of the enemies' forces instead of waiting for the whole; in short, if he had not been induced to do precisely what he did, by Graves undertaking to do what he never meant to do; and if, in addition to all this, every contingency of junction between the Rhode Island, West India, and Connecticut forces (for Washington was in Connecticut with Rochambeau) had not succeeded, against all probability, the undertaking would have ended in disgrace. Lord Rawdon's services have been in every respect most highly honorable; but Lord Amherst still hesitates about putting his regiment on the establishment, though he has expended near 700 men within that regiment in the king's service.”

G. H. M.

NEWBURG, N. Y., NOT THE FORMER QUEENSBURY.—Mr. Lossing, in one of his letters to the London *Art Journal*, states that Newburg, N. Y., was first known as *Queensbury*. I think this is a mistake. Compare p. 571 with p. 543 (note),

\* Afterwards Lord Graves.

and subsequent pages “Doc. Hist. N. Y.” vol. iii.; also tax-rolls Ulster county, from 1700 to 1750. The Palatine settlement of Queens was in the old county of Dutchess, and had a population of 350 persons, in 1711. The Palatine parish by *Quassaick* (now Newburg), had at the same time about eleven families. What is the authority for the statement referred to? PALATINE.

April 12, 1861.

EARLY NOTICE OF THE SEA-SERPENT (from the *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, Nov., 1785). —“At Dundee the 16th of August. Before J. R. Lamy, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Forfar, and Mr. John Guild, one of the present magistrates of Dundee, appeared Jens Anderson and Mads Jenson, master and mate of the *Margaretta*, of Easterezen of Norway, who declare, and it is further affirmed by their several journals produced, That on Saturday, the 5th day of this present month of August, between the hours of nine and ten, in the forenoon of that day, being on their voyage to Dundee, in latitude 56° 10' N., about fifteen or sixteen leagues to the eastward of the island of May, they, as well as the whole crew of the ship, perceived within less than one mile's distance to the southward of them what they conceived to be an animal, called in Norway a sea-worm, a creature of a huge size emerging from the sea; that from its appearance it seemed to form three low islands: or sand-banks of a grayish color, thus—

That they conceive the length of it to have been at least three English miles. That it lay stretched from S. W. to N. E. That its breadth appeared to be about twenty or thirty fathoms. That it was in sight fifty minutes, and went down gradually, without any remarkable agitation of the water. From the time of its ascending, and during its appearance on the water, the weather was perfectly calm, and it went down again as soon as a breeze came on. The waves broke on those parts of it which were above water, as on a bank. The greatest apparent height it rose above water, seemed to be from two to three fathoms.

JENS ANDERSON.  
MADS JENSON.

Declared and signed before us,  
J. R. LAMY, J. P.  
JOHN GUILD, Magistrate.

POTATOES.—The date of the introduction of potatoes into New England, is generally stated as about 1720. We have no doubt but this date

is correct, as far as the general use of potatoes goes. But it appears from a curious paper read by Rev. Mr. Paige at the last meeting of the Historical Society, that two pounds of potatoes were furnished for the dinner at the Inauguration of Pres. Leverett, at Harvard College, in 1707.

Of later times it has not been the custom to introduce novelties at Commencement dinners. But this seems a case where the college was "measurably" in advance of the times. Mr. Paige had found potatoes mentioned in the private accounts of the steward two or three years before. May not all these potatoes have been the sweet potato? This was used in Europe long before the white potato.

RICHMOND Co. ARCHIVES.—Having had occasion to visit, on business, the county clerk's office, of Richmond county, New York, on Staten Island, a few days ago, I noticed the first volume of Records of this county, lying about the office as though it were as worthless as an old almanac. The Record consisted of one hundred and forty-four pages of foolscap, bound in parchment. The first entrance was the following:

"At a Court held on Staten Island, by the Constables and overseers of the same, on this second Monday of being the 4<sup>th</sup> day of October, 1680.

"Peter Johnson Plf. in A Action of the Case John Ringdom Deft."

Again: "Richmond County, March 5<sup>th</sup>, Anno Dom. 1739-40. Recorded the mark or brand of Justice John Veghte which the said Veghte uses for his horses, kind, and cattle. The Brand is in the form of a Heart and exactly answerable to this figure [here drawing of a heart] and that is to be seen on the near Thigh thus branded; the ear mark of the said John Veghte's cattle is, as appears by the Record thereof, page 135, entered the day and year aforesaid.

"Pr me, DAN'L CORSON, Clerk."

This Record, is now treated as a worthless affair, but if lost, the time may come within a few years, when the county would gladly give \$10,000 to obtain even a copy.

There is a deed stating that the grantor acquired title of the Marquas\* Indians, in the year 1680. The deed contains the name of the place, which is *Saggadiochquisax*; but no one knows where it was located.

There is a mortgage made by Gov. Dongan, of 5000 acres of land, which he owned, to raise funds to fight the Indians.

LEMUEL G. OLMSTEAD.

\* If this is Macquaas, *i. e.*, Mohawks, it is a very curious fact.

MERINO SHEEP IN PENNSYLVANIA.—In 1817, Judge William Griffith, of New Jersey, and H. J. Huidekoper had several hundred merino sheep brought from New Jersey or Philadelphia, to Meadville, Penn. There is the source of many of the merinoes in this county. A. H.

MEADVILLE, Penn.

IRON AXES IN PETROLEUM VATS.—In opening a petroleum vat recently, at Mullingar, Warren Co., Penn., an iron axe was found very much corroded. Similar axes have been found in considerable numbers in the western part of our county. I am also told that they are occasionally ploughed up in the State of New York; and tradition everywhere speaks of them as axes traded by the French to the Indians. They are without steel, straight on the upper edge, but widening off on the lower side from where the handle enters. They are generally slightly broken on the edge, as if used for prying open wood. The finding such an axe in the petroleum vat, would still leave unsettled the doubt as to whether the vats were of English or French origin; but as the only part of the logs or sticks, with which the vats were lined, bear axe marks, many of them having been reduced to the proper length by fire, I infer the work to have been done by the Indians. The French would have been better provided with edge-tools. A. H.

STRANGE ADVENTURES OF A SOLDIER.—Most readers remember Dalyell's defeat by Pontiac's forces, near Detroit. In the April number of the *Genealogical Register*, is a curious extract from the Boston *Evening Post*, of March 6, 1769, which records the fact "that Richard Dunham, of Barnstable, a soldier in the New England forces at Dalyell's defeat, passed through Providence, a week before, on his way home. He had his jaw-bone shivered by a ball, which carried away part of his tongue, and had, with five other prisoners, been sold from tribe to tribe till they arrived at the 'Spanish main' [probably Florida]. Having been sent out to hunt with five others and three Indians, on crossing a lake in a canoe, they threw the savages over, and after travelling thirteen days, got to North Carolina." It would be curious to know whether any further details are known of him or his companions.

HOME, SWEET HOME.—An exquisite addition to this beautiful song (and by the original writer of it), is kindly sent to us by a gentleman of this city, says the *Home Journal*. He thus writes:

"In reading a late number of the *Home Journal*, I saw a touching notice of John Howard

Payne, the author of 'Home, Sweet Home,' and it recalled an incident which may interest your readers. In the winter of 1833 or '34, I was dining in London with an American lady, the wife of an eminent banker. During my visit, Mr. Payne called and presented her with a copy of 'Home, Sweet Home,' set to music, with two additional verses addressed to her; and those she allowed me to copy. I inclose them for you to print."

ADDITIONAL VERSES TO HOME, SWEET HOME.

BY JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

To us, in despite of the absence of years,  
How sweet the remembrance of *home* still appears,  
From allurements abroad, which but flatter the eye,  
The unsatisfied heart turns, and says with a sigh,  
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!  
There's no place like home!  
There's no place like home!

Your exile is blest with all fate can bestow,  
But *mine* has been checker'd with many a woe!  
Yet though different our fortunes, our thoughts are the same.

And both, as we think of Columbia, exclaim,  
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!  
There's no place like home!  
There's no place like home!

REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENTS—BOSTON, 1770.—I have had the pleasure of inspecting the collection of original papers belonging to the estate of the late Nathaniel G. Snelling, Esq., which have recently been laid open for the examination of a committee of his associates of the Historical Society. The peculiar interest which attaches, especially at the present moment, to a series having reference to the state of things in Boston preceding and following the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, which hastened the Revolutionary struggle, has led me to ask leave to transcribe a portion of them for the gratification of your readers, and I now send them to you, proposing that you should publish them in chronological order.

A BOSTONIAN.

The following petition for the removal of the troops, it will be seen, contains memorable historical names, such as *Joseph Warren*, *Paul Revere*, and *Henry Knox*, besides others of great weight and respectability, whose descendants and those who can recall them, will read with great interest. Such names, it will be observed, have no representatives in the present generation, though they are preserved in streets and the places named from them.

To the Gentlemen Selectmen of the Town of Boston:

The petition of a number of Freeholders and other inhabitants of said Town humbly shews:

HIST. MAG. VOL. V. 24

That whereas a report has prevailed, that a few persons have petitioned or requested His Excellency Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., Commander-in-Chief of this Province, that he would detain in this town the 14th or some other Regiment in order to protect their lives and properties; we, the subscribers, freeholders of said town, being apprehensive that said petition or request was set on foot merely to answer the purposes of some evil-minded designing men among us; and that the same may be represented as the sense of the respectable inhabitants of this town; and being fully assured that the laws of the land make ample and sufficient provision for the security of the lives and properties of all his Majesty's subjects within the same, without the aid of any military force whatever; and being also sensible of the great disadvantages of having a military force quartered in the body of this metropolis, which we have experienced in a great variety of instances, more particularly in the daring and repeated insults which have been offered by some of them to the inhabitants of this town with impunity; and the effect their vicious example has had upon the morals of some of our people; in order, therefore, to convince the world that their continuance among us is far from being agreeable to the inhabitants, we do most humbly pray that you would be pleased to convene the freeholders and other inhabitants as soon as may be, to take the premises into consideration, and act upon the same as they may think meet. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, &c.

Boston, June 23, 1769.

George Erving,	William Bordman,
John Tudor,	John Sweetser, Junr.,
Joseph Waldo,	Jno. Sweetser,
James Perkins,	Joseph Belknap,
Thos. Handasyd Peck,	John Gore, Junr.,
Wm. Greenleaf,	Samuel Ballard,
Moses Gill,	I. Bradford,
Joseph Warren,	Francis Johnnot,
Samuel Grant,	John White,
Moses Grant,	Thomas Marshall,
John Scollay,	Stephen Cleverly,
John Marston,	Jno. Machett,
Eben'r Haneock,	Isaac Pierce,
Moses Deshon,	John Southack,
Benja. Church, Jr.,	Paul Revere,
Wm. Homes,	Jonathan Snelling,
John Avery, Junr.,	Stephen Hall,
Wm. Whitwell,	John Hooton,
Josiah Waters,	Nathaniel Holmes,
Thomas Dawes,	John Wheatley,
Thomas Greenough,	Edward Proctor,
John Baker,	Daniel Waldo,
Jonathan Jenkins,	Jno. Nazro,
Francis Marshall,	Samuel Austin,

Samuel Gooding,  
 Jacob Holland,  
 Joseph Gendell,  
 Walter Piper,  
 Joseph Kent,  
 Thomas Knox,  
 Thomas Kenble,  
 Henry Roby,  
 Robert Breck,  
 Ezra Collins,  
 Benjamin Henderson,  
 Alexander Hill,  
 Nathaniel Cary,  
 Jno. Soley,  
 Samuel A. Otis,  
 Joseph Barrell,  
 Thomas Brattle,  
 Jno. Mico Wendell,  
 William Davis,  
 John Pitts,  
 Joseph Henderson,  
 John Pulling, Junr.,  
 Thos. Hichborn, Junr.,  
 Nath'l Greenwood, Junr.,  
 Ichabod Jones,  
 Jabez Bradbury,  
 Jas. Pitts, Junr.,  
 Benj. Church,  
 James Ivers,  
 Nath'l Greene,  
 Nath'l Cudworth,  
 Wm. Foster,  
 George Spooner,  
 Elisha Avery,  
 Abial Lucas,  
 John Goldsmith,  
 Benja. Cobb,  
 Benja. Goodwin,  
 Benja. Clarke,  
 Thomas Fleet,  
 John Fleet,  
 Eben'r Torrey,  
 James Thwing,  
 William Fallass,  
 Jos. Webb,  
 Charles Coffin,  
 Joshua Pico,

Joseph Gardner,  
 Daniel Eveleth,  
 Shubael Howe,  
 John Cunningham,  
 John Winslow,  
 William Palfrey,  
 Joseph Greene,  
 Robert Love,  
 John Lambert,  
 John Griffith,  
 Sannuel Whitwell,  
 Jeremiah Williams,  
 Sannel Holbrook,  
 Joseph Bradford,  
 Joseph Carnes,  
 Sol. Davis,  
 William Jones,  
 Peter Roberts,  
 Benjamin Waldo,  
 Cyrus Baldwin,  
 Benjamin Andrews,  
 Wm. B. C. Townsend,  
 Benja. Edes,  
 Wm. Dennie,  
 Caleb Davis,  
 Martin Gay,  
 Harbottle Dorr,  
 Benja. Cudworth,  
 John Jenkins,  
 Peter Boyer,  
 Dan'l Marsh,  
 Wm. Bant,  
 Jos. Edwards,  
 Jacob Emonns,  
 Jere. Belknap,  
 Sam'l Bowne,  
 Joseph Edwards, Junr.,  
 Timo. Newell,  
 Caleb Loring,  
 Thos. Walley,  
 Jas. Thompson,  
 Moses Peck,  
 Caleb Hopkins,  
 Daniel Malcom,  
 Wm. Mackay,  
 John Welsh,  
 Samuel Paine.

Next in order follows the original letter from Gov. Hutchinson, dated the 6th of March, the day after the massacre, and with what emotions it must have been written the reader may imagine. This paper is simply indorsed "The Lieut.-Gov's Reply." But on referring to Hutchinson's History (vol. iii., p. 274), it will be seen that it must have been addressed to the committee from the town meeting held in consequence of the events of the preceding day.

GENTLEMEN: I am extremely sorry for the un-

happy differences between the inhabitants and the troops, and especially for the action of the last evening; and I have exerted myself upon that occasion that a due inquiry may be made and that the law may have its course. I have in Council consulted with the commanding officers of the two regiments which are in the town. They have their orders from the General at New York. It is not in my power to countermand these orders. The Council have desired that the two regiments may be removed to the Castle. From the particular concern which the 29th regiment has had in these differences, Col. Dalrymple, who is the commanding officer of the troops, has signified to me that that regiment shall, without delay, be placed in the barracks at the Castle until he can send to the General and receive his further orders concerning both the regiments, and that the main guard shall be removed, and the 14th regiment so disposed and laid under such restraint that all occasion of future differences may be prevented.

T. HUTCHINSON.

Council Chamber, 6th March, 1770.

A letter from Catharine Macaulay, the well-known historian, dated May 9, 1770, apparently in reply to the Committee of the town of Boston, which will be presently referred to. This letter I give entire:

LONDON, May 4th, 1770.

GENTLEMEN: I think myself much honored by the town of Boston for the compliment of transmitting the narrative relative to the massacre perpetrated by the military on the 5th of March.

In condoling with you on that melancholy event, your friends find a considerable alleviation in the opportunity it has given you of exhibiting a rare and admirable instance of patriotic resentment tempered with forbearance, and the warmth of courage with the coolness of discretion.

Believe me, gentlemen, there is not a Bostonian, though spectator of the bloody scene, who feels more sensibly than myself the horrid transaction.

Every service which it is in my power to perform, the town of Boston may command, and may depend upon a faithful and ardent exertion. I am, gentlemen, your very obedient and very humble servant,  
 CATHARINE MACAULAY.

A letter from Barlow Trecothick, Esq., dated London, May 10, 1770. Mr. T., it will be observed, was a member of the House of Commons, and the allusion to the motion and speech of Edmund Burke, made the day before the letter was written, gives it a peculiar interest. The following are some passages in this letter, which is addressed to the selectmen:

. . . The contents of the first letter, dated the 12th March, impressed me with the strongest

emotions, and I thought it necessary immediately to move in the House of Commons for an address to his Majesty, in order to be laid before the House copies of all letters and accounts received by any of the public officers of any differences and disputes which had happened between the troops stationed in North America and the inhabitants, and also copies of all orders and instructions which had been sent to any officer, civil or military, since June last. . . . This motion, after having undergone some alterations proposed on the part of the administration, passed, and the papers have been produced. . . .

Many other papers tending to elucidate the subject of America having been previously brought, on a motion of Mr. Burke's, that gentleman did yesterday, in a very spirited and masterly manner, state to the House the subject at large, the debates on which lasted long. In the course of them it appeared there were not wanting many able advocates for your cause, so far as it stands founded on justice.

Nothing, however, was held out by administration, by way of plan for composing the present distraction. That will, I fear, be postponed till the session ends, which is to be the 17th, when I hope the deliberations of the Cabinet will be guided by a spirit of wisdom and toleration which may produce some plan consistent with the strictest equity and to universal public good. . . . My present opinion is that there is no design to quarter troops again at Boston. . . .

It has given universal satisfaction here to find that the trials of Captain Preston and the soldiers were not precipitately brought on. Any sentence of severity would in that case have been imputed to revenge and passion. The free resort of the officers to the town, after the removal of the regiments, is also a circumstance well thought of here, and I have a strong persuasion that those regiments will soon be withdrawn.

My most ardent wishes are, that on both sides we may assume that temperate, affectionate conduct which only can become men bound together by the united ties of blood, religion, and interest. Your faithful and obedient and humble servant,  
BARLOW TRECOTMICK.

To the Selectmen of the Town of Boston.

A letter from Governor Pownall, dated Albemarle-street, London, May 11, 1770. This is a long and able letter, reciting his course with the ministry upon American affairs, and is addressed to "Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq., Samuel Pemberton, and Joseph Warren, Esqs., Committee of the town of Boston." It concludes as follows:

Yet one observation I think it but just to make to you, that one sentiment has arisen in the minds

of all expressed in a wish and hope, from all quarters, that no prejudice, resentment, or party consideration whatsoever may operate in this unhappy case of Captain Preston and the soldiers, but on the contrary, it would do more honor to the spirit and temper of your people to show mercy, than to exact severe justice.

I beg you to mark my respects to the Town, and to assure them of my readiness in all cases, and upon all occasions, to engage in their service.

I beg you, gentlemen, to accept my particular respects.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yr. most obd't

and most humble st.,

T. POWNALL.

The recommendations to forbearance in the above letters, it will be seen, were not uncalled for, in the excited state of the people, as that which follows will show. The fair trial, however, and acquittal of Capt. Preston, who had, it will be remembered, for his counsel, those ardent and leading patriots, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, has always been considered an honor to the reputation of Massachusetts for a strict and impartial administration of justice.

Another autograph letter of Governor Hutchinson, the last in order of date, written more than three months after the massacre, and while Capt. Preston was awaiting trial, is given entire:

MILTON, 22d June, 6 o'clock, P. M.

SIR: I have now an application through Col. Dalrymple from Capt. Preston himself. I must therefore repeat my direction to use every effort in your power for his safety, and I think it necessary for some of the Justices you can most confide in should be applied to by you, that if there should be any probability of a Tumult, they may be ready immediately to appear for the purpose of suppressing it. Capt. Preston desires to be removed to the Castle. In the present state of the Town, I am sure an attempt to do it would bring on what he is afraid of.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble

servant,

THOS. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. Sheriff GREENLEAF.

POEM ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.—  
In a poem on the Death of General Wolfe, published in 1759, entitled "Triumph in Death," is the following blasphemous extravagance:

Distinguish'd 'mongst the illustrious sons of Fame,  
To deathless praise the god-like hero soar'd;  
Ne'er shall my muse cease to extol his name,  
Whom God in heaven, whom men on earth adored.

QUERIES.

**CURIOS HEXAMETERS.**—The following hexameters appeared in a collection of political pamphlets of a by-gone day, and were probably taken from a writer still further by-gone. Who was the author? And what is their meaning?

“Quod fuit esse, quod est; quod non fuit esse, quod esse;  
Esse quod est, non esse quod est; non est, erit esse.”  
BRUNSWICK.

“THESE” IN THE ADDRESS OF LETTERS.—I have in my possession, a letter, written towards the close of the last century, in which the word “These,” is written in the address, where we now use the word “Present.” Was this mode of addressing letters in common use; and if so, what was its origin, and when did it cease to be used?

WESTCHESTER, Pa.

J. S. F.

**MILITARY MASONIC LODGES.**—Can any readers of the *Historical Magazine* give any account of Masonic military lodges held in the Anglo-American army during the Old French and Indian War? Were there any such Lodges in the French army?

S. H.

**THE SONG “AMERICA.”**—A correspondent says: The following appeared in the *Hartford Daily Courant*, of May 7:

“MR. EDITOR:—Can you tell us who is the author of ‘America,’ now in such universal favor? I am sorry to say I don’t know. It has the true ring in it, and is especially adapted to New England. God bless this and all other parts of the United States, as I have no doubt He will, by a firm and finally patriotic Union. Who wrote the song? Where, when, and what was the occasion? Can you, or any of your correspondents tell us?”

A.

And this reply on the 8th:

“THE AUTHOR OF ‘AMERICA.’—Ed. *Courant*, SIR: In partial reply to A., who asks this morning through your columns, who wrote the words entitled ‘America.’

“I presume the words meant were those beginning

“‘My country, ’tis of thee’

“J. B. Woodbury, compiler of ‘The Columbia Glee Club,’ states, in that publication, that these words are by S. F. Smith. Further I know not. But A. can ascertain, I am pretty sure, the desired facts by sending the query to the *Historical Magazine*, 14 Bible House, Astor Place, N. Y., a

periodical less known and valued, I may add, than it should be.”

P.

[We have been informed that Rev. S. F. Smith, Baptist minister, is “the author.”]

Can our readers add any thing further?

**STONY RIDGE CONVENTION.**—When was the “Stony Ridge Convention” held, that George Gibson speaks of in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v., pp. 115, 116? Who were “the five Butlers,” whose appointments were excellent? Of what State were they natives, and what was their relationship towards each other?

W.

**LORD NORTH.**—Who was the father of Lord North, the minister of George III.?

P. P.

**LATIN VULGATE.**—There is, in the State Library, Albany, an edition of this work with an engraved title-page, in the centre of which are these words:

Biblia | Sacra | *Vulgate Editionis* | Sixti V. |  
& Clementis VIII. | Pont Max. *Jussu* | *recognita*  
*atq. edita.* | Editio nova | *Versibus distincta.* |  
On the left side is the figure of the high priest holding tables, bearing an inscription in Hebrew; on the top, the figure of a dove; on the right side of the page, a figure wearing a tiara, having a cross leaning against his left shoulder, and bearing in his hand a book with keys pendant, a chalice and patten, or the host, resting on the book; on the breast of this figure are the letters, XPI (*kristos*); in front, an eagle, and below, a lion and the head of an ox, or cow. From the words on the breast issue rays of light which strike on a globe, on the lower part of the page, bearing the words: Evropa, Africa. The imprint is: *Ex Officina* Ioannis Gregoire & P. Valeray. M.DC.LXXIV. | No place. 8vo.

I do not find the edition in Brunet’s “Mannel.” It is remarkable for an error in Dent. xxx. 9: where the text reads . . . sicut gravisus (for, gavisus) est in patribus tuis. The punctuation at the end of Gen. x. 27, and xix. 19, is, also, incorrect. Where was it printed? E. B. O’C.

[Lyons. Pérennès Bib. Cath., vol. i., p. 115.]

**VESEY.**—The Rev. Wm. Vesey, first resident rector of Trinity Church, New York, was a graduate of Harvard. Lord Bellomont says in a letter from Boston, Sept. 11, 1699, that his father was “try’d, convict and pillory’d here at Boston, for being the most impudent and avowed Jaco-

bite that has been known in America." Can any of our Boston correspondents give the particulars of this affair? s.

CHARLES LODWICK, MAYOR OF NEW YORK, IN 1694-5.—Will some reader of the London *Notes and Queries* help us to some information as to the birth, death, and family of this gentleman. There were at the time three merchants in London in the American trade, by name Ralph, Thomas, and Simon Lodwick, all probably of the same family. J. G. S.

#### REPLIES.

SCALPING (vol. v., pp. 25, 126).—In addition to the authorities cited for the European origin of this practice, the following may be quoted from Niles's "History of the French and Indian Wars" ("Mass. Hist. Coll.," third Series, vol. vi., p. 174). "The manner of the Indians here, before the English came, and some time after, was to bring the heads of their victims in triumph in their return from some victorious conquests. Nor would it have been put in practice, had not the French instructed the Indians in their interest in this method of scalping." Arnold ("History R. I.," vol. i., p. 75) intimates that the French derived it from the Huns. For the Indian mode of cutting off the head, see R. Williams Key ("Mass. Hist. Coll.," vol. iii., p. 214). BRUNOVICUS.

ARMY CHAPLAINS AT NEW YORK BEFORE 1700 (vol. v., p. 156).—So far as I can glean, the following list comprises nearly all the chaplains at New York:

- 1678-80, Rev. Charles Wolley.
- 1683-4, Rev. Dr. Gordon.
- 1684-6, Rev. Josias Clarke.
- 1686-9, Rev. Alexander Innes.
- 1692-5, Rev. John Miller.
- 1699-1700, Rev. Symon Smith.
- 1701-? Rev. — Brisac.
- ?-1704, Rev. Edmund Mott.
- 1704-, Rev. John Sharp.

Of these Messrs. Wolley and Miller wrote interesting accounts of the city and colony, and were evidently gentlemen of piety and education. The Rev. Mr. Innes left after Leisler's usurpation, but returned to this country and was for many years a respected clergyman in New Jersey. Rev. Mr. Sharp is known by his printed sermon on the death of Lady Cornbury, and is said even to deserve the high honor of having founded the New York Society Library. s.

ANOTHER REPLY.—The name of one of these gentlemen, appears in the following legal proceedings in New York, in 1699:

"The Grand Jury present Simon Smith, Chaplain of his Majesty's Fort of New York, for marrying Elizabeth Buckmaster, wife of Edward Buckmaster, to Adam Baldrige, without a licence for so doing.

"Ordered that the said presentment be recommended to his honor the Lt.-Governor, and at the same time his Honor be acquainted, that upon reading said presentment, the said Smith did contemptuously utter several scurrilous expressions, to the scandal of his function, the abuse of y<sup>e</sup> Grand Jurors and diminution of the dignity of the Court,—but in regard he executing the office of a priest in the Church of England and Chaplain to His Excell. the Earl of Bellomont, the Court would not put any Censure upon him for such his contempt; but recommend the same to the consideration of his Honor, the Lt.-Governor, to do therein what in his prudence and discretion, he shall think convenient." G. H. M.

CENT OF 1815.—In answer to an inquiry in the April number, why copper cents were not issued from the mint in 1815, without distinct authority to state the real cause of such omission, the writer will suggest—the high price of foreign metal during non-intercourse and war with Great Britain, as sufficient reason to explain it. J. H. G.

April 10, 1861.

ETHAN ALLEN (vol. v., p. 156).—I cannot answer as to 1781, but in a letter of the Rev. Charles Inglis to Joseph Galloway, dated New York, Dec. 12, 1778, I find the following:

"Ethan Allen is now governor of the newly-erected State of Vermont. That State had sent delegates to Congress, but were refused admittance—nay, Congress was so ungracious as to deny their right to Independence, which was taken in high dudgeon by this *potent* State . . . Allen has lately published a Manifesto, declaring he will maintain the Independence of his State to the last Extremity; and the Assembly of this Province, in their address to Governor Clinton, have not long since threatened Vengeance against these *Rebellious subjects*; so that if the matter is not compromised this Winter, there will be an internal War, an Expedition will go against Vermont next spring. It would not be difficult to bring over Allen; and this might be a matter of great consequence, in case any diversion were made on the side of Canada next Summer." O. X.

ANOTHER REPLY.—The query in your last number is, perhaps, answered, if indeed it was not suggested, by the following statement in a letter from Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden, afterwards the first Lord Auckland. The letter is dated at Stafford, August 17, 1781, and the following paragraph is all that relates to America:

"The only public news I have heard that is not in the *Gazette* is, that Admiral Arbuthnot, discontented as he is, reports very favourably the state of affairs in America; but the only fact that I have heard to support his account, is that *Ethan Allen acts openly for us, and has formed a communication with Canada.*" G. H. M.

TOY BIBLE, 1765 (vol. v., p. 156).—I send the subjoined in reply to an inquiry in the last number. From a copy of the same edition now before me, I transcribe as follows: First title—

THE  
BIBLE.

Second title on first page of succeeding leaf:

VERBUM  
SEMPITERNUM.

The Third Edition  
with amendments.  
BOSTON: Printed  
for, and Sold by  
N. PROCTER, near  
Scarlet's-Wharffe.

This title is inclosed by an ornamental border. On the back is the following dedication:

TO HIS  
Illustrious Highness  
WILLIAM  
Duke of Gloucester,  
KNIGHT of the  
Most Noble Order  
Of the GARTER.

This is followed by the Dedicatory Epistle and Address to the Reader, both of which are signed by J. Taylor. I will not enter into an analysis of the work, as the inquirer owns a copy; but will simply say that its contents show the author diligently searched the Scriptures. The Duke of Gloucester, here intended, was the son of the princess, afterwards Queen Anne. He died in 1700.

This little volume was originally printed in London, the imprimatur bearing date October 6, 1693, signed G. Lancaster. It is known among bibliographers as the Thumb Bible. T. H. W.  
Boston, May, 1861.

[See O'Callaghan's *American Bibles*, p. 26.]

COLE SLAA (vol. v., p. 146).—In the *Historical Magazine* for May, 1861, the vulgar "AMERICANISM" for sliced cabbage, is noticed. It is usually pronounced *cole-slaw*,—and sometimes *cold slaw* (as if to distinguish it from some sort of a *hot-slaw*). These common names are mere corruptions of the German words, "*kohl salat*,"—meaning simply *cabbage-salat*." The Americans, in borrowing the German name, omitted to sound the final letter. W. D.

WESTCHESTER, May 4, 1861.

[The term *kohl slaa* originated with the Dutch of New York, and was doubtless used in the German form by the later German colonies in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. *Cole* is, however, an English word, and its corruption into *cold* would be unaccountable, did we not daily see similar transformations, as: asparagus to *sparrow-grass*; in-our-days to *now-a-days*.]

FOURTH OF MARCH (vol. v., p. 156).—After the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by eleven States, the Congress of the old Confederation, by vote of Sept. 13, 1788:

*Resolved*, That the first Wednesday in January next, be the day for appointing electors in the several States, which, before the said day, shall have ratified the said Constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective States and vote for a president; and that the first *Wednesday in March next* be the time, and the present seat of Congress [New York] the place, for commencing proceedings under the said Constitution."

The first Wednesday in March, 1789, being the fourth day of March, thus became the day upon which the first quadrennial term of the presidency began; and accordingly that term expired on the 3d of March, four years afterwards, and the next and all successive terms began in like manner upon the 4th of March, once in every four years. In point of fact, the oath of office as president, was not taken by Washington until April 30, 1789; but his term was considered as having begun in accordance with the rule above recited. The days for appointing electors and for their voting for president have since been changed by act of Congress; but the day for inauguration is immutable, since any change now made would have the effect either to abridge or prolong the president's term of office, which is precisely fixed by the Constitution to be four years.

Boston, May 8, 1861.

CHARLES HALL.



## Notes on Books.

*Jacob Steendam, noch vaster.* A Memoir of the first Poet in New Netherlands; with his Poems, descriptive of the Colony. The Hague: The Brothers Giunta d'Albani, 1861. 8vo, 59 pp.

This little work, privately printed by the Hon. H. C. Murphy, and of which we have found a copy in the hands of a friend, is a most pleasing addition to the early history of New Netherlands.

All may not value or prize the musty records, the apparently useless letters and documents gathered by the delvers in the archives of the Old World; but few can fail to enjoy such a contribution as this. Mr. Murphy, in a volume of placards, found a sheet of verses on New Amsterdam, by Steendam, not unknown to fame as a Dutch poet, and here collects all those on that colony, with a memoir. The poems are: Complaint of New Amsterdam, in New Netherlands, to her Mother, of her Beginning, Growth, and Present Condition. The Praise of New Netherlands: Spurring Verses to the Lovers of the Colony and Brotherhood to be established on the South River of New Netherland, by Peter Cornelison Ploek-hoy, of Ziereckzee. These are given in the original, and in a translation which preserves the metre and the quaintness of the original most happily.

Every New Yorker must adopt Steendam as the Homer of his Sovereign State; and as Mr. Murphy's researches fail to give us the time or place of his birth or death, the analogy is but the greater. He was a Dutchman, a poet, born in 1616, and a resident of the colony from 1632 to 1662, owning—happy poet—a farm at Amersfort, another at Mespath, a house and lot on Pearl-street, and another on Broadway. He was in Holland at the period of the Conquest, and did not return, but turning eastward, was for a time in Batavia, and apparently died there.

The Complaint of New Netherland, is, as the name indicates, somewhat of an appeal, beginning with an allegorical account of the origin of the colony, a brief description of it, and ending:

All the blessings man e'er knew,  
Here does our great Giver strew  
(And a climate ne'er more pure)  
But for me,—yet immature.  
Fraught with danger, for the Swine  
Trample down these crops of mine;  
Up-root too my choicest land;  
Still and dumb, the while, I stand,  
In the hope my mother's arm  
Will protect me from the harm.  
She can succor my distress,  
Now my wish, my sole request,

Is for men to till my land  
So I'll not in silence stand;  
I have lab'ers almost none;  
Let my household large become;  
I'll my mother's kitchen furnish  
With my knickknacks, with my surplus;  
With tobacco, furs, and grain,  
So that Prussia she'll disdain.

New Netherlands being here a handsome maiden, and the Swine, we are sorry to say, being those sad fellows of New England who began to encroach.

The Praise of New Netherland is praise indeed:

"For me it is a nobler theme I sing  
New Netherland springs forth my heroine,  
Where Amstel's folks did erst their people bring  
And still they flourish.  
New Netherland, thou noblest spot of earth,  
Where bounteous Heaven ever poureth forth  
The fulness of his gifts of greatest worth,  
Mankind to nourish."

He then proceeds to describe the country, its products and resources, in a curious strain:

"The ocean laves secure, the outer shore,  
Which, like a dyke is raised your fields before;  
And streams like arteries all veined o'er,  
The woods refreshing—  
And rolling down from mountains and the hills,  
Afford upon their banks fit sites for mills;  
And furnish, what the heart with transport fills,  
The finest fishing.

"The lamprey, eel, and sunfish, and the white  
And yellow perch which grace your covers dight;  
And shad and striped bass—not scarce, only quite  
Innumerable.  
The bream and sturgeon, drumfish and gurnard;  
The sea-bass, which a prince would not discard;  
The cod and salmon—cock'd with due regard—  
Most palatable.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Crabs, lobsters, mussels, oysters too there be  
So large that one does overshadow three  
Of those in Europe; and in quality,  
No one can reckon."

The Spurring Verses do not adhere so closely to the realms of fact, and we must make some allowances, in the following stanzas:

New Netherland's the flower, the noblest of all lands:  
With richest blessings crown'd, where milk and  
honey flow;

By the most High of All, with doubly liberal hands  
Endow'd; yea, fill'd up full, with what may thrive  
and grow.

The air, the earth, the sea, each pregnant with its gift,  
The needy without trouble from distress to lift.

The birds obscure the sky, so numerous in their flight;  
The animals roam wild, and flatten down the ground;  
The fish swarm in the waters, and exclude the light;

The oysters there, than which no better can be found,  
Are piled up, heap on heap, till islands they attain;  
And vegetation clothes the forest, mead, and plain.

*Burrillville; as it Was, and as it Is.* By Horace A. Keach. Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1856. 12mo, 170 pp.

THIS is a very pleasing local history, very complete in its statistics, and evincing no little skill in the writer, who has invested the annals of this little town with interest, and told them gracefully, without extravagant eulogy or heavy dulness.

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### Miscellany.

WE have received a very extensive lithographed tabular pedigree, by Dean Dudley, well known as an able and accurate genealogist. The pedigree shows the descent of the various branches of the Dudley Family in England, through twenty-five generations, and includes many distinguished characters in English history; showing their relationship, ancestors, and posterity. We are assured by a friend that this is by far the largest pedigree of that family that has ever been published. It is the result of extensive and careful researches made by the author, personally, among the British archives. The price is one dollar a copy.

Mr. Dudley intends soon to publish a history and biography of the Dudleys, in which reference will after be made to this genealogical chart, all of the names being numbered for that purpose. Those who possess facts relative to the history of their branches of the family, are requested to forward them to Mr. Dudley.

THE library of Alexander Von Humboldt, numbering 12,000 volumes, has been purchased by Mr. Henry Stevens, of London, and will soon be offered for sale. Many of the volumes have manuscript notes of Humboldt, on the blank leaves.

HON. DANIEL APPLETON WHITE, LL. D., died in Salem, Mass., March 30, 1861. He was born at Methuen, Jan. 7, 1776, graduated at Harvard, in 1797. Began to practise law at Salem, and was for many years Judge of Probate for Essex county, and for a time Representative in Congress. Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

HON. LEMUEL SHAW, ex-chief-justice, died in Boston, March 30, 1861. Born at Barnstable, Mass., January 9, 1781, graduated at Harvard in 1800. Admitted to the bar in 1805. Served in both branches of the Legislature. Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, from 1830

to 1860. Prepared the Boston City Charter in 1822. He was an active member of the Boston Library Society, the Humane Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

NATHANIEL INGERSOLL BOWDITCH died on the 4th of April, 1861, at Boston. Son of Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, born at Salem, Jan. 17, 1805. Admitted to the bar in 1825, and the best conveyancer of the day.

Mr. Bowditch was known, respected, and beloved by the community and his friends as a man of fine intellect, strictest integrity, indomitable diligence, and generous impulses. No good cause ever asked in vain the generous sympathy of his heart, or the help of his hand.

His privately-printed work on "Suffolk Surnames," was the amusement of the last days of an invalid life.

THE Rev. HEMAN HUMPHREYS, D. D., ex-president of Amherst College, died in Pittsfield, on Wednesday, April 3, at the age of 81 years. The deceased has long occupied a prominent place among the divines of New England. He was president of Amherst College from 1823 to 1845, and author of "Letters to a Son in the Ministry," "Domestic Education," and "A Tour in France, Great Britain, and Belgium."

THE Centennial Celebration of the foundation of Poulteney, N. C., will take place on the 21st Sept.; a preliminary meeting having been held on the 3d of April to adopt a plan of action.

MARTIN J. KERNEY, Esq., died at Baltimore, March 16, aged 42. He was a native of Frederick County, Md., and for a time conducted an academy in Baltimore, but studied law, and continued in practice till his death. He was, in 1852, a member of the Legislature. He edited the *Metropolitan Magazine* for four years, and compiled the Catholic Almanac for 1860-1. He was the author of a number of books for the use of schools.

MADAME DE ITURBIDE, ex-empress of Mex.co, died March 21, 1861, in Philadelphia, where she had long resided. Iturbide was proclaimed emperor under the title of Augustin I., May 1, 1822, and abdicated March 20, 1823, when a republic was proclaimed. Returning to Mexico, he was executed July 19, 1824. Madame de Iturbide was interred in St. Joseph's church.

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. V.]

JULY, 1861.

[No. 7.

## General Department.

LETTER OF JOHN SMITH TO LORD BACON,  
1618.

(S. P. O., AM. &amp; W. I., N. ENG.)

BY the kindness of GEO. BANCROFT, Esq., we are enabled to give our readers the following curious letter of the Father of Virginia to Lord Bacon; a piece of correspondence that cannot fail to interest:

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sr Francis Bacon, Knt: Baron of Verolam, & Lord High Chancellor of England.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

Having noe better meanes to acquaint yo<sup>r</sup> Ip. w<sup>th</sup> my meaning than this paper the zeale love and dutie to God my Countrie and yo<sup>r</sup> honor I humbly crave may be my apologie. This 19 yeares I have encountred noe fewe dangers to learne what here I write in these fewe leaves, and though the lines they containe are more rudely phrased then is meete for the vieve of so great a judgment, their frutes I am certayne may bring both wealth & honor for a Crowne & a kingdom to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> posterity. The profitts already returned w<sup>th</sup> so small charge & facillitie according to proportion emboldens me to say it.

With a stock of £5000 I durst venture to effect it, though more than £100,000 hath been spent in Virginia & the Barmudas to small purpose, about the procuring whereof many good men knowes I have spent noe small tyme labor nor money: but all in vaine. No<sup>tw</sup> standing within these fower yeares I have occasioned twice £5000 to be employed that way: But great desyres to ingross it hath bred so many particular humors, as they have their willes, I the losse and the general good the wrong.

Should I present it to the Biskayners, French or Hollanders, they have made me large offers. But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home, whome strangers have pleased to make a Comander abroad. The busines being of such consequence I hold it but my duty to acquaint it to

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yo<sup>r</sup> honor, knowing you are not only a cheife Patron of yo<sup>r</sup> Countrie & state, but also the greatest favorer of all good designes and their authors.

Noe more, but humbly beseeching yo<sup>r</sup> goodness to pardon my rudenes & ponder my plaine meaning in the ballance of goodwille I leave the substance to the discretion of your most admired judgment, ever resting Yo<sup>r</sup> honors  
ever most truly devoted

JO. SMITH.

NEWE ENGLAND is a part of America betwixt the degrees of 41 & 45 the very meane betweene the North Pole and the line, from 43 to 45. The Coast is mountaynous, rockye, barren & broken Isles that make many good harbours, the water being deepe, close to the shore. There is many Rivers & fresh springs, a fewe Savages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowles, wilde fruits & good store of Timber.

From 43 to 41½ an excellent mixed coast of stone sand & clay, much corne, many people, some Isles, many good harbors, a temperate aire yron & steele, oare & many other such good blessings, that having but men skilfull to make them simples there growing, I dare ingage myself to finde all things belonging to the building & rigging of shippes of any proportion & good Merchandize for their fraught within a square of 10 or 14 leagues. 25 harbors I sounded: 30 severall Lordshippes I sawe, and as nere as I could imagine 3000 men, I was up one River fortie myles, crossed the mouthes of many whose heads the Inhabitants report, are great Lakes, where they kill their beavers inhabited w<sup>th</sup> many people that trade with them of Newe England and those of Canada.

## THE BENEFITT OF FISHING.

The Hollanders raise yearly by fishing (if Records be true) more than . . . £2,000,000  
From Newfoundland at the least . . . £ 400,000  
From Island & the North Sea . . . £ 150,000  
From Hamborough . . . £ 20,000  
From Cape Blanke . . . £ 10,000

These five places doe serve all Europe as well the Land Townes as Ports & all the Christian shipping with these sorts of staple fish which is

transported from whence it is taken many a thousand myle—Herring, Poore John, Saltfish, Sturgeon, Mullett, Pargos, Caviare, Buttargo.

Now seing all these sortes of fish may be had in a land more fertile, temperate & plentifull of all natural things for the building of Shippes, boates, howses & the nourishment for man only for a little labour or the most part of the chiefe materially, the seasons are so propper and the fishing so neare the habitations we may there make.

That New England hath much advantage of the most of those parts to serve all Europe farr cheaper, than they can who have neither wood, salt nor food but at a great rate, nothing to helpe them but what they carry in their shippes 2 or 300 leagues from their habitacons noe Port or Harbour but the mayne sea: Wee the fishing at our dores & the help of the land for woods, water, fruites, fowle, Corne or what wee want to refresh us when we list. And the Terceiras Maderas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Province, Savoy, Cecilia, and all Italye as convenient Marketts for our drye fish, greene fish, sturgeon, mullett and Buttargo as Norway, Swethland, Luttvania, Polonia, Denmarke or Germany for their Herring which is here also in abundance for taking; they retorning but Wood, Pitch, Tarre, Soape Ashes, Cordage & such grosse comodities: we wynes, oyles, sugars, silkes & such marchandize as the Straits afford, whereby our profitt may equalize theirs. Besides the infinite good by increase of shipping & Marriners this fishing would breede And employment for the surplusage of many of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> unruly subjects. And that this may be, these are my proofes, (viz):

1 PROOF. } In the year 1614 with two shippes  
1614 } I went from the Donnes the third of March arrived in New England the last of Aprill. I had but 45 men & boyes, we built seven boates, 37 did fish, myself with 8 others raunging the Coast. I made this Mappe, gott the acquaintance of the Inhabitants, 1000 Beaver skins 100 martins & as many Otters. 40.000 of drye fish we sent for Spaine with the Saltfish, Traine oyle & furs. I returned for England the 18 of July & arrived safe with my Company in health in the latter end of August. Thus in Six months I made my voyage out & home & by the labour of 45 men got nere the value of 1500£ in lesse than three monethes in those grosse Comodities.

2<sup>d</sup> PROOF. } In the year 1615 the Londoners  
1615. } uppon this sent 4 good shippes & intertayned the men who returned w<sup>th</sup> me. They set sail in Januarye & arrived there in March & found fish enough till half June, fraughted a shipp of 300 Tonnes which they sent for Spaine, one went to Virginia to relieve that Collonye & two came home with saltfish, Trayne oyle, furses & the salt—remayned within six moneths.

3 PROOF. } The same year I sett forth from  
1615. } Plymouth w<sup>th</sup> a shippe of 200 & one of 50 to inhabit the Countrie according to the Tenor of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commission granted to the West parts of England. But ill weather breaking all my Mastes forced me to retourne again to Plymouth where reimbarkeing myself in a small barke but of 60 Tonnes I passed the English Pyrats and the French; but at last I was betrayed by four frenchmen of warr who kept me prisoner that sommer & so overthrew my voyage & Plantation During w<sup>ch</sup> tyme my Vice Admirall that sett forth in March arrived there in May, came home fraught with fish, Trayne oyle, Beavers skinned, and all her men safe in August within 6 monethes and odd dayes.

4 PROOF. } The Londoners ere I returned sent  
1616. } two shippes more in July to trye the Winter: but such courses they took by the Canaries, and the Indies, it was 10 moneths ere they arrived wasting in that time their seasons, victuall & healthes yet within 3 months after the one returned were fraughted with fish Trayne oyle & Beavers.

5 PROOF. } From Plymouth went 4 shippes  
1616. } only to fish and trade some in February some in March one of 200 Tonnes got thither in a moneth and went full fraught for Spaine w<sup>th</sup> drye fish, the rest returned all well & safe and all full fraught with fish, furses and oyle in 5 moneths and odd dayes.

6 PROOF. } From London went two more one  
1616. } of 220 tonnes got thither in 6 weekes & within 6 weekes after w<sup>th</sup> 44 men was fraughted with fish, furses and oyle & was again in England within 5 monethes & a few dayes.

7 PROOF. } Being at Plymouth provided w<sup>th</sup> 3  
1617. } good shippes I was winde bound nere 3 monethes as was many a 100 sayle more so that the season being past I sent my shippes to Newfoundland whereby the adventures had noe losse. 1618. There is 4 or 5 saile gone thither this year to fish and trade from London also there is one gone only to fish and trade, each shippe for her particular designe and their private endes, but none for any generall good, where neither to Virginia, nor to the Bermudas they make such hast.

By this yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> may perceive the ordinary performance of this voyage in 6 monethes, the plenty of fish that is most certainly approved & if I be not misinformed from Cannada & New England within these 4 yeares hath been gotten by the French & English nere 36,000 Beavers skinned: That all sorts of Timber for shipping is most plentifully there; All those w<sup>ch</sup> returned can testifye and if ought of this be untrue is easily proved.

The worst is of these 16 shippes 2 or 3 of them have been taken by Pyrates, w<sup>ch</sup> hath putt such

fears in poore fishermen, whose powers are but weak. And the desyre of gaine in Marchants so violent; every one so regarding his private, that it is worse than slaverye to follow any publike good, & impossible to bring them into a bodye, rule or order, unless it be by some extraordinary power. But if his Ma<sup>ty</sup> would be please to be perswaded to spare us but a Pinnace to lodge my men in and defend us & the Coast from such invasions the space of eight or ten monethes only till we were seated, I would not doubt but ere long to drawe the most part of Newfound Land men to assist us if I could be so provided but in due season: for now ere the Savages grow subtle and the Coast be too much frequented with strangers more may be done w<sup>th</sup> £20 than hereafter with a £100.

**THE CHARGE.**—The Charge of this is only Salt, Netts, Hooks, Lynes, Knives, Course Cloth, Beades, Glasse, Hatchetts and such trash, only for fishing & trade w<sup>th</sup> the savages, that have desyred me to inhabitt where I wille and all these shippes have bene fished within a square of two leagues the Coast being of the same Condition the length of two or three hundred leagues, where questionles within one hundred 500 sayle may have their fraught better than in Iseland Newfoundland or elsewhere, and be at their marketts ere the other can have their fish in their shippes. From the west part of the Plantation. England the shippes goe for the third part that is when the voyage is done the goods are divided into three parts (viz.) one third for the Shippe: one for the Company the other for the Victualler, whereby with a stock of £5000 I goe forth w<sup>th</sup> a charge of £15000 for the transporting this Collonye will cost little or nothing but at the first, because the fishing will goe forward whether we plant it or noe, for the fishers report it to be the best they knowe in the Sea and the land in a short time may be more profitable.

Now if a Shippe can gain 50 or £60 in the 100 only by fishing, spending as much tyme in going & coming as in staying there were I there planted seing the fish in their seasons serveth the most part of the yeare and w<sup>th</sup> a litle labour I could make all the salt I need use I can conceive noe reason to distrust, but double & triple their gaines that are at all the former charge & can fish but two monethes. And if those do give 20, 30 or 40<sup>s</sup> for an acre of ground or Shipp Carpenters, Forgers of yron or steele, that buy all things at a dear rate grow rich when they may have as good of all needful necessaryes for taking in my opinion should not growe poore and no comoditye in Europe doth decay more than wood.

Thus Right hon<sup>ble</sup> & most worthy Peere I have thrown my Mite into the Treasure of my Coun-

tries good beseeching your Lo<sup>p</sup> well to consider of it & examine whether Columbus could give the Spaniards any such certainties for his grounds, when he got 15 saile from Queene Isabell of Spaine when all the great judgments of Europe refused him! And though I can promise noe mynes of gold the Hollanders are an example of my project whose endeavoures by fishing cannot be suppressed by all the Kinge of Spaines golden powers. Truth is more than wealth & industrious subjects are more available to a king than gold. And this is so certaine a course to gett both as I thinke was never propounded to any State for so small a charge, seeing I can prove it, both by example, reason, & experience. How I have lived spent my tyme & bene employed, I am not ashamed who will examine. Therefore I humbly beseech Yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup> seriously to consider of it and lett not the povertye of the author cause the action to be less respected, who desyres no better fortune than he could find there.

In the interim I humbly desyre yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup> would be pleased to grace me w<sup>th</sup> the title of yo<sup>r</sup> Ld<sup>sh</sup> servant. Not that I desyre to shut upp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease & idlenes, but that thereby I may be the better countenanced for the prosecution of this my most desyred voyage, for had I the patronage of so mature a judgment as yo<sup>r</sup> honors it would not only induce those to believe what I know to be true in this matter who will now hardly vouchsafe the pensall of my relations, but also be a meanes to further it to the uttermost of their powers w<sup>th</sup> their purses. And I shal be ever ready to spend both & goods for the honor of my Country & yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> service, with w<sup>ch</sup> resolution I doe in all humility rest

At Yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup>s service.

To show the difference betwixt Virginia and New England I have annexed mappes of them both and this schedule w<sup>ch</sup> will shew the difference of the old names from the new on the Map of New England:

<i>The Ould Names.</i>	<i>The New.</i>
Cape Cod,	Cape James, Milford Haven.
Chawum,	Barwick.
Accomack,	Plimoth.
Sagoquas,	Oxford.
Massachusetts mount,	Chevit Hill.
Massachusetts river,	Charles River.
Totant,	Fawmoth.
A country not discov <sup>d</sup> ,	Bristow.
Naemkeeke,	Bastable.
Cape Trabigranda,	Cape Anne.
Aggawom,	Sonthampton.
Smithes Isles,	Smiths Iles.
Passataquack,	Hull.
Accominticus,	Boston.

Sassanoweo Mount,	Snoddon Hill.
Sowacatuck.	Ipswich.
Bahana,	Dartmouth.
Aucociscoes Mount,	Sandwich.
Aucocisco,	Shooters Hill.
Atamonghacawgen,	The Base.
Kinebeck,	Cambridge.
Sagadahock,	Edenborough.
Penmaquid,	Leeth.
Monahigan,	St. Johns Towne.
Segocket,	Barties Isles.
Matinnaack,	Norwich.
Metiniens,	Willoughbyes Isles
Mecadent,	Houghtons Isles.
Penobscoot,	Dunbarton.
Nasket,	Aborden.
	Lowmonds.

MEMOIR OF LA SALLE TO FRONTENAC,  
NOV. 9, 1680.

THE following is translated from this document as given in Thomassy's "Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane:"

Niagara river is almost unnavigable for ten leagues from the falls to the entrance of Lake Erie, it being impossible to get a bark up, except by having people enough to keep it under sail, pole, and tow, all at once; and even then with such excessive circumsppection that you cannot always hope to succeed.

The entrance to Lake Erie is so traversed by sand-bars, that not to risk a vessel every voyage, it must be left in a river, which is six leagues up the lake, there being no port or anchorage nearer the end of the lake.

There are on Lake Erie three great points,\* two of which run out more than ten leagues. They are sand-banks on which you run, before you see them, unless you take great precaution.

You change direction to enter the strait from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, where there is more water and a great current. Great difficulty at the Straits of Missilimakinac to enter from Lake Huron to that of the Illinois;† the current is there ordinarily against the wind, and the channel narrow on account of the sand-bars which run out from both sides.

Very little or no anchorage in Lake Huron; no harbors, any more than on the Lake of the Illinois on the north, west, and south side. Many islands in both; dangerous, in that of the Il-

\* Long Point, Pointe aux Pins, Point Pelée.

† Detroit river. ‡ Michigan.

linois, on account of the sand-banks in the lake.

The lake is shallow, and subject to terrible gales, without shelter, and the sand-banks preventing an approach to the islands. But it may be that with more frequent navigation the difficulties will be less, and the ports and harbor better known, as has occurred on Lake Frontenac, the navigation of which is now both sure and easy.

The basin into which you enter to go from the Lake of the Illinois to the Divine river\* is no way suited for communication, there being no anchorage, wind, or entrance, for a vessel, nor even for a canoe, except in a great calm; the prairies, by which a communication is spoken of, being flooded whenever it rains, by the waters from the neighboring hills. It is very difficult to make and keep up a channel there that will not at once fill up with sand and gravel, and you cannot dig into the ground without finding water; and there are sand-hills between the lake and the prairies. And were this channel possible at great expense, it would be useless, because the Divine river† is not navigable for forty leagues from there to the great village of the Illinois. Canoes cannot pass there in summer, and there is even a great rapid this side of the village.

No mines have been seen yet, although pieces of copper are found in several places when the waters are low. There is excellent hemp, and mineral coal. The Indians say they have sold‡ (seen?) yellow metal near the village, but they describe it as too pure to be gold ore.

Buffalo have become scarcer since the Illinois are at war with their neighbors; both killing and hunting them continually.

There is navigation from Fort Crèvecœur to the sea; New Mexico is not more than twenty days' journey to the west of this fort. The Matontenta came to see M. de la Salle, bringing the hoof of a Spanish horse, which they had killed in their own country, only ten days distant from this fort, where we can easily go by river.

These Indians relate that the Spaniards who make war on them, use lances more than guns.

There are no Europeans at the mouth of the great river Colbert, and the monster of which the Sieur Jolliet brought a representation, is a grotesque, painted by some Indian of that river, of which no one ever saw the original. It is a day and a half from Crèvecœur, and if Sieur Jolliet had gone a little further down, he would have seen a more frightful one. He did not reflect that the Mosopelea, whom he marks

\* This name is applied to the Chicago, but from subsequent reference is evidently here the Desplaines.

† The Desplaines.

‡ The word is *rendu*, but it is evidently an error.

on his map, were utterly destroyed before his voyage.

He marks on that same map a number of nations which are merely the names of the families which compose the Illinois nation: the Pronereas, Carcarhias, Tamaroa, Korokoenitanon, Chinko, Caokia, Chepons-sea, Amanakoa, Ooukia, Acansa, and several others forming the village of the Illinois, composed of about 400 cabins, covered with rush mats, without fortification.\* I counted there nearly 1800 combatants, who have no war except with the Iroquois, with whom it would be easy to reconcile them, were there not reason to apprehend that being at peace with them, and able to fall back on their side, they would want to make war on the Outaouacs, whom they hate extremely, and so trouble our trade; but so long as we can make them feel a need of us they can easily be kept in duty, and by these means the more remote nations also, by whom they are feared.

There is very good ship-building timber along seven or eight rivers that empty into the Colbert; the least of which has a course of three hundred leagues without a fall.

M. de la Salle has seen Indians of three nations through which Fernando Soto passed, namely; Sicachia, Casein, and Aminoya, whence his people went into Mexico, and who declare that the navigation from Crèvecœur to them is fine. It is important to carry out this exploration, because the river on which the Sicachia dwell, and which is probably the Sukakoua, takes its source near Carolina, where the English are, 300 leagues from the River Colbert in French Florida near Palache, † whence the English could come in boats to the Illinois, to the Miamis and near the Bay of the Pnans ‡ and the country of the Nadonessieux, and thereby draw off a great part of our commerce.

It has been colder this year at the Illinois than at Fort Frontenac. They sow only once a year, and then at the May moon, it freezing hard every year in the month of April. It is true that the mildness of the month of January, which was equally at Fort Frontenac, at first led us to believe that this country was as mild as Provence; but we have since seen that the winter was not less severe than in the Iroquois country, since the river was still frozen on the 22d of March, and the Lake of the Illinois § on the south side as full

\* If he means that he saw these names on Joliet's map, it is not that in Thevenot. On that map are the Pesanea, Cahouachsia; the first two in the above list, but none of the rest. If it means only that these are the Illinois families, we recognize the Peorias, Kaskaskias, Tamaroas, and Cahokia, as well-known divisions, but cannot trace the others. To include the Acansa as Illinois, seems very strange.

† Apalachicola.

‡ Green Bay.

§ Lake Michigan.

of ice as Lake Frontenac\* is ordinarily in the month of January, although Lake Erie was so clear eight days after, that none was seen in the pools and holes on the north side. The whole country between the Lake of the Illinois and Lake Erie, for the space of a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues, is nothing but a chain of mountains, from which a number of rivers descend on the west into the Lake of the Illinois, on the north into the Lake of the Hurons, and on the south into the Ohio river. Their sources are so near each other on the summit of these mountains, that in three days' time we passed twenty-two or twenty-three larger than the Saurel or Richelieu. The top of these mountains is flat, covered with perpetual marshes, which not being frozen, gave us plenty of exercise.

There are, also, some dry fields, and very good land, filled with an incredible number of bears, deer, and turkeys, on which the wolves make stubborn war, and which have so little ferocity, that we were several times in danger of not being able to defend ourselves by fire-arms.

At the extremity of Lake Erie, ten leagues beyond the strait, † there is a river ‡ by which the road to the Illinois may be greatly shortened, being navigable for canoes to within two leagues of that by which we go there, §. But there is another river, shorter and better, which is that of Ohio, which is navigable for barks, and by which the difficulty of the basin at the end of the Lake of the Illinois and that of making a communication with the Divine river and making it navigable to Fort Crèvecœur would be avoided.

It must not be imagined that these fields in the Illinois country of which men talk, are lands into which you have only to stick a plough, for most of them are flooded at the least rain; others are too dry, and the best require labor yet to clear the poplars with which they are covered, and drain the marshy spots which are scattered all over.

You can pass securely through all these nations, if you have a peace calumet. Most of those by which we must go, know it already, and are preparing to receive us well.

The Illinois have offered to escort us to the sea, in the hope that we have given them, that all they require will come that way; and the need the other nations have of knives, axes, &c., increases their desire to have us.

The young bisons are easily tamed, and may be of great help, as well as the slaves, in which the natives are accustomed to trade, and whom they force to work.

\* Lake Ontario.

† Detroit river.

‡ If this is the Maumees, the writer speaks from Illinois, and means by beyond, east.

§ St. Joseph's.

There are as many rascals there as elsewhere; more women than men, there being no man but has several wives; some as many as ten; and as many sisters as they can, that they may agree better, as in fact they do.

I have seen three baptized children to whom this sacrament was given in perfect health, one is called Peter, another Joseph, and the third, Mary, daughter of the brother (of) Siehagoist, who are in great danger of living like their father, who has three sisters as wives, there being little probability of their having other instructions, inasmuch as Father d'Allouez, who baptized them, has left the Illinois; unless his staff which he left well wrapped up, as a mark that the land belonged to him, has some extraordinary virtue. These are the only Christians that I know that can be so only in *fide Ecclesie*.

Father d'Allouez has retired to a village composed partly of Miamis, partly of Mascoutens and Ochiatinens,\* who have abandoned the former village and the greater number of their kindred, to go and form an alliance with the Iroquois and with them make war on the Illinois. For this end, they sent five last summer, and a woman as an embassy, with a letter from Father d'Allouez.

The object of the embassy was, to excite the Iroquois to unite with them to make war on the Illinois. This affair had been in negotiation twenty-four days when I arrived at Tanachioragon, a village of the Sonnontouâns; but then they knew that I was at Cannagaro, where Father Rafeix was, there came the next night a woman from that village, who had been formerly captured by the Miamis, to tell these ambassadors that they would be tomahawked, and that they must fly, for fear perhaps that I, being present, should learn the object of that embassy.

It is nevertheless true, that the Iroquois had no intention of injuring them; for though the flight could not but render them suspected, they were well received when they were overtaken, but they would not speak as long as I was there.

Having afterwards met these same ambassadors in their country, one of whom spoke Huron, I learned what I must deem an invention of Indian malice. Nevertheless, as soon as the news reached the village, where Father d'Allouez was, that I had arrived at the Illinois, one of the chiefs named Monceau, was deputed, who brought *underground* four kettles, twelve axes, and twenty knives, to tell the Illinois that I was a brother of the Iroquois; that I breathed his breath; that I eat the serpents of his country; that they had given me a seine to envelop them on one side, while the Iroquois came on the other; that I was hated by all the blackgowns, who

\* The writer probably used the Greek  $\alpha$ , here represented by *ch*, the tribe being the Oniatanon or Weas.

abandoned me, regarding me only as an Iroquois; that I had already wished to kill the Miamis; that I had taken two prisoners, and that I had medicine to poison all the world.

It was easy for me to destroy all these falsehoods, and this poor Monceau came near being kept to pay for it, they telling him that he was the one that had the Iroquois serpent under his tongue; that his comrades who had been on the embassy had brought some back, and had not been able to smoke the same calumet without breathing the Iroquois breath. Had I not interposed, the Illinois would have killed the Monceau.

Here is another affair in which I suspect a snare, which is apparently a sequel of their desire to have my lord, the Count de Frontenac, make war on the Iroquois, when they saw that he abandoned the Illinois. The ardor with which the Iroquois wished to make war on him, immediately cooled, although in fact some took the war-path. This is concealed from the Outaouacs, that they may continue to go there to trade, and that the Iroquois taking them for Illinois, may kill them in order to make trouble. Still more, it has been negotiated that the greatest number of the Miamis, who are our allies, may come to live with the Illinois, so that the Iroquois cannot strike one without the other, and my lord count be forced either to abandon his allies, or make war on the Iroquois to prevent their making it on the Illinois.

Perhaps this is a rash judgment. Yet this small body of Miamis, among whom Father d'Allouez retired, seeing that the Iroquois do not begin war against the Illinois soon enough, have this winter killed some Iroquois to hasten it, and cut off the fingers of a Sonnontouân (Seneca), whom they afterwards sent back to his country to say, that the Miamis joined the Illinois to kill the Iroquois.

It may be, that the knowledge which Father d'Allouez may have of the real inclination of these Indians and their treason, is what obliges him to leave them, as he is to do in the spring. Yet I am sure of stopping this war, especially if my lord count comes this year to weep for the dead of the Onontæz (Onondagas), having prevented the Illinois from setting out to come in search of the Iroquois, and induced them to give back some slaves that they have; which the Iroquois learning from me, seemed very well pleased.\*

\* Father Claude Allouez was one of the earliest western missionaries. He succeeded Marquette in the Illinois mission, and was at Kaskaskia in 1677 and 1678 ("Rel. 1673-9," pp. 120-134), but apparently on the breaking out of the war with the Iroquois, retired to a Miami village. To understand the difficulty between La Salle and the Jesuit missionaries at Seneca and the west, is not easy. The party of Frontenac was at issue with the bishop, his clergy, and the Jesuits, and La Salle was a warm partisan of Frontenac; but in some



It must not surprise any one to see the Iroquois talk of going to war against our allies, because they receive insults from them every year. At Missilimakinac, among the Ponteatamis, the Miamis, I saw the spoils and scalps of several Iroquois, whom the Indians of those parts had treacherously killed while hunting last spring and the spring before; and this is not unknown to the Iroquois, our allies having the imprudence to chant it in their presence, when they were among them in trade, as I saw at Missilimakinac and among the Ponteatamis some who, dancing with the calumet, boasted of these acts of treachery, with these scalps dangling on their arms, in the presence of three Agniers (Mohawks) who were trading there.

I cannot omit my meeting with a Mohegan Indian (Loup), and the reason of his difficulty in deciding his choice between our religion and that of the English by the two differences which he found between the Apostles, some missionaries of this country, and the English ministers; seeing that these last do not imitate the chastity of the Apostles, and the former being far from their attachment by the pursuit of wealth, and finally the consolation he felt on learning the love which the Recollect Fathers bear to poverty: which has determined him to come and seek baptism in the choice of our religion.

There are in the Illinois country many green parrots, smaller than those of the West Indies, about the size of those from Africa.

#### MASON AND DIXON'S LINE.

CHANCE has thrown into my hands for a period sufficient to allow of making copious notes therefrom, a manuscript document which, a few years since, might have proved of great value in determining a question of boundary between three of the United States. It consists of the field-notes taken by Mr. Charles Mason, one of the two eminent mathematicians, who were employed from 1763 to 1768, in surveying the boundary lines between Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware.

During the lapse of nearly a century from the completion of Mason and Dixon's survey, many of the boundary marks had become unknown or

transactions at La Chine, he seems to have had a personal quarrel with the Jesuits at Sault St. Louis. As to the actual merits of the matter in the text, it is difficult to tell. La Salle evidently wished to control the Illinois for peace or war to suit his own ends, and in this manner seems to hesitate whether it were better policy to keep the war alive or check it. The missionaries were absolutely for peace, and peace would have saved La Salle's party from a great disaster.

accidentally removed, and the uncertainty concerning their former position was so great, that one gentleman, who for years enjoyed a seat in the Delaware Legislature, is recently found to reside half a mile within the State of Pennsylvania. In the year 1842, therefore, three commissioners were employed, representing each of the States concerned, who examined all the accessible records bearing upon the subject, and resurveyed a portion of the line.

Their report, a pamphlet published in 1850, pp. 88, with an outline map, is valuable as embodying concisely, all that is known of the surveys *previous* to 1763. In respect to that of Messrs. Mason and Dixon, they unfortunately had access only to a document in which they announce to their employers the *conclusions* at which they had arrived. The more important record of the *processes* by which these conclusions were reached, was not then known to exist.

The writer being the only American who has enjoyed the privilege of perusing this record since it was carried to England, in 1768, deems it of sufficient interest to warrant a description. The manuscript recrossed the ocean to the British provinces at some unknown period, and is now in possession of a gentleman in Nova Scotia.

The record is in the handwriting of Charles Mason, as is evident from very numerous passages, and from his signature at the conclusion. It consists of about five quires of paper, or between four and five hundred pages, unbound but strongly stitched together. It is in excellent preservation, and is nearly all written over in a neat, legible hand. By far the larger portion is occupied with the statistical details of their survey and the astronomical observations which they took at intervals of five miles from their boundary stones. Interspersed, however, with the field-notes, are chronicled the adventures, haps, and mishaps of each day's proceedings. The name of every halting-place is chronicled, and that of every person whose hospitality they shared on their route. Frequent remarks upon the nature of the country; its flora and fauna, agricultural capabilities, and geological structure, attest that Mr. Mason was a man of science and observation, and worthy of the honor announced to him by the following certificate, the original of which is stitched into his MSS.:

"Mr. Charles Mason is duly admitted a corresponding member of the AMERICAN SOCIETY, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge.

"Signed by order of the Society.

"CHARLES THOMPSON, *Cor. Sec'y.*

"15th day of April, A. D. 1763."

The original letters of instruction from the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, from Lord

Baltimore, Richard and Thomas Penn, are also stitched with the notes. Also the certified minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society, in London, Oct. 24, 1765, from which I copy:

“*Resolved*, That the precise measure of a degree of latitude in America, in the neighborhood of Pennsylvania, appears to the Council and to the Astronomer Royal, who was pleased to assist on this occasion, to be a work of great use and importance; and that the known abilities of Messrs. Mason and Dixon, the excellence of the instruments with which they are furnished, the favorable level of the country, and their having assistants well practised in measuring, do all concur in giving good ground for hope, that this business may now be executed with greater precision than has ever yet been done, and at a much less charge than the Society can reasonably expect an opportunity of doing it hereafter.

“*Resolved*, To employ Messrs. Mason and Dixon in the said admeasurement of a degree of latitude, and to allow them the whole of their demand, being the sum of two hundred pounds sterling, for the said work; and also in case the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania should refuse their stipulated allowance for their passage home, *but not otherwise*, the further sum of forty pounds, for the said passage.”

Further resolves are to the effect that Mr. Nevil Maskelyne, astronomer royal, be requested to draw up instructions for Messrs. Mason and Dixon. Also, that Rt. Hon. Lord Baltimore, and Mr. Penn, the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania, be applied to for the use of their instruments now there.

The autograph letters of Lord Baltimore and Thomas Penn, are here inserted, both cheerfully granting the use of instruments and an allowance for return passage. Also the autograph instructions of Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, Regius Professor of Astronomy, giving technical directions in respect to the use of rods, of clock and transit instruments, and getting up signals.

On May 10, 1732, the proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, Lord Baltimore and the heirs of William Penn, first effected an agreement with reference to their common boundary. Surveys were instituted and tardily prosecuted during a series of years. Causes of contention having arisen, a chancery suit was the result, and on the 15th day of May, 1750, decision was pronounced by Lord Chancellor Hardwick. The sudden death of Charles, Lord Baltimore, the same year, reopened the controversy between his successor, Frederick, and Richard and Thomas Penn, but a final adjudication on the 4th of July,

1760, reaffirmed the decree of Chancellor Hardwick, and defined its limitations.

Not only was the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland in question, but that between Maryland and Delaware, and by the terms of the decree the just position of the former line was dependent upon the accurate survey of the latter.

The southern boundary of Delaware was to commence at a promontory on the Atlantic, then called Cape Henlopen, but which is some distance south of the cape now bearing that name. Thence it was to run due west to a point precisely half way between the Atlantic and the Chesapeake. Here a monument was to be erected with suitable inscriptions.

The northern boundary separating Delaware from Pennsylvania, was the nest-egg of the multifarious difficulties, political, territorial, and mathematical, which complicated for many years the adjustment of the remaining lines. It consisted of the arc of a circle described from the court-house at Newcastle as a centre, with a radius of twelve miles. The line forming the western boundary was to commence at the aforesaid monument and proceed northerly in such direction that it should be a tangent to the aforesaid arc of a circle.

From this point of tangency, a line was to be drawn due north to a parallel of latitude fifteen English statute miles south of the parallel, passing through the most southern point of the city of Philadelphia.

From the northern extremity of the due north line, a line was to be run west until the western limits of Pennsylvania were reached at the distance of five degrees of longitude west of the River Delaware.

These intricate lines involved, it will readily be seen, a number of problems which it is not surprising should have taxed to the utmost the skill of the colonial surveyors. For instance, three different spots had been marked as the “point of tangency.”

Thus the matter stood, when in obedience to the “Macedonian cry” of the Boards of Commissioners, the proprietors notified them under date of August 10, 1763, that they had agreed with two mathematicians to “come over and assist them” in running the lines agreed on in the original articles, and that their arrival might soon be expected.

Of the previous history of Messrs. Mason & Dixon I can learn nothing, except that they enjoyed the confidence of the Royal Society, and had just been employed to observe the last transit of Venus at the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. Mason’s first entries in his manuscript are as follows: “1763, Nov. 15, arrived at Philadelphia. 16th, attended a meeting of the Commissioners appointed by the Proprietors of Pennsyl-

vania to settle the boundaries of this province. 17th, wrote to his Excellency Horatio Sharpe, Esq., governor of Maryland, signifying our arrival at Philadelphia."

On Dec. 3, they were still at Philadelphia, and accompanied the mayor and recorder of the city to a house on the street called Cedar or South street, then occupied by Thomas Plumsted and Joseph Huddle, which house the aforesaid mayor and recorder, from tradition, and a view of the deeds and plats of the city, "did verily believe from the time the said city was first laid out, to have been deemed and taken the southern boundary thereof." With a zenith sector, the latitude was determined to be  $39^{\circ} 56' 29''$ .

From this time onward until Aug., 1768, these gentlemen were employed in tracing the various lines which had been left unsettled, and in going over those of their predecessors to settle their accuracy. Stones were erected at intervals of one mile, and every fifth stone was engraved on the opposite sides with the arms of the Lords Proprietors. The surveys were conducted by observations, partly astronomical, partly trigonometrical. The bearings of various heavenly bodies are given in Mr. Mason's notes, from each of the five-mile stones. About a month was consumed in measuring a degree of latitude for the Royal Society, the particulars of which are printed in the 58th volume of the transactions of that society. In the same volume is also printed some "Astronomical Observations made at the Forks of the Brandywine, for determining the going of a clock sent thither by the Royal Society, in order to find the difference of gravity between the Observatory at Greenwich and the spot where the clock was set up in Pennsylvania." To this is added an "Observation of the end of the Eclipse of the Moon," and "some Immersions of Jupiter's First Satellite, observed at the same place in Pennsylvania, by Charles Mason and Jere. Dixon."

From Mason's manuscript I quote some entries of interest:

"1765, Jan. 25, left Brandywine and proceeded to Lancaster, distant about 35 miles, nearly due west. What brought me here was, my curiosity to see the place where was perpetrated last winter that horrid and inhuman murder of 26 Indians, men, women and children, leaving none alive to tell." He proceeds to narrate the circumstances of that well-known occurrence.

1765, Sept. 25th, Mr. Mason notes going to see a cave about six miles from his line. "The entrance," says he, "is an arch about six yards in length, and four feet in height, opening into a room 45 yards in length, 40 in breadth and 7 or 8 in height." Other smaller rooms are discovered within; also a river. The whole is described in animated and somewhat poetical language, with

a sprinkling of moral reflections. The imitations of pillars, organs, columns, and monuments of a temple, especially impressed his imagination.

Up to June, 1767, Messrs. Mason and Dixon were chiefly employed on the borders of Maryland and Delaware. At this time they received instructions to "trace the west line to its western extremity." They were also informed that Sir William Johnson, his Majesty's Agent for Indian Affairs, had obtained the consent of the Indians to the running this line, and that a deputation of the Six Nations would attend them. They were cautioned that good care and treatment of these Indians was of the last importance. A curious postscript, dated Chester Town, June 18, 1767, is as follows:

"The Commissioners recommend to Messrs. Mason and Dixon that the spirituous liquors to be given to the Indians attending them, be *in small quantities, mixed with water, and delivered to them not more than three times a day!*"

Mr. Mason chronicles frequent interviews with Indians other than those accompanying him. Among others Cattish, a noted Delaware chief: "Six miles beyond the river Monongahela eight warriors of the Seneca Nation fall in with us on their way to the southward, going against the Cherokees. These people go 700 miles through the deserts to war. They were equipped with blankets, kettles, tomahawks, guns, bows and arrows. Staid with us two days, and got a small supply of powder."

Soon after he met with an aged Indian of 86 years, called "Prince Prisqueetom," a brother to the king of the Delawares. He had a great mind to "go and see the great king over the waters." Mr. Mason had a lengthy conversation with the prince, and obtained from him a detailed, and generally correct description of the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Mason himself dwells at large upon the beauties of the scenery as viewed from the Alleghany mountains and the various natural features of the country.

The line was not continued as far west as was originally proposed on account of the opposition of their Indian attendants, who declared that the Six Nations would not permit it to be extended beyond a road called the Indian War Path. The surveyors were therefore exempted from further service. The last entries of Mr. Mason are as follows:

"1768, August 25, 26, and 27.—Attended the Gent. Commissioners at New Town, where our accounts were settled, certificates given us of the same, and the whole work on our part relating to the business we had been engaged in for the Honorable Proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania are entirely finished.

Sept. 9.—Arrived at New York.

"Sept. 9.—At 11½ A. M. went on board the Halifax packet bound for Falmouth. Thus ends my restless progress in America. C. MASON."

P. C. BLISS.

VOCABULARY OF THE NEVOME, AS SPOKEN BY THE PIMA OF MORIS, A TOWN OF SONORA.

MR. BUCKINGHAM SMITH has recently furnished us with the following notes on this language and vocabulary taken from an ancient manuscript, obtained by him in Spain. It is the more valuable, as some have stated, and more believed, that no missions existed among the Indians who spoke this tongue:

*Of Sounds.*—The letters *e, f, l*, are not in the language. The sound of *z* is heard a little in *s*, but otherwise is not known. *B* and *p, d* and *l, c* and *g* are used indifferently, according to choice. The *e* instead of *i* appears to exist: as in *pi*, no; *ip dmanca*, larger thing; *liquida*, to extend; which is a failure of correct hearing; for the natives shun the sound of *e*, even when they speak the Spanish, using instead the sound of *a*; which they do when they would pronounce *concerida* and say *conzavida*. Suppression of final vowels and diphthongs, which is frequent, oftener occurs with the pronouns *ani*, I, and *api*, thou, than with other words, the ellipsis being used even when a consonant follows, as: *ni cuna, n' cuna*, my husband.

*Of the Noun.*—The cases are marked by particles.

The plural number is usually formed by repeating the first syllable of the word, as: *maina*, mat, pl. *mamaina*. Though should that syllable contain *v*, that letter in the duplication is changed for *p*, as: *vinoi*, snake, pl. *vipinai*, or it becomes the substitute for the syllable, as: *vaso*, grass, pl. *rapso*; but there is no fixed rule for number, since *vava*, coyote, has *vavana*; *vaquai*, eagle, *vavvaquai*, and in some words the initial letter is repeated at the end of the first syllable to form the plural, as: *tucurho, tucurho*, the owls; and others remain unchanged, such as: *coni*, raven; *sosani*, thrush; *tasini*, tooth; being the same in both numbers. These words, having *v* in the second syllable change it into *p*, and take *i, o*, or *u*, before it in the plural, although many others of them form the plural by alone repeating that syllable, as: *savosi, savovosi*, a small tree.

*Mavita, maipita*, lions.

*Tuvirho, tuipirho*, parrots.

*Vavia, vaipia*, puddles.

*Bava, barpa*, rocks.

*Cavarha, cauparha*, daggers.

*Bavanorhaga, burpanarhaga*.

*Abu, arpu*, gourds.

*Adavu, adavpu*, ladles.

*Navaita, naupaita*, wines.

*Ovidi, oipidi*, larches.

*Baroca, bauvoca*, lumps.

*Novisota, noipsota*.

The following are noted as forming an irregular plural:

*Tuva, tutuapa*, hares.

*Cosoba, cocsopa*, skulls.

*Cuiosot, caquiosot*, garters.

*Caio, caquio*, legs.

*Taiapaga, tataiapaga*, scars.

*Viaopuri, vipiopo*, youths.

*Occi, hohoqui*, women grown.

*Parhiocci, paparhohoqui*, old women.

*Sisi, sisiqui*, elder brothers or sisters.

*Arica, aaricapa*, girls.

*Arigurhi, aariguguri*, boys.

*Tuia, tucia*, damsels.

*Arituia, aaritucia*.

The only genders of words are those that express sex; *ituoti* bearing the masculine, and *ubi* the feminine signification.

*Of the Pronouns.*—Two only appear to be entire, or rather to have a greater change than the rest. They are:

		I.	
		Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>Ani, An'ani,</i>	Nom.	<i>Ati, At'ati,</i>
Gen.	<i>Ni.</i>	Gen.	<i>Ti,</i>
Dat.	<i>Ni.</i>	Dat.	<i>Ti,</i>
Ac.	<i>Ni, Nu, Nunu.</i>	Ac.	<i>Ti, Tu, Tutu,</i>
Voc.		Voc.	
Ab.	<i>Ni.</i>	Ab.	<i>Ti.</i>

		Thou.	
		Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>Api, Ap'api,</i>	Nom.	<i>Api mu</i>
Gen.	<i>Mu,</i>	Gen.	<i>Amu,</i>
Dat.	<i>Mu,</i>	Dat.	<i>Amu,</i>
Ac.	<i>Mu, Mumu,</i>	Ac.	<i>Amu, Amumu,</i>
Voc.	<i>Api,</i>	Voc.	<i>Apimu,</i>
Ab.	<i>Mu.</i>	Ab.	<i>Amu.</i>

The people of Tecoripa and Subagui use *ta* instead of *ti*, and *apimi* in the place of *apimu*. In some styles of speaking, the words of a case are repeated, which is according to the Indian manner.

VOCABULARY.

Acorn, <i>orikibaitaga, cusi.</i>	Arrow, <i>huhu</i> ; poisoned, <i>huhu hinaki</i> ; the stone head, <i>ucu</i> ; the baked shaft, <i>vota.</i>
Adobe, <i>xami.</i>	
Auger, to, <i>s'hooda.</i>	
Arin, <i>huca.</i>	

Ashes, <i>mathac</i> .	<i>Mitato</i> (Mexican), the stone on which maize is crushed, <i>maturhi</i> .
Bark, <i>wridaga</i> .	Mouth, <i>tuni</i> .
Batata, <i>icobi</i> .	Moon, <i>masaha</i> .
Bear, <i>tumbo</i> .	Mosquito, <i>camuga</i> .
Black thing, <i>stucu</i> .	Mother, <i>uh, opapa</i> .
Blood, <i>pharha</i> .	Name, <i>tuquiga</i> .
Blue, <i>stuyogui</i> .	Never, <i>pim ikido, pin haba</i> .
Cane, <i>vacca</i> , pl. <i>vapca</i> .	Night, <i>stucuga</i> ; midnight, <i>huca'urha</i> .
Cannot, <i>pima, nacoga</i> .	No, <i>pima</i> ; not yet, <i>coi</i> .
Chameleon, <i>tumai</i> , Cheek, <i>cama</i> .	North, <i>tuca</i> ; thence, <i>tuca durh</i> .
(Chew, to, <i>quiva</i> ).	Nothing, <i>pim'haitu, pimasday, ta</i> .
Coioti, <i>hani, wuhitatani</i> (fox, nuncle of the wolf).	Oak, <i>osi</i> ; the red, <i>buquidania</i> ; another, <i>csi</i> .
Day, <i>siarki, siadi, tasa</i> ; to-day, <i>ica, tasaaba, icatukiti</i> .	Oh! thing, <i>huhukita</i> .
Deer, <i>siki, hua</i> .	Only, <i>kapiaha</i> .
Despoil, to, <i>quidiuida</i> .	Oyster, <i>osca</i> .
Dog, <i>goesi</i> .	Parrot, <i>tabirho</i> ; pl. <i>tuipirho</i> ; the large, <i>baro</i> .
Ear, <i>naca</i> .	Partridge, <i>ococoi</i> ; a different kind, <i>ohoi</i> .
East, <i>siari</i> ; towards it, <i>siari bui</i> ; from it, <i>siari bui durh</i> .	Pine, <i>huca</i> ; forest, <i>hucututami</i> .
Eat, to, <i>coa</i> ; perf. <i>hu</i> .	Play, to, <i>titibi</i> .
End, <i>hukidigana, huki dag, coaba</i> .	Purple, <i>sivaimagui, studogui</i> .
Father, <i>ogpa</i> .	Quarrel, <i>cabanu</i> .
Female, <i>ebbi</i> .	Rabbit, <i>tobi</i> ; lesser, <i>tabu</i> .
Fingers, <i>tarakega</i> .	Rain, <i>duki</i> .
Fire, <i>tui</i> .	Rain, to, <i>duca</i> .
Fish, <i>batoppa</i> .	Rain season, <i>dukiadaga</i> .
Fish, to, with hook, <i>riwia carha</i> ; with net, <i>vasiva</i> ; Rain, to, <i>duca aski</i> , the net; <i>riwia</i> , hook.	Rattlesnake, <i>sitcarha</i> .
Father, <i>ogpa</i> .	Red, <i>sibugui</i> .
Female, <i>ebbi</i> .	Scatter, <i>gantana</i> .
Fingers, <i>tarakega</i> .	Scorpion, <i>tuarhaki</i> .
Fire, <i>tui</i> .	Sex, female, <i>musi</i> ; male, <i>via</i> .
Fish, <i>batoppa</i> .	Skin, <i>whridaca</i> ; dressed, <i>hoki</i> .
Fish, to, with hook, <i>riwia carha</i> ; with net, <i>vasiva</i> ; Rain, to, <i>duca aski</i> , the net; <i>riwia</i> , hook.	Sky, <i>damu catama</i> .
Father, <i>ogpa</i> .	Squirrel, <i>tuwari</i> .
Female, <i>ebbi</i> .	Stars, <i>rhapa</i> ; the greater, <i>siavgué</i> ; the lesser, <i>hukuqa</i> .
Fingers, <i>tarakega</i> .	Sun, <i>tasa</i> .
Fire, <i>tui</i> .	Thigh, <i>huma</i> .
Fish, <i>batoppa</i> .	Thing, <i>haitu, astu</i> .
Fish, to, with hook, <i>riwia carha</i> ; with net, <i>vasiva</i> ; Rain, to, <i>duca aski</i> , the net; <i>riwia</i> , hook.	Tiger, <i>ohurha</i> .
Father, <i>ogpa</i> .	Tobacco, <i>vibbi</i> .
Female, <i>ebbi</i> .	Vermillion, thing, <i>s'ohama</i> .
Fingers, <i>tarakega</i> .	Vigor, <i>sgubudaya</i> .
Fire, <i>tui</i> .	Viper, <i>oko</i> ; another, <i>cucampiri</i> .
Fish, <i>batoppa</i> .	Water, <i>andagui</i> .
Fish, to, with hook, <i>riwia carha</i> ; with net, <i>vasiva</i> ; Rain, to, <i>duca aski</i> , the net; <i>riwia</i> , hook.	Weep, to, <i>woacu</i> ; pl. <i>woanu</i> ; for the dead, <i>woakidu</i> ; pl. <i>woa****</i> .
Father, <i>ogpa</i> .	Weep, I, <i>woa kiga</i> ; ye, <i>woaniga, woaki</i> .
Female, <i>ebbi</i> .	West, <i>urhuni</i> ; to the west, <i>urhuni buy</i> ; from the west, <i>urhuni buy durh</i> .
Fingers, <i>tarakega</i> .	White, <i>stou</i> .
Fire, <i>tui</i> .	Woman, <i>ebbi</i> ; married, <i>honniya</i> ; where she speaks of herself, <i>emawama</i> .
Fish, <i>batoppa</i> .	Yellow, <i>s'ho hama</i> .
Fish, to, with hook, <i>riwia carha</i> ; with net, <i>vasiva</i> ; Rain, to, <i>duca aski</i> , the net; <i>riwia</i> , hook.	Yesterday, <i>taco</i> .

## NUMERALS.

- 1, *Maddo*, for things animate; *Maco*, for inanimate.
- 2, *Goc*.
- 3, *Vaico*; severally, *Vaiepa*.
- 4, *Guico, Macoba*.
- 5, *Utopso*.
- 6, *Tutpo*.
- 7, *Bubacama*.
- 8, *Guignico*.
- 9, *Tumbustamama*.
- 10, *Bustamamu*.
- 11, *Bustamama gamai maco*.
- 12, *Macobi, Bustamama gamai goco*.
- 20, *Maco opa, Obae*.

The following is the Lord's prayer, with a literal Spanish translation, and an English version of the latter:

## NEVOME.

Toga ti dama catum arni da cama seuga m'aguna mutugniga. Tubui divianna simu tuo didaga. Cosasi m'luga eugaikiti ti dama catum, ami gusuda huco bupo gusudana 'ia duburh aba. Siari vugadi ti coadaga vutu ica tas 'aba cati maca. Vpu gat' oauida pima seuga ti tuidiga Cos'a'ati pima tuquitoa t'obaga tubuy pima seuga tuidiga. Pima t'uhuguidatadana Vpu pima seuga tuidiga, Co'piti duguvonidani pima seuga ami durhu. Doda hapu muduna. *Jhs*.

## SPANISH.

Nuestro Padre, que estas en el cielo. Tu nombre sea grandemente creido. A nosotros venga tu reino. Tu voluntad aqui en la tierra se haga, como se hace en el cielo. Nuestra comida cotidiana da nos la hoy. Ten nos lastima limpiandonos nuestros pecados, así como tenemos lastima á nuestros enemigos. No dexaras al Diablo que nos hace caer en el pecado, mas guardanos del mal. *Amen*.

## ENGLISH FROM THE SPANISH.

Our Father, who art in heaven. Thy name be greatly believed in. To us come thy kingdom. Thy will here on earth be done, as it is done in heaven. Our daily bread give us this day. Have pity on us, cleansing us of our sins, as we have pity on our enemies. Leave us not to the Devil that he cause us to fall into sin, but keep us from evil. *Amen*.

## AVE MARIA.

Saneta Maria sivaguima ga m'urhida, graciskiti tnuigama xundaiga. Mu buma peai da tistuodiga Dios: Vusi vubi vutugti seugamu m'agu. Honu'pseai seug' am 'agu mu voce hibaidaga Jesus. Santa Maria Dios Duh tanusina pima seug' gusudana nuocudana vutu va ti cohaggeddo Dod' hapu muduna. *Jhs*.

## THE WOODHULL DISCUSSION.

*(Continued.)*

## V. Letter of Mr. Cooper.

GLOBE HOTEL, NEW YORK, March 24, 1848.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I have read the letter of Mr. Sabine with interest and attention. The affidavit he produces is formidable evidence, so far as the character of the witness is concerned, but defective I think in several respects. The truth also compels me to say that I cannot think the statement of Col. Troup fully sustains that of the American loyalists, even accepting the former as uncontrovertible. I believe that the candor of Mr. Sabine will induce him to admit this himself, when the matter is closely looked into. I am now on my way South, to return home in a few days. When once at my own working table again, and among my papers, I shall ask the favor of inserting in your columns one other communication on this subject.

I will take this occasion to set Mr. Sabine right as to my understanding of another point. I have never supposed that the James De Lancey arrested and sent to Hartford, and to whom Mr. Jay's letter is addressed, was James of New York. I have very little doubt that he was right in thinking *this* individual and the James subsequently of Nova Scotia, to be the same person. James, of New York, was the elder brother of my wife's father, and such an event as his arrest, &c., could hardly have happened and we not know something about it. None of my family ever heard of such an occurrence, while I have often heard that James, of West Chester, *was* taken prisoner in the war, and sent somewhere to the eastward. John Jay was related, though not very nearly, to all of the name of De Lancey, his mother having been a grand-daughter (I think) of James Van Cortlandt, while Stephen De Lancey, the Huguenot, married a daughter of Stephen Van Cortlandt, the brother of that James. This would make John Jay and Brigadier-general De Lancey second cousins, and John Jay and the two Jameses second and third cousins, which I believe was the precise degree of affinity between them. But John Jay was much more intimate in the West Chester branch of the De Lanceys, than in either of the others; and this, I take it, explains the interest he took in the fate of James of that branch. James, of New York, was one of the richest men in America, and would scarcely have stood in need of Mr. Jay's handsome offer of money. His immediate family would have taken care that he was early supplied with that great necessary, had he been arrested.

I did not include *this*, among the other sup-

posed mistakes of Mr. Sabine, in my first letter, because my testimony being wholly negative, that of never having heard of the arrest of James, of New York, there was a *possibility* that Mr. Sabine might be right; yet, with all this caution, I fell into the great mistake of saying that Oliver De Lancey was dead, when in truth he was alive! A brief explanation as respects these two Jameses may assist Mr. Sabine hereafter.

James De Lancey, of New York, lieutenant-governor, &c., was the eldest son of the Huguenot, while Peter of West Chester, was his youngest. James was the eldest son of James, lieutenant-governor, and James was the second, or third son of Peter of West Chester.

James, of New York, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, England, in which college his father had been educated before him. On quitting college, he entered the army, rising to the rank of captain. In the unfortunate campaign against Ticonderoga, he was an aid of Abercrombie's. When his father died, or shortly after, Captain De Lancey sold out, inheriting the principal estates of his family. He married Margaret, a daughter of Chief-justice Allen, of Pennsylvania, whose other daughter married Richard (I think it was, though it may have been *John*, for I am writing with "*une plume d'auberge*," Penn, a proprietor and governor of that colony. The person called *Captain* De Lancey, in the Assembly journals of New York, between 1769 and 1775, is *this* James; while his cousin, for a part of the time, figures in the same journals as *Mr. De Lancey*.

Early in the Revolution, James of New York, went to England, whither he was followed, some time after, by his wife and children. Eventually he established himself at Bath. *He* was the vice-president of the board of loyalists, &c., mentioned by Mr. Sabine. Five of the children of James De Lancey and Margaret Allen grew up, viz., two sons and three daughters. Charles, the eldest son, was in the navy, and died a bachelor. James, late lieutenant-colonel 1st Dragoon Guards, is living, also a bachelor. Two of the daughters, Anne and Susan, are single, and still living; while Margaret married the present Sir Juckhes Clinton, and died early, childless.

James, of West Chester, was a son of Peter De Lancey and Elizabeth Colden. He was, for a considerable period, the sheriff of West Chester, an office in that day of credit and importance. He took a battalion in the brigade of his uncle, Oliver De Lancey, and was the only *Lieutenant-colonel James De Lancey*, who lived in that day.

In consequence of his familiarity with the county, Lieutenant-colonel James De Lancey was stationed much of his time in West Chester, to keep open the means of procuring supplies. His

corps made free with the cattle of that part of the country, and got the *sobriquet* of "Cow Boys," in revenge for their knowledge in the article of beef. I do not know the name of his wife, nor those of his children. Two or three of the last, I have understood, were put in the British army; and one, if not two of his sons, I believe, were killed in Canada, during the war of 1812.

I hold myself at the disposal of Mr. Sabine to communicate any facts in my possession, that he may wish to learn on this subject, or that of his book generally. I could choose, however, to do so by letter, in preference to inflicting on the public traditions in which it probably takes very little interest. Respectfully yours,

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

#### VI. Letter from Henry Onderdonk, Jr.

Messrs. Editors: I have read with much interest the controversy, so courteously conducted in your valuable paper, between Messrs. Fenimore Cooper, Van Schaack, and Sabine. I propose to enter the lists, and will commence by appending some remarks on the capture and death of General Woodhull, set forth in a manuscript history left by Judge Jones, and which Mr. Cooper has inserted in the last number of the *Home Journal*. The MS. says:

"When Congress ordered an army raised, and the militia embodied, Woodhull was appointed brigadier-general, and commander-in-chief of all the militia on Long Island. When the British army landed, he was on his march to *join the rebel army* at Brookland. *Before he reached Jamaica*, the battle of Brookland was decided. No possibility remained now of his *joining Washington*. He took up his *quarters* at an inn about two miles east of Jamaica; his militia, panic-struck, left him and returned home—about forty excepted. A party of light-horse were sent to Jamaica the evening after the battle, as an *escort to some prisoners taken in the action*. Receiving information where Woodhull was, they surrounded the house, and made him and his party all prisoners. Not the least opposition was made—not a gun fired. They asked for quarter, and it was *generously granted*.

"It may, from this state of the case, be naturally asked, how the general came to be so desperately wounded as to die of these wounds a few days afterwards? The fact shortly is this: The general, after his surrender, favored by the darkness of the night, attempted to make his escape; but being discovered by the sentries, while attempting to get over a board-fence, he received several strokes from their broadswords, particularly *one* upon the arm. He was carried on board a *man-of-war*, and treated with *hospitality*. The surgeon advised *amputation*; to this he *would*

not assent. The wound mortified, and he died in a few days."

Now, Messrs. Editors, here are at least half a dozen mis-statements, which, by your leave, I will correct. I have *italicised*, above, the words to be corrected.

Woodhull was not *ordered to join* the rebel army, but to march into the western parts of Queens county, to prevent the stock and provisions falling into the enemy's hands. This was August 24, two days *after* the British landed.

The battle of Brooklyn was not decided *before* Woodhull reached Jamaica. His men, in their march down the island, had already passed through Jamaica: and on the morning of the day of battle, Woodhull himself writes, August 27: "I am within about six miles of the enemy's camp. Their light-horse has been within two miles [of me]." On the afternoon of that day, he withdrew to Jamaica, driving the cattle before him.

So far from Woodhull's being required to *join* Washington, the Convention of the State of New York asked Washington to send Woodhull Col. Smith's and Rensen's regiments, to aid him in removing the stock and grain out of the reach of the enemy. And it was owing to his waiting for this reinforcement, that Woodhull fell into the enemy's hands.

The MS. says, "The light-horse were sent to escort prisoners to Jamaica the day after the battle." I will make three corrections here: 1st, They did not enter Jamaica till next day afternoon; 2dly, The capture of General Woodhull's party was the express object of their visit, and not an incidental affair, as is intimated in the manuscript; and 3dly, The prisoners taken in the battle were escorted to Flatbush, and the western part of King's county, as we are informed by Robert Troup, Esq., an American officer, taken the nearest of any to Jamaica.

The MS. further says, *quarter was generously granted*. Now, if any of the 71st regiment (not 70th, as Mr. Cooper has it) were present at Woodhull's capture, we may have an idea of the kind of quarter they gave, from the following extract of a letter of an officer in that regiment. He is speaking of the battle of Brooklyn:—"Our brave Highlanders gave no quarter. It was a fine sight to see with what alacrity they dispatched the rebels with their bayonets, after we had surrounded them so that they could not resist." Another, and more humane officer of rank, also writes: "We were greatly shocked at the massacre made by the Highlanders after victory was decided." These extracts were published in the *Middlesex* (London) *Journal* of 1776, and show that the British army regarded the Americans with much the same feeling as Mr. Cooper does the anti-renters.

The MS. speaks of Woodhull's having *one* wound on the arm. There are persons now living, who have heard an eye-witness, and who watched at the bedside that night, say his arm was hacked as a butcher would a shin of beef. There were seven gashes on the arm, but there may have been *one* deeper than the rest.

The MS. says Woodhull was carried on board a *man-of-war*. There, considering his high rank, he ought to have been carried, but was not. Robert Troup, Esq., was, with seventy or eighty officers, put on board a vessel used for conveying live-stock from England, and while there, Woodhull was also brought on board. Troup's affidavit shows what *hospitality* Woodhull received.

The MS. further intimates that Woodhull refused to have his arm amputated. This, also, is an error; for John Sloss Hobart, Esq., who was appointed to negotiate Woodhull's exchange, says, in a letter dated October 7, 1776:

"The wound in his arm mortified, the arm was taken off, but the mortification still continued, and a few days put an end to that useful life. He was attended, in his dying moments, by his lady; who was permitted to remove the corpse to his seat, where it was interred about the 23d ultimo. These particulars I have from Captain Strong, of Islip, before whose door the procession passed on its way to St. George's."

Mr. Cooper has compelled me, Messrs. Editors, to the ungracious task of showing this MS. of Judge Jones to be utterly worthless as an historical document. Nor need we wonder at the Judge's misstatements in this matter, as his history was written some years after this event, and he had all his information by hearsay, being himself absent at the time from the Island; for he was sent a prisoner to Norwich jail as early as Aug. 12, 1776, by a written order from General Washington, and did not return from Connecticut till December 9, of that year. Yours, very respectfully,

HENRY ONDERDONK, JR.

JAMAICA, May 8, 1843.

#### VII. Mr. Cooper's Letter.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Mr. Sabine, in the "American Loyalists," says, in connection with the question before us, and alluding to the late General De Lancey:

"His treatment of General Nathaniel Woodhull, an estimable whig of New York, who became his prisoner in 1776, should never be forgotten. There seems no room to doubt that, when that unfortunate gentleman surrendered his sword to De Lancey, he stipulated for, and was promised protection; but that his loyalist countryman basely struck him, and permitted his men to cut and hack him at pleasure."

As authority for this statement, Mr. Sabine now refers to the following deposition of the late Colonel Troup, which is to be found at page 100 of the "Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County;" edited by Mr. Henry Onderdonk, Jr., who got *his* extract from a document published by the Provincial Congress of New York, with a view to lay before the public the treatment extended to the American prisoners. Robert Troup says:

"That, while he was confined on board a transport, Brigadier-general Woodhull was also brought on board in a shockingly mangled condition; that he asked the general the particulars of his capture, and *was told* that he had been taken by a party of light-horse, under the command of Captain Oliver De Lancey; that he was asked by said captain if he would surrender; that he answered in the affirmative provided he would treat him like a gentleman; which Captain De Lancey assured him he would; whereupon the general delivered his sword; and that immediately after the said Oliver De Lancey, jun., struck him; and others of his party, imitating his example, did cruelly cut and hack him in the manner he then was; that, although he was in such a mangled and horrid situation, he had, nevertheless, been obliged to sleep on the filthy deck, or bare floor of said transport, had not a lieutenant lent him a mattress: that General Woodhull was afterward carried to the hospital in the church of New Utrecht, where he perished, as the deponent was on good authority informed, through want of care and other necessaries."

The last words of this very deposition contradict, by necessary implication, I think, one of the statements connected with this subject—that one which says the account of General Woodhull was given in *articulo mortis*. *If he perished from neglect* some days after making his statement, it leaves a sufficiently fair inference that he did not believe himself to be dying at the time it was made. I do not attach much importance to the fact myself, though it comes quite fairly within the scope of a critical examination of the case.

Nor is this all: Colonel Troup does not say that General Woodhull told him any thing. He says, "He asked the general the particulars," &c., "and was told," &c. Now this of itself is a remarkable mode of testifying. Every word might be true, and General Woodhull have said nothing at all. The expression is so singular as to excite distrust; for why should not a witness on oath state a thing clearly, and in the usual mode, if that thing ever happened? According to this statement, a question may have been put to the general, and an attendant have given the reply.



Let any man see, in the first place, what the reader is required to believe, according to this alleged deposition—I say *alleged* deposition, for I do not find that the document itself is given, but simply this extract from it. He is to believe that a troop of horse, with hearts filled with vengeance, would pause to enter into terms with a single man, and having got his sword, fell upon the victim, cut and hacked at will upon him. He is to believe that one born and educated a gentleman, of established spirit and courage, a soldier by profession, and not one taking up arms in the heat of a civil war, was guilty, firstly, of the treachery imputed; secondly, of the cowardice; and lastly, of the barbarity;—and all without any provocation than that which existed previously to the prisoner's giving up his sword, or his general offences against the king! And this he is to believe on *hearsay*, taking the very best view of the testimony, as an *ex-parte* deposition, without any cross-interrogatories, and all so loudly expressed, that the deposition might be true in its *term* (not in its just spirit, I allow), and yet mislead the public. He is to believe all this, on account of a statement made in the dark moments of a Revolution, when every human motive existed for urging men to espouse the cause of the insurgents, in a document that, on its face, was presented in order to produce a political effect. This very summer will probably produce fifty—nay, five hundred—similar depositions—all drawn with art, and circulated to affect an election.

Next come the contrary rumors that prevail near the scene of the event. Messrs. Wood and Thompson, annalists of Long Island, make Oliver De Lancey the preserver of General Woodhull, instead of his murderer, which he would be if the story of the deposition is to be believed. It is true, that they impute the death of General Woodhull to a Major, or a Captain Baird, of the 70th; and why should not an officer of the name of De Lancey commit this act, as well as an officer of the name of Baird? For my own part, I have never supposed that any officer at all assailed General Woodhull, until inquiry brought the new and important testimony I shall presently lay before the reader. I did suppose it possible that some person of the name of Baird might have assailed the prisoner during the existence of some excitement, in consequence of General Woodhull's evading the demand to cry, "God save the king!" and that Oliver De Lancey interposed his authority to put an end to the injuries—rumor so confounding the name, as to accuse *Major* Baird. In the Scottish regiments, it will be remembered, half-a-dozen names will sometimes serve a whole company.

That a party of the 70th was present at the

capture of General Woodhull, I believe to be true. There are several statements that go to render this probable. There are also no less than four accounts of this event, given by Mr. Onderdonk himself—each of which conflicts with this of the deposition. Mr. Onderdonk says, as the substance of his own information (p. 104):

"As the general came out of the house, took his horse from under the shed, and laid his hands on the reins, the light-horse galloped up, their swords gleaming in the lightning's red glare. Their first salutation was, 'Surrender, you d—d rebel!' The general delivered his sword. 'Say God save the king!' they cried. His only reply was, 'God save all honest men!' 'God save the king!' they again shouted, and showered their sabre-blows on his devoted head and arm, as it was uplifted to ward off the strokes."

This statement does not agree with that of Col. Troup, in several essentials. It contains the account of the command to cry, "God save the king!" and General Woodhull's mode of evading compliance—which the deposition does not. Such an occurrence would, of itself, change the whole character of the affair, and take it out of the category of the deposition altogether.

At page 106, Mr. Woodhull has another account, viz.:

"The *Hartford Courant*, September 9th. 1776, says:—'Woodhull refused to give up his side-arms, and was wounded on the head, and had a bayonet thrust through his arm.'

This last fact accords with the idea of a party of the 70th being present. There is still another account given by Mr. Onderdonk, whose book is not a history, but a collection of materials for history, with occasional remarks by the editor. I shall reserve this fourth account until I produce some evidence of my own, for the reason that it strikes me that this particular view of the affair goes to corroborate the statements I have elsewhere discovered. With these hasty explanations made, I will now come more directly to the point.

When I first saw the statement in the "*American Loyalists*," I believed it to be entirely new to me. Reflection, however, has satisfied me that I once before heard of this charge against Oliver De Lancey, though it was in circumstances not to produce much impression on my mind.

My wife was a daughter of the late John Peter De Lancey, of Mamaroneck, West Chester, and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Floyd, of Mastick, Long Island. In consequence of this connection, both General De Lancey and General Woodhull were related to the De Lanceys of Mamaroneck. Oliver and John Peter De Lancey were not only

brothers' sons, but they were brother soldiers. Both had been educated in Europe, and placed in the army young. Oliver was the oldest, and had the highest rank; but John Peter was a field officer, in service in this country as early as in 1777, and was quite in a way to hear and know all the rumors of the camp. On the other hand, the Floyds and Woodhulls were related by blood—how near, I cannot stop to ascertain—but General Woodhull himself, married Ruth Floyd, a con-in-german of Richard Floyd, of Mastick.

I now distinctly remember a conversation at Manaroneck, which commenced by inquiries made by myself concerning General Woodhull, the affinity with him, &c. After conversing for some time, Mr. De Lancey, the Major De Lancey of 1777, it will be remembered, suddenly said:—"They endeavored to put the death of General Woodhull on my cousin, General De Lancey. Colonel Troup made an affidavit, which Gouverneur Morris published. Troup and Morris are (both were then living) respectable men, certainly—but *Oliver always indignantly denied it!*"

My recollections of this conversation are now so distinct, that I do not believe I have changed half-a-dozen words in the foregoing quotation. It was something gained to be assured, on the testimony of one who must have known the fact, that the accused strenuously denied the truth of the charge. It showed that there were two sides to the question, at least.

It next occurred to me that the manuscript history by Thomas Jones, of Fortneck, to which I alluded in my second letter, *ought* certainly to make some allusion to this event. In order that the reader may appreciate his testimony, it may be well to show who this historian was. Thomas Jones was a judge of the Supreme Court of New York, under the crown, as indeed had been his father before him. He was the head of the very respectable family of Jones, of Queens County, having succeeded to its largest and oldest estate, that of Fortneck, which lies some fifteen or twenty miles from the spot where General Woodhull was captured. The Jones family has now furnished legislators and jurists to the Colony and State more than a century. Judge David Jones, the father of Judge Thomas Jones, is better known to the provincial history by his title of "Mr. Speaker," having filled that office—then one of distinction—many years. A sister of Judge Thomas Jones was married to Richard Floyd, of Mastick, and he was then connected with General Woodhull. Whether any other affinity existed between them or not, I cannot say, though I think it probable some distant connection must—as nearly all of the respectable families of Long Island, particularly those of Queens and Suffolk, were more or less related. On the other hand, Judge Jones

married Anne, a daughter of James De Lancey, and a cousin-german of Oliver, the party accused. It will be seen that, from connection, *residence*, and social position, the historian was every way fitted for his task. It was next to impossible that he should not have heard the story and its contradiction, and that, undertaking to leave behind him a written account of the occurrences, he should not have used the means he possessed to learn the truth.

Of the authenticity of the manuscript, and of the accuracy of the quotations I am about to make, there can be no question. The history was written in England, after the war, as I understand it, and was left by Judge Jones, at his death, to his own great-niece, who was his wife's niece, and the adopted daughter of both, Anne, the widow of John London McAdam, so well known for his improvements in the English roads; and by her it was bestowed on her brother, Dr. De Lancey, the bishop of Western New York, in whose possession it now is. The extract has been made by one of the family, at my request. I now quote from it, as it has been sent to me:

"General Woodhull," says Judge Jones, "was a native of Suffolk County, in the Province of New York. Upon the war which commenced in 1755, he entered into the provincial service, and served the whole war, in the different characters of captain, major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel. He behaved well; as an officer, was bold and resolute. He was a rigid Presbyterian,—of course, a flaming republican. In 1769, he was elected a member to serve in General Assembly, for the County of Suffolk. He continued in the House until the commotions in America commenced. In 1775, a Provincial Congress was elected for the Province of New York. Of this convention he was a member, and was appointed their president, or chairman.

"When Congress ordered an army raised, and the militia embodied, Woodhull was appointed brigadier-general, and commander-in-chief of all the militia on Long Island. When the British army landed, he was on his march down the Island, to join the rebel army at Brookland. Before he reached Jamaica, the battle of Brookland was decided. No possibility now remained of his joining Washington. He took up his quarters at an inn about two miles east of Jamaica; his militia, panic-struck, left him and returned home—about forty excepted. A party of light-horse was sent to Jamaica the evening after the battle, as an escort to some prisoners taken in the action. Receiving information where Woodhull was, they surrounded the house, and made him and his party all prisoners. Not the least oppo-

sition was made—not a gun fired. They asked for quarter, and it was generously granted.

“It may, from this state of the case, be naturally asked, how the general came to be so desperately wounded as to die of these wounds a few days afterwards? The fact is shortly this: The general, after his surrender, favored by the darkness of the night, attempted to make his escape; but being discovered by the sentries, while attempting to get over a board-fence, he received several strokes from their broadswords, particularly one upon the arm. He was carried on board a man-of-war, and treated with hospitality. The surgeons advised amputation; to this he would not assent. The wound mortified—and he died in a few days. He bore the character of an honest man, an affectionate husband, a good master, and a kind parent; and I really believe he died in what he thought a good and righteous cause.”

Here is an entirely new version of the affair! Let us examine how far it is corroborated. At page 105, Mr. Onderdonk says:

“William Warne, who left Long Island, September 5th, reports to Congress that a light-horse told him he had taken General Woodhull in a barn, in the dark; and before he would answer, when spoken to, the general had received a cut on the head and both arms.”

Might not this have happened when General Woodhull was endeavoring to escape? Might not the demands to say “God save the king!” then occurred, and the interposition of Oliver De Lancey, of which we hear so much, have been between these sentries and the party attempting to escape? Allowing for the minor errors that attend all accounts of this nature, the leading facts of Judge Jones are perfectly reconcilable with those of Wood and Thompson (always excepting *Major Baird*), while they are perfectly irreconcilable with that of the legislative document.

The more I examine this legislative document, the less it commands my respect. It was so easy, so much in rule, and so necessary to state that General Woodhull “told” Lieutenant Troup, that the omission to do so obtains great significance. *Care had to be taken to avoid stating this.* The straightforward way would have been to say, “He asked the general the particulars of his capture, and he told him,” &c., &c.; or “and was told by him;” or “by said general.” Now, Mr. Troup, a young lieutenant, shocked at seeing a general officer so mangled, may well have put his questions; but it is more probable that the answer came from some one *with* General Woodhull, than that a man of his rank, “in a shocking mangled condition,” should disturb himself to go into all these details with a young subaltern.

The whole deposition has this character of looseness, or of art. It says, “He (General Woodhull), notwithstanding his mangled condition, had, nevertheless, been obliged to sleep on the filthy deck, or bare floor of said transport—“had not a lieutenant lent him a mattress.” This is like saying he would have been compelled to do a thing, had he been so compelled. It is nonsense, and is evidently intended to make out a case, as indeed was the undeniable object of the whole Legislative document. It was desirable to connect a De Lancey with any act of this sort, for the influence of the family was great in New York, and the father of this very Captain De Lancey was just then raising a brigade for the crown. Hearsay is so much used in the affidavits, that the deponent is made to tell what he had *heard* concerning the death of General Woodhull, after they were separated! The whole document was to exhibit British cruelty—this particular affidavit forming only a small part of it.

It may be questioned whether Colonel Troup would acquiesce in such an equivocal affidavit. The true answer to this would be, to ask why he had not directly stated, in his affidavit, *what* told him these things. But Colonel Troup was then a young man, an ardent partisan, and probably did not draw up his own deposition. He stated nothing but what was true in terms, and that is as much as could be expected from most young men, with legislative machinery at work around them. Besides, if he and the party who drew up the affidavit *believed* the account given, no very great moral wrong was done. It was *all* hearsay, and the offence amounted to no more than confounding informants. Unpractised men, with the best intentions, often make these mistakes. It is less than two years since I had occasion to correct, myself, two formal misstatements, in connection with anti-rentism, that appeared in a report to the Senate of this State, made by a committee of its own body, and all on a very pretty-looking testimony, too. It was evidently the wish of the committee of 1776, to make as much of the witness as it could—else why ask him to testify to what he had *heard* as occurring at General Woodhull’s death, when evidence of a direct character could not have been wanting? Those who told Colonel Troup might have told the committee.

There is another point entitled to much consideration. Had Oliver De Lancey treated General Woodhull as stated in this affidavit, the fact must have been known to the British army. There was no possibility of concealing it. Now, whatever political paragrphists may say, an English army contains as many high-minded and humane gentlemen as any army in the world. In my opinion, Sir Henry Clinton would not have

ventured to make a man who lay under the obloquy of such a charge, and involving cruelty, cowardice, treachery, and murder, his adjutant-general.

Mr. Sabine says that Oliver De Lancey "permitted" his men to "cut and hack" General Woodhull "at pleasure." I ask that gentleman to look again at the deposition. It does not even say that Oliver De Lancey *permitted* his men to touch the prisoner. Its statement is that he, himself, first *struck* him (not with a sword, it is fair to presume, or the fact would have been so presented), and that the men, "imitating his example," struck him in their turn. Now, all this, or the interference of the men, might have been against their officer's wish, instead of with his permission. Such things pass in a moment of time, and four or five sabres would have inflicted as many wounds simultaneously. One thing is certain: had the men been "permitted to cut and hack at pleasure," the victim would in all probability have been cut to pieces. I think that even the deposition, defective and contradicted as it is, does not sustain the account of the "American Loyalists." The difference between them might cover more than the difference between manslaughter and murder. Respectfully yours,

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

#### VIII. *Letter of Mr. Onderdonk.*

MESSRS. EDITORS: After having shown the inaccuracy of Judge Jones' manuscript history, so far as concerns General Woodhull's capture and death, I shall now reply to Mr. Cooper's animadversion on Troup's deposition.

Robert Troup, Esquire, a lieutenant in Colonel Lasher's battalion of New York militia, was made prisoner by a British scouting party, about 3 o'clock, A. M., Aug. 27, five miles west of Jamaica. After a week's confinement at Flatbush, he, with seventy or eighty officers, was put on board of a small vessel or transport, lying between Gravesend and the Hook, which had been employed in bringing cattle over from England. After Troup's release, he made oath of the treatment he had received. And at the close of it, he adds:

"And the deponent further saith, That while he was, as aforesaid, confined on board the said transport, Brigadier-general Woodhull was also brought on board, in a shocking mangled condition: that deponent asked the general the particulars of his capture, and was told by said general that he had been taken by a party of light-horse, under the command of Captain Oliver De Lancey: that he was asked by the said captain if he would surrender; that he answered in the affirmative, provided, he would treat him like a gentleman, which Captain De Lancey assured he would; whereupon the general delivered his sword, and

that immediately after the said Oliver De Lancey, junior, struck him, and others of the said party, imitating his example, did cruelly cut and hack him in the manner he then was: that, although he was in such a mangled and horrid situation, he had, nevertheless, been obliged to sleep on the bare floor of the transport, if a lieutenant of the man-of-war who guarded the transport had not lent him a mattress: that General Woodhull was afterwards carried to the hospital of the church of New Utrecht, where he perished, as deponent was on good authority informed, through want of care, and other necessaries: and further this deponent saith not. ROBERT TROUP."

"Sworn the 17th January, 1777, before me,  
"GOUV. MORRIS."

The above extract contains the very words used by Troup, without any change whatever; whereas the extract that Mr. Cooper transferred from my history to your columns was slightly abridged by me, and changed from the stiff formality of a law-paper, to a more popular phraseology; but there was not the least change in the sense. I have now copied it *verbatim*—italicising the words I had previously omitted. It will be seen how completely it demolishes the main arguments of Mr. Cooper, based on the omission of the words "by said general." I cannot but regret that I should have been the cause of his wasting so much choice logic.

Mr. Cooper intimates a doubt of the existence of the documents of which the *alleged* deposition is an extract. Why shut his eyes to the truth? Had he taken his cane, and stepped from the "Hall" to the county-clerk's office in his own pretty village, he could have read the document in full, all nicely printed, and bound in calf, by order of the Legislature of the State of New York, in 1842.

Mr. Cooper says I got my extract from a document published by the Provincial Congress of New York. Not so: I made my extract from the original MS. in the handwriting of Gouv. Morris, deposited in the office of the Secretary of State. If it was published by the Provincial Congress, as Mr. C. says, he can, of course tell us when and where.

Mr. Cooper confounds death-bed, and point of death. I said in my history, that Troup's narrative of what he heard from Woodhull's lips, "might be termed his death-bed confession." Now, a man may be on his death-bed for days or months; for a death-bed is that whereon a person lies in his last sickness, however long it might be. Woodhull's account was not, therefore, given "*in articulo mortis*," that is, at the point of death (as Mr. Cooper interprets it), but probably nearly a fortnight before.

Mr. Cooper lays great stress on De Lancey's being a gentleman and a soldier; and, therefore, he could not be guilty of the outrage. But consider, that in civil war, the finer feelings are blunted. Woodhull was a rebel, an outlaw, a whig, and one of the party who had driven the De Lanceys from their ancestral mansions, outraged their feelings, and degraded them from their high political standing in the colony. Was it not then natural, after De Lancey got the rebel general to surrender, to humble him still farther by extorting from his rebellious lips those loyal words, "God save the king!" It would have been sweet music to Oliver's ears. And when the general evaded the order, Oliver would naturally strike him—not with his fist, but with the very sword the prisoner had given up. It is worthy of note, that all accounts, as contradictory as they are, agree in fixing this outrage, to Mr. Cooper's great annoyance, on a British officer.

Mr. Cooper wonders that a man of Woodhull's rank should disturb himself to go into all these details with a young subaltern. Does not Mr. C. know that all the prisoners were huddled together in the hold of the vessel, without bed or blankets, without distinction of rank; all on a footing of equality; all rebels fit for the halter? All ideas of rank must have been pretty effectually stilled. The wounded general would doubtless be glad of a sympathizing friend, to whom he might unburden his mind. In my opinion, it was very natural that they should converse together, as both were made prisoners nearly at the same time and place, and, probably, by the same scouting party.

Mr. Cooper says Troup's deposition does not agree with what I have given as the substance of my information, and hence argues for its inaccuracy. I think they do not disagree. One story contains something that the other omits, as was natural. Troup may not have told all he heard from the general, because the main design of the deposition was to tell his own sufferings; and he only speaks of Woodhull's incidentally, as it were, at the close of his own story. Moreover, the sensitive spirit of the general may have recoiled from dwelling on the mortifying ignominies he had been subjected to by the light-horse.

Troup makes a distinction between what he heard from Woodhull's lips, and what he was informed of on good authority. What he heard of Woodhull's perishing through want of care and other necessities, is confirmed by the following extract of a letter from Dr. Silas Holmes, of Norwich, Connecticut, assistant-surgeon in the British hospital, who himself attended Woodhull. He says:

"The wounded taken at the battle of Brooklyn

were put in the church of Flatbush and New Utrecht; but being neglected and unattended, were wallowing in their own filth, and breathed an infected and putrid air. Ten days after the battle, Dr. Richard Bayley, of New York, was appointed to superintend the sick. He was humane, and dressed the sick daily, got a sack bed, sheets, and blankets, for each prisoner, and distributed the patients into the adjacent barns.

"When Mrs. Woodhull offered to pay Dr. Bayley for his care and attention to her husband, he replied, 'he had done no more than his duty, and if there was any thing due, it was to me.'"

What a pity Woodhull had not fallen into the hands of this good Samaritan in the earlier stages of his illness! His wounds, neglected for nine days in the hot months of August and September, had assumed such a malignant form, that not even the medical skill of Dr. Bayley, could avail to save his valuable life.

There are other objections of Mr. Cooper that might be answered, but I rest here for the present, and am very respectfully yours,

HENRY ONDERDONK, JR.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 15, 1848.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — *Chicago, March 19.*—W. H. Brown, Esq., President, in the chair.

The monthly additions to the library, reported, consisted of 122 bound books; 1379 unbound books and pamphlets; 37 files of periodicals; 25 files of newspapers; 13 old newspapers; 16 charts; 11 MSS., and 3 prints: in all, 1606, from 87 contributors. They included many rare and valuable materials, and were received from Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Tennessee, Virginia, the District of Columbia, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and Canada.

A MS. national protest, executed in the "Illinois Country," at Fort Gage, in 1773, was received by the attention of Mrs. H. C. Van Schaack, of Manlius, N. Y.

The Secretary's correspondence embraced 49 letters received, and 130 written.

From J. S. Waterman, of Syracuse, Ill., was received a report of an alleged fall of meteoric stones at that place, in January last.

Mr. W. C. Flagg, of Mero, announced the intended preparation of a history of Madison Co Captain E. E. Morgan, of N. Y., tendered facili-

ties to this Society, through his London agencies and packets, to promote its European exchanges.

Dr. E. James, of Iowa, communicated the acquisition by him, for this Society, of six volumes, entire, of "The Times and Seasons," published by J. Smith, Mormon prophet, at Nauvoo; as also the possession of some valuable manuscripts relating to Mormonism in Illinois. Allusion was made to certain alleged prophecies, made near thirty years since by Mormons, of the political events now in progress in the United States.

The Rev. J. M. Ferris communicated some valuable suggestions relating to the publication by the government of Russia, of *fac-similes* in photograph, of the "Codex Sinaiticus."

The President reported the recent passage of a Legislative Act of the General Assembly of Illinois, granting to this Society fifty copies of all State documents now or hereafter to be published.

*April 16.*—The Society held its monthly meeting. W. L. Newberry, Esq., presiding.

The Library was increased for the month by 37 bound books; 1876 pamphlets; 6 old newspapers; 5 newspaper files; 46 charts; 11 files of periodicals; 16 prints; 6 MSS: in all 2003, from 40 contributors.

The Society's correspondence included 21 letters received, and 47 written.

Judge Higgins informed the Society that, under the will of the late William Whitney, an esteemed attorney of Pittsfield (familiarily known in the State as "Lord Coke"), it was made the legatee of his library and papers.

Mr. H. R. Boss communicated information from Ex-gov. Reynolds, relating to the early newspapers of this State.

Hon. W. S. Prentiss, of Indiana, communicated interesting particulars of the foundation and history of the Fourierite Association, which existed in La Grange County, Ind., from 1843 to 1847.

The Secretary reported successful acquisitions of materials illustrating the present political crisis. Besides pamphlets, about 7000 newspapers from every State and Territory (Delaware alone excepted) have been accumulated; 8 additions are being made, through the liberality of Chicago editors, at the rate of 800 to 1000, weekly.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

N. E. METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, May 23, 1861.*—The annual business meeting of this Society was held on the above date, Rev. C. L. McCurdy in the chair.

The Secretary, Rev. E. Otheman, read the annual report, in which the various donations to the Society during the past year were acknowl-

edged. Among other gifts were mentioned a piece of sycamore wood, with an Indian charm against the toothache; a manuscript history of the Elm-street, now County-street, church in New Bedford; a list of ministers of the Methodist Conference annually held in America from 1773 to 1813; a copy of the Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, revised, approved, and published, in 1792; Steward's Book of the Old Needham Circuit, commenced Nov. 9, 1793, &c. Rev. S. W. Coggeshall, of Rhode Island, the Corresponding Secretary, read an interesting report, embracing an historical sketch of the origin and purposes of Methodism, especially in America, together with notices of all the historical documents pertaining to Methodism known to have been published. The Treasurer's report showed a balance in favor of the Society.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

*President*—Bishop O. C. Baker, D. D. *Vice-pres.*—Hon. Jacob Sleeper. *Sec'y*—Rev. E. Otheman. *Cor. Sec'y*—S. W. Coggeshall. *Treasurer*—David Snow.

In the absence of the President and Vice-president, the evening meeting was called to order by the Secretary.

The presiding officer, after stating at some length, the object of the meeting, introduced Rev. Mr. Coggeshall, who announced as his subject, "The first decade of Methodism in America." He began with a description of the ravaging of the Palatinate by Louis XIV. of France, and the settlement of some of the refugees in Ireland. Their descendants were among the first of Wesley's converts; and the first Methodists in America were driven thence by the oppression consequent upon the English Test Act.

The pioneer preacher of Methodism in America, was one Philip Embury, one of the descendants of the Palatines who had emigrated from Ireland. His first sermon was preached in his own house to an audience of five. His flock soon increased so far as to compel them hire a larger room, where they were joined one day by Capt. Webb, a quartermaster in Braddock's army, who afterwards joined Wesley's church in England. He became celebrated in England, and subsequently returned to this country, where his preaching was attended by great results. In 1768 they erected their first church, in what is now John-street. The church was dedicated in October of that year. The carpentry-work was done by Embury himself, who was a carpenter by trade. The church was called Wesley Chapel. The church was taken down in 1817, to make room for a more commodious building, which, in turn, suffered the same fate in 1840. The third church

erected upon the same site is still standing. About the same time at which Embury commenced his labors in New York, a countryman of his, Straybridge, began to preach in Frederick county, Maryland. The precise date of his beginning to preach, is unknown; and it has been made a subject of controversy, which of the two has the claim to the honor of establishing the first Methodist church in America. Methodism was also introduced into Philadelphia about this time by Capt. Webb. In 1769 two regular preachers, Boardman and Fillmore were sent over here from England, followed by Asbury in 1771. Methodism was soon after introduced into Wilmington and Baltimore by two other local preachers. The lecturer also gave an extended account of the labors of King, Gerritt, and Whitefield.

**N. E. HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—*June 5, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held on Wednesday afternoon of the above date, the President, Dr. Winslow Lewis, in the chair.

The Librarian, Mr. Sheppard, reported that there had been presented to the Library, during the past month, 33 bound volumes, 342 pamphlets, 24 maps and charts, and 223 newspapers. Among the donations were eight volumes of newspapers from Rev. Joseph B. Felt; also 20 charts and maps from the President, Dr. Lewis. The latter were formerly owned by the French Republic. Votes of thanks were passed to Rev. Dr. Felt and Dr. Lewis for their valuable donations.

The Corresponding Sec'y, Mr. Dean, reported that he had received letters accepting membership from Hon. Wm. Willis, of Portland, President of the Maine Historical Society, as an honorary member, in place of the late Rev. Dr. Lowell; E. George Squier, of New York, and Matthew S. Henry, of Philadelphia, as corresponding members.

Rev. Elias Nason, of Exeter, N. H., delivered a most able and eloquent address on Patriotic National Music. He gave a history of the principal national songs and odes. He first mentioned the ode on the "Death of Wolfe," by Tom Paine, and next the "Liberty Tree," by Mrs. Mercy Warren, of Plymouth. Of "Yankee Doodle," Mr. Nason said its parentage was involved in obscurity. The authorship was claimed by more nations than there were cities which claimed the birthplace of Homer. It is said to have been first introduced into the army by Dr. Shuckburgh. It was probably known in England as far back as the days of Oliver Cromwell.

"The Battle of the Kegs" was written by Francis Hopkinson, adapted to the tune of Yankee Doodle. In 1798 "Adams and Liberty" was written by Robert Treat Paine, and the "Ode on Science" by Jaazaniah Sumner, of Tann-

ton. The same year "Hail Columbia" was written by Joseph Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, for the benefit of an actor named Fox, and after an air entitled "The President's March," composed in 1789, by a German named Feyles, on the occasion of Washington's first visit to a theatre in New York. The "Star Spangled Banner" was written by Francis Scott Key, while he was detained on board an English vessel during the bombardment of Fort Mellenry, near Baltimore in 1814.

The address was listened to with deep attention, and rapturously applauded by a numerous audience, of whom a great portion were ladies.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Nason for his eloquent and interesting address, and it was also voted that he be requested to repeat it in some public hall where a more numerous audience might have an opportunity to hear it.

Mr. Sampson, an Ojibwa Indian, son of a chief of that nation, was present, and gave some of the traditions of his tribe, handed down from generation to generation. They originally came, he said, from Asia, by the way of Bhering Straits. They settled first on the Great Lakes, and from there moved southward. Coming to a great river, one of the party determined to find its mouth. Having travelled several days he turned back discouraged, and called it Mississippi, the river of ever-flowing water, supposing that it ran around the world.

Rev. F. W. Holland, of Dorchester, read a brief paper on the romantic story of Pocahontas and Capt. Smith, in which he coincided with Mr. Charles Deane, in his note on Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia" (pp. 32-35), in the opinion that this story needs confirmation before it is received as authentic.

After the transaction of some private business the meeting was dissolved.

#### NEW YORK.

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—*New York, June 4, 1861.*—A stated meeting of this Society was held on the evening of the above date. Hon. Luther Bradish, the President, in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary acknowledged the reception for presentation to the Society, of an ancient map of Mexico, drawn by an associate of Cortez.

The following letter from Gen. Scott, in reply to the resolutions adopted at the last meeting was read:

WASHINGTON, May 29.

DEAR SIR: The resolution of the New York Historical Society of the 7th instant, does me

great honor, inspiring the flattering hope that the judgment of the future historian may not be unfavorable. This foretaste of posthumous honor is the rich reward of a long life of earnest endeavors in the service of my country and the government of my affections.

Please make my profound acknowledgments to my brethren of the New York Historical Society, and accept the assurances of my respect and esteem.

WINFIELD SOOTT.

The committee on fine arts made a report relative to the disposition of the Jarves collection of paintings, recently presented to the Society. The paintings have been placed in an upper room of the building, in chronological order, as far as possible. A letter was read by Mr. Thompson, verifying the originality of the collection.

Mr. Moore, the Librarian, in the temporary absence of Mr. Kapp, who was to read the paper of the evening, read extracts from the notes of Henry Strachey, of the conference of Sept. 10, 1776, on Staten Island, between Lord Howe, Dr. Franklin, and Messrs. Adams and Rutledge, relative to a peaceful settlement of the difficulties existing between the mother country and the colonial States, which had just made a declaration of their independence.

Strachey's notes confirm the American accounts, and especially the remark of John Adams, that he was willing to be received in any character but that of a British subject.

Mr. Kapp, author of the "Life of Baron Steuben," read a very interesting paper on General de Kalb, and his services as secret agent of the French government in the colonies after the peace of Paris, in 1763. The Duke de Choiseul seeing the discontent caused by the Stamp Act, selected de Kalb, then a colonel on half pay, but just appointed to an engineering service in the north of France, to proceed to Amsterdam and thence to America, by way of England. He accordingly came to this country, visited Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, but then suspecting his letters were opened, returned. His letters to the duke showed that he had pretty fairly appreciated the state of feeling. He saw that the discontents must ultimately result in independence; but though France was ready to send engineers and tacticians, de Kalb deemed any offer of foreign aid premature, while they still clung to the English crown and hoped to obtain the concessions they required.

On his return he drew up a full memoir, but it has not yet been discovered.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Kapp, and a copy of his paper requested for the archives.

Mr. Frederick De Peyster now exhibited a secession flag, recently captured near Fortress

Monroe by a party of Federal troops, and sent to the Union Defence Committee.

Mr. Thompson called the attention of the Society to a pretended portrait of Columbus in the Museo Borbonico, at Naples; of which several copies had been made for this country.

The portrait was that of a dark-haired, fair-handed, dark noble, with armor beside him, whereas at the age represented, Columbus was gray, weather-worn, and utterly unlike this representation. The painter was, moreover, but three years of age at the death of Columbus.

A committee was appointed to examine the question and report.

A committee was also appointed to draft resolutions of respect for the death of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas.

ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*May 30, 1861.*—This Society for the last few months has shared in the general neglect of every thing except war. However, at the time fixed for its first annual meeting, Thursday evening, May 30, quite a full attendance of members was had, and the following list of officers for the ensuing year was elected:

*President*—Hon. H. R. Selden. *1st Vice do.*—Hon. Isaac Hills, *2d do.*—Hon. John C. Chummasero. *Rec. Sec'y and Librarian*—John Phin. *Cor. Sec'y*—Geo. G. Munger. *Treas.*—E. A. Raymond.

AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—*N. Y., May 14.*—This Society held its May meeting at the house of the Vice-president, Thomas Ewbank, Esq. The chair was taken by the President, George Folsom, LL. D.

A paper was read by Mr. Ewbank on the remarkable notices of the English traveller, Maundeville, of the rotundity of the earth, its size and circumnavigation, long before the time of Columbus. Mr. E. remarked that the oversight of these early points in that early traveller, is one of the evidences of lamentable neglect of historical facts, and of injustice to learned investigators of past ages. He thinks that Washington Irving never read Maundeville; for, although he mentions him as among the writers known by Columbus, he makes no allusion to his declarations relating to the subjects above mentioned.

Mr. Squier communicated documents received from Canada and Georgia, on the ancient remains recently observed.

Mr. Gulick communicated some new and interesting facts respecting the King's Mill, and other groups of islands in the western part of the Pacific Ocean. The inhabitants are remarkably vigorous, and show none of the symptoms of decay observed in the Sandwich islanders. They



are healthy, have large families, and are energetic in body and mind. Dr. Gulick has discovered a new branch of culture among that remarkable people, viz.: *the cultivation of coral*. The islanders value a certain kind of coral very highly, for ornaments, and pieces of it are often taken from the sea in those parts of the coast where it is found, placed in canoes, and transported to other places or islands, being kept wet with salt water, and carefully protected from injury, so that the minute and delicate marine insects are preserved and ready to pursue their wonderful work of construction wherever they are placed.

The committee appointed in February to examine the Hebrew engraved stones in Ohio, reported in part; a complete report having been delayed in consequence of the late illness of Mr. Squier, the chairman.

Dr. Torrey informed the Society that the neatly formed octagonal stones, resembling plumb-bobs, severally weighed as follows: 3.65 oz., 2.95 and 2.17 oz. A conjecture had once been hazarded, that they might have been intended for weights; which these results wholly discountenance. Dr. Torrey has ascertained that all the stones in the collection, though including several varieties of limestone, one of which is a fossil coral, and other species, are identical with minerals of the vicinity.

One of the wrought stones is a short tube, with a smooth and polished surface inside and out, bored with much accuracy, and perhaps intended for a pipe. Dr. Davis has one of much greater length and equal workmanship. Mr. Squier thought they had been bored by means of a stick, with sand and water, turned by rubbing the hands together, and giving it the motions of a drill. He had seen Indians performing such operations in Central America. Mr. Gulick has seen a similar process practised by the natives of the Sandwich Islands. Dr. Davis has a piece of a remarkable little wheel, of smooth stone, found in a western mound, with a channel in the rim, which, it has been conjectured, might have been used with a band, to work a drill.

A discussion took place on the date of the wrought stones from Ohio. Messrs. Davis and Squier, who have opened hundreds of Western mounds, thought most of them appeared too fresh and perfect to have lain in the earth ever since the days of the mound-builders; and that the octagonal stones were cut with a degree of mathematical precision superior to any thing they had seen. But, on the other hand, it was remarked that some of the hard stones admirably carved in the form of animals, which those members have obtained from mounds, prove a still higher grade of skill and taste; and the stratum of clay in which some of the Ohio objects were imbedded, may have preserved their surfaces.

Mr. Dwight exhibited the first number of a neat little monthly newspaper in English, entitled *The Early Dawn*, the first specimen of printing performed in Mendi, on the west coast of Africa, at the mission of the American Missionary Society. It was loaned by the Rev. George Whipple, secretary of that Society, with the information that the type were principally set, and the press-work performed, by two native boys, who had been brought into the school from the forest four years ago, and have made much progress in study and improvement generally. The matter was furnished by the missionaries, by whom the press was taken from America. Among various items of information, the paper mentions that a successful experiment has been made in the manufacture of bricks, that the health of the missionaries was good, and that a committee was appointed at the annual meeting, to correspond with the African Civilization Society, on introducing the culture of cotton; poetry, news of Garibaldi, etc., are added, with rules for preserving the health in that country, which lies south of Sierra Leone, and north of Monrovia. The boys above mentioned, we are informed by an editorial paragraph, "know nothing of printing except what they have been told, and never saw a press until they saw the one on which this paper was printed."

Mr. Dwight exhibited also several newspapers from Athens, a history and description of the Acropolis, with plans, and accounts of some of the sculptures and inscriptions found in the excavations made by the Archaeological Society. Also a description and drawing of a fossil monster discovered near the coast. Mr. D. remarked that it was to him an inexplicable phenomenon, that, while the Greek language is continually studied by thousands of youth in the United States, it is taught under all the embarrassments, disadvantages, and discouragements of a dead language; while great facilities and advantages would be found by learning it as a living tongue. He had been so much impressed with this subject in youth, after meeting men speaking that language, that he published, in 1832, his "First Lessons in Greek, as a Living Tongue." He is still convinced that a change should and will be made, and then American Christians will read the Greek Testament and Septuagint with pleasure and profit; and it would be really common to meet men really acquainted with the classics, and able to speak Greek.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO HON. J. PALMER.—Mr. G. P. Putnam has sent to the *Evening Post* the following letter to his grandfather:

CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 22, 1775.

To the Hon. J. Palmer, Watertown:

SIR:—In answer to your favor yesterday, I must inform you that I have often been told of the advantages of Point Alderton, with respect to its command of the shipping going in and out of Boston harbor; and that it has, before now, been the object of my particular inquiries; that I find the accounts differ exceedingly in regard to the distance of the ship channel, and that there is a passage on the other side of the light-house island for all vessels except ships of the first rate.

My knowledge of this matter would not have rested upon inquiries only if I had found myself, at any one time since I came to this place, in a condition to have taken such a post. But it becomes my duty to consider not only what place is advantageous, but what number of men are necessary to defend it, how they can be supported in case of an attack, how they may retreat if they cannot be supported, and what stock of ammunition we are provided with for the purpose of self-defence or annoyance of the enemy. In respect to the first, I conceive our defence must be proportioned to the attack of General Gage's whole force (leaving him just enough to man his lines on Charlestown neck and Roxbury); and with regard to the second and most important object, we have only one hundred and eighty-four barrels of powder in all, which is not sufficient to give thirty musket cartridges a man, and scarce enough to serve the artillery in any brisk action a single day.

Would it be prudent, then, in me, under these circumstances, to take a post thirty miles distant from this place, when we already have a line of circumvallation at least ten miles in extent, any part of which may be attacked (if the enemy will keep their own counsel), without our having one hour's previous notice of it?

Or is it prudent to attempt a measure which necessarily would bring on a consumption of all the ammunition we have, thereby leaving the army at the mercy of the enemy, or to disperse and leave the country to be ravaged and laid waste at discretion? To you, sir, who are a well-wisher to the cause, and can reason upon the effect of such a conduct, I may open myself with freedom, because no improper discoveries will be

made of our situation; but I cannot expose my situation to the enemy (though I believe they are pretty well informed of every thing that passes), by telling this and that man, who are daily pointing out this, that, and t'other place, of all the motives that govern my actions, notwithstanding I know what will be the consequences of not doing it, namely, that I shall be accused of inattention to the public service, and perhaps with want of spirit to prosecute it. But this shall have no effect upon my mind, and I will steadily (so far as my judgment will assist me) pursue such measures as I think most conducive to the interest of the cause, and rest satisfied under any obloquy that shall be thrown upon me, conscious of having discharged my duty to the best of my abilities.

I am much obliged to you, however, as I shall be to every gentleman, for pointing out any measure which is thought conducive to the public good, and shall cheerfully follow any advice which is not inconsistent with, but correspondent to, the general plan in view, and practicable under such particular circumstances as govern in cases of the like kind.

In respect to Point Alderton, I was no longer ago than Monday last talking to Gen. C. Thomas on this head, and proposing to send Col. Putnam down to take the distances, &c., but considered it could answer no end but to alarm and make the enemy more vigilant. Unless we were in a condition to possess the post to effect, I thought it as well to postpone the matter awhile.

I am, dear sir, your very humble servant,  
GO. WASHINGTON.

REV. JAMES FITCH AND HIS WRITINGS.—I have in my library a volume, the title-page of which runs as follows:

The first Principles of the Doctrine of | CHRIST; | Together with stronger meat for them that | are skil'd in the Word of Righteousness | or | The Doctrine of living unto God, wherein the | *Body of Divinity* | is Briefly and methodically handled by way of | Question and Answer. | Published at the desire, and for the use of | the Church of Christ in Norwich in | NEW ENGLAND. | By JAMES FITCH, Pastor | of that Church. | Psal. xxxiv. 11 Come ye children hearken unto me, I will | teach you the fear of the Lord | 2 Tim. i. 13. Hold fast the form of sound words | which thou hast heard of me, in Faith and Love | which is in Christ Jesus. |

Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1679.

It is a 16mo, of 76 pages, besides some 6 pages at the beginning, in which the work is introduced to the reader, by Increase Mather, who, after en-

forcing the necessity of catechetical instruction proceeds thus: "As for the worthy Author, although the Lord hath seen fit to fix his present station not only in a wilderness, but in one of the obscurest places therein; yet is his praise in the Gospel throughout all the Churches. And by what is here presented (as well as by other things formerly published) it doth appear that the Author is a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. For here is not only Milk for Babes in respect of Principles, with much solid dexterity asserted, but strong meat in respect of natural expectations and Demonstrations of these Principles, that the ablest men who have their senses exercised in discerning things of this nature may be edified."

The *strong meat* seems to me to predominate largely. Allibone (who knows every thing) has overlooked the good Mr. Fitch, in his "Dictionary of Authors,"

ii.

[The Rev. James Fitch was born at Bocking, in Essex, England, Dec. 24, 1622, came to New England at the age of sixteen, was a pupil of Hooker and Stone, and was ordained and installed pastor of Saybrook from 1646, and continued there till 1660, when he led a colony to Norwich, remaining pastor there till 1674, when in consequence of palsy he retired to Lebanon, and died there Nov. 18, 1702. Besides laboring among the whites, he preached to the Mohegans in their language, and gave them some of his land to induce them to cultivate. Contrib. to Eccl. Hist. Conn., pp. 458, 461; Norwich Jubilee, p. 103.]

Of his writings beside that above mentioned, there are known:

1672. Sermon on the death of Ann, wife of Major Mason. (1st Ch. Norw.)
1674. An holy Connexion between Jehovah's being a Wall of Fire to his People, and the Glory in the Midst thereof. 4to, 20 pp. Cambridge, 1674. (Mass. Hist. Soc., Yale, Harvard.)
- ?1675. The Covenant which was solemnly renewed by the Church in Norwich, &c. March 22, 1675. (Gilman.)
1683. An explanation of the solemn advice recommended by the Council in Connecticut Colony, &c. Boston: S. Green, 1683. (Boston Athen. Gilman.)
1683. A Discourse on the Christian Sabbath. (Gilman.)
- Also, Letters on his labors among the Indians.]

THE PITCHER PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON (vol. v., p. 181).—You copy in your June number, from Littell's *Living Age*, a communication from my excellent friend, Mr. Harrison Hall, of Philadelphia, on the subject of "The Pitcher Portrait of Wash-

ington." As Mr. Hall has omitted my account of "the explicit statement of Mr. Peale," will you oblige the public (who alone are interested in this matter) by giving it a place in your pages? I copy from my "Mount Vernon and its Associations," as follows:

"About the year 1804, the late John R. Smith, of Philadelphia, showed Mr. Peale a copy, by Sharpless himself, of that artist's crayon profile of Washington, made in 1796. On the back of it was a eulogy of Washington, written in monumental form, in two columns, by an English gentleman, Mr. Smith said, whose name he had forgotten, or never knew. He told Mr. Peale that the gentleman pasted it on the back of the portrait.

"It was at about that time that a crockery-dealer in Philadelphia imported a number of earthenware pitchers from Liverpool, each bearing a portrait of Washington from an engraving of Stuart's picture painted for the Marquis of Lansdowne, which Heath had badly engraved, and Nutter had better executed for Hunter's quarto edition of Lavater. Nutter's engraving was coarsely imitated in the one upon the pitcher.

"The pitchers attracted the attention of Mr. Dorsey, a sugar refiner of Philadelphia, who had a taste for art, and he purchased several of them, as he considered the likeness of Washington a good one. Mr. Dorsey, after several unsuccessful attempts to separate the part bearing the portrait from the rest of the pitcher, succeeded, by using the broad-faced hammer of a shoemaker, in breaking them cleanly out by a single blow, given directly upon the picture.

One of these pictures, broken out by Mr. Dorsey, was handsomely framed by Mr. Smith, and sent to Judge Washington, at Mount Vernon, with the eulogy on the back of the Sharpless profile belonging to his father, copied by his own hand. That copy varies materially from the original, in some of its phraseology and in large omissions. This difference may be accounted for by the supposition that Mr. Smith had not room in the space on the back of the picture to transcribe the whole of the original, and some parts were omitted and others changed. The Sharpless picture was much larger than the pitcher portrait, and there was more room on the back for the eulogy.

"In the year 1819 or 1820, Mr. Smith gave Mr. Harrison Hall, the publisher of the *Port Folio*, a perfect transcript of what was, probably, the original eulogy, and to the courtesy of that gentleman I am indebted for the subjoined copy, which contains all the omissions in the one upon the back of picture at Mount Vernon. Mr. Hall, and others of Mr. Smith's friends, have been under the impression that that accomplished gentleman was the author of the eulogy, but the explicit

statement of Mr. Peale, and concurring circumstances, appear to remove all doubt of the truth of the common tradition in the Washington family, that it was written by an unknown English gentleman."

I should be willing to let the *positive testimony* of the late Mr. Rembrandt Peale stand alone in evidence, opposed to the mere *impressions* of other witnesses; but it may be well to notice "concurring circumstances" which, with this, caused me to doubt the validity of Mr. Smith's claim to the authorship, made by his friends.

Mr. Hall agrees with Mr. Peale, in saying that Mr. Smith, according to his statement to each, wrote the lines that are on the back of the portrait at Mount Vernon. Mr. Hall then goes on to say, that "Some years afterwards, among the visitors to Mount Vernon, were some ladies, one of whom found this inscription, and made a very imperfect copy of it, which was soon after published," &c. If this statement is true, a most extraordinary fact is exhibited, namely, four different persons who have copied the lines from the portrait at different times, during forty-five years, have each made "very imperfect" copies, and yet each agreeing word for word with the other! These copyists are:

1. The Rev. Timothy Alden, who copied the inscription, and published it in the year 1814, in his "Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions," vol. v., p. 77.

2. Mr. Hall's careless lady visitor, who copied it at some indefinite time.

3. Dr. Jared Sparks, who is considered a very careful transcriber, copied it, and published it in his "Life and Writings of Washington," vol. i, appendix, p. 568.

4. I made a careful copy of it, when at Mount Vernon, at the close of September, 1858, and published it in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. xviii., p. 448.

By a comparison of the labors of the three transcribers from the original—Alden, Sparks, and myself—there will be found the difference of only the single word, *so*.

Such unanimity in error, by four persons, at remote periods, seems incredible. Yet if the inscription handed to Mr. Hall by Mr. Smith, in 1819 or '20, is precisely the same as that which Mr. Smith wrote on the back of the Pitcher Portrait, now at Mount Vernon, all four (including the careless lady) have been led, by some strange fatality, into precisely the same error. I do not believe it. Mr. Harrison has doubtless been deceived. I accept Mr. Peale's reasonable and "explicit statement," made upon the testimony of his own eyes and ears, and repeated from a most extraordinary memory, as correct.

The editor of the *Living Age* alludes to two or

three words in my version having been altered from the text furnished by Mr. Hall. If so, it has been done by accident. BENSON J. LOSSING.

POGGESKEEPSIE, June 2, 1861.

AN EPISODE IN THE VERMONT TROUBLES.—Thompson's "History of Montpelier," contains the following curious document:

KINGSLAND, Gloucester County,  
Province of New York, May 19, 1770.

Court met for the first time, and the ordinance and conditions Being Read

John Taplin	} Judges being appointed by the Government of New York,
Samuel Sleeper	
Thomas Sumner	
were present, and the Courts opened as is usual in other Courts. Also present	
James Pennock	} Justices of the Quorum
Abner Fowler,	
John Peters	

N. B. these Courts were the Courts of Quarterly sessions and the Court of Common Plea for Said County

Court adjourned to the last Tuesday in August next to be held in said Kingsland.

Opened accordingly, and appointed four Constables, Simeon Stevens for Newbury, Jesse McFarland for Moretown, Abner Howard for Thetford, and Samuel Pennock for Strafford, and adjourned to the last Tuesday of Nov.

Nov. 27, Court opened at Kingsland. Called over the docket of 8 cases only, put over and dismissed them, and appointed Ebenezer Greene Constable for Thetford, and Samuel Pennock, Ebenezer Martin & Ebenezer Green and Samuel Allen Surveyors for the County, and adjourned to February and next Tuesday

Feb. 25 } Sett out from Moretown for Kings

1771 } Land, travelled until Knight there Being no Road, and the Snow very depe, we travelled on Snow Shoes or Racats, on the 26<sup>th</sup> we travelled Some ways, and held a Council when it was concluded it was Best to open the Court as we Saw no Line it was not whether in Kingsland or not. But we concluded we were farr in the woods we did not expect to See any House unless we marched three miles within Kingsland and no one lived there when the Court was ordered to be opened on the spot, present

John Taplin, Judge

John Peters of the Quorum

John Taplin Jr., Sheriff

all Causes Continued or adjourned over to next term The Court, if one, adjourned over until the last Tuesday in May next at which it was opened and after disposing of one case of bastardy adjourned to August next. JOHN PETERS Clerk.

AN INCIDENT IN THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. The tardy justice of our country to the patriots of the Revolution has always been a source of deep regret to all who have considered the subject. As the number of persons to whom justice is due has diminished, the liberality of the government has increased, and the late measures of Congress towards the daily departing veterans have had the effect to bring to light many highly interesting reminiscences. Forgotten patriots have come out of their obscurity, and have been surprised by encounters with old comrades which partake almost of the miraculous.

Among these meetings I have seen none more interesting and romantic in their details than the following. You will, I am confident, give it a place, both for its intrinsic interest, and for the purpose of contributing somewhat towards the preservation of records, for which future generations will seek with much more eagerness than the present. Mr. Schenck, the hero of the story, is now living, in the ninetieth year of his age, and I trust in the enjoyment of a pension.

In 1835, he left the place of his abode, Johnstown, New York, to go to New Jersey, his native State, and find, if possible, some person who knew him during the Revolution, by which he could prove his title to a pension. While on that journey, the unexpected meeting occurred, which is spoken of below in the veteran's own language.

Yours, &c. G. EVERETT SCHENCK.

Jan., 1844.

N. B. Col. Chambers, spoken of in the affidavit of Moses Estey, is also living, in Cranberry, New Jersey, about ninety-five years of age. Ed.

From the Johnstown (N. Y.) Republican, 1835.

MR. MIX: At the request of some of the few remaining old Revolutionary soldiers, I send you the particulars of the following circumstance, which happened on the 2d of October last, at the town of New Brunswick, N. J.:

"I left home in the latter part of September last, for New Jersey. On the morning of the 2d of October, I was at New Brunswick, and had left my lodgings in order to embark in the eight o'clock packet-boat for Millstone. On arriving at the dock, I found, to my disappointment, that the boat had already left. Seeing a person at the dock, near where the Raritan boats landed, I inquired of him when the next boat would leave that place for Millstone. He told me the next morning at eight o'clock. While talking with this person I saw an old gentleman coming down towards us. His business, it appeared, was to inquire when the next boat left that place for Philadelphia. He was told the next morning at eight o'clock. He then turned to go out of the yard,

and I turned to go out with him. In walking slowly together, I asked him if he belonged to the Revolutionary Corps? He answered me he did. Where, said I, were you in the time of the war? He answered, in New Jersey, in Hunterdon county. In what regiment? He answered, Colonel Taylor's regiment, and General Dickerson's brigade. Was you, said I, in any skirmish or battle with the enemy? Yes, he answered, in several skirmishes and one general battle. What battle was that? He answered, the battle of Monmouth. I then asked him, if he recollected any particular occurrences that happened during that battle? He answered, yes; I remember seeing a British horseman make an attack upon Ralph Schenck, —and Schenck shot the trooper, and came off the field with the British trooper's horse. Hearing this, I remained astonished for a moment: we both stopped walking and looked at each other. We had not seen each other since the battle of Monmouth, which is fifty-seven years and three months ago. I now told him that I was the man he saw in that combat. He looked at me with astonishment, saying, how can it be possible that you could have escaped, when the balls flew round us like hail? I then asked him if he was Lieutenant Estey? He said he was, and was promoted to the captaincy at the termination of the battle; and that during the battle he received a wound.

I remember hearing Captain Estey call to me to take care, the horsemen were coming at me. At this I turned about and saw a horseman who had leaped his horse over the fence I had just crossed. I presented my piece at him—he halted his horse. My piece missed fire. The horseman now fired his pistol at me. I examined and fixed the priming of my gun and fired. The horseman fell on one side of his horse, and I mounted on the other side and rode off.

Before the war, Captain Estey and myself were well acquainted with each other. In 1784, I moved to Johnstown, and Captain Estey to Morristown, New Jersey.

It may be said that I should not have left the column that I belonged to. The reason was this:—General Dickerson reported to head-quarters that the British army was on the move towards Sandy Hook. The rear guard of the British army got engaged with the Jersey militia, when their body of troops appeared so large in the field that the commander of the militia began to suspect that the whole British army was turned with the rear-guard to invite a general engagement with our army under General Washington, which proved to be the case. The commander of the militia ordered some volunteers to go and examine the pass from Monmouth court-house to English Town. A sergeant and ten men

came to our column pleading for volunteers to go on this expedition. Myself and eleven others turned out under the sergeant's command and went on this perilous enterprise. We were altogether too few in number—there should have been at least one hundred men instead of twelve, on this hazardous route.

Our route lay over a marshy piece of ground, covered with logs, for a distance of a hundred yards or more. After crossing this logway, we got on a road leading through timber land to the court-house. When about three-quarters of a mile from the field of battle, we discovered a large body of horsemen coming towards us. Our sergeant ordered us to form behind trees; but these were small, and there was no under-brush to conceal us from the enemy. When the enemy came near, our commander discovered their forces to be too great to warrant an attack. He ordered us to save our fire and make the best of our way back towards our line in the field. We all ran back. I happened to be in the front rank. When we came to the long causeway, my right-hand man fell back. I soon heard the clattering of the British troopers on the causeway. They overtook my right-hand man, and one of the troopers gave him a cut with his sword on the side of his head. I saw him after the battle: the skin hung down over his ear. He told me he was stunned for a while by the blow, and fell off the causeway; when he recovered a little he crept into the woods, where he lay until the enemy passed him on their return.

I believe the same horseman intended to give me a slashing. After passing the causeway and getting over a fence, Captain Estey called to me and said the horsemen were coming at me. I turned and presented my piece; it missed fire, which gave the horseman the opportunity of the first fire. He missed me. I returned the compliment. He fell from his horse and I got on. When I wheeled the horse to come off, a troop of horse in the lane close by me fired a volley of pistols at me. The horse received two flesh-wounds in the thigh and leg, and three balls were drove in the sack of clothing which was tied behind the saddle. In a short time I was out of their reach.

The enemy had got us in a cross-fire—the Hessian riflemen in front of our line, and the troop of horse on the eastern extremity. I was compelled to incline to the left between two fires, which led me to the retreating militia on the right. In coming up to them I had a fence to cross. Captain Snook put down the fence for me. I had just got over, and on going off, heard some person call out, saying, return with the horse; the captain is wounded. I returned, thinking to get him on the horse. He told me it was

only a flesh wound; he bid me go on, saying, you need the horse more than I do. In going on some distance, I overtook a boy with a musket; he was crying. I got off the horse and put the boy on, and gave him directions to take good care of the horse until I came or sent for him. He gave his name and the company he belonged to.

I now felt a little recruited. A body of our troops was now coming on to secure the retreat of our militia. I joined that body, thinking to have an equal chance in preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our ground. The troop of British horse that had given us a chase, now retreated. This gave the wounded soldier an opportunity to escape from the barbarous *refugee* horsemen, who gave no quarters; neither did they expect any from us. When our troops had got on the rise of ground, we saw the enemy coming slowly on, in a large body, with a long train of artillery; from every appearance they intended to make an obstinate stand. As they were much greater in number than our forces, we were commanded to retreat.

I felt thankful to Captain Estey for his manly behavior in keeping his men in such order, that the troop of horse did not see fit to engage with him, although superior in numbers. While our line on the right was retreating, Captain Estey stood his ground until he was finally obliged to retreat, which he did in good order. Had he retreated when the line on our left did, I must have suffered by the enemy, as I was exhausted by fatigue in the chase, and could go no more. Capt. Estey's bravery saved me from being cut down by the enemy. But I believe none of the twelve volunteers, the *forlorn hope*, escaped, except myself, and the wounded man before mentioned. They were all cut to pieces by the *refugee* horsemen.

The enemy took possession of the ground we left. Our army was compelled to cross a valley of marshy ground, which was done with great difficulty, expecting every moment to receive the fire of the British. But General Washington appearing on a rise of ground, compelled the British to prepare for a general engagement, which commenced shortly after we passed through the line of our army.

We all suffered severely from the want of water. The tongues of some of our men were so swollen with thirst, that they could with difficulty speak so as to be understood. But when we arrived at English Town, we had good attention paid us by the inhabitants of that place."

RALPH SCREXER,  
near Caughnawga, Johnstown.

The following affidavit was made by Captain Estey, and the certificate of the clerk of Middlesex county, N. J., is hereto annexed:

*State of New Jersey, Middlesex County, ss.*—Moses Estey being duly sworn, on his oath saith, that he is now in the eighty-fourth year of his age; that he now resides in the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, and formerly resided in the county of Morris, in the State of N. J.

That he was a captain in the regiment of Colonel Taylor, and was present and in command at the battle of Monmouth, during the Revolutionary War.

That he recollects seeing Ralph Schenck (who now resides in the town of Johnstown, in the county of Montgomery, in the State of New York, as he is informed, he being the same person who is now applying for a pension) on the day of battle, and during the battle engaged on the field; that he belonged at the time to the company of Captain John Schenck, which was attached to the regiment of Colonel Chambers, General Dickerson being the brigadier-general; and during the battle he saw one of the British Light Horse make an attack upon the said Ralph Schenck; that Schenck shot the trooper, and took the horse off the field with him. MOSES ESTEY.

Sworn and subscribed before me, this 2d day of October, 1835.

ABG. S. VAN DEUSEN,  
*Justice of the Peace.*

#### QUERIES.

**STARS IN FLAGS AND COINS.**—Why are the stars on the U. S. flag five-pointed, and in the coins six-pointed? R. C.

[One of our valued correspondents, S. Alosfen, Esq., in vol. i., p. 54, asked why the stars on the flag bears only five points, when in English heraldic language the star has six points, and the mullet five, but the reason has not been assigned. Mr. A. adds, however, that the star in the heraldry of Holland, France, and Germany, is five-pointed. This may explain why the difference arose; the designer of the coin following English, and of the flag, French custom.]

**OUR FLAG IN THE REVOLUTION.**—What flags were carried by our armies during the Revolution? R. C.

[According to Capt. Schuyler Hamilton, and Mr. Lossing, the first flag was the stripes with the English Union, where we now have the blue field and stars. The stars and stripes were adopted in 1777. See on this subject several articles in our first volume.]

**FLAGS OF THE DIFFERENT STATES.**—Where can I find a description of the flags of the separate States? R. C.

[The States, as such, have no flags, nor have ever had, if we except Texas; which while a republic, had as her flag, a red field with a white star. No other State ever had a national existence, and consequently never had a flag. Banners with popular devices and mottoes have existed at different times in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and South Carolina, and perhaps elsewhere; but no State ever had or could have a flag to be recognized as such by foreign governments. We form but one country, and have but one flag.] A.

**GOV. BENJAMIN FLETCHER.**—Is there any other authority (besides Luttrell) for the statement that Gov. Fletcher was a native of New York? G. H. M.

**OLD NEW YORK.**—Can any of our local authorities inform us what and where was "the Revenge Meeting House," in the city of New York, about 1725? G. H. M.

#### REPLIES.

**LORD NORTH** (vol. v., p. 188).—I notice in the last number of your *Magazine* the question:

"Who was the father of Lord North, the minister of George III.?" P. P."

I can hardly understand why the question is asked, as a simple reference to the Peerage settles the matter.

The nobleman whose parentage is in question, was Frederic, 8th Lord North, and 2d Earl Guilford. He was born April 12, 1732, died Aug. 5, 1792, and was the successor and eldest son of Francis, 3d Baron Guilford, by his first wife Lady Lucy Montagu.

This 3d Baron Guilford was born in 1704, was created Earl of Guilford, by letters-patent, dated April 8, 1752, and died Aug. 4, 1790. He was the grandson of Francis, 1st Baron Guilford and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, under Charles II. and James II. The question of your correspondent may be answered thus:

Lord North, minister of George III., was the eldest son of Francis, 3d Baron Guilford and 1st Earl Guilford, and was the great-grandson of Francis, Lord Keeper, and 1st Baron Guilford.

The doubt probably arose from the fact that the first two Barons Guilford were not Lords North, as the Lord Keeper was the *second* son of Dudley, 4th Baron North, and did not succeed him; but the North title eventually returned to this branch of the family on the decease of William, 6th Baron North, who, dying without issue,

was succeeded in his title by his *cousin* Francis, already 3d Baron Guilford, and father of the minister of George III.

It may be interesting to state that the founder of the North family was Edward North, born about the year 1496, and elevated to the peerage in the first year of Queen Mary's reign, 1553-4, as Baron North of Kirtling.

The titles of North and Guilford are again separated, and in 1853 (the date of my copy of the "Peerage"), the North title was borne by Lady Susan North of Kirtling, born in 1797, and the Guilford title by the Rev. Francis North, of Guilford, county Surrey. H. S. E.

ANOTHER REPLY.—The query offered by your correspondent, "P. P.," opens an interesting subject of political history, as well as personal scandal. Lord North was the *reputed* son of Francis, third Baron Guilford; but scandal, sustained by strong traits of character and strong similarity in their personal appearance and physical infirmities, possessed both by the king and by his lordship, claimed that he was the *real* son of Frederic, Prince of Wales, father, also, of George III. There is still another very strong reason which goes to sustain this piece of scandal, to wit: the well-known attention of the king to *provide for the members of his own family*—even those of the illegitimate branches. The brothers Howe are an instance of this peculiar trait of the king's character; and the instances of his friendly regard for Lord North, and Earl Cornwallis, have been attributed, by respectable British authors, to the same cause. H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

"PRESENT," "THESE," IN THE ADDRESS OF LETTERS (vol. v., pp. 155, 188).—No explanation seems necessary beyond giving an example or two of the first form of address in which they seem originally to have been used, as in those, any one will readily see the meaning which the words had, and still retain, though only the first is now in common use, and that, where the person to whom the letter is addressed is in the same place, and the letter is to be sent by private hand; in short, its use may be said to be confined almost exclusively to complimentary notes and invitations, and is simply a direction to the bearer of the note, to present it to the person whose name it bears.

"To Thomas Bright, Esq., at Netherhal in Pakenham. these p'sent."  
—("Brights of Suffolk," p. 213, Jan. 22, 1712-13.)

"For my Dear Brother  
Mr Samuel Saltanstal

at Watertowne in  
New england give  
these."

(—Bond's "Hist. Watertown," p. 918, Ap. 22, 1644.)

"To their loving cousin  
William Hamerton, at  
London this be delivered."

(—Hunter's "Founders of New Plymouth," p. about 1606.)

"To his very Loving Sister | Mary Carpenter  
at | Wrington in Somer- | setshire some 8 | myles  
from Bris- | toll these be d'd."

(—"N. E. H. and G. Register," vol. xiv., p. 196, Aug. 19, 1664.) D. W. P.

GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN (vol. iv., p. 5).—General Stephen Moylan was appointed to an office by General Washington, which he held until his death, probably in the second term of Mr. Jefferson, being one of the five who were spared the political guillotine. He resided at the north-east corner of Walnut and Fourth streets, in the same house in which Mr. Madison boarded when in Congress, and where he married Mrs. Dolly Paine, the daughter of his landlady; who, as we all know, became one of the most popular and distinguished women of the land. Gen. Moylan was emphatically a *gentleman* of the old school; he was remarkable for his hospitality, and having two daughters, one of whom was very fascinating, his house attracted many young persons of both sexes. One of these ladies, who married a merchant of Philadelphia, is still living, having numerous descendants scattered over our land. Gen. Moylan died about 1809, and was buried in the Catholic ground, Willing's Alley. He was colonel of cavalry in the continental army, and for some time aid to Gen. Washington.

His brother Jasper, who survived him, was a distinguished member of the bar, and was held in high estimation for his wit and social qualities. He left one child, a daughter, who married Robert Walsh, Esq. H. H.

CENT OF 1815 (vol. v., p. 189).—I remember that it was stated to me, about the year 1815, by a person who had some acquaintance with the operations of the United States Mint, that the planchets for the *copper* coins had always been prepared at Birmingham, England, and that the stock of these planchets, which the mint had on hand at the time of the declaration of war, in 1812, was exhausted before the close of the year 1814. R—A.

PHILAD., June, 1861.



## Notes on Books.

*A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts thereof printed in America previous to 1860; with Introduction and Bibliographical Notes.* By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany: Munsell & Rowland, 1861. 8vo, lx., 415 pp.

This is a most thorough and exact piece of American Bibliography, as all who know the author will justly expect. This department, in such hands, will soon become all that students can desire.

The Introduction is a summary of the history of the Bible in America, which should be generally diffused, and we can almost regret that the edition of the work is necessarily so limited that comparatively few will enjoy a perusal of so much interesting matter connected with the publication of the "Book of books" in America.

The work begins with Eliot's Indian Bible: that first edition of the Bible that was ever printed in all America, "since the foundation of the world," came forth most appropriately in a purely American language.

He then chronicles Cotton Mather's attempts to print a Bible in America, and their failure, with the more successful efforts of Christopher Saur, to produce an edition in German. The famous *pseulo Baskett* Bible is next treated of, and the whole of this vexed question laid before the reader for his own decision.

Fleming's projected edition, in 1770, was the last prior to the Revolution.

Aiken's Congress Bible, issued in 1782, was the first English Bible certainly printed in America. Dr. O'Callaghan gives its history at length, as well as that of the Catholic Bible printed by Matthew Carey, in 1790.

The editions of Collins, Thomas, Hodge, and the standing edition of Carey, are treated of in order, and notice taken of the first Greek, Hebrew, and French editions in the United States, and of editions printed in other parts of the Western continent.

The Catholic versions, and the anomalous condition of their text, receives the editor's attention, and is illustrated by a table of variations.

The description of Eliot's Bible is accompanied by *fac-similes* of the title-pages of the Bible and Testament.

The work itself embraces bibliographical accounts of over fifteen hundred different Bibles and Testaments or distinct books of Scripture, in every language the most diverse.

The reports of the Bible Society give some idea of what America has done to circulate the Scrip-

tures; but this work shows what has been done by societies and private enterprises, by Protestant, Catholic, Baptist, and Jew, showing a united effort, such as no other country can refer to, of editions almost incredible in number issued in less than a century, unaided by government, at home or abroad.

*Lithographs from the Sandstones of Connecticut River.* By James Deane, M. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1861. 4to, 61 pp., 46 plates.

DR. DEANE had devoted much time and skill to reproducing, by the lithographic press and the photograph, the fossil traces in the sandstone near his residence. He began his written description of them in 1835, and down till death, continued his investigations and reports, steadily obtaining the victory over the scientific incredulity of the day. Death surprised him while preparing a work for the Smithsonian Institute, on the subject, and friendly hands have here collected the work as far as completed, and now present us with the result. It is indeed well that so much has been preserved. Its loss would have been serious.

The illustrations are wonderfully accurate representations of the slabs, and the photographs show how far nature in her rapid work excels the slow and tedious art of human copyists.

*Voyage d'André Michaux en Canada, depuis le lac Champlain jusqu'à la Baie d'Hudson.* Par O. Brunet. Quebec: Bureau de l'Abeille, 1861.

THIS is a most pleasing Canadian homage to the great botanist Michaux, regarded as the father of that science in Canada; although that colony boasts its Sarrazin, and can refer to one of her French governors as an excellent botanist.

*A Discourse Commemorative of the Life and Services of Josiah Willard Gibbs, LL. D., Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College.* By George P. Fisher. New Haven: 1861. 8vo, pp. 20.

A FINE tribute to a man of worth and usefulness.

*Ornithologie du Canada, 1ère partie. Les Oiseaux de Proie et les Palmipèdes.* Par J. M. Le Moine. Quebec: 1860.

*Histoire Naturelle du Canada. Les Oiseaux.* Par J. M. Le Moine. Quebec: 1861.

THESE two modest little works on the birds of Canada, in a popular form, are not unworthy the notice of the scientific student.

### Miscellany.

DIED at Brooklyn, May 3, AUGUSTUS HROKCOX, one of the first settlers of Utica, and a captain in the war of 1812.

HON. SAMUEL CLARK, born at Lebanon Crank, Conn., Feb 28, 1777, died at West Brattleboro, April 10, 1861. Though chiefly engaged in mercantile business, he represented Dover, and subsequently Brattleboro, in the General Assembly, member of the Council, delegate to the Constitutional Convention, justice of the peace, and county judge; in all deserving the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

Died at Cannes, Department of Var, France, May 14, 1861, HENRY DE COURCY DE LA ROCHE HERON, corresponding member of the New York Historical Society. He was born at Brest, in 1820, of a family distinguished in the naval annals of France, and allied to most of those who distinguished themselves in Canada and Louisiana. He came to the United States in 1845, and though actively engaged in mercantile affairs, was a copious contributor to the *Univers* and *Ami de la Religion* in France, as well as to periodicals in this country. He wrote also a sketch of the various female convents in Canada, entitled: "Les Servantes de Dieu en Canada," Montreal, 1855; and "The Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856. In 1856, declining health compelled him to return to Europe, but no change of air or climate could baffle the disease. He was a lively, interesting writer, amiable and attractive in his manners, liberal and devoted; and if some of his views of men and manners in America could scarcely meet our assent, it was impossible to doubt his manly sincerity.

The Hon. JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM died April 10, 1861. Born Dec. 21, 1779, at Mansfield, Conn., son of a captain of militia during the Revolution. Learned the printing business at Walpole, N. H. Went to Boston, in 1800, and began the *Polyanthos*, and subsequently published the *Ordeal*, *New England Galaxy*, and *Boston Courier*, conducting the last paper from 1821 to 1848. During this period, he also, with his son, published the *New England Magazine*. He was a member of the House of Representatives from Boston and Cambridge, and senator from Middlesex county. He labored earnestly to complete the Banker Hill Monument.

HON. PHILIP CHURCH, of Belvidere, Alleghany county, N. Y., died Jan. 17, 1861, at the age of

83. He was a grandson of Gen. Schuyler, nephew of Alexander Hamilton, and son-in-law of Gen. Stewart. He entered the army at an early age, but soon devoted himself to agriculture; interesting himself yearly in its improvement, and in all public works that tended to advance the agricultural interest. He may be regarded as the projector of the New York and Erie Railroad.

A "Relation of Virginia," by Henry Spelman, has just been printed in England from the original manuscript formerly owned by Dawson Turner. Spelman was, it seems, the third son of the celebrated antiquary, and came to Virginia in 1609.

AN edition of "Freneau's Poems" has appeared in England, reprinted from the Philadelphia edition of 1786.

THE Ojibeway or Chippewa Indians, whose history has been written by Copway, have found another historian in the Rev. P. Jones.

A NEW life of Caxton, by William Blades, is in course of publication, the first volume having appeared, and the others to follow in the fall. The edition is limited to 255 copies, at five guineas each.

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, senator from Illinois, and recently a candidate for the presidency, died in Chicago, June 3, 1861. He was born at Brandon, Vt., April 23, 1813, the son of a physician of New York. He studied law, and removing to the West, began to practise in 1834, and was almost immediately elected by the Legislature prosecuting attorney. His name has since been identified with the politics of the country. He was member of the State Legislature, in 1835, presidential elector, and State secretary of state, in 1840, associate judge of the Supreme Court from 1841 to 1843; representative in Congress from 1843 to 1847, and senator since 1847. From 1850 he had been one of the candidates for nomination as president, by the democratic party.

He left two children by his first wife, Miss Martha D. Martin. His second wife (Miss Adele Cutts) survives him.

A COLLECTION of the French accounts of the battle of the Monongahela, chiefly unpublished, with a sketch and portrait of Capt. de Beaujeu, the French commander, is announced as nearly ready. It will form one of Mr. Shea's series of French Memoirs.

WE call attention to the annexed account of the folio editions of Shakespeare, for which we are indebted to James Lenox, Esq.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V.]

AUGUST, 1861.

[No. 8.

General Department.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND BEATRICE ENRIQUEZ.

WASHINGTON IRVING, in his "Life of Columbus," a work of which we may well be proud, as the first full biography ever written of a man whom Italy regards as one of her glories, and whom Spain recognizes as having given her a New World, but whom Italy and Spain almost consigned to oblivion, thus speaks of Columbus, and Beatrice Enriquez:

"During his visit to Cordova, he had conceived a passion for a lady of that city named Beatrice Enriquez. This attachment has been given as an additional cause of his lingering so long in Spain, and bearing with the delays he experienced. Like most of the particulars of this part of his life, his connection with this lady is wrapped in obscurity. It does not appear to have been sanctioned by marriage. The lady is said to have been of noble family.\* She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, who became his historian, and whom he always treated in terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son, Diego."

Irving does not positively assert the connection of Columbus and Beatrice, and the fruit of that connection to be illicit; he seems to adopt with reluctance the views of others.

But, towards the close of his work, after speaking of "the last codicil of Columbus, made at the very verge of the grave," he says: "Another clause recommends to the care of Don Diego, Beatrice Enriquez, the mother of his natural son, Fernando. His connection with her had never been sanctioned by matrimony, and either this circumstance, or some neglect of her, seems to have awakened deep compunction in his dying moments. He orders Don Diego to provide for her respectable maintenance; "and let this be done," he adds, "for the discharge of my conscience, for it weighs heavy on my soul."

A recent French biographer of Columbus, Ro-

sely de Lorgnes, has investigated the subject, and shown, we think, that the stain thus thrown on the character of the Discoverer of the New World is totally unmerited.

He traces the rise and origin of the accusation, which dates entirely from the present century. No historian had, prior to 1800, breathed the least doubt as to the legitimacy of Ferdinand Columbus, whose tombstone and library may be said to be the only monuments of Columbus in Spain.

In 1805, however, Count Galeani Napione, in writing a work to prove that Columbus was born at Cuccaro, found in one of the many lawsuits which arose among the descendants of Columbus, an argument of Luis de la Palma y Freitas, a lawyer, whose case depended on setting aside the claims of Ferdinand. To effect this, he asserted that Ferdinand was illegitimate, and in proof cited the passage of Columbus' will, in which he directs his son Diego to pay an annuity to Beatrice Enriquez, mother of his second son, Ferdinand. To sustain his case, Palma insisted that the omission to call her his wife, was positive proof that she was not. He lost his case. The judges did not deem it proof positive, but Napione did; and on the credit of Napione, Cancellieri did, in 1809; and Spotorno, in his work on the "Origin and Birthplace of Columbus," in 1819, and in his "Codice Columbo Americano," in 1823, repeats the same charge. Navarette, finally, although all his researches were at war with the theory, adopted it, and Irving reluctantly yielded to the opinion which he found current. Thus, four centuries after the chains of infamy had been interred in his coffin, Columbus was again arraigned and as unjustly condemned, the only evidence brought against him being the argument of a lawyer endeavoring, by some quibble, to save a desperate case.

Those who adopted the story warmly endeavored to give it color by making Beatrice of low degree and poor; reasons, in their eyes, for the absence of marriage. Irving, however, admits that she was of noble birth, and cites an authority for the fact, giving none for the charge against her.

Her brother, Rodrigo de Arana, is honorably mentioned; her nephew, Diego de Arana, was

\* Zuñiga, Anales Eccles. de Sevilla, lib. xiv., p. 496.  
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inspector-general of the admiral's fleet on his first voyage. Her younger brother, Pedro de Arana, accompanied Columbus on his third voyage. All are spoken of as noble.

Of her poverty, no proof is adduced except the fact that provision was made for her.

Herrera,\* Tiraboschi,† and Bossi, speak positively of the marriage; and the mere fact that the record has not survived, can scarcely be held conclusive proof of the illegitimacy of Ferdinand. Navarrete errs as to the time of the birth of Ferdinand; and the inference that Columbus made this provision for Beatrice, as a mark of death-bed repentance, is overthrown by the fact that this codicil, deposited in the notary's hands, May 19, 1506, was simply one drawn up by him, April 1, 1502, and republished in due form.

His great object had been to create a mayorazgo or majorat, in favor of his eldest son, and this he had done in 1502. The succeeding years had brought him no wealth, and his will was to charge on this mayorazgo such bequests as he felt bound to make to his son Ferdinand, Beatrice, and his brothers. His will provides for all, by way of charges on the mayorazgo, not on Diego positively, but on "Diego, or whoso should inherit;" and the very act of mayorazgo shows Ferdinand capable of inheriting. For, reciting the majorat, Columbus says in his will:

"I constituted my dear son D. Diego, my heir of all my goods and offices which I have of right and inheritance, whereof I disposed in the majorat, and he not having a son, heir male, that my son, D. Fernando, inherit in the same guise."

The reference in the will to Beatrice is obscure, and we do not know what it was that Columbus deemed improper to state in his will. It was not certainly the fact of his intercourse with her, for after mentioning her as the mother of his son, there was nothing to conceal; and as the instrument speaks of that son as having faculty to inherit, his legitimacy is as fully established by the will, as it was supposed to be impugned. The passage apparently should be thus translated:

"I command him to hold recommended to him Beatrice Enriquez, mother of my son, Don Fernando, and to provide her wherewith she may live respectably, as one to whom I am under so great obligation; and that this be done for my relief of conscience, because this weighs much for my soul. The reason of this, it is not lawful to write here."

Till we know something positive of their relation, we may well decline to see in this any

improper connection. In a man of the high enthusiastic piety and devotion of Columbus, we may well infer other and nobler motives. Her wealth may have aided him in a critical moment; her devotion to him have given the influence of her family, ever afterwards with him. A separation from motives of religion, would be in consonance with his character, and with the devotional spirit of the time.

A hundred years after, we find the wife of Champlain remaining apart from him in France; both renouncing marital rights, and she vowing, in case she survived him, to enter a convent, as in fact she did.

The genealogy of the Columbus family has always ranked Ferdinand as legitimate; he was received at court, and was page to the Infante Don Juan, till Isabella selected him as her own page, in 1498, giving his elder brother, Diego, the same rank the next day.

Both were educated together by Beatrice; and surely, no man would have put his lawful son with his mistress to educate; nor would the family of that son have permitted such an outrage on all decency.

Finally, a letter of Columbus exists, in which, in preferring his claims on the crown, he mentions that, "for it, he left wife and children."<sup>3</sup>

Roselly, from his researches, places the marriage of Columbus and Beatrice in the latter part of 1486; their son Ferdinand having been born August 29, 1487, according to Zuñiga, the historian of Cordova.

The very fact that Zuñiga, in his civil and ecclesiastical history of the city, should mention Beatrice and her son, is of no little weight in favor of her marriage; for a grave author would scarcely, without some word of apology, insert what could only reflect shame on the ladies of the city, if she were merely the mistress of the great discoverer.

The question may, and we trust will, receive new light from the Spanish archives; but even as the case stands, if the charge rests on no better proof than has been adduced, it should be no longer permitted to stand as a blot on the name of a man whose life is unsullied, in whom rectitude, virtue, piety unusual, so strikingly predominate. In his lifetime none of his enemies ever breathed a syllable of such a charge as that of having seduced a noble Spanish lady; and had there been even a suspicion of it, we may rest assured that the charge would have been made to injure him at least with her who had ever been his friend and protectress, Isabella the Catholic.

\* Coleccion Diplomatica, No. 157.

\* Dec. I., lib. i., ch. 7.

† Storia della Lett. Ital., t. vi., lib. i., ch. vi., § 12.

## GENERAL WINDER AND THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON.

The conduct of General Winder having been often called in question in regard to the loss of Washington; it will be of some service to the cause of historic truth to put on record, in your columns, the following official papers: D.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1814.

SIR: Since my arrival at this place, I have seen the report of the committee on the causes and particulars of the invasion of the city of Washington, &c., &c.

The scope of that report and of the statements received by the committee from various persons, tends so directly to injure my character as Commander of the 10th Military District, that it has imposed upon me the necessity of demanding that my conduct be subjected to the investigation of a military court of inquiry; the only tribunal which, as an officer, I can recognize as competent or authorized to decide the question which the honorable committee have thought proper to raise by their report.

It is unnecessary for me to impress upon you who are so sensible of it, how important it is to the nation and the army that the officers should protect their reputations with the most zealous vigilance; and thence the necessity of my being indulged, without unavoidable delay, with the opportunity of submitting my conduct to the investigation of a court of inquiry. It will also be superfluous for me to say that the question raised by the committee, will require that this court should consist of officers whose services, talents, and skill, are the most unquestionable.

I am here, under an order from the war department, as a witness on the trial of Col. Coles, and an interval of a fortnight, which has occurred, I shall spend, by the permission of the court, with my family at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, to which place please direct your communications and orders to me.

For your information, I inclose a letter which I have deemed it necessary to address to Mr. Johnson, the chairman of the committee, and beg that you will permit me to go to Washington, should I find it necessary, where, by my presence, I may be enabled with greater certainty to place this subject in a train to insure a just decision, whatever course may be taken.

I beg leave however to state, in the most distinct manner, that whatever course the House of Representatives may take, or whatever decision they may make on this subject, I shall still insist upon the right to have my military conduct judged of by military men. The position in which the

report of the committee has placed this subject, has rendered it indispensably necessary.

I am anxious to return to my command with the least possible delay, where, notwithstanding all that has been done to give the country a different belief, I trust I shall be able to prove, that the confidence heretofore reposed in me has not been misapplied.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Sir,  
Your ob'd Serv't,  
WM. H. WINDER.

Hon'able  
JAMES MONROE,  
Sec'y of War,  
Washington City.

Mr. Monroe has the pleasure to inform Mr. Fromentin that the President will have no hesitation in granting the court of inquiry, provided it is approved by the committee charged with the investigation. Mr. M. has written to Col. Johnson on the subject, on the receipt of whose answer, if favorable, the measure will be immediately adopted. Mr. Fromentin would promote the object if he would have the goodness to communicate with the committee concerning it.

Dec. 23, 1814.

SIR: Herewith inclosed you will receive a copy of the warrant appointing a court of inquiry, at your request; for further information relative to the court and evidence, I have to refer you to the President.

I should transmit a copy of the report referred to, if one could be procured at this time.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully,  
Your mo. ob. Serv.

D. PARKER,  
Adj.-gen'l.  
Jan. 23, 1815.

Brig.-gen'l WINDER,  
U. States Army.

ADJ'T AND INSPECT.-GEN. OFFICE, }  
Feb. 25, 1815. }

## GENERAL ORDER.

The Secretary of War directs the following warrant, with the report of the court of inquiry in the case of Brig.-gen. Winder, be published to the army.

## WARRANT.

Brigadier-gen. W. H. Winder, of the United States Army, having applied for a court of inquiry to examine and inquire into his conduct as Com. Gen'l of the 10th Military District, during his command thereof, in the summer of 1814, a court of inquiry, to consist of Major-general

W. Scott, President, Col. John R. Fenwick, and Col. Wm. Drayton, members, is hereby appointed to meet at Baltimore, on the 26th day of January, 1815, to examine into the conduct of Brigadier-gen. Winder, as embraced in the report of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the U. States by their committee appointed to inquire into the cause and particulars of the invasion of the city of Washington, by the British forces, in the month of August, 1814, and such other evidence and documents as may be laid before the court, by Lt. J. M. Glassell,\* who is hereby appointed recorder of the same. The court is hereby empowered and required to give its opinion as to the merits of the case for the information of the President of the U. S.; and for so doing, this shall be a sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand and the seal of the War Office, this 21st day of Jan'y, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and of the independence of the U. S., the 39th.

By command of the President of the U. States,  
JAS. MONROE,  
*Sec'y of War.*

#### REPORT.

The court of inquiry, ordered to examine into and to report upon the conduct of Brigadier-gen. Winder, so far as it is connected with the capture and destruction of Washington, in August, 1814, unanimously submit the following as the result of their investigations:

The court, with great attention and much labor, have perused the numerous papers and documents referred to them, from whence they collect that Brigadier-gen. Winder was appointed to the command of the 10th Military Dist. of which Washington was a part, on the 2d day of July, 1814, that immediately thereafter he took every means in his power to put that District under a proper state of defence; that from the period when well-grounded apprehensions were entertained that the enemy meditated an attack upon the capital, his exertions were great and unremitting; that through these exertions, he was enabled to bring into the field on the 24th of August, 1814, the day on which the battle of Bladensburg was fought, about 5 or 6000 men, all of whom, excepting four hundred, were militia; that he could not collect much more than one half this force till a day or two previously to the engagement, and 6 or 700 of them did not arrive until fifteen minutes before its commencement—that from the uncertainty whether Baltimore, the city of Washington, or Fort

\* By subsequent order, Lieut. G. L. Nicholas was appointed in order.

Washington, would be selected as the point of attack, it was necessary that Brigadier-gen'l Winder's troops should frequently change their positions, owing to which, and alarms causelessly excited in the night of the 23d of August, they were much fatigued, and many of them nearly exhausted at the time when the hostile army was crossing the bridge at Bladensburg; that the officers commanding the troops were generally unknown to Gen'l Winder, and but a small number of them had enjoyed the benefit of military instruction or experience.

The members of this court, in common with their fellow-citizens lament, deeply lament, the capture of the capital; and they regard, with no ordinary indignation, the spoliation of its edifices, those public monuments of art and science, always deemed sacred by a brave and generous foe; but amidst these mingled and conflicting sensations, they nevertheless feel it to be their duty to separate the individual from the calamities surrounding him, and to declare that to the officer upon whose conduct they are to determine, no censure is attributable. On the contrary, when they take into consideration the complicated difficulties and embarrassments under which he labored, they are of opinion, notwithstanding the result, that he is entitled to no little consideration; before the action he exhibited industry, zeal, and talent, and during its continuance a coolness, a promptitude, and a personal valor, highly honorable to himself and worthy of a better fate.

The Court adjourned *sine die*.

Attest:  
W. SCOTT,  
*Major-gen'l and President.*  
G. L. NICHOLAS,  
*Lt. and Recorder.*

The President of the United States having been pleased to approve of the foregoing opinion of the court of inquiry, Brigadier-gen'l Winder will honorably resume his command, and report to the major-general commanding districts Nos. 4 and 10.

By order of the Sec'y of War,  
D. PARKER,  
*Adj.-general.*

ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
Feb. 8, 1815. }

SIR: I have the honor to inclose to you a certified copy of the Report of the court of inquiry, appointed to investigate your military conduct as commanding general of the 10th Military District, during the summer of 1814.

I am directed by the Secretary of War to advise you, that the President has been pleased to approve the report and opinion of the court; and to express to you the very favorable opinion

which the executive entertains of your military and civil character.

I hope you will do me the favor to accept the new assurances of my respect and regard.

D. PARKER,

*Adj.-gen'l.*

Brig.-gen'l W. H. WINDER,  
U. STATES ARMY,  
GETTYSBURG, Pa.

## THE WOODHULL DISCUSSION.

(Continued.)

### IX. *Letter of Mr. Cooper.*

MESSEURS EDITORS: I confess that the reasoning of Mr. Onderdonk does not strike me as at all conclusive against the credit of Judge Jones. No one of the objections is unanswerable, and most of them manifest a bias to regard only one side of the question.

That Judge Jones was mistaken in supposing that General Woodhull was stopped on his march to join Washington by the battle of the 26th, I was aware when I copied the statement. To believe, however, that his mistake in this respect, contributes to show that his manuscript is "utterly worthless as an historical document," involves the necessity of believing that "Marshall's Life of Washington" is also "utterly worthless," for something like the same reason. These sweeping charges seldom convince. Judge Jones, in this particular, gave what appears to be the prevailing opinion of the time; and he gave it temperately, without any imputation on General Woodhull's conduct. Now, Marshall, the highest American authority, has pretty much the same idea, with the addition of supposing that General Woodhull remained at or near Jamaica, contrary to his orders. All this has been explained since, but it was not until 1834, that even Judge Marshall was made aware of the particular duty on which General Woodhull was employed. The mistake of Judge Marshall, and its correction, is given at length, p. 413, in "Thompson's History of Long Island."

This is the only circumstance adduced by Mr. Onderdonk that appears to me to require a serious answer. The historical fact involved, is of no great general importance, and is of none whatever as connected with the particular inquiry before us. Judge Jones was mistaken on a very material fact, so far as the main history of events was concerned, in common with Judge Marshall. He is in respectable company, and I question if "Marshall's Life of Washington" will lose its high character on account of the mistake into which its author fell.

Mr. Onderdonk tells us that, in quoting Judge Jones, he italicizes the mistakes of the writer. I will follow him *seriatim*. After pointing out the errors connected with what was certainly a mistake in supposing that General Woodhull wished to join Washington, he italicizes the word "quarters," though I do not see that he makes any comments on its use. If Judge Jones miscalled a halt "quarters," it is not a very grave offence in an unprinted work.

The next objection that Mr. Onderdonk raises, is to the statement of Judge Jones, that the dragoons were sent to escort certain prisoners from Jamaica to Brooklyn, "the evening after the battle." Mr. Onderdonk thinks there *were* no prisoners, and says, correctly enough, that the dragoons did not arrive until the evening of *the day* after the battle.

As respects the first objection, there might have been prisoners of whom Mr. Onderdonk knows nothing. Then a party might have been sent under a misapprehension of the fact where the prisoners actually made were. Such things as useless marches and countermarches are of constant occurrence in war. What should we think of the historian who denied that General Taylor countermarched from near Victoria all the way to Monterey, in order to aid in repelling an attack on Saltillo, on the ground that Saltillo was not attacked!

Judge Jones evidently was aware of the charges against the English, in connection with the death of Gen. Woodhull; and it seems to me that he has given his statement expressly in reference to these charges. Now the historian and the officer commanding these dragoons, were pretty nearly connected. They saw each other constantly, and, under the circumstances, I take it for granted that Judge Jones got many of his facts from Oliver De Lancey, himself, and this among others. It was of no moment, in any sense, except to the truth, whether the dragoons were sent to escort prisoners, or to seize Gen. Woodhull; and *why* should Judge Jones state the fact unless he had authority for it? Mr. Onderdonk gives no authority for *his* assertion that the dragoons went out to take Gen. Woodhull.

As for the "evening after the battle," admitting it to be a mistake, it is merely a mistake of a day in date, and a matter of very little moment. I confess, however, that I understand the writer to mean the evening of the next day. The omission of the words "of the day" being just such an error as an unprinted work would be apt to contain.

An uncorrected work should always be received with large allowances. Very few unpractised writers avoid such errors—errors of mere oversight. The expression was colloquial, and as

many persons would probably understand it in one sense as the other.

The use of the words "generously granted," in reference to the "quarter" given to the party with General Woodhull, convinces me that Judge Jones wrote with the charges distinctly in his mind. Mr. Onderdonk italicizes the words, and answers them by showing how the 71st (Highlanders) had bayoneted the Americans the previous day, on the field! Men in the heat of battle do many things they would not dream of doing in their cooler moments. After showing how these Highlanders *slaughtered* the Americans, Mr. Onderdonk, not very logically—to say nothing of any other quality—adds, that the facts "show that the British army regarded the Americans with much the same feeling as Mr. Cooper does the anti-renters." I quote the passage to give its writer the full benefit of his mode of illustrating.

"The manuscript speaks of Woodhull's having *one* wound on the arm," says Mr. Onderdonk. "There are persons now living, who have heard an eyewitness, and who watched at his bedside that night, say his arm was hacked as a butcher would hack a shin of beef. There were seven gashes on the arm, but there may have been *one* deeper than the rest."

Here, I think, Mr. Onderdonk meets his own objection. Judge Jones obviously means to say that the "particularly *one* (wound) on the arm" was the serious wound. We are told, elsewhere, that one cut was on the elbow, a hurt that produced the mortification which terminated in death; and the allusion is so very apparent to this fact, that it strikes me the italics might have been spared in this instance, without at all weakening the criticism. To have made his own statement perfectly fair, moreover, Mr. Onderdonk ought to have added that Judge Jones says General Woodhull "received several strokes from their broadswords, particularly *one* on the arm.

"The manuscript says," continues Mr. Onderdonk, "Woodhull was carried on board a *man-of-war*. There, considering his high rank, he ought to have been carried, but was not. Robert Esquire was, with seventy or eighty officers (?), put on board a vessel used for conveying livestock from England, and while there Woodhull was also brought on board. Troup's affidavit shows what *hospitality* Woodhull received."

As respects the preference between a *man-of-war* and a transport for a wounded man, and as a rule, I think Mr. Onderdonk is evidently in an error. Certainly, if going off to a fleet containing empty transports and cruisers, a wounded man and among strangers, I should choose the

transport in preference to the cruiser. A cruiser has all her rooms occupied. The captain alone has more room than he absolutely wants, and entering *his* cabin is like intruding into a private dwelling. On the other hand, empty transports usually are comfortable, and can be treated more like inns. It is a delicate thing to intrude into a vessel of war, and often leads to the most unpleasant collisions. I think any prudent commanding officer, who had empty transports at his disposal, would, *as an indulgence to his prisoners*, send them on board such vessels, instead of taking them into his cruisers.

Judge Jones was mistaken in calling the vessel a "man-of-war." This may have arisen from having been told that the prisoners had been sent aboard the "fleet." Very few landsmen understand the term "man-of-war," as it is used by seamen. Half the papers at the South speak daily of this "United States steamer," and that "United States ship," meaning "transports," or "store-ships," or, at most "government vessels." Judge Jones may have been misinformed as to the character of the vessel in which the prisoners were kept, or he may have deceived himself in his terms. I think it is pretty evident that Mr. Onderdonk is under the popular notion that a "man-of-war" is a ship of the line. This is a mistake; the *smallest* cruiser in that fleet having been just as much a "man-of-war" as the largest. A brig, or a schooner, is a "man-of-war," as well as a three-decker. A transport for beeves, is usually a large vessel, and if thoroughly cleaned, and free from smell, would make a good hospital-ship, on account of the size. Mr. Onderdonk thinks General Woodhull's rank entitled him to especial attention. I think so too; though I should not have selected a man-of-war to receive him, did a comfortable transport offer. Humanity is always policy. Notwithstanding Mr. Onderdonk's notions of British cruelty, it has been said, "Had Sir Guy Carleton commanded, he would have conquered America by his kindness." Still, we are not to forget that the English recognized no rank in General Woodhull. In this they were perfectly consistent, and perhaps wise. He had no legal authority, according to their notions, and they had as much right to these notions as we had to ours. It was a struggle that was to get its character from the result. As respects this cattle-ship, I will add, that the English fleet was near or quite three months in making its passage; and that there was consequently time to get rid of the oxen, and to air the ship. Such a vessel cleaned, is like any other vessel.

Mr. Onderdonk's last stricture is on Judge Jones' statement that General Woodhull refused to have his arm amputated. Did Judge Jones and Mr. Onderdonk refer to the same moment of



time, or to the same incident, the objection would have more weight. Judge Jones clearly refers to what passed on board ship, with the intention of showing that General Woodhull was not neglected, as well as of showing *why* he died, where, as he says, "the surgeon advised amputation; to this he would not assent. The wound mortified, and he died in a few days." Now all this is perfectly reconcilable with the fact, that after the prisoner was sent on shore he changed his mind, but it is perfectly *natural*. The reluctance of men to lose their limbs is well known, and what is here stated often happens. I have quite as much difficulty in believing that the English surgeons neglected their duty, in a case of this sort, as in believing that any officer behaved to General Woodhull as has been stated. Judge Jones means that General Woodhull died in consequence of refusing to submit to an amputation when first offered. This is true, if the offer were ever made. It is nowhere proved that such an offer was not made.

As for Colonel Troup's statement of the treatment offered to the prisoner, so far as it appears in the affidavit he published, I have already shown its value. He says that the general would have been obliged to lie on the naked deck, *had he not been supplied with a mattress by a lieutenant!* In the English service, a transport almost uniformly has a second lieutenant as the "agent." He controls every thing. So that this statement, taking it the other end foremost, amounts to just this: "The officer in command furnished the prisoner with a mattress, thereby *preventing* his lying on the naked deck." How differently a thing reads by looking at it on its two sides! As for the *deck*, this may, or may not have been, a disadvantage. At anchor, in smooth water, it was probably the best place for a man in General Woodhull's situation. Perry died on his cabin-floor, and Claxton lay on the sand floor about the same time, I believe. Nelson died on a mattress in the Victory's cockpit, I think: though my memory may deceive me, I believe Lawrence, also, died in some such situation. It is an everyday occurrence on board ship, whether I am right or not in the instances last quoted.

The charge against Oliver De Lancey is of the most improbable nature, and ought to be sustained by the clearest proof. Instead of that, it seems to rest entirely on one of the flimsiest affidavits I ever read. *Ex parte*, got up for political effect, on its face—hearsay at the very best, with all the chances of misconception of meaning—and then so vague in its terms that the deponent does not distinctly say *who* told him a single thing to which he swears! The language usual to such documents is evaded, in order to produce the statement that is published. The circumstance

that Mr. Troup *asked* General Woodhull how he got hurt, is set forth distinctly, though of no moment at all, *unless to assist in mystifying*; while the all-important fact, that Mr. Troup was told the story he repeats by the wounded man, is so slurred over as to tell nothing clearly. No man has a right to say, from that affidavit, that Mr. Troup swears that General Woodhull told him any thing. On the contrary, the departure from the closeness and distinctness usual to fair-dealing affidavits, leaves a fair presumption that he did not. The very same number of words as those actually used, might have made the matter perfectly clear. "He asked the general the particulars of his capture, *who told him that*"—would have put this all-important point beyond dispute. "And he told him," would sound better, or "was told by him." There was no want of skill in drawing up the affidavit, which is *otherwise* quite artistically done; and when the deponent says that he "was informed" that General Woodhull perished subsequently for want of care, the necessity of adding "on good authority," is felt. No court in Christendom would accept this affidavit as establishing the fact that General Woodhull "told" Colonel Troup the account of his own capture.

Mr. Onderdonk attributes Judge Jones' mistakes to the fact that he was not at Fort Neek when the battle of Long Island was fought. Now, this reasoning happens to apply very well to the facts in which Judge Jones is clearly wrong, while it does not apply at all to the parts of his account that have any connection with the matter at issue. If Judge Jones had been at Fort Neek when General Woodhull marched down the Island, he might not have made the mistake of supposing he did not reach Jamaica; but what could his absence have to do with the knowledge he subsequently obtained of the attempt to escape? He was at home when the affidavit appeared—was in the way of hearing all that was said about *that*, and learning the manner in which it was met. Oliver De Lancey was his wife's cousin; they saw each other constantly; and what is more, Judge Jones must have been in the constant habit of seeing *others* who were probably of the party at Jamaica. In a word, he was so situated as unavoidably to hear both sides of the question. Now, such a man, sitting down to leave a record of facts behind him—not to *publish to produce a political effect*, but to remain in manuscript as matter of record for his friends—would be very apt to state what he had ascertained on proper inquiry. He was often in Jamaica, and possessed all the necessary means to ascertain the truth touching a fact that had become matter of public interest. It is not reasonable to suppose that he neglected to use these means. This is a very dif-

ferent matter from taking up a false impression as to General Woodhull's having got a few miles further, or a few miles less on his march.

Now, look at the probabilities. Mr. Woodhull was a political man, as well as a soldier. By English law he was a rebel—liable to be hanged. He was the first man of that character who had been taken with arms in his hands; or taken at all, I believe. The result must have troubled him. Then he is described as a bold, resolute man. It was night, and there was a thunder-storm. Judge Jones says that he attempted to escape. Mr. Onderdonk himself tells us that "the general came out of the house, took his horse from under the shed, and laid his hands on the reins," when the dragoons came up. William Warne says, a dragoon told him he took General Woodhull in a barn, in the dark; and refusing to answer, the general received his hurts, etc.

All this looks very much as if General Woodhull was endeavoring to profit by the darkness and the storm, and to get off. Mr. Onderdonk's particularity about his just getting the reins of his horse, is significant. He has doubtless heard this somewhere, and it sounds very much as if the general was about to mount, to be off. It is nowhere stated that he knew the dragoons were coming; and would he be likely to start in the height of the "lightning's red glare," unless with a design to escape?

It is admitted all round, that much ambiguity and doubt exist as to the case of General Woodhull. Mr. Onderdonk himself allows this, by the conflicting accounts he gives. Now this business of escaping is an affair that obtains its character from the result, as much as any thing else in the world. When a man of dignified station is caught in an attempt to escape, no matter how elevated the motive, he suffers in public estimation, in a certain way. Any allusion to the event must be painful to such a man. This fact may have produced much of the confusion that exists in the accounts. When I ascertained that General Woodhull was said to have been wounded in attempting to escape, it at once occurred to me, that a reluctance to dwell on the circumstances may have induced him to give such a mutilated and disjointed account to Colonel Troup as to have misled that witness; and this without any deliberate design to deceive in either party. Such may have been the fact; but when the affidavit was closely examined, and the significant omission was properly noted, I came to the conclusion that some other person has been thus misled, which other person "told" Colonel Troup.

From the character of General Woodhull, I do not believe he attempted to violate a parole. It was not only natural, but might have been his

public duty, to try to get away if he could. Still a president of a State Congress might not think he appeared to advantage in an account of a frustrated attempt to escape, in which he was cut up by sentinels. Success is very necessary to make such things go down well, and one can easily understand that it would not be a subject much dilated on by the losing party. Even admitting that General Woodhull did make a statement to Colonel Troup, it was probably made under the influence of such feelings as to give it very little value. If the affidavit is good for any thing, it proves of itself he could not have considered himself in danger of dying when he gave it. This is also proved by another circumstance: General Woodhull sent for his wife, when he supposed himself about to die; and this he did not, until he was removed to a building on shore, or some days after he went on board the transport.

The death of General Woodhull is a point in American history that deserves to be thoroughly investigated, and I am not sorry that this discussion has occurred. I feel satisfied that it will relieve the memory of a gallant soldier from a most unjust and severe imputation, that has arisen from political prejudices and political intrigues. These prejudices and intrigues rest, like a blight, on this country, even at the present hour; perverting facts, misleading opinion, and having the marked effect of placing unsuitable men in places of profit and power. Under this blight we possess two public opinions: a whig public opinion, and a loco-foco public opinion. Of independent, sound, healthful, manly public opinion, there is very little—almost none; and every effort to extricate truth from the tyrants of the land should be hailed with pleasure. We get so little of that sacred quality, that there is great danger of our not knowing it when we see it. As respects the main fact as stated by Judge Jones, our reasoning ought to be very simple. He has either invented it, or he has heard it. I presume no one will affirm the first. If heard, then, we are to look at his sources of information, remembering that the point was publicly discussed at the time, and that his attention was drawn to the subject. I think there can be little doubt that he has given Oliver De Lancey's explanation.

I will take this occasion to say that several mis-prints occurred in my last letter, the consequence of a careless manner of writing. "Fort Neck" is spelt "Fert Neck;" the "71st" is called the "70th" regiment; in one place "Woodhull" is printed for "Onderdonk," an oversight of my own, quite likely; "all so loudly expressed," should read "loosely expressed," etc.

Very respectfully yours,

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

X. *Letter of Mr. Onderdonk.*

July 5, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: The letter of Mr. Cooper would allow a wide range of remark, but throwing aside all minor considerations:

The question at issue is—Did Oliver De Lancey, junior, strike General Woodhull, after his surrender?

For the affirmative, we have the declaration of Colonel Troup, who heard the story from Woodhull's own lips, while they were fellow-prisoners. Troup says: "The General told him he was taken by a party of light-horse, under Captain Oliver De Lancey; that on being asked by said captain if he would surrender, he replied in the affirmative—provided he would treat him like a gentleman, which Captain De Lancey assured him he would; whereupon the general delivered his sword; and that immediately after, the said Oliver De Lancey, Jr., struck him; and others of his party, imitating his example, did cruelly cut and hack him in the manner he then was."

This is clear, definite, and positive, and given under the solemnity of an oath.

Troup was a graduate of Columbia College, a lawyer by profession; of most respectable standing in society, the friend and associate of Jay and Hamilton; a very *conscientious* man, of sterling piety, who afterwards was a judge, member of our Legislature, and warden of Trinity Church. And yet, Mr. Cooper, by implication, assails the character of such men as Troup and Morris, in order to weaken the force of this deposition.

For the negative, we have:

1st. Mr. Cooper's disbelief that any British officer, and especially De Lancey, would do such an act; because he was born and educated a gentleman, and was a soldier of established reputation, and that the deed involves treachery, cowardice, and barbarity.

To this it may be replied, that Mr. Cooper forgets that the gentler feelings are all stifled in a civil war; and that, although De Lancey was a regular, yet he had been so long in this country, and heard so much of the wrongs his connections had suffered, as to have his feelings wrought up to the highest degree of bitterness against the rebels. He had himself been forced to quit Boston, in 1776. John De Lancey had, in 1775, been so exasperated at General Scott, a member of the Provincial Congress, as to shake his fist in his face; and again, this John's goods had been distrained for refusing to do military duty. Stephen De Lancey had been sent to Hartford jail. James De Lancey's house in the Bowery, had been taken for a rebel hospital; and the mansion of the elder Oliver, at Bloomingdale, was allowed for a like purpose.

Mr. Cooper aggravates the barbarity of the deed, to show its improbability; but let us consider a little.

General Woodhull was president of the convention that had heaped so many wrongs on the De Lancey family, and was the first political officer of note that had fallen into the enemy's hands. What, then, more natural, or probable, than that De Lancey should exact a humiliating recantation from him of saying, "God save the king!" and if Woodhull, thinking each blow would be the last, preferred hacking to recanting, what mattered it to Oliver?

All historians agree on fixing the act on an *officer*. An old man, aged 85, now living (and who saw Woodhull with his head tied up and his arm bandaged), says "the *officers* did it." If done by an officer, why not De Lancey, rather than Baird, for the above reasons? In Wood's "Long Island," page 53, edition of 1824, he says: "Woodhull was suffered by the *officers* to be so cut and mangled, that he died of his wounds a few days after his capture."

2d. The second point for the negative, is Mr. Cooper's suddenly revived memory of a long-forgotten conversation with a Major De Lancey, in which, referring to the charge of De Lancey's wounding Woodhull, he says, "Oliver always indignantly denied it." If so, why did not Judge Jones say as much? Now, Mr. Cooper's memory, to say the least, is a very convenient one. It recalls to mind, at the precise time of need, just so much as is wanted, without varying over half a dozen words! But does not Mr. Cooper ask too much of us? He should bear in mind that he gave as authority a conversation wherein it was said, "that the father of Oliver De Lancey died in command, on Long Island, about the middle of the war, and was interred in the family vault in Trinity Church;" an error I exposed by quoting the obituary notice of his death at Beverly, England, in 1785.

3d. When Mr. C. refers to Wood and Thompson, historians of Long Island, as giving an account disagreeing with Colonel Troup's deposition, he is bound to show that they had it before them, and on due examination rejected it.

4th. But Mr. Cooper's main reliance is on Judge Jones' MS., which is as ambiguous, when Mr. C. mounts the tripod, as ever were the responses of the Delphian oracle.

In my letter of May 15th, I pointed out several misstatements, in order to show that Mr. C. had overrated its value. I will now cite other passages. "The general, after his surrender," says the MS., "favored by the darkness of the night, attempted to make his escape; but being discovered by the sentries, while attempting to get over a board fence, he received several strokes from

their broadswords, particularly one upon the arm." The meaning evidently is, that Woodhull was captured without bodily injury, and put under guard for the night; but taking advantage of the darkness, he attempted to escape, and was wounded by the pursuing sentinels. Now (leaving Troup's deposition out of the question) this is contradicted by all tradition; 2d, by Wood and Thompson; and 3d, by the testimony of William Warne, a loyalist, who said, while Woodhull was yet living, that he was wounded at Carpenter's, when first made prisoner. Now Judge Jones wrote his history, as Mr. C. thinks, after the war, that is, more than seven years after the event. What may he not have forgotten in that time? On the other hand, Warne was on the spot, heard his story from the light-horse, and told it within a fortnight after, when it was reduced to writing.

All other accounts represent De Lancey as present at the wounding of Woodhull; but if he was wounded when endeavoring to escape (as the MS. says), how could he be present? He must have been abed, or at his quarters, and could not have come up with the sentinels at the instant they cut him.

Again, the MS. says: "The light-horse were sent to Jamaica the evening after the battle, as an escort to some prisoners taken in the action." Now the action was near Brooklyn, about ten miles west of Jamaica, so that the prisoners, according to the MS., were sent ten miles away from the army, out into an exposed village in the enemy's country, where a hostile force might be momentarily expected; for Col. Livingston was in Suffolk county, marching westward. Majors Brush and Smith also had the militia mustered at Huntington, ready to march. Gov. Trumbull had been requested to send over forces, and the British expected Gen. Lee to land at Hurl Gate to take them in the rear. Mr. Cooper, however, interprets the MS. as saying the light-horse were sent to escort prisoners (taken in the action) *from* Jamaica. Still, this does not help the difficulty; for if the prisoners taken in the action were at Jamaica, they must have been escorted there. But Troup says (as is reasonable and natural), that the prisoners were kept near the main body of the enemy.

That the light-horse were sent expressly to capture Woodhull's party, and prevent his driving off the live-stock, which they so much needed, is highly probable in itself, and is confirmed by all tradition. Wm. Howard, aged 85, says: "On the night before the battle, the light-horse (who acted as scouts to the enemy) heard where Woodhull's party lay, and started in quest of him; but on hearing an exaggerated report of his force, they returned." The day after the battle, they set out again after Woodhull, and entered Jamaica

village at tea-time, inquiring for Woodhull. They surrounded the house of Robert Hinckman, a noted whig, who ran out of the back-door, but was caught and dragged to the front of his house, where he was seen by his daughter, on his knees, imploring mercy with outstretched hands, and the soldiers flourishing their swords over him. Perhaps Judge Jones may have engrafted these circumstances on the story of Woodhull's capture.

The MS. also says, Woodhull was commander-in-chief of *all* the militia of Long Island; whereas his command was limited to Suffolk and Queens.

Judging from the extract, I should suppose Judge Jones' knowledge of local Revolutionary incidents (like Mr. Cooper's) might do very well for fireside conversation, but is hardly accurate enough, I apprehend, to place him in company with Judge Marshall.

I will now point out a mistake or two of Mr. Cooper's: The battle of the 26th should be 27th. He also says, "Oliver De Lancey became major in 1776, and lieutenant-colonel a year or two later;" whereas he was not made major till 1778, nor lieutenant-colonel till 1781.

As many of Mr. Cooper's objections have been met by the restoration of the omitted portions of Troup's affidavit, I will here conclude, hoping Mr. Cooper's avocations will allow him a few moments' leisure to reply to my letter of the 15th ultimo, as I am as anxious to arrive at the truth as Mr. Cooper possibly can be.

Very respectfully yours,

HENRY ONDERDONK, Jr

JAMAICA, June 17, 1848.

#### XI. *Letter of Vindex.*

GENTLEMEN: I perceive that Mr. Onderdonk, of Jamaica, has taken part in the controversy between Mr. Cooper and Mr. Sabine, in relation to the accuracy of that passage in the "American Loyalists" in regard to the death of General Woodhull, on Long Island. The simple point in dispute is, whether Oliver De Lancey was the officer who aided in, and permitted others to join, in mutilating the general after the surrender of his sword.

Mr. Sabine has adopted the fact from Colonel Troup's affidavit, published in Mr. Onderdonk's book, and, without explanation, that testimony would seem to be sufficient for any historian. But in the same book there are three other statements, more or less conflicting with the affidavit. The first only agreeing with it in the fact, that the mutilation of General W. took place after the surrender of his sword, and differing from it in important particulars.

The second declares that the general was wounded because he *would not* surrender his sword.

And the third affirms, that being found in a barn, "and before he would answer when spoke to," he was cut in the head and arms.

The two last essentially disprove the authority relied upon by Mr. Sabine, and afford strong ground to suppose that the terms of the affidavit were equivocal, as explained by Mr. Cooper. *Suppressio veri*, is ranked in law as a grave offence; but we have too frequent evidence now-a-days that in party matters the crime is disregarded; and that the same loose political morality prevailed in that day, we have no reason to doubt. But this authority, thus shaken, so far as Captain De Lancey is concerned, is contradicted by two historians of Long Island, whose opportunities of investigation were perhaps better than those of Mr. Onderdonk. The Hon. Silas Wood, an able writer, who compiled his book many years nearer the time of the event, gives a different account. In this refutation he is joined by Mr. Thompson, another elaborate chronicler, in a subsequent history; and last of all, it is confuted by the friends of Mr. De Lancey, and by the manuscript history of Judge Jones, written but two years after the event occurred.

But, says Mr. Onderdonk, of the last denial:

"Mr. Cooper, has compelled me, Messrs. Editors, to the ungracious task of showing this MS. of Judge Jones to be utterly worthless as an historical document. Nor need we wonder at the judge's misstatements in this matter, as his history was written some years after the event, and he had all his information by hearsay, being himself absent at the time from the Island, for he was sent a prisoner to Norwich jail, as early as August 12, 1776, by a written order of General Washington, and did not return from Connecticut till December 9th, of that year."

If Mr. Onderdonk's arguments were as irresistible to others as they seem to himself, no more need be said of Judge Jones' history; but how far he has shown it to be unworthy of credit, it would be well to examine.

Firstly: He charges him to have erred in asserting that Woodhull was sent to join the American army in Brooklyn.

If that error be sufficient cause to blast the reputation of the history, that of Marshall, the most correct of any extant, falls within the like category; as he supposed that Woodhull's command was to act in concert with, and form part of, the army of Washington at Brooklyn.

Secondly: He is charged with having erred, in declaring that the battle was fought before Woodhull reached Jamaica. If he meant on his retreat, then Mr. Onderdonk has proven that the assertion was entirely correct; but if the advance

march was intended, a chronological error exists of a single day.

Thirdly: It is contradicted in the statement that the party of light-horse which captured the general, was "sent to Jamaica the evening after the battle, as an escort to some prisoners taken in the action."

To sustain this contradiction, Mr. Onderdonk asserts that they did not arrive at Jamaica until the next day; and farther, that they were specially dispatched for the purpose of capturing Woodhull, and not to escort prisoners, who, instead of being ordered to Jamaica, were sent to Flatbush.

The discrepancy here is in mistaking the place to which the prisoners were ordered. This is a misnomer of the place, and a very trivial error at the worst. Had no place been mentioned, the passage in Judge Jones' history would have read: "A party of light-horse was sent the evening after the battle, as an escort to some prisoners taken in the action. Receiving information where Woodhull was, they surrounded the house, and made him and his party all prisoners." According, very nearly, with all the facts contended for by Mr. O.

Fourthly: The assertion of Judge Jones, that they asked for quarter, and that it was generously granted, is intimated, but nowhere denied. The affidavit itself admits as much; but alleges that the pledge of the officer who granted it was brutally violated. Mr. Onderdonk does not attempt absolutely to deny it; but seems to consider it enough to prove that quarter was denied by the officers of the 71st regiment at the battle of Brooklyn the day before, in order to impair the credibility of Judge Jones' assertion.

Again: Judge Jones says that Woodhull was taken "on board a man-of-war, and treated with hospitality."

Mr. Onderdonk says the vessel was not a man-of-war; and the affidavit affirms that she was a transport. He does not deny that the prisoner was treated with hospitality, but refers to the affidavit to prove the kind of hospitality he received. That document declares that he would have been compelled to lie on the floor *if he had not been furnished with a mattress*; with respect to other matters, it is silent. "This mattress was furnished by a lieutenant," farther says the affidavit. Such an officer being on board, and administering to the comfort of the prisoner, would seem to justify Judge Jones' assertion that she *was* a vessel of war. Mr. Onderdonk denies that General Woodhull refused to have his arm amputated on board the vessel. The assertion is: "The surgeon advised amputation; to this he would not assent. The wound mortified, and he died in a few days." To disprove this, a letter from Mr. Hobart is produced written more than

a month after Woodhull was on board the vessel, which states: "The wound mortified; the arm was taken off; but the mortification still continued, and a few days put an end to that useful life." The death of General Woodhull took place in the church at New Utrecht, and his corpse was taken to his residence, and buried on the 23d September. Nothing is contained in this to shake the declaration of Judge Jones; but it is proved that a fortnight afterwards, and when gangrene had commenced, the limb was amputated; and the patient died in a few days after the operation.

But in his attempt to decry the testimony in this respect, Mr. Onderdonk has proved too much, and has shattered the reputation of the evidence which is his sole reliance. The affidavit states: "That General Woodhull was afterwards carried to the hospital in the church of New Utrecht, where he perished, as the deponent was on good authority informed, through want of care and necessities." Now the letter of Mr. Hobart says: "He was attended in his dying moments by his lady, who was permitted to remove the corpse to his seat, where he was interred about the 23d ultimo. [September.] These particulars I have from Captain Strong, of Islip, before whose door the procession passed on its way to St. George's." The presence of his wife is sufficient evidence that he died not from want of care or attention.

Again, a reason is given why faith should not be put in the history of Judge Jones, that being absent at the time of the affair, and continuing absent more than three months after it had happened, he had his facts from *hearsay*! This is badly urged to sustain a document like the affidavit, which is nothing else but hearsay; in fact, the whole history of the transaction rests upon a tradition.

That the patriotic general was somewhere, and by somebody, most barbarously mutilated, is most certain; but that Oliver De Lancey was not the officer by whom, or by whose assent or connivance, it was done, is, I think, incontestibly proven by the evidence Mr. Cooper has adduced.

BROOKLYN, May 23, 1848.

#### VINDEX.

#### THE OPATA LANGUAGE.

In the last number of the *Magazine* was given a vocabulary of the language of one of the tribes of Sonora, to which another is now added, taken from a chapter on the natural history of that country, in a work written anonymously, a century since, by a Jesuit Father. Mr. Buckingham Smith, in whose possession the manuscript is, be-

lieves this to be the classification of these tongues, according to the information he has found in the writings of the early Spanish missionaries:

*Family*.—Dóhme.

*Language*.—Pima.

*Dialects*.—Opata, Heve, Nevome, Papagos, &c.

#### VOCABULARY OF THE OPATA.

- Acorn, *cusit*.  
 Ant, the red, *arit*; the black, *mochó*.  
 Badger, *batepi, churei*.  
 Bear, *mava, pisim*.  
 Beetle, *teura*.  
 Cardinal, *churu*.  
 Centipede, *masigat*; another spider, *quitoc*.  
 Cony, *tabu*.  
 Coyote, *quo*.  
 Crabapple-tree, *gori*; a word from the Hiaqui, meaning people or Spaniard.  
 Deer, *maso*; the larger, *sua*.  
 Dove, *cui*; turtle, *occoi*.  
 Eagle, *pichuchu, pague*; the double-headed, of Indian tradition, *scipipiraque*.  
 Fox, *cao*. Goat, the wild, *cabida*.  
 Grape, *huraque*.  
 Hare, *paro*.  
 Hawk, *tuaguara*; the lesser, *doguetaguara*.  
 Humming-bird, *scmu*.  
 Lechuguilla, *cu*.  
 Lion, *naidoguat*.  
 Lizard, *sacra*.  
 Locust, *hupithui*.  
 Mezcal, *vitro*.  
 Mezquite, *quiot*; the gum, *quiochucat*; the pod, *pechit*; the spume, *quiosposore*.  
 Millet, *saqui*.  
 Mocking-bird, *tzepa*. Mountain, *caqui*.  
 Mulberry-tree, *balivo*.  
 Ounce, *guaicuri*.  
 Owl, *muku, teramu nacamud*.  
 Palmilla, *sot*.  
 Pecaari, *mutza*.  
 Pigeon, *cui*.  
 Pine leaf, *ocasaguat*.  
 Pitalaya, the fruit, *ychibo, saquaro*.  
 Poison-tree, whence flows the sap used to anoint arrows, *mayo*.  
 Prickly pear, *nabu*.  
 Quail, *coitzi*; others, *chacach, cucu, cocca*.  
 Rattlesnake, *co*; another, *sudaco*.  
 Reed-grass, *baquiigo*; reed, *tamitz*.  
 Root, *naquat*.  
 Sage, *salvia, hoguisegua*.  
 Scorpion, *tomocogo*.  
 Sheep, the wild, *teleso*.  
 Skunk, *doriquino*.  
 Snake, black, *coro*; coral and black, *macap*; whip, *setaqui*; painted, *vabome*; dark, *ovisimo*.  
 Squash, *camat*; long-necked, *laborat, sosoc*.  
 Squirrel, *hori, jusas, kupa, vacakupa*.  
 Tarantula, *quitoc*.  
 Thorn, *gutzat*.  
 Tiger, *tutzi*.  
 Turkey, *chiqui*.  
 Viper, *becco*. Water, *va, (vac?)*  
 Watermelon, *hisicamat*, i. e., Spanish squash.  
 Wild-eat, *poro*. Wild-fig, *susata*.  
 Wolf, *teona*.

A RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOUTH SEA, MADE BY THE RIVERS OF NEW FRANCE.

SENT FROM QUEBEC BY FATHER DABLON, SUPERIOR-GENERAL OF THE MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, AUGUST 1, 1674.

Two years ago, our governor, the Count de Frontenac, and M. Talon, then our intendant, deemed it important to apply themselves to the discovery of the South Sea, after that made of the North Sea. The chief object of which was to know in what sea emptied the great river of which the Indians tell so many stories, and which is five hundred leagues from here beyond the Ottawas. For this design they could not select a person better qualified than the Sieur Jolliet, who had already made several excursions into those parts; and, in fact, he has fulfilled that commission with all the generosity, address, and discretion, that can be desired.

Having arrived at the Ottawas, M. Jolliet joined Father Marquette, who was waiting for that, and who had long premeditated the enterprise, they often having concerted it together.

They set out with five other Frenchmen in the early part of June, 1673, to enter countries where no European had ever set foot. Having set out from Green Bay, at 43° 40' N., they sailed on a very gentle and agreeable river for near sixty leagues west-southwest. There they found the portage that they sought; this portage of half a league, was to enable them to pass from that river to another, coming from the northwest, on which having embarked and sailed forty leagues, to the southwest, they at last found themselves on the 10th of June at 42½°, and happily entered that famous river which the Indians call Mississippi, as if to say *Great River*, because in fact it is the most considerable of all in that country. It comes from a great distance to the north, according to the account of the Indians. It is beautiful, and generally a fourth of a league wide. Its width is still greater at points where it is intersected by islands, which are nevertheless quite rare. It has ten fathoms water, and runs on very gently till it receives the waters of another great river coming from the west-northwest, about 38° N. Then swollen with these two waters, it becomes very rapid, and has a current so impetuous, that in coming up you cannot make over four or five leagues a day, paddling from morning to night.

It is wooded on both sides to the sea. The trees seen there are a kind of cottonwood, of extraordinary size and height. The Indians use them to make canoes all in one piece, fifty feet long, by three wide, in which thirty men with their equipage can embark. They work them to a greater thinness than we do ours; and

they have so many, that you see as many as a hundred and eighty in a single town.

Among the nations who inhabit this country, some are placed near the great river, others more inland. Our travellers counted more than forty towns, most of which were composed of from sixty to eighty cabins. There were even found towns of three hundred cabins—such as that of the Illinois, which comprises more than 8000 souls. All the Indians of these countries seem of a good disposition; they are affable and obliging.

Our Frenchmen experienced the effects of this civility in the first town that they entered; for there they were presented with a smoking staff, three feet long, adorned and surrounded with feathers of different sorts. The offering of the pipe is of great significance among these people, because the calumet is a kind of passport and safeguard to go in assurance everywhere without their daring to insult in any way those who bear this kind of caduceus. You have but to show it and your life is secured even in the heat of combat. As there is a staff of peace, so there is one of war, which differ only in the color of the feathers with which they are trimmed; red being the sign of war, and the other colors a sign of peace.

There would be many things to say of this staff, as well as of the manners and customs of these nations. While awaiting the full account, we shall only say that the women there are very reserved. They, with the old men, have the care of tilling the ground, and when sowing is over, the men go all together to hunt wild cattle, on which they live. They make clothes of their skins, which they dress with a kind of earth, that serves also as a dye.

The soil is so fertile, that they have three crops of corn a year. It produces spontaneously fruits unknown to us, and which are excellent: grapes, plums, apples, mulberries, chestnuts, pomegranates, and many others, are gathered everywhere, and almost at all times; for winter is known here almost entirely by the heavy rain that falls in that season.

Prairies and forests equally divide the country, which furnishes splendid pasturage to a great many animals of different kinds. The wild cattle do not take flight at the approach of man. Father Marquette counted four hundred in a single band. Stags, does, and deers, are found almost at every step. Turkeys strut on almost every side. Parrots fly in flocks of ten or twelve. Quail start up in the prairie at every moment.

Amid this beautiful country our travellers passed, advancing on the great river to 33° N., and going almost always south. From time to time they met Indians, by whom they were well received, by the favor of their caduceus or smoking staff (*baton de petunoir*). Towards the end of their

voyage they learned from them that they were only three days distant, then only two; that they should take the left, and that they had only fifty leagues to reach the sea.

Then it was that Father Marquette and Sieur Jolliet deliberated what they should do. Was it expedient to go on? Was there no fear, if they proceeded, of falling into the hands of the Spaniards of Florida, and thus exposing their French companions to the evident danger of losing their lives? If, on the other hand, they were arrested and held as prisoners, they would lose the fruit of their labors, and be unable even to communicate the knowledge of their captivity to the government at Quebec.

These reasons induced them to retrace their steps, after informing themselves well of all that can be desired in such a juncture. Yet they did not follow absolutely the same route, and at the end of November reached Green Bay; but by a different path than the first, and with no other guide than their compass.

We cannot give this year all the details that we would desire on so important a discovery, because Sieur Jolliet, who was bringing back the Relation, with a very exact map of these new countries, lost it by being wrecked above Sault St. Louis, near Montreal; for after passing more than forty no less dangerous rapids, he was scarcely able, in the last, to save his life, which he disputed with the waters over four hours. Yet here is what we could glean from what he related to us. Next year we shall give a full relation. Father Marquette having kept a copy of that which has been lost, we shall see in it many things capable of satisfying the curious and the geographers in the difficulties they may have as to the position of these quarters of North America.

While awaiting the journal of this traveller, we may make the following remarks on the utility of this discovery:

The first is, that it opens to us a great road for the publication of the Faith, and gives us access to very numerous nations, very docile and well inclined to receive it. They have, in fact, testified a great desire to receive the Father as soon as possible; and have, in advance, received with respect the first words of life that he has announced to them. The various languages of these nations do not alarm our missionaries; some of them already understand and speak passably the language of the Illinois, who are the first you meet along the river, and it is among them that Father Marquette has begun to establish the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

The second remark regards the term of their voyage, or otherwise the mouth of the river which they have discovered. Father Marquette and Sieur Jolliet do not doubt but that it is on the

Gulf of Mexico, which washes the coasts of Florida. It cannot be the sea of Virginia (Chesapeake Bay), which is on the east, and at 34° at most; while they travelled to 33°, and yet did not get within fifty leagues of the sea. Nor can it be the Red Sea (Gulf of California), which is on the west, because their course almost always south kept them away from it. It must, then, be in Florida, which is between the two, and the Mississippi, on which our Frenchmen sailed, is very probably that river marked and called by geographers the *Espiritu Santo*.

The third remark is, that if the term of this discovery had been the Gulf of California, it would at the same time have opened the way to the Sea of Japan and China, which would have been very advantageous. Yet we must not despair of attaining it by means of the Mississippi. In fact, as you find on ascending the Mississippi another river emptying in it at 38°, as we have said, perhaps we shall arrive, by that river, to some lake that discharges its waters to the west. We have the better ground for this hope, as all these countries are full of lakes, and intersected by rivers which give them wonderful communication with each other, as we may judge by what we see. . . .

The fourth remark concerns a very important advantage, and which some will perhaps find it hard to credit; it is that we can quite easily go to Florida in boats and by a very good navigation. There would be but one canal to make, by cutting only one half a league of prairie to pass from the Lake of the Illinois (Michigan) into St. Louis river (Des Plaines). The route to be taken is this: the bark should be built on Lake Erie, which is near Lake Ontario; it would pass easily from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, from which it would enter the Lake of the Illinois. At the extremity of this lake would be the cut or canal of which I have spoken, to have a passage to St. Louis river, which empties into the Mississippi. The bark having thus entered this river, would sail easily to the Gulf of Mexico. Fort Catarokoui, which the Count de Frontenac has erected on Lake Ontario, would greatly favor this enterprise, because it would facilitate the communication from Quebec to Lake Erie, from which this fort is not very far distant; and but for a waterfall which separates Lake Erie from Lake Ontario, a bark built at Catarokoui could go to Florida by the routes of which I have spoken.

The fifth remark regards the great advantages there would be in founding new colonies in such beautiful countries, and such fertile soil. Hear what Sieur Jolliet says: "When they first spoke to us of these lands without trees, I figured to myself a burned up country, where the soil was so wretched that it would produce nothing. But we have seen the reverse, and no better can be



found either for wheat, or the vines, or any fruit whatever. The river to which we have given the name of St. Louis, and which has its source not far from the extremity of the Lake of the Illinois, seemed to me to offer on its banks very fine lands, well suited to receive settlements. The place, by which after leaving the river you enter the lake, is a very convenient bay to hold vessels and protect them from the wind. The river is large and deep, full of barbels and sturgeon; game is found in abundance on its banks; the wild cattle, cows, stags, turkeys, appear there much more than elsewhere. During the space of eighty leagues I was not a quarter of an hour without seeing some. There are prairies there, six, ten, and twenty leagues long, and three wide, surrounded by forests of equal extent, beyond which the prairies begin again, so that there is as much of one as of the other. Sometimes you find very low grass, sometimes you see it five or six feet high; hemp, which grows up spontaneously there, runs up eight feet.

A settler would not spend ten years in cutting down wood and burning it; the very day of his arrival he could put plough to earth, and if he had not French cattle, he might use those of the country, or those animals used by the western Indians, on which they ride as we do on horses. After sowing all kinds of grain, the new settlers could then turn their attention to planting the vine, and grafting fruit trees, dressing buffalo skins of which they would make shoes; and of their wool they would make stuff, much finer than those brought to us from France. Thus they would find wherewith to feed and clothe themselves; nothing would be wanting but salt, but it would not be difficult with a little foresight to obviate this inconvenience."

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### Societies and their Proceedings.

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**BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**—*Boston, June 7, 1861.*—The monthly meeting of this Society was held on the above date, the Vice-president occupying the chair.

After the reading of the Secretary's report, Mr. Pratt presented to the Society a copy of Snowden's work on the "Medals of Washington," for which the usual vote of thanks was passed.

Mr. Fisher exhibited a small bronze medal of the French Revolution, of Feb., 1848; which is peculiarly interesting, as it was taken from the body of a French soldier, who was killed at Rome the next year, 1849. Mr. Colburn exhibited a beautiful set of Lord Baltimore's silver money,

and a curious silver medal, struck in 1588, to commemorate the destruction of the Spanish armada. Mr. Davenport exhibited a specimen of Chinese paper money.

The meeting spent an hour in animated and useful discussion of subjects of numismatic interest, and adjourned at 5½ p. m.

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—*July 3, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting was held Wednesday afternoon, at the rooms of the Society, No. 13 Bromfield-street, President Lewis, in the chair.

The Librarian, Mr. John H. Sheppard, reported that since the previous meeting there had been donated to the Society four bound volumes, one hundred and thirty-three pamphlets, eleven newspapers, five lithographs, and two pictures.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. John Ward Dean, reported that he had received letters accepting membership, to which they had been elected, from the following gentlemen, viz.: As Resident, Rev. Samuel J. Spaulding, of Newburyport, Mass.; as Honorary, Sir Frederick Madden, F. R. S., &c., of London, Eng.; as Corresponding, John Meigs, Esq., of Nashville, Tenn., William Ewing Du Bois, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa., and Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Esq., of Jamaica, L. I.

George Kent, Esq., read a most interesting paper on Fruits and Flowers, showing the connection between them and the social and moral culture of the mind and arts. The thanks of the Society were passed for the paper, and a copy requested for the archives.

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### NEW YORK.

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—*New York, June 18, 1861.*—An adjourned meeting was held this day according to custom, the Hon. Luther Bradish, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, and several contributions reported; among others, some muster-rolls of the Revolution.

Henry B. Dawson, Esq., of Morrisania, read a very animated and interesting paper on the Battle of Harlem Plains. This account showed long and careful documentary research, and a careful study of the topography of the portion of New York Island on which the engagement took place.

The engagement was of far more importance than has been generally supposed, and Mr. Dawson deserves credit for giving the battle of Harlem Plains, and the gallant men engaged in it, their proper place in our annals.

On the 16th Sept., 1776, the advanced guard

of the American line was driven in by the advance of a superior English force. Col. Knowlton reporting this to General Washington, asked to be supported, relying upon the alacrity of his men to drive them back. General Washington accordingly planned an engagement, making an attack in front as a feint to draw the enemy down, while Major Leitch, of Virginia, climbing the high rocks on the Hudson river side was to attack them in the rear and Col. Knowlton's Connecticut regiment advancing up Martje Davit's Fly, was to do the same on their right. The soldiers did their work gallantly, and the enemy were driven back from their successive positions, and were not able to make a decided stand until the English reserve was brought up. The Americans then withdrew, and the enemy were too severely handled to think of molesting them on their return to the main body.

This action, in which the English admitted 14 killed and 78 wounded, and the Americans lost Colonel Knowlton, on the field, with sixteen men, and Major Leitch and others wounded, restored the confidence of the American army, and wiped away from the shield of Connecticut the stain cast upon it by the cowardice of her sons the day before.

Gen. Wetmore moved the vote of thanks, expressing his satisfaction at a paper so properly within the sphere of the Society's investigations. He had himself spent some time in ascertaining the localities, especially the grave of Knowlton, and agreed with Mr. Dawson, as to the spot. Few New Yorkers even, were aware of the stirring events enacted on the island; and such papers as draw attention to them, deserve all praise.

Dr. Gardner, of the committee appointed at the last meeting, reported Resolutions on the late Senator Douglas, which were passed.

Adjourned.

April 25, 1861.—A special meeting of the Society was held at the Library, the Hon. Luther Bradish, in the chair.

Major Spragne, U. S. A., lately held a prisoner by the Texans, whose frontiers he had been so gallantly guarding, read a highly interesting and important account of the means by which the loyal officers and troops were ensnared in Texas, giving a lifelike picture of the positions of the different forts and frontier posts.

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—*N. Y.*, June 11, 1861.—This Society held their June meeting, on the above date, at the residence of the President, George Folsom, LL. D., who occupied the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Squier, read a letter from the Hon. P. Randolph Clay, late minister to Peru, accompanying a vocabulary,

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procured by him, of the inhabitants of the village of Eten, on the coast of that country, a short distance from the town of Lambayeque.

"The village," said the letter, "existed prior to the time of the Spaniards. The inhabitants do not fraternize with the Cholos (or countrymen around them), and do not intermarry with them." Mr. Clay had no opportunity to observe them particularly, and only obtained a few reports of them from others. Whether they have any marked peculiarities in appearance, manners, or customs, he did not ascertain. Their language, however, was said to be wholly different from any other in Peru; and he was told that the people are able to converse with the *Chinese Coolies!*

Mr. Squier remarked that he could discover no relation in the two hundred words in Mr. Clay's vocabulary, with the Quicha, the native Peruvian tongue.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Clay for his communication.

The Recording Secretary read a letter from Ex-governor Roberts, of Monrovia, Liberia, accompanying a handsome Arabic manuscript of fourteen pages, which he had procured, at his request, from a Mandingo trader from the interior.

Mr. Cotheal, who had read the manuscript, reported that it contained nothing but detached sentences from the Mohammedan religion, and the traditions and superstitions taught in their schools, in which the writer had doubtless been educated. The manuscript resembled that received from President Benson several months since. They were now both laid before the Society, and appeared to have been written by the same hand. The paper on which both are written, is American, and bears the stamp of "Owen & Hurlbut, South Lee, Mass."

Mr. Dwight mentioned, that he first heard from Gov. Roberts, about twenty years ago, that men from the interior sometimes visited Liberia, with written volumes in their possession; and, in kind compliance with his repeated requests, that gentleman has now procured and sent him one. Both he and President Benson appear to have met with the same man. We may hope for something in future more important. The educated natives may naturally suppose that what they learn in the Mohammedan schools, by long study, is more valuable than facts and objects around them, which they are familiar with. Such a writer would probably be able and willing to note down accounts of geography, manners, languages, &c., and Mr. D. has again written, and more urgently, for information of this kind, hoping thus to procure what enterprising explorers in Africa have often sought in vain, and sometimes with the sacrifice of their lives.

Among the matter received or in preparation, and intended to be laid before the Society hereafter, are papers and notes on the Caffres, Hottentots, and Bushmen, of South Africa, by C. H. Caldecott, a gentleman of English parentage, but a native of Caffreland, and an inhabitant of that country for twenty-four years; "Traditions, &c., of the Iroquois," by Dr. Wilson; "Surveys and descriptions of ancient mounds in Ohio," by Mr. Wyrick; "A dictionary of the Pima language, and a description of their country," by Mr. Buckingham Smith; "Late accounts concerning the Pitcairn Islanders," &c.

A paper on the "Hebrew-inscribed stones found in Ohio," was read by the Rev. Dr. Fischell, a Jewish minister of this city.

The learned gentleman enumerated in detail numerous internal evidences furnished by the second stone, which bears a sculptured figure of a Jewish priest in costume, with the name of Moses over it, and about 256 other characters, all in a peculiar alphabet, which can be read after some study, though not exactly corresponding with any other yet known. They form an abstract of the Ten Commandments. He mentioned ten errors or imperfections in the inscriptions, from which, after many remarks, which proved his learning, research, and ability, he came to the conclusion, that the engraver of this stone was neither a Hebrew nor a man of much knowledge; that the stone was used as an amulet, according to some superstitious ideas relating to astrology; that an imitation of the tables of stone was had in view, in forming the stone, and inclosing it in a box or "ark;" that the materials employed being those found among the minerals of that part of Ohio (Licking county), seemed to indicate that it had been carved and engraved on the spot; but that no sufficient ground is yet afforded to form any reasonable conjecture respecting either the persons or people who made it, its precise date, or any thing else connected with its history. Dr. F. expressed a strong wish that the mounds should be still further explored, as there must exist probably in some of them, objects of great interest to science.

A vote of thanks was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Smith, at the request of Mr. Moore, informed the Society that Señor Delgado, the well-known Spanish archaeologist, expressed to him a very lively interest in a copy of the little inscribed stone, discovered about twenty years ago, in the great mound of Grave Creek, near the bank of the Ohio, in Virginia. Mr. S. had given him the copy, which he had received while in Madrid, while secretary of the American legation. Señor D. pronounced it a genuine antique, said the characters resembled the most ancient Phœnician inscriptions found in Spain,

and that he clearly recognized all but three, one of which he afterwards examined. He did not make out any word, but thought it an ancient amulet or charm.

Mr. Spencer proposed that a correspondence should be opened with Señor Delgado, on the subject; and the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Squier, was requested to cart him all the facts relating to it, in possession of the Society.

A paper on the "Position of our Species in the Path of Destiny, or the comparative Infancy of Man and of the Earth as his Home," was read by the Vice-president, Mr. Ewbanks. The author presented in much detail facts and opinions relative to the progress of men of different countries and periods of knowledge and condition, and the adaptation of nature to the various wants and circumstances of our species; enlivening some of the more dry and speculative divisions of his subject with pleasing fables and poetical expressions. On account of the length of the paper, Mr. E. deferred the reading of the concluding part for a future occasion.

A "Circular Stone" from the Sandwich Islands, perfectly shaped and highly polished, in the form of a disk, was exhibited by Mr. Gulick, who described the manner of making it by the natives. The process was simply that of rubbing on a harder stone, and the eye was the only guide. He thought some of the rounded stones before exhibited, taken from our earthen mounds, were made in the same manner, and that no instrument or process above the reach of a savage need be supposed necessary to produce them.

Mr. Dwight mentioned that Mr. Gulick, a missionary in Micronesia, has recently written a notice of several voyages made by natives in their canoes, without compass, and by their skill alone, as affording additional evidence of the probability that America was peopled, at least in part, from Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Mr. Gulick (who has resided in the Sandwich Islands) alluded to canoe-voyages formerly made from the South Sea Islands to the Sandwich, by men whose descendants are now living in the latter.

Letters were read from the Rev. John M. McCarty, of Newark, O.; Dr. Peter Wilson, Ex-governor Roberts, and others.

Baron Sternberg, was elected a corresponding member.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Providence, July 3, 1861.*—The quarterly meeting of this Society was held at the Cabinet, on Waterman-street, on the above afternoon, the President, A. G. Greene, Esq., in the chair. The record of

the last meeting was read by the Secretary, Mr. Sidney S. Rider. Donations were announced by the Librarian, Rev. E. M. Stone, from Samuel C. Eastman, Concord, N. H.; Charles I. Bushnell, N. Y.; Essex Institute, American Antiquarian Society, John Ward Dean, Boston; J. B. Bright, Mass.; E. M. Stone, Samuel S. Wells, John R. Bartlett, Walker Humphry, A. S. Gallup, Mrs. Cowell, A. G. Greene, Usher Parsons, of Providence; Joseph Manton, and the family of the late Edward Dexter.

Among the objects of interest presented for the cabinet, were a Hessian sword-bayonet, from Mr. Samuel S. Wells, bearing on the blade, "Frederick II., Landgraf zu Hessen;" from the Dexter family, a porcelain punch-bowl of 110 years standing, a handsome large plate of the same material 100 years old, and a metal plate of English manufacture, which is known to have been in the family 170 years, and probably belonged to Gregory Dexter; from Mr. Gallup, a soldier's breast-plate, found on the field of battle of 1815, at New Orleans, and worn by a British soldier of one of the advance regiments. A corner of it was carried away by a cannon-shot, showing that its wearer must have been killed. The sword-bayonet has a strong brass hilt, with a straight, double-edged blade, about the length of an ordinary dress-sword, and must have been very effective in a charge. Of its early history nothing is known, but it was probably brought to this country with the Hessian troops during the Revolutionary War; and furnishes evidence that the sword-bayonet is not a modern French invention. The punch-bowl had evidently seen much service, but the fractures had been carefully repaired, thus preserving a venerable relic of an ancient social custom.

On motion of Rev. E. M. Stone, the Secretary was directed to communicate the thanks of the Society to Mrs. Cowell, A. S. Gallup, Mrs. Mary Tibbetts, and the family of the late Edward Dexter, for their very acceptable donations.

Thomas A. Jenckes, Abraham Payne, John F. P. Lawton, Edward H. Robinson, Thomas P. Ives, Nicholas Brown, and Rufus Waterman, were elected resident members of the Society.

Wingate Hayes, Esq., Dr. Usher Parsons, and Rev. E. M. Stone, were chosen a committee to obtain certain papers of Gov. Nicholas Cooke, for deposit in the archives of the Society.

The President read a paper copied by the late venerable President of the Society, John Howland, from the original documents, comprising a sketch of Gov. Stephen Hopkins, and published in the *Literary Journal*, in 1838.

Adjourned.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

TWO LETTERS BY JOHN ADAMS ON STATE SOVEREIGNTY.—

NEW YORK, May 26, 1789.

DEAR SIR: I am this evening favored with yours of the 18. In answer to your question, I ask another. Where is the Sovereignty of the Nation lodged? Is it in the National Government, or in the State Governments? Are there more Sovereignities than one? if there are more than one there are eleven, if there are eleven there is no general Government, for there cannot be eleven sovereignties against one. Are not the Constitution and Laws of the United States, the Supreme law of the Land? if so, the supreme Magistrate of the United States, is the supreme Magistrate of the Land. This would be enough to determine your question. But if practice is consulted, the clergy here, of all denominations, pray for the President, V. President, Senate and Rep's of the National Government, first: then for the Governors, Lt. Governors, Senators, and Rep's of the State Governments. This is a grave example indeed, considering it is adduced to determine a question about facts. The Governors of Pennsylvania and New York have decidedly yielded precedence, both to the President and Vice President. The Governor of Pennsylvania has even yielded it to a Senator. The foreign Ambassadors, and all Companies give place to the Vice President next to the President, and to both before all the rest of the world. It is etiquette that governs the world. If the precedence of the President, and consequently, Vice President, is not decidedly yielded by every Governor upon the Continent, in my opinion, Congress had better disperse and go home. For my own part I am resolved, the moment it is determined that any Governor is to take rank either of President or V. P., I will quit and go home, for it would be a shameful deceit and imposition upon the People to hold out to them hopes of doing them service when I shall know it to be impossible. If the People are so ignorant of the Alphabet as to mistake A. for B. and B. for C., I am sure, while that ignorance remains they will never be learned enough to read. It is Rank that decides Authority.

The Constitution has instituted two great officers of equal Rank, and the Nation at large in pursuance of it, have created two officers: one, who is the first of the two equals, is placed at the head of the Executive; the other at the head of the Legislative. If a Governor has Rank of one,

be must of course of both. This would give a decided superiority to State Governments, and annihilate the sovereignty of the National Government. It is a thing so clear, that nobody this way has doubted it. None will ever doubt it, but those who wish to annul the National Government.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

His Honour, Lt. Governor LINCOLN.

NEW YORK, June 19, 1789.

DEAR SIR: I am honoured with yours of the 29th May; and find we are well agreed in opinion in all points.

Nothing since my return to America, has alarmed me so much as those habits of fraud in the use of language which appear in conversation and in public writings. Words are employed like paper money to cheat the widow and the fatherless and every honest man. The word Aristocracy is one instance, tho' I cannot say that there is no colour for objection against the Constitution, that it has too large a proportion of Aristocracy in it. Yet there are two checks to the Senate evidently designed and prepared, the House of Representatives on one side and the President on the other. Now the only feasible remedy against this danger is to complete the equilibrium by making the Executive power distinct from the Legislative, and the President as independent of the other branches as they are of him. But the cry of monarchy is kept up, in order to deter the People from recurring to the true remedy, and to force them into another which would be worse than the disease, *i. e.*, into an entire reliance on the popular Branch, and a rejection of the other two. A remarkable instance of this, I lately read in the message of the Governor to the House. The attention and affections of the People are there turned to their Representatives only, and very artfully terrified with the Phantoms of Monarchy and Despotism. Does he mean to intimate that there is danger of a Despotism? or of simple Monarchy? or would he have the People afraid of a limited Monarchy? In truth Mr. H. [Hancock] himself is a limited monarch. The Constitution of Massachusetts is a limited monarchy. So is the new Constitution of the United States. Both have very great monarchical powers, and the real defects of both are, that they have not enough to make the first magistrate an independent and effectual balance to the other Branches. But does Mr. H. mean to confound these limited monarchical powers with Despotism and simple Monarchy which have no limits? Does he wish and mean to level all things and become the rival of General Shays? The idea of an equal distribution of intelligence and property is as extravagant as

any that ever was avowed by the maddest of the insurgents. Another instance of the false coin, or rather paper money in circulation, is the phrase "Confederated republic" and "Confederated Commonwealth." The new Constitution might, in my opinion, with as much propriety be denominated judicial Astrology. My old friend, your Lieut. Governor, in his devout ejaculation for the new Government, very carefully preserves the idea of a confederated Commonwealth, and the *independent* States that compose it. Either his ideas or mine are totally wrong upon this subject. In short Mr. A. [Samuel Adams] in his prayer, and Mr. H. in his message, either understood not the force of the words they have used, or they have made the most insidious attack upon the new Constitution that has yet appeared. With two such popular characters at the head of Massachusetts, so near to Rhode Island; with Governor Clinton at the head of New York, and Governor Henry in Virginia, so near to North Carolina, there is some reason to be jealous. A convulsion with such men engaged openly, or secretly, in favor of it would be a serious evil. I hope, however, that my fears are groundless, and have too much charity for all of them to imagine that they mean to disturb the peace of our Israel.

With great regard,

I am, Sir, your most obt.

JOHN ADAMS.

General LINCOLN.

SIR CHARLES FRANKLIN.—At a late meeting of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, the Rev. Mr. Nason, of Natick, read a memoir in manuscript of Sir Charles H. Franklin, who was collector of the port of Boston in the reign of George II. He was the great-great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, and was born in 1717, at the seat of the family in Thistlebury, North Riding of Yorkshire, where the baronet, his descendant, now resides. In 1747, as the fourth baronet, he inherited the baronetcy. He had his choice of the two most desirable appointments in the Massachusetts colony, the governorship of the colony or the collectorship of Boston; and he chose the latter. While in Boston he was a worshipper in the old King's Chapel, and contributed £50 towards the erection of a new building.

While here he had occasion to visit Marblehead, and there saw a young girl of sixteen years, with raven ringlets, scrubbing the floor, but beneath the homely attire he discovered a matchless beauty. She was a working girl at the tavern, and apparently one of the lowest class. Her name was Agnes Surrage, although it appears in the records as Agnes Brown. There is now in

the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a record of her baptism, April 17, 1726. He accosted her, and gave her money to buy shoes with, as she was barefooted, and then he left, bearing in his heart the remembrance of her beauty. Some time after he could not help returning, he found her as before, barefooted, and when he asked her if she had not done with the money as he wished, she replied that she had bought the shoes, but kept them to wear to meeting. Struck with her wit, her good sense, her beauty, he sought her parents, who were very poor, and obtained leave to remove her to Boston as his ward. In Boston he placed her at school, clothed her in the best, and in every way sought to develop her body and mind. Deeply in love with her, and himself an accomplished and graceful young man, he succeeded in winning her affections. It grieved him greatly that his family position, and the barriers raised by society around titled persons prevented him from marrying her, and she finally consented to become his mistress.

The indignation which this caused among the social circles was great, and he determined to transfer his home elsewhere. Rev. Roger Price had taken up lands in Hopkinton, and Sir Charles Franklin obtained one hundred and thirty acres of it, and built upon it a fine mansion, which he surrounded with every luxury and beauty. Thither he transferred his Agnes and some of his boon companions. As collector he had access to the best wines, and in their festal bouts he used a glass of double thickness, which did not contain much more than half as much as those of his companions.

That glass is in existence, and the reader of the manuscript exhibited one of the wine-glasses used by his companions on those occasions. The latter was a bowl the shape and size of our ordinary wine-glasses, but with the shaft some four inches long, of red and white tinted glass.

Subsequently, Sir Charles Franklin was appointed consul-general to Portugal, and took Agnes with him. In England she was not well received, and they went to Lisbon and commenced a life of gayety.

Mr. Nason here read extensive extracts from the diary kept at Lisbon by the baronet, the first time that the word *God* appeared in it being subsequent to the great earthquake, which produced a change in the character of the baronet. At the time of the earthquake, Sir Charles was abroad in his carriage, when the horses were swallowed in the opening earth, and the carriage covered with the ruins of falling buildings. There he lay in a living tomb for some time, expecting to be crushed to death every moment. In the agony of that hour, a young Spanish girl, who was with him, bit through his scarlet coat a piece of flesh.

The coat was afterward brought to Hopkinton. While in this dangerous position, the evils of his past life came to his mind forcibly, and he resolved to live a better life should he be saved. Meantime his faithful Agnes was abroad in search of him, and being providentially led to the spot, where, hearing his voice, she offered large rewards for his rescue. He was finally extricated, taken to a friend's house, and, faithful to his vow, he the next day after led Agnes to the hymeneal altar, and they were married by a Catholic priest. Afterwards, in England, the ceremony was again performed by a rector of the Episcopal church.

From England he came again to America, purchased a house on Garden-Court-street, of great magnificence in that day, and residing here for some time, Lady Franklin's career as a wife making her a general favorite. He died in Bath, England, 1768. She returned to Boston, and from her splendid house witnessed the battle of Bunker Hill. In 1782 she married John Drew, a wealthy baronet of Chichester, England, and died the next year, of inflammation of the lungs. Sir Henry was very rich, owning four estates; in Hopkinton, England, Portugal, and Boston. That in Hopkinton had been greatly enlarged, and passed into the hands of various parties, and the old mansion was destroyed by fire, Jan. 23, 1858, but is being rebuilt, partly on the old model. It is now owned by Rev. Mr. Nason. The house in Boston came successively into the hands of Sarah Swain, D. Maclester, Isaac Surrage, of Hopkinton, and was purchased by John Ellis, in 1811, and torn down in 1832. A portion of a tessellated coat of arms is in the hands of Samuel Ellis, and Dr. Winslow Lewis has other relics of the family. The baronet died without issue, except a natural son, who reached a somewhat elevated position. Who his other parent was is not certain, but her last record of him was in England, in 1796.

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New York, in 1700.—Morden's "Geography Rectified," published in London in 1700, contains the following account of New York:

"New York contains all that Tract of Land, which is seated between New England, Virginia, Mary-Land, and the length of which Northward into the Country, as it hath not been fully discovered, so 'tis not certainly known, but in general it extends to the Banks of the great River Canada, East and West, its breadth is accounted two hundred Miles, comprehending also that Tract of Land, which is between Hudson's River, and Delaware River, called New Jersey.

Its principal Rivers are Hudson's River toward the East, Raritan River about the middle, and Delaware River on the West, its chiefest Islands

are Long-Island, Manhattens-Island, and Staten-Island.

It was so called from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the Proprietor thereof by Grant from his Majesty, Anno 1664. Who the same year grants and conveys out of it that aforesaid Tract of Land, and Premises which is between Hudson's River, and Delaware River, unto John Lord Berkley, and Sir George Cartaret, jointly by the name of New Cesarea or New Jarsey. So that New York now contains only that part of New England, which the Dutch formerly seized, and called it the New Netherland, and Nova Belgia, lying between Hudson's and Connecticut Rivers on the Continent, with the Islands of Manhatten, and Long-Island, opposite thereunto.

Manhattens Island, so called by the Indians, it lyeth betwixt the Degrees of forty one and forty two North Latitude, and is about fourteen Miles long, and two broad, whose chief place is New York, seated upon the South end of the aforesaid Island, having a small Arm of the Sea, which divides it from Long-Island, on the East side of it, which runs Eastward to New England, and is Navigable, though dangerous.

Hudson's River runs by New York Northward into the Country, toward the Head of which is seated New Albany, a place of great Trade with the Indians, betwixt which and New York, being above one hundred Miles, is as good Corn-Land as the World affords, enough to entertain hundreds of Families, in the time of the Dutch Government of those parts. At Sopers was kept a Garrison, but since the reduction of those parts under his Majesties Obedience, by the care of the Honourable Colonel Nichol's, Deputy to his Highness, such a League of peace was made, and Friendship concluded betwixt that Colony and the Indians, that they have not resisted or disturbed any Christians there, in the settling or peaceable possession of any Lands with this Government, but every man hath sate under his own Vine, and hath peaceably reapt and enjoyed the Fruits of their own labors, which God continue.

New York is built most of Brick and Stone, and covered with red and Black Tile, and the Land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing Aspect to the Spectators. The Inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch and have a considerable Trade with the Indians, for Bevers, Otter, Raccoon Skins, and other furs; as also for Bear, Deer, and Elk Skins; and are supplied with Venison and Fowl in the Winter and Fish in the summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easie rate; and having the Country round about them, they are continually furnished with all such provisions, as are needful for the life of Man, not only by the English and Dutch within their own but likewise by the Adjacent Colonies.

The Commodities vented from thence are Furs and Skins before mentioned; as likewise Tobacco made within the Colony, as good as is usually made in Mary-Land: Also Horses, Beef, Pork, Oyl, Pease, Wheat, and the like.

*Long Island*, The West end of which lies Southward of New York, runs Eastward about one hundred Miles, and in some places is eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen Miles broad; it is inhabited from one end to the other. On the west end are four or five Dutch Towns, the rest being all English to the number of twelve, besides Villages and Farm-Houses. The Island is most of it of a very good soil, and very natural for all sorts of English Grain; which they sow, and have very good encrease of, besides all other Fruits and Herbs common in England, as also Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Pumpkins, Melons, &c.

There are several Navigable Rivers and Bays, which put into the Northside of Long Island, but upon the Southside which joins to the Sea, it is so fortified with Bars of Sand and shoals, that it is a sufficient defence against any Enemy, yet the Southside is not without Brooks and Rivulets, which empty themselves into the Sea; yea, you shall scarce travel a Mile, but you shall meet with one of them, whose Christal Streams run so swift, that they purge themselves of such stinking Mud and Filth, which the standing or Low-paced Streams of most Brooks and Rivers Westward of this Colony leave lying, and are by the Sun's exhalation dissipated, the Air corrupted, and many Fevers and other Distemper occasioned, not incident in this Colony: Neither do the Brooks and Rivulets premised, give way to the Frost in Winter, or Drought in Summer, but keep their course throughout the year.

Towards the middle of Long Island lyeth a Plain sixteen Miles long, and four broad, upon which grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good Hay, and is very good pasture for the Sheep or other Cattle; where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the Horse Heels, or endanger them in their Races, and once a year the best Horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest rewarded with a Silver Cup, two being annually procured for that purpose. There are two or three other small plains of about a Mile square, which are no small benefit to those Towns which enjoy them.

Upon the Southside of Long Island in the Winter, lye store of Whales and Grampusses, which the Inhabitants begin with small Boats to make a Trade, catching them to their no small benefit. Also an innumerable multitude of Seals, which make an excellent Oyl; they lie all the Winter upon small broken Marshes, and Beaches, or Bars of Sand before-mentioned, and might be easily got, were here some skilful Men would undertake it.

CORPS in AMERICA, and under Orders for the CONTINENT, *Jan. 1776.*

NOW IN AMERICA.

- 17 drag. Preston's } At Boston.
- 4 foot, Hodgson's } Taken at Chamblé the greatest part, the rest with Carleton.
- 5—Perey's } At the upper posts, Niagara, Detroit, &c.
- 7—Beartie's } at Boston.
- 8—Armstrong's } Taken the greatest part at St. John's, the rest with Carleton.
- 10—Sandford's } at Boston.
- 22—Gage's } at Boston.
- 23—Howe's } at Boston.
- 26 { Ld. W. Gordon's, late Scott's. } at Boston.
- 35—Fl. Campbell's } at Boston.
- 38—Pigot's } at Boston.
- 40—Hamilton's } at Boston.
- 43—Cary's } at Boston.
- 44—Abercrombie's } at Boston.
- 45—Haviland's } at Boston.
- 47—Carleton's } at Boston.
- 49—Maitland's } at Boston.
- 52—Clavering's } at Boston.
- 63—T. Grant's } at Boston.
- 64—Pomeroy's } at Boston.
- 65—Urmston's } at Boston and Halifax.
- Royal Artillery—At Boston, five companies, each one Captain, one Captain-Lieutenant, one First Lieutenant, three Second Lieutenants, three Serjeants, three Corporals, six Bombardiers, 12 Gunners, one Fife, two Drums, and 48 Matrosses.
- 1 Company ditto } at Quebec.
- 1 Company ditto } at Montreal, &c. part supposed to be taken.
- 1 Company ditto } at St. Augustine's.
- 1 Invalid Comp. ditto } at Newfoundland.
- Marines—intended to be made up to 2000, and it is expected that more Artillery will be sent.

INTENDED FOR THE SERVICE IN NORTH AMERICA, 1776.

- 29 foot, Evelyn's,—Now at Chatham, ordered to be in readiness to embark on board of men of war, supposed to be destined for Quebec, and to sail so as to arrive there as early as the navigation of the River St. Lawrence will admit.
- 14—Cunningham's } partly at St. Augustine's, partly with L'd Dunmore, the rest at Halifax.
- 15—Cavan's } ready to sail from Cork.

- 6—Gisborne's } at Pensacola.
- 3—Sir J. Amherst's } at Pensacola.
- 9—Ligonier's } at Pensacola.
- 11—A'Court's } at Pensacola.
- 20—Parker's } at Pensacola.
- 24—G. Cornwallis's, now Taylor's } Now ordered to be in readiness for embarkation in the spring.
- 34—Ld. F. Cavendish's } at Pensacola.
- 53—H. Elphinstone's } at Pensacola.
- 52—Strode's now Jones's } at Pensacola.
- 6—Boothby's } at Pensacola.
- 17—Monckton's } now at St. Vincent's, On their passage from Ireland, Four Companies of the 17th arrived at Boston.
- 27—Massey's } put back to Cork.
- 28—Erle's } Ready to sail from Cork,
- 33—Cornwallis's } Recruiting in Scotland.
- 37—Cootes's } 7th Company put back to Cork, the other three on their passage to Boston.
- 42—Lord Murray's } ready to sail from Cork.
- 46—Vaughan's } on their passage from Ireland.
- 54—Frederick's } ready to sail from Cork.
- 55—Ja. Grant's } raising in Scotland, to consist of 2000 men.
- 57—Irvine's } raising in America, to consist of 400 or 500 each.
- 2d batt. Fraser's corps } raising in America, to consist of 400 or 500 each.
- Goreham & M'Lean's corps } raising in America, to consist of 400 or 500 each.

N. B. The marching regiments for the American service, are to consist of 12 companies of 56 effective rank and file each company; the three Highland battalions excepted, viz. Lord John Murray's and Fraser's, which are to consist of 1000 men each.

- 16 drag. Burgoyne's } under orders for Boston.
- N. B. The present establishment of the 16th and 17th drag. exclusive of the Commissioned Officers:—two Serjeants, two Corporals, and 35 effective privates to each troop, six troops; but an augmentation is ordered of the Cornet, one Serjeant, two Corporals, and 30 privates to each troop, and to do duty on foot; no horses to be provided for this augmentation.
- 1000 of the guards to be drafted from the three regiments, and commanded by Colonel Matthews.
- Besides the above British force, it is reckoned there will be 15,000 foreign auxiliaries; and that the shipping necessary for the embarkation will be 90,000 ton.



In the *Vienna Gazette* it appears that the Court of Spain have offered their service to assist the Court of London with ships and troops to subdue the rebellious Americans.

By letters from Halifax, by the Somerset man-of-war, an account is received that Admiral Shulldhan was arrived at Boston.

*From the Gazetteer, Feb. 15, 1776.*

LAFAYETTE'S ACCOUNT OF AFFAIRS IN RHODE ISLAND, IN 1778.—Z. Allen, Esq., in a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society gave the following statement of Lafayette to him during his visit to this country:

In this State I have experienced more sudden and extreme alternations of hopes and disappointments, than during all the vicissitudes of the American war. When the French fleet arrived in Rhode Island, in the year 1778, I was assured of the certain capture of the British army in Newport, by an arranged plan for a combined attack of the American and French forces. Just at the moment of preparation, it was suddenly announced that an English fleet had appeared off the entrance to the port. I then went on board the admiral's ship, and heard the question discussed, whether the fleet should remain to co-operate with the American army in the proposed attack on the British army at Newport, or to go out to sea to attack and drive away the British fleet from the coast. The council decided in favor of the latter plan.

In answer to my inquiry, What were the reasons that led to this decision? the general replied: It was urged that by adopting the plan of attacking the enemy's fleet, a double victory might be gained by the French arms, on the sea as well as the land. Their superior fleet, in driving away the British fleet, would have a chance of cutting off two or three of their ships of the line; and on their return to Newport, the British army, besieged by sea and land, would soon yield a bloodless victory to the overpowering combined French and American forces. He continued, When I saw the French fleet sail out of the harbor, I felt the first great disappointment of my sanguine hopes; but I again began to have them revived in the expectation of seeing the fleet speedily return, with some of the British ships as prizes. But a great tempest arose soon after the first went out on the open sea, which dismasted several of the ships, and they all came back in a disabled condition.

Lafayette then proceeded to narrate an anecdote of one of his intimate friends who commanded a ship of the line, which after being dismasted, was attacked by a frigate, and was

saved from capture by the approach of another French ship. His friend told him after his return, that, for a time, he became so much excited by the very idea that a ship of a hundred cannons should be captured by a frigate, and by the belief that in the history of the event no allowance would be made for the wrecked condition of his ship, to mitigate the disgrace, that he put his pistols in his pocket with the fixed determination to shoot himself through the heart, rather than to survive the dishonor.

The British fleet was actually driven away from the coast by the French fleet as had been calculated, and two or three vessels were cut off and taken. On the return of the French fleet, he said, his hopes were revived more strongly than before of the certain capture of the British army. But these fresh hopes were excited only to be more greatly disappointed than before; for d'Estaing again held a consultation of his officers, who decided to depart immediately with the whole fleet for Boston for repairs. He continued: My most earnest entreaties for him to stay only a short time for him to finish the conquest of the British army were all in vain.

In answer to my inquiry for the reasons assigned for this second obstinate refusal to co-operate with their allies, the general replied, That the council of officers held it to be their first duty, as naval commanders, to sustain the superiority of the French fleet on the ocean, to escape being shut up in port, and subjected to destruction by fire-ships, while at anchor in their disabled condition; this all-important object could only be accomplished by losing no time in sailing for Boston before the return of the British fleet, to which port they had been ordered to go in case of necessity. He continued, When I saw the French fleet sail out of the port for the last time, and abandon the capture of the British army, I felt this to be the most bitter disappointment of all; for I believe that their capture would have produced the same decisive result of speedily terminating the American war, as was subsequently accomplished by the capture of nearly the same army in Yorktown, by the successful co-operation of the French fleet under Count de Grasse.

Lafayette finished his narrative of the exciting events of his campaign in Rhode Island by saying, that one hope still remained to him, that of inducing the French admiral to return to Newport with his fleet. To accomplish this, he said that he made the journey from Rhode Island to Boston, by relays of horses, in the shortest time that it had ever before been performed. After this effort he despaired.

To add to his chagrin, during his absence the battle of Rhode Island was fought, and he lost the chance of taking part in it. But to console

him for this disappointment, he said Congress, in the vote of thanks which they decreed, noticed him with the most refined delicacy, not for having fought the battle, but for his sacrifice of the opportunity of gaining personal glory, to aid the cause of the country more effectually by his services elsewhere.

The preceding explanations of the reasons for the apparently obstinate refusal of d'Estaing to co-operate with the American army on Rhode Island, thereby causing the failure of Sullivan's expedition, and the keenest disappointment of the sanguine hopes of Lafayette, as well as of all the American people, lead to the belief that the French admiral acted under the influence of a council of his officers, and not from any discordant feelings toward Gen. Sullivan. The practical result of the execution of the plan of the council of officers almost exactly verified their calculations so far as related to the chasing away the English fleet, and the capture of two of their vessels, which were cut off; and there is now every reason to believe that the remainder of their plan of winning also a victory on the land might have been successful, had not several of the largest ships of their fleet been providentially dismasted by a tempest unprecedented for violence in the annals of the country. It is certain that a precisely similar manœuvre was successfully accomplished by another French fleet under Count De Grasse, three years afterwards, who sailed forth from the Chesapeake Bay, and chased away the British fleet that had arrived to attack him. He then returned back to Yorktown, to continue co-operations with the Americans for capturing the army under Cornwallis, which terminated the American war.

Count De Grasse gained immortal glory as one of the deliverers of America. D'Estaing was unfortunately wrecked by a tempest, and suffered reproaches and dishonor from those he came to serve.

**ANTHRACITE COAL.**—This article, so much used as to be in the eyes of many the great staple of fuel, has been in use but a very short time. An attempt made, in 1800, to bring it into market, failed, and in 1812, a man who took nine loads to Philadelphia, had to give it away, being unable to get the price of cartage. M.

**FARCE RIDICULING WASHINGTON.**—When the British army was reposing in ease at New York, the officers occasionally amused themselves with writing comedies, interludes, and farces, and themselves were the *dramatis personæ*. Among others, they got up an *interlude*, in which Washington was represented as a surveyor; Greene, as a gunsmith; Wayne, as a tanner; and other American

officers in different mechanical professions: all of whom were exhibited on the stage, in dresses, and with instruments suited to their respective occupations, for instance: Washington, carrying a surveyor's jacob's staff, of huge size, accompanied by a negro man, groaning under the weight of a compass, and dragging a chain more resembling one used by bullocks than a surveyor; Greene, with a hammer, an unwieldy old gun, and broken lock in hand; Wayne, with a large currying knife, and a leathern apron buckled round the neck and extending down to his feet.

The interlude was too good a thing to be lost; it was therefore, as reported, carried across the Atlantic by a British sergeant, who himself had been one of the *dramatis personæ* in America. At the instance of this son of Mars, the interlude was got up in England, under the auspices of the manager of a strolling company, with additions, amendments, new scenery, decorations, &c.

On one of the nights of its being performed, and just as the curtain was dropping to close this ludicrous scene, amid the plaudits of the spectators, an American tar in the gallery vociferated: "Honor to my country; disgrace to Old England for suffering their hides to be dressed and their heads broken by American tanners and gunsmiths!"—*Register of Penn.*, vol. i., p. 280.

It is not very likely that any of these farces ever found their way to print; but they will be very curious, if ever discovered.

**A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC.**—Mr. H. W. Cimiotti, a jeweller, of Smithfield-street, has now in his possession a gold ring, of curious make, which was worn in this country by a German relative, previous to the Revolutionary War. His friend returned to the fatherland after the war, and the relic remained in his possession until his death. It was lately sent to Mr. Cimiotti, as a present. The set is oval, about the size of a three cent piece, and is surrounded by twenty-five small rubies. In the centre, covered with glass, is the "Strawberry-tree," an emblematic figure, while underneath are the words, "God directs our [hearts]," the latter word being represented by two hearts united. The following description, which accompanies the relic, explains these symbols:

"Before the Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1776), it had become customary in North America, among the patriots who aimed at a change of the state of things, to distinguish themselves by wearing certain marks or emblems indicative of their sentiments. One of those most in vogue, was the motto: "God directs the hearts of Kings," bearing at the same time the "Strawberry-tree" of Kerry, which grows out of

a wolf, or before which cowers a wolf. This had reference to the heroic rising of the inhabitants of Kenmare, in 1639, against the despotism of the English, which resulted in changing their region from a barren soil into a fertile valley, and causing the highest prosperity. The history of Kerry (Kenmare) served in America, at the above time, by distributing it in thousands of pamphlets, in prose and verse, as well as in pictorials, to inspire the people. It appeared on rings and snuff-boxes, and there was probably no house nor cabin, in which there was not some picture representing it, hanging against the wall. Everybody had probably his 'Kerry' (Kenmare) according to his circumstances, and wherever it was seen it denoted the sentiments of its possessor."

The ring has been well taken care of, but six of the rubies have been lost, and a small piece of the glass covering the little tree has been broken off. It is a curious relic, and would form an interesting feature in a cabinet of attractions.—*Pittsburg paper.*

**THE FIRST DUEL IN AMERICA.**—The first duel ever fought in the United States, was in New England, between two servants, in the year 1621. Both escaped unhurt; but the authorities tied them hand and foot for twenty-four hours, and gave them neither food nor drink during that time.

**REMARKABLE EVENTS IN COVENTRY DURING EARLY PERIODS.**—Coventry, in the County of Warwickshire, England, was in earlier times the scene of some remarkable events, and must have contained some curious persons among its inhabitants. From the Harleian MSS., No. 6388, the following are extracted as among the remarkable events that occurred there, under the mayoralty of the persons named:

"1348. John Warde, Mayor, he was the first Mayor y<sup>e</sup> ever was in Coventre.

1350-1. Nicholas Mitchell, Mayo<sup>r</sup>. In his year was a great Pestilence which raged Generally through the whole world, so that there remained the tenth person alive to bury the Dead, when Churelyards were not sufficient and large enough to bury the Dead in; then certain fields were purchased for that purpose.

1351-2. Richard Freeborne, Mayor. In his year was seen 4 Suns in the Element, shining at once, till at the middle of the day they closed into one.

1352-3. William Home, Mayor. In his year was a drie Summer, y<sup>e</sup> it rained not from March 'til the End of July, following; which caused such a dearth of Corn and Vietnalls that the same grew to a great and excessiv<sup>e</sup> Price.

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1360-1. William Yarmouth, Mayor. This year was a Pestilence and the Great Wind which blew down Steepls, High houses, Trees, &c. And this year Diells were seen in men's likeness and spake to men as they travelled.

1364-5. Henry Clark, Mayor. This year the King comand y<sup>e</sup> Peterspence should be paid no more to Rome.

1374-5. Adam Botner, Mayor. In his year the Commons of Coventre rose, and cast Loaves of Bread at the Mayor's head.

1378-9. Adam Botner, Mayor. In the year 1379 A bushel of Wheat was sold for 6*d*. A gallon of White Wine sold for 6*d*. A gallon of Red-wine for 4*d*.

1381-2. Henry Kell, Mayor. About Christmas 1382 King Richard married Anne daughter to the King of Bohemia. In her daies Noble women used high ties upon their heads Pyked like hornes, with long trained Gownes, and side saddles after the Example of the said Queen, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before Women rode astride like men.

1387-8. Henry Kell, Mayor. In this year y<sup>e</sup> Comons of Coventre threw Loaves of Bread at y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's head in St. Maries-hall.

1403-4. John Smither, Mayor. In October 1404 A Parliament began in Coventre and the King sent Process to y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffes that they should Chose no Burgesses nor Knights that had any Knowledge in the Laws of the Realm, by Reason whereof it was called the Lay-man's Parliament.

1407-8. John Weedon, Mayor. In 1408 was a great frost w<sup>ch</sup> lasted 15 weekes, and killed almost all the small Birds.

1426. Richard Joye, Mayor. Sept. 28, 1426 between 1 and 2 in y<sup>e</sup> morning began a terrible Earthquake with lightning and thunder and continued 2 hours; it was universal, Men thought the day of Judgement was come, the beasts of the field roared and drew to the towns with hideous noises and the fowls of the Air Cried out.

1437. John Leader, [Mayor]. King Henry came to Coventre and kept his Christmas at Kenilworth.

1485. Sr. Robert Onley, Merchant, Mayor. At Whitsonside King Richard y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> came to Kenilworth.

1538. William Cotton, Mercers Mayor. Pilgrimages forbidden, Images pulled in pieces, Monasteries suppressed. in 7ber [September], y<sup>e</sup> Lord Crowell sent forth Injunctions to all Bishops and Curates throughout the realms, Chargeing to see y<sup>e</sup> every Parish Church had a Bible of y<sup>e</sup> largest volume, printed in English, w<sup>ch</sup> should be placed for all to see, and y<sup>e</sup> a Register book should be kept in every Parish church wherein should be written every Wedding, Christening and Burying for ever.

1552. Richard Hart, Mayor. So great plenty of victuals that a barrel of beer with the Caske sold for 6*d.* and four great loaves for 1*d.*

1568. Kenry Kerum, Mercer, Mayor. Y<sup>e</sup> Q. [Queen] came to Kenilworth Castle unlooked for, the Pageants and Howks-Tewsday played.

1574. Simon Cotton, Butcher, Mayor. The Queen came to Kenilworth Castle and there se-created herself 12 or 13 days,—at which time Coventre men went to meet her Majestie with their [game] of Hocks Tewsday; and had for their pains a great reward, and some Venison to make them merry."

In the list of Mayors and Sheriffs of Coventry, appears:

"1401-2. Nicholas Dudley, Mayor.

1553. Tho. Dudley, Sheriff.

1558. Thomas Dudley, Mayor. This man was a benefactor to Bablake; he lived in Bafford Street, in Mr. Wightman's house. The Maior's Choise removed from Candelmas to Allhallowside. The New Maior made a great feast in St. Mary-hall, and bid a great number of people to make merry with him." G. A.

A CHAPTER ON ALMANACS.—(From the *Illinois Magazine*).—MR. EDITOR: It is a well-known fact, that the literature of this country is kept back by the want of proper encouragement. What is more calculated to stimulate an author, than to find his work *reviewed* by an able critic? If it has faults, must it not be acceptable to have them pointed out? and what office is more benevolent, than that of convincing a fallible mortal of his errors? But should a work pass the ordeal, and find favor in the sage eyes of the critic, what rapture fills the bosom of the delighted author? In England, the scribbling of every petty traveller in the United States, is reviewed, and re-reviewed, and the rule there is, to bestow the greatest praise on the silliest book, and the most atrocious libel—a very convenient arrangement for dull authors. But, Mr. Editor, I propose to pursue a different plan, and to notice works of undoubted merit; and as I am determined to review every work that is truly American, which may be published during the present year, I shall begin with a very valuable scientific compend, issued from the press of Messrs. Cramer & Spear, of Pittsburgh, entitled "Cramer's Magazine Almanac, for the year of our Lord 1832." It is pregnant with useful information, and should have a conspicuous place in the library of every literary man. We are informed in this erudite work, that the battle of New Orleans took place on the 8th of January, 1815, with the important addition,—"*soon blows up cold!*" An able remark, intended to convey the idea, that the heat of the engagement was soon over. We

learn that on the 11th of the same month, Dr. Dwight died, "*with dry snow;*" that on the 14th January, 1784, "*peace was ratified, with good sleighing,*" a very pleasant way, we should think, of ratifying peace, and much better than the *slaying* of war; and that, on the 23d, "*William Pitt died, 1806, followed by rain and snow.*" We were aware, that this illustrious statesman *died*; but the fact of his having been followed in the manner specified, is new to us, and we would take it kindly, if the compiler of the almanac would state in his next, *how far* the premier was thus followed. British ministers are very much followed while in this world, but we are not aware before that they were of any sort of consequence, when out of place.

I like these historical notices, and the comments of the worthy Mr. Cramer so well, that I shall quote somewhat at large.

February 17, 1815. "*Treaty of Ghent ratified—blows cold.*"

February 20, 1815. "*Cyane and Levant captured—with flying clouds.*"

February 27. "*Earthquake at Lisbon, 1776—somewhat pleasant.*" A pleasant earthquake! not a bad idea.

March 2, 1788. "*Gessner died—of wind.*"

Third Tuesday in March, "*Shrove Tuesday—but soon changes.*" Very likely; Tuesday generally changes soon into Wednesday.

March 8, 1814. "*English enter Bordeaux—with hazy sky.*" They must have felt quite at home.

March 21. "*Benedict—clears and shines pleasantly.*" This must have been about the time when he said, that "*when he vowed to die a bachelor, he never expected to live to get married.*"

April 17, 1790. "*Dr. Franklin died—for some days.*"

April 19, 1775. "*Battle of Lexington—ends pleasantly.*"

April 27, 1813. "*York, U. C., taken—comfortable.*" Very comfortable I dare say to the captors.

May 10. "*Louis XV. died—planting agreeable showers.*"

May 15, 1775. "*Paper currency established—which rapidly increases vegetation.*"

May 10, 1811. "*Great fire at New York—some warm days.*"

May 23, 1787. "*Federal convention met at Philadelphia—with showers.*"

May 20, 1813. "*Unsuccessful attack on Sackett's Harbor—appears hazy.*" The English seem to carry hazy weather with them wherever they go.

June 8, 1658. "*Alexander Pope born—expect some storms now.*"

June 30, 1767. "Tax on tea—cloudy sky—*appears like a storm.*"

July 16, 1779. "Stony Point taken—*it will never—be laid aside, like an old almanac.*"

July 30, 1718. "William Penn died—*with judgment.*" Quite characteristic; he generally acted with judgment.

August 26, 1794. "General Wayne defeated the Indians—*with extreme warmth.*"

"James Thompson died, 1748—*with thunder;*" a mode of dying which ought to be *exploded.*

September 1, 1814. "Boxer captured—*becomes somewhat lazy—by the Enterprize.*"

"Though she'd ne'er learn'd the art from Mendozas or Cribbs,  
She pounded so hard, that she broke all her ribs."

No more at present. I shall send another article shortly;—"expect thunder."

Yours,

KELPIE.

THE LOCATION OF AXACAN.—Mr. Campbell, in his "History of Virginia," p. 18, says positively: "This region of Axacan comprised the lower part of the present State of North Carolina." He bases this, however, simply on the resemblance of Axacan to Wocokon. Now no one would enter the Chesapeake to get to lower North Carolina, by water. Axacan, however, was accessible by water, yet far from the sea. It was therefore on the navigable waters emptying into the Chesapeake. If we look to the names still preserved, we should regard Occoquan, on the Potomac, below Mount Vernon, as best answering all conditions. On the James River, however, about ten miles below James Town, were the Quiquogheoheohanock, which omitting the first and last syllables, is Ougheohan, and may be Axacan. This locality has in its favor the fact that Powhattan's father was driven from his territory by the Spaniards.—See *Ralph Hamor*, p. 18.

LAFAYETTE AND AARON BURR.—When Lafayette had a public reception in the governor's room, at the New York City Hall, in 1824, the celebrated Aaron Burr was one of the multitude who called on him for a friendly grasp of the hand. I have the authority of a gentleman, who was present, for stating that when Aaron Burr approached him, Lafayette stepping back, with coolness of manner said to him, "Mr. Burr, I cannot extend my hand to you. I have a portrait of Alexander Hamilton at La Grange." This abrupt rebuke had a withering effect on the degraded statesman; and doubtless he was the most unhappy man that left the reception-room on that occasion.

SHAWMUT.

ENGLISH BALLAD ON BUNKER HILL.—I find the annexed among some old letters. A. A. F.

1  
On the seventeenth by brake of day the yankys did  
surprise us  
With their strong works that theyd thrown up to burn  
the town and drive us  
But soon we had an order eaim in order to defeat them  
Like rebbls stont they stood us out and thought we  
near could beat them

2  
About the hour of twelve that day an order eaim for  
marching

With three good flints and sixty rounds each man  
hopet to discharge them  
Then we merecht down to the long wharf' whear boats  
lay ready waiting

With expedition we embarkt our ships cep caunenadin

3  
Theair is Cops hill battery near Charlestown our twenty  
fours we plaid

And the Fregits that in the stream lay thay veary well  
behaved

The Glasgow Fregit cleard the shores all at the time  
of landin

With her grape shot and cannon ball the yankys could  
not stand them

4  
Then when our men all landed wair we drew all up  
together.

They yankys thay all mand theair works and thought  
wed nare come heather

But soon thay did perceave how brave our boult com-  
mander

5  
With Granidears and Infentree we made them to sur-  
render

Brave William Howe on our right wing cries boys fight  
on like thunder

You soon shall see the rebbls flee with a great amaze  
and wonder

6  
Thay plaid upon our right wing whair Piggot he com-  
manded

And we returned it back again with courage most un-  
danted

7  
Then when theair works we got into and put them to  
the flight sir

O sum of them did hide themselves and others died of  
fright sir

8  
Then when their works we got into and to prevent all  
danger

The works we maid so firm and strong the yankies are  
great strangers

9  
Theair was sum in Boston pleas to say while we the  
field were taking

We went to kill their countrymen while thay thair hay  
wair making

But such stout whiggs I never saw for hang them all Ide  
rather

10  
For making hay with inuskit bawls and buck shott  
mixt together

11  
And now my song is at an end and to conclude my ditty  
It is the poor and ignorant and only them I pitty

As for thair king that John Hancock and Adams if  
their taken

12  
Thair heads for signs shall hang up high on that hill  
called Beacon

QUERIES.

**CARICATURE OF 1793—THE ANTIFEDERAL CLUB.**—An engraved caricature was presented at its June meeting, to the New England Historic-Genaeological Society, by Sol. Samuel Swett, entitled "*A Peep into the Antifederal Club*, New York, Aug. 16, 1793." Among the persons caricatured are Aaron Burr, and apparently Genet, Dr. Mitchell, and many others. Much satirical matter is put into the mouths of the characters. What is known of this caricature? and who are the persons represented? DRAW.

**DOCTOR FRANKLIN AND HIS MOTHER.**—There is a story in many school-books and collections of anecdotes, of Dr. Franklin and his mother. He visited her in Boston; she did not know him, and was about to turn him out into the snow. There is no trace of this story in the writings of Dr. Franklin. Who wrote it, and where did it first appear? BAFFLED.

**OBADIAH GERMAN.**—Can any reader of the *Magazine* furnish, through its columns, a brief sketch of the life of Obadiah German, who represented New York in the United States Senate, from 1809 to 1815? W. B. D. L.

MILFORD, N. J., June 26, 1861.

**EARLY N. H. GOVERNORS.**—When and where did the following presidents and deputy governors of New Hampshire (1680-1700) die?

Richard Waldron, president, 1681.	
Edw'd Cranfield, deputy governor, 1682.	
Walter Barefoot, do. 1683.	
John Usher do. 1692.	c.

**WM. TAILER.**—Wm Tailer was lieutenant and acting governor of Massachusetts, in 1715, and again in 1730. In what year did he die? c.

**GOTHAM AND THE GOTHAMITES.**—Who was the author of the satirical poem, with the above title, published at New York, some years ago? E.

**TOTO.**—In the early times of Connecticut and Massachusetts, Toto, an Indian chief, or "Captain" as he chose to call himself, lived at Windsor, Ct. Toto was a firm and consistent friend of the English, often giving them notice of murderous designs entertained towards them by the hostile natives, and in various ways promoting the interests of the early settlers, as by selling them lands

at nominal prices, &c., &c. Why is it, that in De Forest's "*History of the Indians of Connecticut*," the name of Toto is not even once mentioned?

SAMUEL B. BARLOW, M. D.

66 EAST TWELFTH-STREET,  
N. Y., June 25, 1861.

**THE RAIN-WATER DOCTOR.**—In the year 1813 there lived and practised in East Hartford, Ct., a German physician called and known by the name of "The Rain-Water Doctor," whose aid was much sought after and who really possessed skill, and did some remarkable cures. He afterward lived at or near Providence, R. I., and died somewhere in the Eastern States. Where, and when, and at what age did he die, and what was his real name? SAMUEL B. BARLOW, M. D.

66 EAST TWELFTH-STREET,  
N. Y., June 25, 1861.

**VILLAGE OF COHOES.**—Jefferson, in his notes on Virginia, in speaking of the Mississippi, says: "The streets of the village at Cohoes are not more than ten feet above the ordinary level of the water, and yet were never overflowed. Its bed deepens every year. Cohoes, in the memory of many people now living, was isolated by every flood of the river. What was the eastern channel has now become a lake, nine miles in length, and one in width, into which the river at this day never flows."

I wish to be informed, through the medium of your paper, where the site of this village is; and whether there is a village there at this time.

A SUBSCRIBER.

[Cahos, was a French abbreviation or nickname for Cahokia; and it even appears variously spelled in official documents.]

**IS TARRING AND FEATHERING AN AMERICAN INVENTION?**—I have met an extract in Frank Moore's "*Diary of the Revolution*," speaking of this practice as purely American. Is it really so?

W. T. K.

Apparently not. The punishment of tarring and feathering is not one of those bright and happy inventions with which our native American genius hath enriched the science of penal legislation. A European historian, envious no doubt of the renown of our country, endeavors to deprive us of this honor, "and pluck this laurel from our wisdom's brow," by asserting that the ingenious mode of chastisement in question is as old as the crusades. Anquetil, in his "*Histoire de France*,"

Tomé 2, p. 129, Edit. de 1805, has the following passage: "They [the two crusading kings, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and Philip Augustus] afterwards made in concert the laws of police which should be observed in both their armies. No women, except washerwomen, were to be permitted to accompany the troops. Whoever killed another was, according to the place where the crime should be committed, to be cast into the sea or buried alive, bound to the corpse of the murdered person. Whoever wounded another, was to have his hand cut off;—whoever struck another should be plunged three times in the sea; and whoever committed theft, should have *warm pitch poured over his head, which should then be powdered over with feathers*, and the offender should afterwards be left, abandoned, on the first shore."

WENRO.—In what county of the State of New York was this tribe located? Its language was one of the dialects of the Huron-Iroquois. They lay on the frontier of the Neuters, who had a few towns in New York running towards the Eries. They fled to Upper Canada and shared in the ruin of the Hurons. The Tiogas have left their name; but is there any trace of the land of the Wenro? See Rel. 1639, p. 59; Rel. 1641, p. 80.  
s.

#### REPLIES.

ADIRONDACKS (vol. iv., pp. 162, 185, 369).—Roger Williams in his "Key into the Language of America," p. 34, has "Mihutukméchakiek, *Tree Eaters*; A people so called living between three and four hundred miles West (into the land) from their eating only Mihutuchquash, that is, *Trees*. They are men eaters, they set no corne, but live on the bark of Chesnut and Walnut and other fine trees. They dry and eat this bark with the fat of beasts and sometimes of men."

From this it would seem that those Indians on Narragansett bay translated into Algonquin the term Adirondaek. This gives us the following names for this tribe: 1, Omami-winitui-wak, their own name; 2, Ratirontaks or Adirondaeks, the Iroquois name, meaning *Tree-Eaters*; 3, Mihutukméchakiek, Narragansett, of the same meaning; 4, Aochraata, Hatichraata (Huron); 5, Ussagheniek (Abnaki); 6, Algonquin (French).

Mrs. MAJOR JAMES (vol. iv., pp. 217, 371).—The Mrs. James, who died in Chatham, June 7, 1776, was not Miss De Peyster, but a Spanish lady, his first wife. (See Dawson's "New York City during the American Revolution," p. 46.)

SCALPING (vol. v., pp. 25, 126, 189).—There seems to have been a carelessness in speaking of scalping, especially among writers of the last century, misleading those of this. It does not appear to have been an Algonquin custom, while beheading was. Biard, who was among the Miamaes and Etchemins, from 1611 to 1613, mentions neither. Charles Lalemant, in his Relation of 1626, says that the Algonquins of the St. Lawrence cut off the heads of their enemies (Rel. 1626; Ed. Quebec, p. 3). Roger Williams, in his "Key into the Language of America," published in 1643, says of the Narragansetts: "Tamequassen—*To cut off or behead*—which they are most skilful to do in fight; for whenever they wound, and their arrows stick fast in the body of their enemies (they, 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 Locke, they in the twinkling of an eye fetch off his head, though but with a sorry knife." (R. I. Hist. Coll., vol. i., pp. 59, 152.)

Lescarbot (English version, p. 287), mentions the custom in Nova Scotia of beheading, and in p. 293, remarks, that they gave their heads to the chiefs; but says that "they leave there the carcases (*i. e.*, of the heads), contenting themselves with the skinned, which they cause to be dried or doe tanne it, and doe make trophies with it in their cabins."

Champlain (Ed. 1613, p. 233), after describing his battle with the Iroquois, on Lake Champlain, mentions the scalping of a prisoner, at the stake, by his allies, the Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais; and represents (p. 286) the Algonquins as carrying off the heads of the slain hanging from poles, in front of their canoes. In a subsequent battle, he mentions the scalping of the slain, where apparently only Montagnais and Algonquins were concerned.

From this, it would seem that the Algonquins cut off the head of their fallen enemies, and then took off the scalp, as the Seythians did; but that the Iroquois and Hurons scalped prisoners at the stake, and scalped the dead bodies, without cutting off the head.

Gookin mentions the Mohawks scalping without killing, which seems to be the next step.

Niles alludes to the scalping the dead without beheading, as French, meaning, doubtless, taken from the Hurons or Iroquois, French Indians. He does not attribute scalping, itself, but that kind of scalping, to the French.

If this is so, our poets must beware of making any early New England Indians scalp the fallen.

KOOL SLA (vol. v., p. 146, 190).—Your correspondents, in correcting a vulgarism, have erred

slightly, it is believed. *Slau*, is quite as bad as *slau*. It was anciently written by the Nederduitsch, *slaa*. It is hardly necessary to say that *kohl* is the German orthography. *Kool sla*, is purely Nederduitsch, and should be rendered into plain English, *cabbage salad*. There is a preparation consumed by the descendants of the early Dutch, consisting of *kool sla* served up with hot vinegar and butter, which they term *kool sla heet*; it is neither good Dutch nor good food. I forbear to enter more profoundly into this subject, trusting that what has already been said is quite as much as can be reasonably expected to come of a head of cabbage. ————— EIK.

HUMPHREY'S FABLE OF THE MONKEY (vol. iv., p. 278).—Mr. Lemuel G. Olmsted, after expressing a doubt of the truth of Peter Parley's statement that the last couplet of this fable was written by Trumbull (McFingal),—a statement made, directly, on the authority of Trumbull, himself,—asks to be informed "How early this fable was written and published, and the occasion of it?" It appears to have been first printed in the Connecticut *Comrant* (Hartford), Feb. 26, 1787, and is there "addressed to the Hon. William Wimple, Esq.,"—that being the sobriquet by which the Hon. Wm. Williams (Signer of the Declaration), was usually designated by the wits of the "Anarchiad." Williams was a leader of the anti-federalists, and a prominent opposer of the order of the Cincinnati. A letter addressed by him to Jos. Hopkins, Esq., of Waterbury, inclosing an address to the freemen, designed for publication, had been intercepted and had fallen into the hands of the federalists, who printed both letter and address, in the *New Haven Gazette*, accompanied by a rhymed travesty. This infringement of the rights of private correspondence was denounced, in no measured terms, by Mr. Williams, which led to a newspaper controversy, waged with great bitterness, between himself and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, and their respective friends. The members of the Cincinnati—of whom were Humphreys and Trumbull—combined their forces to make a diversion in favor of their associate, Gen. Parsons; and "William Wimple" became a prominent hero of the "Anarchiad." Strenuous efforts were made by the federalists to prevent his re-election as one of the assistants, in the spring of 1787. It was at this time, when the newspaper controversy was at its height, that Humphreys brought out his "fable." In the (second?) edition of his "Collected Works," New York, 1789, the name of "William Wimple" was omitted, and a *dash* substituted.

And now, a word as to the disputed authorship of the last couplet. I have before me John Trumbull's copy of Humphreys' "Works," in the

edition of 1789; in which every line contributed by the former, is carefully noted, by his own hand. For example, in the prologue and epilogue, to "The Widow of Malabar," which, as Humphreys states in the dedication of the play, were the joint composition of himself and Trumbull, the couplets furnished by each are marked with their respective initials. In this volume, the last four lines of the fable,

"His cheeks dispatch'd—his visage thin  
He coek'd, to shave beneath his chin;  
Drew razor swift as he could pull it,  
And cut from ear to ear his gullet."

are inclosed in brackets, and marked with Trumbull's autograph, with his initial "T." This mark, like others in the volume, appears to have been made shortly after it came into Trumbull's possession,—in 1792, as I infer from the date appended to his autograph on the fly-leaf,—some five years after the publication of the fable. To myself, this evidence is conclusive, that Trumbull was the author of the last two couplets,—containing, as Mr. O. thinks, "The gist of the whole matter;" but whether Humphreys came to seek the aid of his brother wit "in a coach-and-four," as Peter Parley has it, or by some more humble conveyance, I do not venture to affirm.

I ought, perhaps, to add, that the substance of this reply was written immediately after reading Mr. Olmsted's query, but was mislaid and forgotten, when the sight of a new edition of the "Anarchiad" brought the matter to recollection.

J. H. T.

HARTFORD, Ct., July 12, 1861.

## Notes on Books.

*Archéologie Canadienne.* De Quelques Sépultures d'anciens Indigènes de l'Amérique découvertes à Montréal. Par M. le Principal Dawson, traduit du Canadian Naturalist et annoté pour le Journal de l'Instruction Publique. Montréal: Senecal, 1861. 12mo, 24 pp.

This is a translation of Mr. Dawson's paper on the excavations referred to in a late number. It is accompanied with illustrations of skulls, pottery, and other remains. The "Journal de l'Instruction Publique," and the "Journal of Public Instruction," both contain much valuable matter relative to the history of Canada; and the Hon. Mr. Chauveau will render them valuable as a repository not only of educational progress, but of the history of the province in general.



*Monograph of Authors* who have written on the Languages of Central America, and collected Vocabularies or composed works on the Native Dialects of that Country. By E. G. Squier, M. A., F. S. A. New York: C. B. Richardson & Co., 1861. 4to, 70 pp.

THIS monograph, the result of Mr. Squier's researches during many years, is not likely to receive many additions from other hands. Few works on the language of that portion of the continent, can have escaped him. The work is arranged alphabetically; the name of each author, with generally a sketch of his life, followed by a list of the works written by him.

An appendix follows, containing a list of books and manuscripts, relating wholly or in part to the history, aborigines, and antiquities of Central America.

*Historical Sketch of the Library of Brown University.* By R. A. Guild. New Haven: 1861.

AN interesting sketch of this library, and incidentally of that of Mr. J. C. Brown, in some points one of the finest in the country.

*A Memoir of John Funning Watson*, the Annalist of Philadelphia and New York. Read before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, by Benjamin Dorr, D. D. Philadelphia: 1861.

THE memoir by Dr. Dorr, was a deserved tribute to one who did so much for the early history of New York and Philadelphia, as Mr. Watson. The present little volume embraces also the proceedings of the New York and Pennsylvania Historical Societies, and notices in various journals. It had been our intention to publish Dr. Dorr's address; but refrained on hearing that it was to be printed separately.

*New York during the American Revolution.* New York: Mercantile Library Association. 1861.

THIS most elegantly printed volume reflects great credit on the Mercantile Library Association. They had come into possession of a number of valuable manuscripts bearing on the history of the Revolution; and have published, by subscription, this selection, under the editorial supervision of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, to whose ability in historical research, the number of the *Genealogical Register* we notice, pays no more than a just tribute.

Mr. Dawson prefixes a sketch of New York, in 1767, which is an admirable example of resurrection, placing before you the city of a hundred

years ago. This must have required long and patient investigation, which few, even scholars, will realize without attempting the like.

*Historical Collections of the Essex Institute.* April, 1861. Vol. III., No. 2.

THIS number of our fellow-laborer in historical gleaning, contains Craft's Journal of the Siege of Boston, with notes by S. P. Fowler, a lieutenant in Kimball's regiment. It extends from June 15, to August 13, 1775. The Genealogy of the Holyoke family occupies several pages, the abstract of Wills is continued, and G. F. Chever's very interesting paper on Philip English, progresses. An account of the Massacre at Fort William Henry, in 1757, a history of the Essex Lodge of Free Masons, with other matters, make it an exceedingly interesting and valuable number.

*The New England Historical and Genealogical Register.* July, 1861.

THE Register treats us to the Diary of Jeremiah Bumstead, 1722-7, taken from his almanacs. Governor Welles' instructive Bibliographical Essay on Early Voyages, is concluded.

An account of the Mason Family will interest all acquainted with New England history. Histories of the Clapp, and Pain families, will prove of interest to many.

The valuable notes on the Indian wars are continued, and form a main attraction of the number, which is illustrated with an outline sketch of Trumbull's Bunker Hill, with a key.

*Relation de la Mission du Mississipi du Séminaire de Québec, en 1700.* Par MM. de Montigny, de St. Cosme, et Thaumur de la Source. New York: J. G. Shea. 1861.

*Relations diverses sur la Bataille du Melanqueulé, gagne le 9 Juillet, 1755, par les François sous M. de Beaujeu, Commandant du Fort du Quesne, sur les Anglois sous M. Braddock, Général en Chef des Troupes Angloises.* Recueillies par Jean Marie Shea. New York: J. G. Shea. 1860.

THE first of these little volumes is a series of letters describing the attempt made by the Seminary of Quebec to found Indian missions in the Mississippi valley; an attempt, carried out with zeal and considerable success for some years. St. Côme, one of the founders, was killed, as was another Canadian, Foucault; Davion labored for many years on the lower part of the river, as Bergier did among the Illinois. Their mission at

Tamaroa continued the longest of all; first, as an Indian mission, then as a French parish. The second volume contains all the French accounts, published and unpublished, of Braddock's defeat, with a sketch of Beaujeu, the French commander, and a portrait, engraved from a small miniature preserved in the family. A grand-nephew of Beaujeu is now a member of the Provincial Parliament, in Canada. These accounts throw considerable light on the French action in the battle, and especially on the rank of Beaujeu, as to which some French accounts seem strangely in error.

*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, on the Condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History.* Albany: 1860.

THE greater part of this document is a Report on ancient monuments in Western New York, by T. Apoleon Cheney, M. A., with a map and 14 plates. This is a valuable supplement to the work of Mr. Squier; and Mr. Cheney deserves credit for carrying out his explorations under very disheartening circumstances. We trust that he will be encouraged to proceed, and that before the levelling hand of progress comes upon them, the various mounds in the State may be examined and properly described.

### Miscellany.

A LIST of American writers on recent Conchology; with the titles of their memoirs and dates of publication, by George W. Tryon, Jr., member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, has just been issued in royal 8vo, in clear type on extra plate paper. Price in paper covers, \$1. In neat cloth binding, \$1.25.

This work contains the full titles of the writings of one hundred American authors, embracing *nearly a thousand articles on recent Conchology*. It is alphabetically arranged, and will prove a valuable book of reference to naturalists.

The dates, both of the *reading* and *printing* of the papers, are accurately given.

THE curious case of Eyre against Higbee, is again brought into the Supreme Court, New York.

This controversy grows out of a claim to a volume of original letters and papers written by Gen. Geo. Washington to Col. Tobias Lear, who was for many years the general's private and military secretary. Col. Lear died intestate, and the letters passed to his son Benjamin, who died

in 1832, leaving a widow. A posthumous child, Louisa, who married Wilson Eyre, in 1856, was the sole heir and next of kin of Benjamin. From the decease of Col. Lear until some time during the last illness of his widow, who died in December, 1856, the widow held and retained possession of the papers in controversy. During her illness the defendant, Mrs. Higbee, took them in custody, and the defendants have since retained them. The defendants claim the title to the papers as the legal representatives of the writer.

The main question involved in the case is whether the writer of a letter has property in it after he has sent it. The case was referred to a referee, who reported in favor of the plaintiff, from which the defendant appeals. The appellants contend that the writer has property in his letters. The respondents, on the other hand, insist that the receiver of letters has right to their possession against all the world, and has a property in them; the only limitation being the rights of the writer to publish and to restrain the publication of them by the receiver or others. The decision was reserved.

WILLIAM LUCIUS STORRS, chief-justice of Connecticut, died at Hartford, on Tuesday, June 25, aged 65 years. He was born at Middletown, in Connecticut, March 25, 1795, graduated at Yale, in 1814, studied law at Whitestown, New York, and was admitted to the bar in New York, in 1817. Soon afterwards he removed to Middletown, Connecticut, where he practised until elected a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. He often represented that city in the General Assembly, and in 1834 was Speaker of the State House of Representatives. He represented that State in Congress from 1829 to 1833, and in 1839 and '40. He was elected an associate judge of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut, in 1840, and to chief-justice, in 1857.

MARQUETTE'S DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—The very interesting letter of Dablon, the Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, to his Provincial, in France, given in this number, is perhaps the earliest account sent to Europe of the great discovery made by Marquette and Joliet. It is evidently made up from Joliet's verbal account, as his papers were all lost in the rapids above Montreal.

The views of Joliet as to the course to be followed, and the canal to be cut at Chicago, are curious, and are evidently those followed in part, and in part criticised by La Salle, in the paper printed in the *last* number of the *Magazine*.

Fortunately, Father Marquette had kept a copy of the journal and map, so that their contemporary account survived, without their being compelled to make one up merely from recollection.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V.]

SEPTEMBER, 1861.

[No. 9.]

General Department.

A JOURNAL KEPT BY GENERAL NATHANIEL  
WOODHULL.

WHEN COLONEL OF THE 3D REGIMENT NEW YORK  
PROVINCIALS, IN THE EXPEDITION TO MONTREAL, IN  
1760.

THE conquest of Canada, and its subsequent cession to the British crown, the results of this expedition, are matters of familiar history. General Amherst, with an army of ten thousand men, regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, in the early summer of 1760, and advanced to Oswego.

From this place the army proceeded along the shore of Lake Ontario, and through the St. Lawrence to Montreal. General Amherst was joined in front of that city by other forces, under the command of General Murray and Colonel Haviland.

The British forces were proceeding to invest Montreal, when the Marquis de Vaudrenil, the governor-general and commander of the French forces, consented to a capitulation, by which the whole of Canada was surrendered to the possession of the British.

The third regiment of the New York Provincials, under the command of Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull, formed a part of General Amherst's army, and had also taken an active part in the previous campaigns of this war.

At its close, Colonel Woodhull returned to his paternal estate at Mastic, Suffolk county, on Long Island; where he devoted himself actively to the cultivation of his farm.

For eight successive years, however, he represented Suffolk county in the colonial Legislature. In that body, with General Schuyler, George Clinton, and a few other patriots, he steadily resisted the encroachments of the crown upon the rights and liberties of the province. Gen. Woodhull continued a member of the Assembly until its breaking up, at the commencement of hostilities. He represented Suffolk in the first provincial Congress; of which body, on its assembling,

he was elected president. Upon the landing of the British on Long Island, General Woodhull hastened from the Congress, and putting himself at the head of the Suffolk county militia, was actively engaged in preventing the enemy from obtaining cattle and provisions. A day or two after the disastrous battle of Long Island, General Woodhull, while attended by a few followers, was surprised by a party of light-horse, about two miles to the east of Jamaica.

Resistance being out of the question, the general tendered his sword to the commanding officer of the enemy, who, as he accepted it, ordered his prisoner to say "God save the king." The stern patriot refusing to comply with this insolent demand, was hacked and cut down by the soldiers. Grievously wounded, he was taken to a prison at Gravesend, where, in a few days, he died of his wounds. Had General Woodhull lived, it is plain from what he had already done, both as a soldier and statesman, that he would have acted no mean part in the great contest which has made so many illustrious. n. n.

JOURNAL.

ALBANY, *June* 11th, 1760.—We struck our tents and marched to Schenectady, and encamped on the little island; the first regiment\* began their march from Schenectady for Oswego on the 12th; the second regiment for the fort at Oneida Lake on the 13th, and the third regiment on the 14th, for Fort Stanwix. We went about eight miles, when we encamped, and waited until ten o'clock, on the morning of the 15th, for the rear of the batteaux. We had prayers this morning, and then set out with the whole again. I had in my regiment 52 batteaux, and 800 barrels of provisions. We encamped about two miles below Fort

\* Amherst's army, to which Woodhull belonged, consisted of the first and second battalions of the 42d, the 44th, 45th, 46th, and 77th regiments; the 4th battalion of Royal Americans, Gage's Light Infantry, Ogden's and Waite's companies of Rangers, Schuyler's Jersey regiment; Le Roux, Woodhull's, and Corsa's N. Y. regiments; Lyman's, Woorster's, Fitch's, and Whitney's Connecticut regiments; a detachment of artillery under Col. Williamson, and a corps of Indians under Sir William Johnson.—*Knob*, vol. ii., p. 303.

William. On the 16th, we struck our tents, and went on.

We encamped on the 20th within two miles of the Little Falls, and waited there for the 1st and 2nd Regiments to get over the Falls. On the 23rd, we marched and encamped at the Falls; on the 25th we marched two miles above and encamped. On the 26th, we marched to Fort Karanay, where we drew provisions; on the 27th, we marched 12 miles; on the 28th, we went to (illegible); we got to Fort Stanwix on the 29th, and on the 3d of July, we marched from that fort, and encamped at Fort Beal (? Bull). On the 4th, we encamped at the neck, on the 5th at the west end of Oneida Lake; on the 6th, at the Three River Rift; on the 7th, at the falls, and on the 8th, we reached Oswego.

General Amherst arrived here the next day, and on the 15th, our vessels arrived here from Niagara.

*August 8th.*—The Grenadier Companies and Light Infantry Companies of each Regiment, and Capt'n. Ogden's and Wait's Companies of Rangers, set out to take an advanced post under the command of Colonel (illegible);\* the rest of the army left Oswego on the 10th, under the command of General Amherst, and encamped on a creek, about 30 miles from Oswego; the front got in about sunset; the rear did not get in until near midnight, many of the bateaux sticking fast on the beach all night, and several of them being stove and rendered unfit for service. After mending what we could of them, we set out again the next day, at 10 o'clock, and encamped at another creek, about 8 miles further; both very good harbors.

On the 12th, we set out again, and encamped in a fine bay. On the 13th, we set out at 9 o'clock, marching in three columns: the regulars on the right; the Connecticut and Jersey troops in the centre; and the Yorkers on the left, and encamped on Col. Robinson's bay; on the 14th, we set out at 10 o'clock, and encamped on Holdeman's island, where the regulars all drew provisions. On the 15th, at 9 o'clock, we set out again, in three columns; the regulars on the right, the Jersey and Connecticut troops on the left, and the Yorkers in the centre. We entered the River St. Lawrence about 11 o'clock; we went about 20 miles down the river to our advance post, and there I encamped about five o'clock in the afternoon. Orders were immediately given for the Provincials to draw four days' provisions, and to examine all our arms and ammunition. On the 16th, at 10 o'clock, we set out again, and encamped at Point Berry,† about 3 miles from

Oswagorehe,\* where we heard the cannon fire from the vessel. On the 17th, the Redows engaged her by daylight, and at 7 o'clock, they took her; there were 50 sailors and 60 marines on board of her; they had 3 men killed and 17 wounded, ten of whom died by the next day; we had only one man killed and one wounded;‡ at 12 o'clock, we set out again, and encamped at Oswagorehe, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, with the whole army. There we found a good many Indians and squaws.

On the 18th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, all the regulars and rangers, and Lyman's and Naylor's Regiments, set out with the vessel taken from the French and the Redows, to attack the fort on the island;‡ the fort and the vessels began to exchange shots. As the Batteaux and the Redows were passing the fort, a shot struck one of them, and a ball went thro' another, which killed two New Yorkers, and another struck a batteau, which broke a man's leg. They then took possession of the islands below the Fort,§ and began their batteries on the points of two of the islands, each about 600 yards of the fort. On the morning of the 19th, the vessel and fort began their fire at each other; the firing continued until about 10 o'clock, when it ceased on both sides. The Gunner was killed on the vessel. The three New York Regiments were ordered to march by the fort with all their artillery in the evening. On the morning of the 20th, we encamped; we continued at work on our batteries without firing, and the French only firing a few cannon, without doing any damage. There are several very good islands here, which are improved with buildings on them and plenty of corn, beans, squashes, and cabbages, with some hogs and fowls; but they were all deserted by the inhabitants as soon as we came in sight.

On the 21st, we still continued at work, making fascines and preparing our artillery and batteries, the French still very careful of their powder and ball. At ten o'clock, they began the fire briskly; they killed five men, three of them with one ball; at night they ceased firing until next morning.

*22nd.*—In the morning they began to fire briskly from the fort again, and continued until

\* Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg.

† The vessel taken was the brig Outaouaise, M. de la Broquerie, of about 160 tons, carrying one eighteen, seven 12-pounders, 2 eight, and 4 swivels. The five row-galleys who took her, were commanded by Colonel Williamson.—*Knox*, vol. ii., pp. 404, 410. Knox gives the English loss, one killed, two wounded; the French three killed, and twelve wounded.

‡ Fort Lewis, on Isle Royale.

§ Isle Galot and Piquet.—*Knox*, vol. ii., p. 406. Isles à la Cuisse, de la Magdeleine et des Galets.—*Pouchot*, vol. ii., p. 265.

\* Col. Haldemund.—*Knox*, vol. ii., p. 402.

† Point au Baril.—*Knox*, vol. ii., p. 404.—*Pouchot*, vol. ii., p. 262.

12 o'clock firing, and then ceased; they killed four of our men, and wounded several more. 23rd, at seven, in the morning, we opened our three batteries, and the batteries and vessels all began their fire at the fort together, the fort seldom returned the compliment; at 11 o'clock the vessels were ordered to fall down in a line near the fort, with men to fire from their round-tops, with small arms, which occasioned a heavy fire on both sides. The *Onneadaga*\* ran aground, upon which her brave Commodore, Lowrinf struck his colors, and called for quarter, and sent an officer into the fort, notwithstanding he was so near one of our Batteries; but the English colors were soon again hoisted on board, we continued the whole day firing shell and shot at the fort, and all night.

24th.—We still continued firing.

25th.—At four o'clock in the afternoon, the French beat a parley, and at 6 o'clock, the Garrison surrendered themselves prisoners at war, when the Grenadiers immediately marched in and took possession of the Fort. Mons. Pacheau‡ was commandant of the Fort, with 350 men; sixty of whom were killed, and twenty wounded.‡

26th.—We spent in loading our cannon into the Batteaux again and making all the preparation necessary to proceed.

27th.—We sent the prisoners to Oswego, and Capt. Prescott set out for England, with an express from Gen'l Amherst.

28th.—Still preparing our boats and clearing the Islands, Amherst and Deal.

\* She was a snow, carrying 4 nine-pounders, and 14 sixes, with 100 men.—*Knox*, vol. ii., p. 396.

‡ Capt. Loring.—*Knox*, vol. ii., p. 411.—Gen. Woodhull seems to think that Loring ought not to have struck; and Knox thinks he should have got his vessel off; but Pouchot (vol. ii., p. 273) represents her as being terribly cut up and disabled. He gives an amusing account of the effect it produced upon the Indians, by this misfortune to a vessel bearing the name of one of their cantons. Besides, thus capturing the *Onondaga*, Pouchot claims to have put two others, the *Outaouaise* and *Oneida hors du combat*.—*Mémoires*, vol. i., 30; vol. ii., p. 273.

† Pouchot, whose defence of Fort Levis was one of the most brilliant actions of the war, was an engineer of merit. He was born at Grenoble, in 1712, and was at this time only captain in the regiment of Béarn; although he had distinguished himself in Italy, Flanders, and Germany, before coming to America, and after great gallantry at Oswego and Ticonderoga, immortalized himself by his defence of Fort Niagara. The defence of Fort Levis was as unrewarded as his other services. After narrowly escaping the Bastille he fell in Corsica, still only captain, May 8, 1769.

§ Knox gives the French loss at 12 killed, 35 wounded; the English 21 killed, 23 wounded.—*Journal*, vol. ii., p. 498. Pouchot in his *Mémoires* makes the English loss in killed and wounded more than 300; and Vandrenil (Pouchot, vol. i., p. 31), states the French loss, in killed and wounded, at 60.

29th.—As yesterday.

30th.—We received orders to send all our sick to Oswagorehe, and the whole army to be ready to march the next day; at night, orders were given for the second Brigade of Regulars, the light infantry Grenadier companies, Schuyler's, Lyman's and Fitch's Regiments, with part of the artillery, to strike their tents at seven o'clock the next morning, and the rest to be ready to march the next day.

31st.—They marched at 11 o'clock.

*September 1st.*—The rest of the army set out at 10 o'clock, and encamped on Cat's Island, about twenty-five miles from Fort William Augustus.

2nd.—We set out at six o'clock, and got into Lake St. Francis about four o'clock in the afternoon, and encamped on an island about twelve miles in the lake.

*Sept. 3rd.*—We laid still the whole day by reason of wet weather.

4th.—We set out at 6 o'clock, in the morning, with orders not to plunder any thing from the inhabitants, on pain of death; we got over the Lake St. Francis about 9 o'clock; after we had proceeded about three miles, we came to a bad rift, where several batteaux and about twenty men were lost.

We got to the Cedars about twelve o'clock, where we halted; here there are settlements for about 4 miles on the river. We set out again about 2 o'clock, and found bad rifts for 4 miles; here we lost a good many Batteaux and men; the front of the army went about six miles and encamped on Isle Paroot,\* but four regiments did not get over the falls and part of the artillery. 5th, we passed over with all our Batteaux, and encamped with our whole army on Isle Paroot, where there is a very good settlement.

The General gave orders for all the French on the islands to take the oath of allegiance, and they should enjoy their estates. A considerable number came to the General this day, and the owner of the Island, and took the oath. Two expresses came to the General this day; one from Gen'l Murray, and the other from Col. Haviland, with news of St. John's and the Isle au Nois being taken, and Montreal invested.

6th.—We marched at 6 o'clock, with the whole army thro' a fine settled country, about 20 miles, and landed at the King's store-house,† about 2 miles above the falls; the army immediately landed all their men, excepting two on each boat, excepting the New Yorkers, Fitches, and Woster's regiments, and marched for Montreal. The Yorkers immediately furnished a party to draw the light artillery down, and 300 were drafted to draw down the 24-pounders, the same evening.

\* Isle Perrot.

† Lachine.

Fitches' and Woster's Regiments were to remain until further orders.

We have passed by four famous churches; one of which is at Cockawago,\* where the Indian town is. We are now on the island of Montreal, which begins near the island of Paroot, and from the Store House to Montreal, is nine miles; the island is about 26 miles long; the name of this place is Lachine. The army got before the walls of Montreal this evening, and lay on their arms all night.

7th.—A flag of truce was sent to General Amherst from Mons. Vandreille, for a cessation of arms, until he could hear from France, to know whether there was not a peace concluded. The General allowed the cessation until 12 o'clock.

There were orders sent the Batteaux of all the Regiments but the 3rd New York Regiments and Woster's, to be immediately brought down to the camp.

The cessation was afterwards continued until the morning of the 8th, when the articles of capitulation were signed; which provided that all soldiers were to be transported to France, and not to take up arms during the continuance of the war, and the inhabitants to enjoy every thing that belonged to them, and to be governed by the Laws of England.

9th.—We marched and encamped with the whole army.

10th.—We received orders to march up the River St. Lawrence. Laprairie lies over against Montreal.

11th.—The Connecticut regiments set out for Oswego. 12th, the Jersey and three New York Regiments began their march from Montreal for Fort Augustus, and encamped at Lachine, and continued there the 13th and 14th, until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when we set out again at Point Claire, where there is a large church, and a very pleasant place, where we bought plenty of sheep and fowls.

15th.—The wind blowing hard, we were obliged to continue here this day. 16th, we set out early, and encamped a mile below the church, at Point Cedar; 17th, we went about five miles, and encamped above the falls; 18th, we set out at nine o'clock, in the morning, and encamped within a mile of the Lake St. Francis; 19th, we encamped on an island, about six miles from the west end of the Lake; 20th, we encamped below the three mile rift; 21st, we encamped about 15 miles from Fort Augustus; 22nd, we encamped about seven miles from the Fort.

23d.—We got to Devil's island at 2 o'clock, and encamped on it.

25th.—Began to work at the Fort, and continued to work at the Fort until October 19th, when

we received orders to be ready to march the next day, at 12 o'clock; 20th, we left Fort Wm. Augustus at five o'clock in the afternoon, and went about 20 miles, and at ten o'clock, at night, we put up; 21st, we set out again, at 9 o'clock, and went another fifteen miles of the Lake, where I encamped about sunset, when it began to snow, and continued snowing until 8 o'clock, on the 22nd, and then cleared. We put off immediately, and encamped on an island about 40 miles from Oswego, at eleven o'clock, at night; the wind sprang up from the southeast, when I was obliged to put off for the main land, which was distant about three miles. The wind blowing very hard, we were obliged to haul up our Batteaux.

23rd.—The wind still blowing very hard, we were obliged to continue here, as also the four following days. The wind blew continually from the Southwest, West, and Northwest, with squalls of snow, hail, and rain, in such a manner as I never saw before.

27th.—Our provisions growing scarce, a number this day started for Oswego, by land.

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LETTER OF CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN TO FR. S. JOHNSON, IN CONNECTICUT.

THE STAMP ACT—SOUTH CAROLINA—SLAVERY.

WE are indebted to the Hon. GEO. BANCROFT, for a copy of the following letter of Gadsden:

CHARLESTOWN, S. C., April 16, 1766.

DEAR SIR: About three weeks since I rec'd your very obliging favor of the 10th January, about a fortnight before which by the means of my friend, Mr. Torrans, I sent you, under his cover to his brother-in-law, Mr. Wm. Smith, of New York, copy of our Committee of Correspondence's letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> Dec. last, to our Agent, Mr. Garth, together with a copy of all our public matters, that occurred here since my last, of the 2<sup>d</sup> Dec., which I hope you have rec'd.

We were in hopes, the first instant, that we had very nearly cleared ourselves of the difficulties attending the Stamp Act, as our four assistant Judges at the time, gave it as their unanimous opinion that our Courts ought to be opened and business carried on as usual, without stamps. In this they overruled the Chief Justice, whose character and abilities (if he has either), you cannot be unacquainted with, who was of a different opinion. But the Clerk of the Common Pleas, Mr. Dougal Campbell, refused to do his part, and make an entry they ordered; they appointed another to do it, and out of tenderness to him, did not commit him for his refractoriness, not being

\* Caughnawaga, or Sault St. Louis.

aware of such a refusal and, expecting he would think better of it the next day, or if he did not, that the Lieut. Gov. upon their application, would suspend him, accordingly the next day finding Mr. Campbell obstinate, and they could not meet again as a Court till May, they waited on the Lieut. Gov. to suspend him, when his Honor gave them the greatest reason to expect he would (as I have it from three of the Judges themselves) and only desired they would reduce their application to writing, this they did laying their complaint against their Clerk generally as a refusal to obey the orders of the Court without mentioning anything relative to the Stamp Act. In the meantime the Clerk petitioned the Lt. Gov. upon which his Honor told the Judges that he thought himself obliged to lay the matter before the Council, consisting chiefly of Placemen and men of known arbitrary principles and very slender abilities, they advised his Honor against the suspension and what is very extraordinary these very gentlemen a few days afterwards, upon an application to his Honor for a special Court in behalf of a transient person, to recover a debt according to a peculiar Law of this Province, which was also laid before them advised his Honor to order the Chief Justice to hold such a Court which his Honor did, and the Chief Justice has refused to do. Thus stands this interesting affair at present. The Assembly the middle of March had agreed among themselves for the convenience of the country gentlemen, it being planting time to adjourn for six weeks, *de die in diem* by the Speaker or any seven town members according to a provision in our Election Law unless any thing very extraordinary should happen in the interim, in such case upon proper notice they would come down, they are accordingly summoned to attend the 21st instant, a week sooner than the agreed adjournment upon the important matter when I make no doubt they will take every step becoming the representatives of a free people. Our Lt. Governor in his private character is a very agreeable polite man and very well beloved, but as a Governor is and always has been the weakest and most unsteady man I ever knew, so very obliging that he never obliged. The regard for him as a private gentleman has had too great weight with many in our house and occasioned great difficulties. In short 'tis a great and common misfortune, that weak and good natured men very often carry not only their private attachments, but their particular and sensible compassions if I may use the expression to very unwarrantable lengths and are often driven thereby into the greatest inconsistencies being as it were tossed perpetually from one particular feeling or compassion to another, without any permanent principle to rest upon. This seems to have been the case with one or

two of our counsellors, who are really honest, well meaning but very weak men in the matter just mentioned. Mr. Campbell's case appeared to them very hard and pitiable as a private man, who they were made to believe (though it was only perverseness in him) liable to great penalties &c. upon his complying with the Judges order relative to the Stamp Act notwithstanding that order was founded on the Lt. Governor's certificate that no stamps were to be had, out of a strong, tender, sensible, particular feeling for his case, they advise the Governor not to suspend him. A very few days after the same uneasy sensation upon finding that an honest, transient person was likely to lose his just debt through the knavery of a settler, obliges them to give an opinion that subverts the other.

Enclosed you have the Chief Justice's opinion and that of the judges, this last drawn up by my friend Mr. Lowndes, a gentleman who though without the happiness of hardly a common education, yet by his own application and close attention to public business has made himself deservedly conspicuous and respected. I told my friend, I differed from him in the principle he went upon, that is, I should have built chiefly on the constitutionality of the Act and asserted it so, roundly; he, I know, thinks it as unconstitutional as I do, but imagined it more prudent and advantageous in our present circumstances not to touch upon that string. He and neither of his brethren are of the Law so that you must make all allowances.

The 9<sup>th</sup> instant a number just sufficient to make a House met together only to order the resolutions of the Congress and their several addresses to be printed. This was occasioned by some industrious insinuations and misrepresentations of those matters by a set of Jacobites we have in town, indeed the people in general were desirous of seeing them and as we know the vessels in which the papers went, have been long since arrived, and that the addresses must (or ought to) have been presented several months ago unless artfully suppressed, the House generally agreed thereto.

We are a very weak Province, a rich growing one, and of as much importance to Great Britain as any upon the continent; and great part of our weakness (though at the same time 'tis part of our riches) consists in having such a number of slaves amongst us, and we find in our case according to the general perceptible workings of Providence where the crime most commonly though slowly, yet surely, draws a similar and suitable punishment that slavery begets slavery. Jamaica and our West India Islands demonstrate this observation which I hope will not be our case now, whatever might have been the consequences had the fatal attempts been delayed a few years longer,

when we had drank deeper of the Circean draught and the measure of our iniquities were filled up. I am persuaded with God's blessing we shall not fall or disgrace our sister Colonies at this time. Many are the difficulties we have had to struggle with, and not the least of them are owing to a number of artful Jacobites in town who leave nothing untried to poison the minds of the people, but thank God the country in general are very hearty, where are few of these wretches. We are determined to be patient til we hear the final issue of this affair, that we may avail ourselves of every justification if pushed to extremities. But if we be, there are no lengths but many gentlemen and others who are to be depended on will go to maintain our liberties, and the North Carolina Association which we all admire here is what I believe, will be generally signed and supported. Our latest accounts to be depended on are from Liverpool of the 12<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup> when the fatal matter was not determined and the opinion of its issue various. In order that you may judge what a set of wretches we have amongst us in town, I will mention to you the following anecdote that happened not many nights since upon or soon after the arrival of the above Liverpool news. As a gentleman of reputation was going to a tavern upon a dark night he overheard in the street a very extraordinary expression, which induced him to stop and which he thought a sufficient excuse for his listening unperceived, to the discourse of two persons, who were then in close conversation, an elderly man and a young one as he took them to be: one of them said he hoped the Stamp Act would not be repealed, for it would be a fine opportunity for Charley and he would go any lengths; the other replied, He wished so too, but that as he was now in easy circumstances he should be afraid to venture unless there was a great probability. These are the wretches that have been principally the occasion of the *Apostacy of Georgia* and are laying every snare they possibly can for us, while our ports were shut, and no probability as they thought of their being opened. These were the folk, who were continually saying: We don't like the Stamp Act any more than you do, but why don't you get the Port open upon the same terms as they are in many places to the northward? When about three months were elapsed and a very great number of shipping were in harbor chiefly owned in Great Britain, and we were afraid that the number of sailors would force the stamps upon us, as had been done in Georgia, and plainly saw such a design working and with the assurance of Mr. Randolph the Surveyor General for the Southern District, who providentially arrived at this critical juncture, a push was made to open our ports, that happily succeeded, then these con-

tradictory wretches did every thing in their power to prevent it. Thank God, we have got over most of our present difficulties, and I believe have been of as much service to the common cause by that long detention of such a number of British-owned shipping (which we kept as long we dared) as long as any of our sister Colonies upon the continent.

For my part I have been always of opinion that these unconstitutional proceedings that have occasioned so much uneasiness were intended by the Jacobitical party that seem to have been too long and still to be uppermost, to throw the nation into confusion, in order to create a necessity for that slavish alteration which they wish for, and supposing it should happen, which God forbid, though to me it would not be surprising to hear of it very shortly, then as according to the old proverb, they that hide can find, so in this case he upon whose account this confusion is created, may be thought capable of early putting all to rights again, no doubt on such a resolution, the Cider and Stamp Act, &c. would be immediately repealed with the most pretended abhorrence in order to acquire a necessary popularity and to gain time to fix himself in the saddle and then good (or rather bad) night to the English liberties on the other side of the great herring pond at least. The Cider Act immediately after so scandalous a Peace, seems to have been for a trial of the People's spirit, which instead of appearing in the Old English manner upon such an alarming occasion, evaporating altogether in talk and newspaper essays the Ministry thought they might do any thing. God grant that our stand may be of service to the cause of liberty in England and effectually awake the starters and big talkers in their sleep there. But I have done and heartily beg your pardon for this tedious prate. Pray make my compliments to Messrs. Dyer and Rowland, and be assured that I am, with great sincerity,

Dr Sir

Your very affectionate, l<sup>th</sup> Servant,  
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

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#### AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TIONONTATES OR DINONDADIES, NOW CALLED WYANDOTS.

THE tribe which, from the time of Washington's visit to the Ohio, in 1753, down to their removal to the West in 18... played so important a part under the name of Wyandots, but who were previously known by a name which French write Tionontates; and Dutch, Dinondadies, have a history not uneventful, and worthy of being traced



clearly to distinguish them from the Hurons or Wyandots proper, of whom they absorbed one remnant, leaving what are now only a few families near Quebec, to represent the more powerful nation.

Champlain penetrated to the country of the Hurons; and the Tionontates, are mentioned by the nick-name given them by the French traders: Petuneux, that is, Tobacco Indians, from their raising large quantities of it. Ever a thrifty, commercial, and agricultural people, they were almost the only instance of a tribe raising any crop for sale; and down to this day, they have continued to bargain shrewdly.

The Recollect missionary, Father Joseph Le Caron, remained in a Huron village while Champlain accompanied a war party against the Iroquois of Western New York; and on the explorer's return, early in 1616, proceeded with him to the country of the Tionontates. "They have," says Champlain, "large villages and palisades, and plant Indian corn," besides the tobacco, from the cultivation and trade in which, as we remarked, they took their name.

Their distance from the Huron towns is not stated by Champlain, Sagard, or Le Clercq. In later Jesuit Relations it is stated variously, doubtless according to the place of the writer, as, eight leagues, twelve or fifteen leagues, and two days' journey (Rel. 1636, p. 105; Rel. 1637, p. 163; Rel. 1648, p. 46). Their language seems to have been identical with the Hurons, no allusion being made to any dialectic difference, as in the case of the Neutral Nation (Rel. 1636, p. 53; Rel. 1640, p. 95).

They were, at this period, at peace with the Hurons, but this had not always been the case. According to Jerome Lalemant (Rel. 1640, p. 95), long and bloody wars had divided them; but a peace was finally made, which proved a lasting one, and in 1640 it had been recently renewed and a confederation formed against common enemies.

After the visit of Champlain and Le Clercq, we have no further allusion to them, till the establishment of the Jesuit mission, after Canada was restored by the English. In 1635, Brebeuf mentions them as Klionontatehronons (Rel. 1635, p. 32). Two years after, in April, 1637, they were visited by Father Charles Garnier, who laid the foundation of a mission; but the medicine men who had opposed Le Caron, were no less suspicious of Garnier. An epidemic which ravaged the country, was attributed to the witchcraft of the French, and a beaver robe was offered to the missionaries to propitiate their favor and induce them to stop the disease (Rel. 1638, p. 34; Rel. 1639, p. 88).

Father Isaac Jogues and Charles Garnier, who visited it, and founded there the Mission of the

Apostles, in 1640, found the nation in nine towns, Ehwaé, being the chief one. Their account of the tribe is not very full (Rel. 1640, pp. 35, 51, 95). The next year, when Garnier returned with Father Peter Pijart, he found that Ehwaé had been destroyed by a hostile force, but, unfortunately, we are not told who the enemy was (Rel. 1641, p. 69). The missions were too widespread, and the missionaries, for a time, now merely paid stated visits to the Tionontate villages (Rel. 1642, p. 88), and for some years we find no further details as to their history.

"At last, however," says Father Garnier in a letter of August, 1648, "this nation of the Petun, having asked the missionaries partly to instruct them, and partly to make themselves formidable to their enemies, by the report that spread that they had French in their country, Father Garreau and I were sent. He, to instruct the Algonquins residing in that nation of the Petun, although of a different language from our Hurons, and I, to instruct the Hurons." (See, too, Rel. 1648, p. 61.)

They accordingly, in October, 1646, took up their residence at Ekarenniondi or St. Mathias, a town composed of Tionontates and Algonquins.

This would show that the nation had been reduced to two towns, Etharita, or St. John's, of the Wolf tribe, and Ekarenniondi, or St. Mathias, of the Stag.

In 1648 we first find mention of Tionontates killed by Senecas (Rel. 1648, p. 49). A third mission was established in 1649; but all was soon to close. On the destruction of most of the Huron towns, in 1648, many of the survivors fled to the mountains of the Tionontates (Rel. 1649, p. 26), and this soon drew the warlike Iroquois upon them.

In December, 1649, the Wolf town, called by the missionaries St. John, containing about 500 or 600 families, being informed by the missionaries on the Huron island, that an Iroquois force was in the field, bent on attacking one of them, resolved to await them, but after waiting some days, set out to attack them on their march. Unfortunately they took a different route from that by which the enemy were advancing; and during their absence the Iroquois surprised the town, massacring the old, the women and children, and after giving all to the flames, retired in haste. The missionaries remained for a time at their Huron mission, but in 1650, led a party of their converts to Quebec, and abandoned the Huron territory. A band of Tionontates attempted to follow them, but were cut off by the Iroquois (1651, p. 5). The tribe, then wasted by war, fled to the island of Michilimackinac, as Perrot and Dablon seem to agree in assuring us (Rel. 1671, p. 37; Rel. 1672, p. 36; Moeurs des Sauvages, p. 161; Colden's Five Nations, p. 28), then to

the Noquet Islands (Rel. 1672, p. 36), and then, says Perrot, to Mechingan (Mœurs, &c., p. 161), with the Ottawas, thenceforth for many years their inseparable companions. Grown careful by repeated disasters, they cultivated the ground carefully, and kept well to their fort, so that when an Iroquois war-party came, the Tionontates and Ottawas defied them; and the assailants were soon glad to make offers of peace, so as not to be pursued. Yet the Ottawas tried to poison them, and the Chippeways and Illinois soon after cut off the whole party. This was apparently in 1655.

Their position was however too exposed, the fugitives crossed to the other side of Lake Michigan, descended the Wisconsin, and mounting the Mississippi, to the river of the Iowas, sought refuge among the Dacotas. These tribes as yet ignorant of fire-arms, regarded the Hurons with a wonder which they returned with contempt. After the Ottawas had settled in peace at Isle Pelée, the Hurons attacked the Dacotas, but being defeated and harassed in turn by this tribe, retired to the sources of the Black River, the Ottawas continuing their retreat to Chagoimegon. The Tionontates or Hurons, as they are generally called by writers at this period, were then about sixty leagues from Green Bay, it was supposed (Rel. 1660, p. 27), and invited their old missionary, Father Menard, from Chagoimegon; but the veteran perished in an endeavor to reach their town, on Black River (Rel. 1663, p. 21). When Allouez raised his chapel at Chagoimegon, the Tionontates removed thither to enjoy the advantages of French trade and French protection against the Sioux and Iroquois, who still pursued them. Their village lay on one side of the mission, the Ottawa village on the other (Rel. 1667, p. 15). At Chagoimegon they subsisted on maize and the produce of their fisheries, relying but little on hunting (Rel. 1670, p. 86). They numbered from four to five hundred souls, but from long mingling with pagan tribes had almost lost all traces of Christianity. Their missionary, the celebrated Father Marquette, endeavored not only to reclaim them, but to create peace; he sought to win the Sioux, and sent them pictures as symbols, being as yet unable to address them. Still keeping up the Sioux war, a party of one hundred Hurons, entered the Dacota territory, but were surrounded and retreating to the narrow necks of land into which the country is cut up, were all taken actually in nets, by the Dacotas. To prevent the escape of the Hurons, they stretched nets with bells across each isthmus, and as the Hurons in the dark attempted to escape they betrayed themselves and were all taken but one, called by the French "Le Froid" (Perrot).

On this the Sioux armed, and sending back Father Marquette's presents, declared war (Rel.

1672, p. 36). The Ottawas retired to Ekaentouton, and the Hurons to Mackinaw (1671, p. 39), founding the Mission of St. Ignatius.

In 1672, Marquette wrote to Dablon: "The Hurons, called Tionontateronnon or Petun nation, who compose the Mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimakinong, began last year, near the chapel, a fort inclosing all their cabins." Their number, he states elsewhere, at 380 (see his letter in Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, p. 62). From what is said in the Relation of 1671-2, that the Hurons settled on the island, one may infer that this fort and chapel were there, nothing appearing in the Relations of 1672-3, to indicate a change.

They soon, however, transferred their town to the mainland: and this village is that from which the discoverers of the Mississippi set out, and to which the remains of Marquette were finally so strangely brought, as described by Dablon (Rel. 1673-9, p. 58).

In 1676 or 7, the Senecas sent an embassy to the Hurons, bearing very rich presents, offering aid against the Sioux, but really, as the missionaries believed, to allure them to New York (Rel. 1676-7, p. 47).

The Recollect Father Hennepin, who visited their town in 1679, with La Salle,—his pioneer vessel, the Griffin, bearing them to that spot,—describes the Huron village as surrounded with palisades 25 feet high, and very advantageously situated on a promontory, towards the great point of land opposite Missilimakinak (Decouverte dans l'Am., Sept. in Voyages au Nord, vol. ix., p. 124).

Their intercourse with the Senecas now became frequent (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 164); when the murder of Annanhae, a Seneca chief, by an Illinois, in their presence, in 1681, exposed them to war (II., pp. 175, 176), they treated with them separately, drawing on themselves the reproaches of Frontenac (*Ib.*, p. 188).

Sasteretsi was regarded at this time as head chief or king, and all was done in his name. Ten canoes bearing his word, Sotioias or the Rat being the speaker, attended an Indian congress at Montreal, Aug. 15, 1682. The other chiefs mentioned, are Ondahiastehen (Burnt tongue), and Oskouëndeti (the Runner).

In 1686, Scoubache, one of their number, betrayed his countrymen, so that seventy, who were hunting in the Saginaw country, fell into the hands of the Iroquois and were carried off (O'Callaghan's Col. Doc., N. Y., vol. ix., p. 293).

The active Dongan, however, wished to win the Tionontates and Ottawas to the English cause, claiming Michilimackinac as English territory. He sent traders there in 1686, who were escorted by the Senecas for a distance, were well received by

the Hurons, who took them on their way to prevent any French pursuit (*Ib.*, p. 297). On their return, he sent another party, comprising some French deserters, under Colonel Gregory, to winter with the Senecas and induce them to restore the Huron prisoners, and at the same time open a trade in the spring. A second party was to follow (*Ib.*, 308). The Tionontates, on their side, won by the persuasions of the Senecas, and the cheapness of English goods, could scarcely be restrained from removing *en masse* to New York, but the missionaries and French officers succeeded in retaining them (*Ib.*, p. 325; vol. v., 437). MacGregory fell into the hands of de la Durantaye, who made the English all prisoners, and the Tionontates, whom he led, fought bravely beside Denonville, in his battle with the Senecas, July 13, 1687 (Colden's Five Nations, p. 73).

The second English party, also led by Tionontate prisoners as guides, fell into Tonti's hands, and through the Tionontates, endeavored to induce Tonti's Indians to murder him; they refused (Colden's Five Nations, p. 75) thus to espouse the English cause.

In the winter of this year, a party sent out from Michilimackinac under Saentsouan, passing Detroit on the 2d of December, on their way to the Seneca country. When they had been out ten days, they surprised an Iroquois encampment, killing or taking sixty-two, only two escaping of the whole camp. The Tionontates lost three, and returned with eighteen prisoners (*La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 111).\*

The Rat, called in the dispatch of Frontenac (O'Callaghan's Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 178), Souïtas, and Souïti; by Charlevoix, Kondiaronk; by La Hontan, Adario, probably a fictitious name based on the last, also led a war-party against their ancient foes (*La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 117) early in 1688, but the peace made by Denonville was not agreeable to him, and he craftily resolved to produce a rupture. Knowing that deputies were to proceed to the French to confirm the peace, he attacked them, killing several of the party and taking the rest prisoners. The surprised ambassadors explained the nature of their errand, when the Rat pretended that he had been sent by Denonville to ent them off treacherously; and, as if regretting his unfortunate part in it, urged them to revenge it by a decisive blow. As he lost one in the action, he took a Shawnee slave in his stead, and on returning to Mackinac, gave him to the French, who executed him, and the Rat sent one of the Iroquois prisoners to the Sen-

eca country, to attest this confirmation of French treachery.

By this artful design he roused the spirit of the Iroquois, who burst in their fury on Montreal Island, with some New Yorkers, and butchered over two hundred of the French settlers with every form of brutality (*La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 191; O'Callaghan's N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., pp. 391, 393, 402; Colden, p. 87; Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 535; Perrot, 282).

But while the Rat, in his hatred of the Iroquois would keep up the war at all hazards, another Tionontate chief, the Baron, was a decided friend of the English and Five Nations. He dissembled, however, and in July, 1696, represented the village in a congress of the Indians at Montreal, professing all eagerness to carry on the war (O'Callaghan's Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 478); but he had, in reality withheld the braves of the village from taking the war-path, and had, on the contrary, sent his son and thirty braves with nine belts to the Senecas (Colden, p. 114; Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 156).\* In 1695, he gave great trouble to La Motte Cadillac, by his efforts in favor of the Iroquois (Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 605), and soon after attempted to exercise the influence of a seer, by bringing a package of skins as the message and present of an imaginary centenarian hermit, at Saginaw (*Ib.*, 607). La Motte prevented their renewing the Sioux war, but the Baron's son set out with a party to Seneca, to return some Iroquois prisoners and fourteen belts, to say: "Our Father has vexed us, he has long deceived us. We now cast away his voice; we will not hear it any more. We come without his participation to make peace with you to join our arms. The chief at Michilimackinac, has told us lies; he has made us kill one another. Our Father has betrayed us. We listen to him no more" (*Ib.*, p. 619).

Deputies of the Iroquois then proceeded to Michilimackinac, bearing Anick's belt, an invitation of the English, addressed through the Iroquois to the western tribes to eat White Meat, that is, to massacre the French (*Ib.*, p. 644).

These belts were accepted in spite of all Cadillac's efforts (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 162), and the Hurons with their Algonquin allies, gave belts and presents in return, among other things a red stone calumet of remarkable beauty and size. A trade was immediately opened and the Iroquois soon after departed laden with furs. But the Indian mind was easily swayed. Cadillac con-

\* *La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 115, in his letter of May, 1688, says: "That the Hurons and Ottawas had each a village separated by a simple palisade, though the latter were building a fort. The Jesuit house and church being next the Hurons in an inclosure by themselves."

\* In July, 1693, when Fletcher met the deputies of the Five Nations, at Albany, an Oneida chief informed him that it was proposed by all the Five Nations to make peace with the Dinondahies; that the Senecas had undertaken it, and had taken belts of wampum from the other nations to confirm it. To this they desired the governor's consent, and asked him to send a belt, which he did.—*Colden*, p. 155.

vened the tribes, they forsook their allies, an Ottawa war-party started in pursuit of the Iroquois, whom they overtook and cut to pieces, killing thirty, drowning as many, and returning loaded with scalps, prisoners, and plunder (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 164). Among the prisoners were some Hurons, who were sent back to their village (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 646). This affair, however, caused a bitter feeling between the Hurons and Ottawas, which led to fatal results; the conceited and tyrannical Cadillac inflaming still more the breach he had created. The Hurons were the first to suffer, one of their parties being massacred by the Ottawas, a son of the Rat falling a victim (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 648).

The Rat, however, remained firm, and when the Baron retired to the Miamis, he learned that an Iroquois force was coming to join him. Against this force he took the field, and by pretending flight, drew them into disorder, then turned and completely defeated them, killing, among the rest, five of the greatest Seneca captains (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 212).

The Baron's withdrawal from Mackinaw closed for a time the negotiations with the Iroquois; and after he settled among the Mohawks, with his adherents, he no longer figures in history (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., pp. 670, 672). It is said that the whole Dinondadie nation would have joined the Iroquois, if the latter had consented to their forming a village apart, as a sixth nation, but that the League steadily refused to do this.

The tribe now in the name of Sasteratsi their king, professed their allegiance to the French crown (N. Y. Col. Doc., p. 667), and when the Senecas threatened the Ottawas, and cut off some French at Mackinaw, in 1698, the Hurons, on both occasions, took the field and cut the assailants to pieces (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 224; N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 684).

La Motte Cadillac's great project was to establish a post at Detroit, and, in 1701, he began Fort Pontchartrain at that place, inducing a portion of the Hurons to accompany him, which they did readily, from their hostility to the Ottawas (D'Aigremont, in Sheldon's Michigan, p. 289). The missionary at Mackinaw, Father Stephen de Carheil, was averse to the change, and believed that the liquor trade of the new post would prove their ruin; but thirty more followed, in 1703, leaving only twenty-five at Mackinaw (Sheldon's Michigan, p. 104). Before 1706 all had departed, and the missionaries, burning their house, descended to Quebec (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 306), the presence of a Franciscan missionary at Detroit, dispensing with their services there.

The Hurons were lured to Detroit by great plans of the visionary Cadillac. He was going to make Frenchmen of them all; and as the Jesuits

had tried to convert first and civilize after, he attempted to civilize first and convert after. His plan was to enrol the braves as soldiers, dress them in French uniform, and subject them to discipline; to dress and educate the children, teaching them the French language. A fine oak house, forty feet by twenty-four, was built for the head chief, on the river side overlooking the Huron village. This was the first instalment, but it is needless to say that the Huron regiment never figures in the military annals of France.

Soon after their removing to Detroit they took up the hatchet against the English (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 704); but on the peace, attended the general council of the tribes at Montreal, their chief, Kondiaronk, being received with honor, and rendering essential service to the French. Before the close of the council, he fell sick, but continued to attend till he was so prostrated that he died the day of his removal to the hospital. As he was greatly esteemed by the French, and bore the rank of captain in the army, he was interred with the greatest honors, the governor and all the officers attending the funeral, which opened with sixty soldiers, followed by sixteen Hurons, the clergy, the coffin, with the chapeau, sword, and gorget, to mark his rank; his brothers and children succeeded as mourners, followed by the governor (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 276).

The chief who next acquired the ascendancy in the tribe, was one called by the French Quarante Sols (Forty Pence). He favored the English and Iroquois, and, like the Baron, endeavored to open a trade through the Miamis, finding the French goods exceedingly dear (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 291; N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 743).

The English influence led, in 1703, to an attempt to burn the fort, and completely divided the western tribes. The Hurons, still jealous of the Ottawas, sided against them, in 1706, when the latter attacked the Miamis at Detroit, and in the confusion killed the Recollet Father Constantine, and a soldier, but when Cadillac subsequently marched against the Miamis, they joined him, though strongly suspected of plotting to cut off the French (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 323). Their war-parties were, however, sent principally against the Southern tribes; the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Shawnees, whose territories they reached by way of Sandusky, the Scioto, and Ohio (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 886).

In 1710, when the western tribes hesitated to take up the hatchet against the English, the Dinondadies set them an example, by taking the field (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 358), and when, two years after, the Foxes besieged du Buisson, in Detroit, in May, 1712, they came with the other allies from their hunting-ground, and after dis-

lodging the Foxes from their first camp, cut them to pieces in that to which they subsequently retreated. In the long and stubborn fight, the Hurons lost more heavily than any other of the tribes (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 373; Sheldon, p. 298).

A memoir on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi, in 1718, published in the New York Colonial Documents (vol. ix., p. 887), says, that the Hurons were about three furlongs from the French fort, and adds: "This is the most industrious nation that can be seen. They scarcely ever dance, and are always at work; they raise a very large amount of Indian corn, peas, and beans; some grow wheat. They construct their huts entirely of bark, very strong and solid; very lofty, and arched, like arbors. Their fort is entirely encircled with pickets, well redoubled, and has strong gates. They are the most faithful nation to the French, and the most expert hunters that we have. Their cabins are divided into compartments, which contain their misrague, and are very clear. They are the bravest of all the nations and possess considerable talent. They are well clad. Some of them wear close overcoats. The men are always hunting, summer and winter, and the women work. When they go hunting in the fall, a goodly number of them remain to guard their fort."

Their number at this time is represented (*Ib.* p. 888) as one hundred fighting men.

Charlevoix, represents their village, in 1721, as being on the American side, near Fort Pontchartrain, but not as near it as the Pottawatomie village. Sasteretsi, the king, was a minor, his uncle acting as regent. There was no resident missionary; although the tribe, especially the female portion, were anxious to have once more a clergyman able to instruct them in their own language. Like the writer last quoted, he bears testimony to the industry of the Tionontatez-Hurons. Comparing them to the other tribes, he calls them more steady, industrious, laborious, and provident: "Being more accustomed to farming, he thinks of what is advantageous; and by his labor, is able not only to support himself without aid, but also to maintain others. He does not indeed do it gratuitously, for among his good qualities disinterestedness is not to be numbered" (*Hist. Nouvelle France*, vol. ii., p. 259).

In the earlier accounts, as we have stated, the families of this tribe are given as the Wolf and Deer; but Charlevoix, who here styles the tribe the Nation of the Porcupine, says that their totems are the Bear or Deer, Wolf, and Turtle, thus making their families correspond with the great Iroquois families. Yet, he remarks, that in a treaty at Mackinaw, their signature was a beaver. De la Chauvagnerie, in 1736 (*N. Y. Col.*

*Doc.*, vol. ix., p. 1058), gives the totems of the Turtle, Bear, and Plover; but Father Potier, in 1745, gives the families, or as he styles them, bands, as follows: Oskenmouton, the Deer; Andiasich, the Turtle, and Hammariskga, the Wolf; the Deer being subdivided into Esontenmonk, Eangontroumon, Hatimionen; the Turtle into Enneustenronnon, Eronisseeromon, Ateieromon, Entieronnon; and the Wolf, into the Hatinaariskwa, Hatindesonk, and the Hotiraon and Tia-taentsi—the two last, forming one band, making ten in all. These are, apparently, the ten tribes into which Finley (*Wyandot Mission*, p. 34), says, the nation is divided. He gives the totems, as Bear, Wolf, Deer, Porcupine, Beaver, Eagle, Snake, Big Turtle, Little Turtle, and Land Turtle. The chieftaincy or kingship, under the name of Sasteretsi, was in the Esontenmonk down to recent times; Finley says, till Wayne's victory, in 1794, in which the Deer tribe was almost annihilated, after which chiefs were taken from the Porcupine family.

In June, 1721, Tonti convened the Tionontates in council, to announce that he was about to stop the liquor trade, and to invite them to join in the war against the Foxes. To the former, they made no objection, admitting that it was a wise step; but they were averse to the war, as they had been too often sacrificed, hurried into needless wars, which the French concluded without consulting their interest in the least (Charlevoix, *Hist. N. F.*, vol. ii., p. 259; Sheldon's *Michigan*, p. 320). They did, however, take up the hatchet, in 1728, and served faithfully in Ligneris' expedition against the Foxes (Crespel, in Shea's *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness*, p. 141; Smith's *Wisconsin*, vol. i., pp. 339-345), and again in 1732 (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. ix., 1035).

In this last year, we see indices of a quarrel with the Senecas, who endeavored again to arouse the Ottawas against the Tionontates; but the latter were too powerful, and from having been a sorry band of fugitives, assumed a bold attitude, and began to assert claims, which our government recognized, and paid for largely. The tribe, which at Mackinaw had no ground, which had none at Detroit, now claimed all the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio, as their hunting-ground; and when the Shawnees spoke of settling there, warned them to plant their villages on the south of the river, if they would avoid trouble (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. ix., p. 1035). De la Chauvagnerie, in 1736, estimated their strength at two hundred fighting men.

When the war broke out, in 1744, the Tionontates of Detroit, took up the hatchet, and sent out many war-parties against the English (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. x., p. 20), but soon began to change sides. Their hunting-ground, as we have seen,

was the present State of Ohio, and Sandusky was their central point, doubtless, from the pure water which induced them to give it that name. The other points of wintering were Tiochienné, Cedar River, Karenoukaron, Pointe Pelée, Rivière de la Carrière, Sagoendaon, Huron River, Kerendinondi, Pointe au Rocher, Otsikwoimihac, Totontaraton, Tousetaen, Te ostiesarondi, Karhona, Wahiguac, Karindore, Otsandonske intac, Tsiawi-ke in Sandusky, Sonnioto (? Seito), Tonwatetiori, Etsoundontak, and Agaagué, on the Ohio. While scattered thus, they were in frequent communication with the English and their Indian allies, and soon showed an hostility to the French. A village under Nicholas, a war-chief, in Wyandot, Orantondi, had almost formed at Sandusky, and here they suddenly fell upon five French traders, whom they killed and robbed (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. x., p. 114). The hostility to the French then began to spread among the tribes of the West, encouraged by belts from the confederates in New York. A plan was formed, by the Hurons, to massacre the French at Detroit, and had well-nigh succeeded. As it was usual to let them sleep inside the fort, the conspirators resolved to enter as usual, and during the night, each one was to kill the people of the house where he was. Fortunately, for the French, a squaw overheard this, and sent information to M. de Longueuil, the commander, who baffled their project (N. Y. Col. Documents, vol. x., pp. 83, 84).

The missionary Father Potier on this retired from the village in Bois Blanc island to Detroit (N. Y. Col. Doc., p. 116).

A manuscript of this missionary contains a census of the tribe, in 1745, and also in 1746, from which it appears that in the former year, the small village (near the fort?) contained nineteen cabins, the large village (on Bois Blanc island?), fifteen, with eight in the fields, and four on White River, Sasteretsi, being the king or chief of the Deer band; Angwirot, of the Turtle; and Taéchiaten, of the Wolf; Nicholas, la Foret, Tonti, Le Brutal, Bricon, and Matthias, being prominent men. The next year, he enumerates only seventeen in the small village; fifteen, in the large village; eight at Etiontout, and four, as before, on White River, or Belle Rivière. Of the whole tribe, nine are put down as Iroquois, among them Bricon, a leading man; four, as half-breed Ottawas; one Pottawatomio, two Abnakis, six Choc-taws, fifteen Foxes, two Chickasaws.

The Indians of Sasteretsi's and Taéchiaten's bands, immediately endeavored to exculpate themselves; but de Longueuil would not listen to them, referring them to the governor. Fearing a war, they sent down deputies, the occasion of the return of Mr. Belestre with some Lorette-

Hurons enabling them to do so safely. Sasteretsi and Taéchiaten, went in person, and in a council, at Montreal, on the 9th of August, 1747, asked for the return of Father de la Richardie. This was granted, and they set out in September, having been delayed by the sickness of Taéchiaten, who in fact died on the way back. The murder seems to have been disclaimed, and a promise made to insist on the surrender of the murderers; but this was no easy matter, Nicholas being powerful, and gathering many around him, besides influencing those at Detroit. Much depended on the influence of Father Richardie; but his arrival and mission at Sandusky, seem to have had but little influence. A Huron, named Tohaké, who had been supposed dead, but who really had been at New York, returned, and began to treat with the western tribes. Thus encouraged, Nicholas sent his belts to the various nations to urge a general rising. The Ottawas and Pottawatomies, who had promised Longueuil to destroy the Huron village on Bois Blanc island, deferred it on various pretexts; the Miamis seized and plundered the French among them, and French settlers and traders were cut off in all directions.

Longueuil was now in a most critical position. The English had so far gained the tribes that all the western posts were in danger, the English having in fact offered rewards for the heads of the several commanders. Longueuil could only temporize; he kept demanding the surrender of the murderers from Nicholas, and at last, in December, 1747, Nicholas, Ortoni, and Anioton or Le Brutal, came to make peace, surrender the English belts, and make reparation. Pardon was granted on the strange condition, that they should bring in two English scalps for each of the murdered Frenchmen. This was agreed to, but during the negotiation a motley band—Onondagas, Senecas, and Delawares—but led by a Huron, of Detroit, fired on a French canoe, wounding and, as was supposed, killing three persons. They were pursued, brought in, and the Onondaga killed on the spot, by the incensed French. The rest were imprisoned, but the Seneca committed suicide, and the others were given in January, 1748, to Scotache and Quarante Sons, Sandusky Hurons, as the Senecas and Delawares, of the Ohio, threatened to take vengeance on both French and Hurons (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. x., p. 191. See, also, pp. 128, 138-142, 145, 150-2, 160-7).

Still influenced by the English, Nicholas gathered his band on the White River, twenty-five leagues from Detroit, with one hundred and nineteen warriors, men, women, and baggage, burning his fort and village at Sandusky (Col. Doc., vol. x., 181), but many returned to Detroit.

During all these proceedings, Sasteretsi re-

mained faithful. Delegates of his band went to Quebec, and while the sachems remained to treat, the braves took the war-path against the English.

After a time matters became quieted, many removed to Sandusky, where Father de la Richardie established a mission, at the town of Sunyendeand, on a creek of the same name (meaning Rockfish).

The intrigues of the English to gain the western tribes, so steadily carried on from Dongan's time, showed the French government that nothing could save them but a line of forts at some intermediate line. When Niagara, Presqu'île, Venango, and Du Quesne arose, the fidelity of the western Indians was acquired.

The Senecas, Shawnees, and Dinondadies, now first called in English accounts Wyandots, at first protested against these forts, and met the Pennsylvania authorities at Carlisle; but the vigor of the French determined their choice. Beaujeu, in 1755, led a force, in which the Wyandots were conspicuous, to annihilate Braddock.

At the conclusion of that war, Col. Bouquet estimated their numbers at three hundred men.

When Pontiac rallied the tribes around him, to avoid the extinction which menaced them, the Wyandots, of Detroit, in spite of the efforts of their missionary, Father Potier, forgot their old English friendship and new allegiance, and joined the patriot forces of the chieftain, fighting better than any other tribe that joined him (Parkman's Pontiac, p. 215). Sandusky was full of traders, too many indeed to attack, so that there the wily Wyandots revealed the plot, assuring the English that their only chance of life was to become their prisoners, as such they could protect them from the other Indians. The credulous English consented, were disarmed, bound, and it is almost needless to say, butchered (Parkman's Pontiac, citing Loskiel). One only, Chapman, whom a frantic act at the stake, made the Indians suppose to be insane, escaped (Heckwelder, Hist. Ind. Nat., p. 250).

Before the siege of Detroit ended, however, those of the villages near the town, asked for, and obtained peace; but, when Dalyell arrived fresh from the destruction of the Wyandot towns near Sandusky, and the ravaging of the fields, they opened a fire on his vessel, which was returned, but the English lost fifteen killed. They then attempted to lure the English to their town, but failing then, soon had their rage satisfied in the battle of Bloody Bridge, where the devastator of their village fell (*Ib.*, p. 278). A party soon after attacked the schooner Gladwyn, killed the commander, and gained the deck, but fled when the mate called out to blow her up.

Dalyell had, as we have seen, ravaged the Sandusky towns; and when the Wyandots of De-

troit made peace with Sir William Johnson, at Niagara, in July, 1764, those of Sandusky held aloof, but when Bradstreet approached, they sent a deputation, promising to follow him to Detroit, if he would not attack them. To this he at once consented (Parkman's Pontiac, p. 464), and both Wyandot towns met him in council, in September, at Detroit.

Between this and the period of the Revolution, all seem to have centred at Sandusky, where the trader, whose estimate is preserved in the Madison papers, estimated them, in 1778, as able to send out one hundred and eighty fighting men. They were then hostile to the Americans, and influenced by Hamilton.

#### NEW YORK CITY DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Among the local points of history of the American Revolution, few surpass in interest the city of New York; the scene of many important events; the chief place of imprisonment of the captured patriots; the headquarters of the British commander.

The volume briefly noticed in our last, is, however, the first devoted especially to the Revolutionary history of New York city; and New York owes a debt of gratitude to the Mercantile Library Association for embodying, in so luxurious a shape, so many valuable pieces concerning the city during the Revolution and the struggles that immediately led to it.

The introductory paper, by Mr. Dawson, takes us back to 1767, and gives a most interesting feature of the city at that day: its merchants, their business; the residences of the leading men; the roads, markets, public buildings, and especially its military defences. This paper contains a table of the imports and exports of the various colonies between the years 1701 and 1767, compiled with no small labor, and which must prove extremely valuable to the historical reader, as enabling him to see at once the relative commercial importance of each, and the greater or less fidelity manifested in adhering to the non-importation agreement of 1765.

Thus familiarized with the condition of the city, its prosperity, progress, and leading citizens, the reader can peruse with much greater ease and profit the papers published in the volume, selections from the valuable Tomlinson Collection, purchased by the Association.

The first of these papers is a letter of E. Carther, describing the celebrated Stamp Act Riot, of Nov. 1, 1765, written on the following day, and quite graphic in its details. This bold defiance of the British power, and the punishment inflicted by

the mob on Mayor James for his contemptuous language towards the city, show how firmly resolved New York was to stand by its liberties and rights.

The letter of B. Y. Prime to Dr. Peter Tappen, in 1770, shows how the feeling was still strong and resolute in resisting the usurpations of the crown. The call of a "Son of Liberty, addressed to the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York," is a monument of our history.

In the Narrative of Col. Marinus Willett, here first given entire, we see the important point in the history of the city when the British rule ended, and a provisional government of the Centumviri was instituted; when, however, minds were yet so unsettled that Washington and Tryon were both received by the authorities, and when Gouverneur Morris thought the patriots too precipitate.

We have thus been led through the early Revolutionary history of New York, the opposition to the Stamp Act, the organization of the Liberty Boys, whose battle of Golden Hill was the first collision with the enemy; and their constant efforts down to the fall of the British rule.

Then followed the arrival of Lee, who began to fortify the city, and soon after of Washington and his army, when all were enthusiastic for liberty; but when Lord Howe appeared off Sandy Hook, the false soon showed themselves. Many then began to drop the words, "Your Excellency," "our liberties," "our Congress," and to admire the character of Howe. In May, the tories began to be disarmed, and some refusing the oath, were imprisoned by the mob. But they were active; and a plot was formed to cut off Washington. The mayor of the city, and several prominent men were engaged in it, and they contrived to gain one of Washington's Life Guard, an Irishman, named Hickey, who, convicted and found guilty by the testimony of the leaders in the plot, paid the penalty of his treason. Of this affair, many details are given in the letters of Curtenius, Varick, and Drowne, here published.

New York now became a scene of confusion. Many tories suspected of being active in the service of the enemy, were compelled to leave the city; others retired of their own accord. The timid, fearing a scene of war, had also, since February, been moving rapidly away. When Admiral Howe landed on Staten Island, a moment of anxiety commenced; and as the battle of Long Island proved so disastrous, Washington retreated from the city, in September, 1776, leaving most of his heavy cannon and part of the stores and provisions, followed by all whose zeal for their country would make them obnoxious to the English and tories, or who feared to be forced to serve against the cause of America.

The English then entered the city and remained

constantly in possession till November, 1783, welcomed by the tories and the timid, whose address, signed by a host of names, is here given. General James Robertson became military commander of the city, and military rule alone was known. Soon after, a destructive fire broke out, which swept from Whitehall to Barclay street, laying near one-sixth of the city in ruins, and depriving many of every thing they possessed. Another fire followed, but New York was still full of empty houses, although many had been taken for government use. As the war went on, squatters began to occupy some of these; and finally the authorities compelled these to pay rent, and applied the proceeds to the support of the poor.

The churches were generally closed, and had been turned to use by the British authorities, chiefly as prisons and hospitals, for after the defeat on Long Island and the capture of Fort Washington, New York was a vast prison-house. The Hall of Records, then the New Jail, was one scene of the sufferings of the captive patriots, though no inscription records it, and we earnestly call the attention of the city to the omission. The Sugar House, which stood on Liberty-street, near the post-office, was another. But while the sufferings of the soldiers in these dungeons were fearful as an English description of a Neapolitan prison, and ten times beyond the reality, the agonies of the sailors confined in the old Jersey and other prison-ships at the Wallabout, has no parallel in history. The American prisoners, who perished in the city and its waters, is beyond computation.

Of the British occupation, some less revolting views are found in the very interesting memorial of William Butler, in this volume, and which, curiously enough resulted from lawsuits instituted against him, after the war, for seizing property during the English occupation.

Of the military operations on and near the island, this volume contains Gov. Clinton's account of the well-fought battle of Harlem Plains, where the gallant Knowlton fell; Sir Henry Clinton in another, explains why he let Washington and Rochambeau pass him unmolested; and another document describes the preparations of the English for that evacuation of the city, which restored its exiled citizens to their homes, or the ruins where their once happy dwellings stood.

Such are the contents of this volume on the Revolutionary history of the city; and we trust that its publication will induce those possessing papers of the kind, to enrich the collection of the Association. In this way their publication will be doubly useful. Perhaps some diary of a patriotic New Yorker, during those days of peril, yet survives; some detailed account of the great fires, or of the martyred Hale's last moments.



LETTERS TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY, FROM  
LEADING TORIES IN AMERICA.

## No. I.

NEW YORK, NOV. 16, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I returned here from my long and horrible confinement in Connecticut the last day of October, but my joy was greatly damped on finding that you was sailed for England. I had almost determined to follow you, either in this packet, or in the fleet which is to sail with the Commissioners. But an unwillingness to quit the scene of action, where I think I might be of some service, if anything is intended to be done, has induced me to remain till I can discover what turn affairs are likely to take.

I have been so extremely hurried since my arrival here in receiving and returning visits, that I had it not in my power to put pen to paper till within these two or three days, when my time has been wholly engrossed in writing some long letters to the Ministry. I fully intended likewise to have wrote a long one to you, but I have not been able to accomplish it and the mail I have just heard is to be made up in a few minutes. Accept therefore this hasty scrawl for the present, and be assured I shall write you fully by the Commissioners (who will sail in a week or two at farthest) and that I am unalterably

Your faithful

And affectionate humble servant,

W. FRANKLIN.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq.,  
Care of Messrs. Joseph & Robert Barclay,  
Cheapside, London.

## No. II.

NEW YORK, NOV. 17, 1778.

DEAR GALLOWAY: I omitted writing by this packet to the last moment in hopes that I might have sent you something of importance.—Poor Roberts and Carlisle were executed y<sup>e</sup> 4th inst., at Philadelphia. General Grant sailed y<sup>e</sup> 3rd. Colonel Campbell now lies at y<sup>e</sup> Hook with near 4,000 under his command, supposed for y<sup>e</sup> Carolinas as is Grant for the West Indies; *undoubted intelligence of great divisions out of the lines*, almost reduced to a certainty of Col. Campbell's expedition succeeding.

It is said D'Estaing sailed from Boston y<sup>e</sup> 4th inst. Byron's fleet has been separated in a storm; y<sup>e</sup> Bedford of 74 guns has arrived dismantled; y<sup>e</sup> Monmouth is ordered out in her place as soon as ready.

Every body here expresses the greatest eagerness for action and only wishes that vigorous measures may be adopted—they say it will ensure success; y<sup>e</sup> September Packet being taken you

will easily conceive our anxiety for their arrival of the October mail as we are still in the dark, as to the measures intended to be pursued on this side of the Atlantick. Adieu and expect to hear from me by the Commissioner who sails in y<sup>e</sup> Roebuck, y<sup>e</sup> day week,

Your affectionate friend.

\* \* \* \* \*

## No. III.

NEW YORK, NOV. 22, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Your sudden departure with out affording me an opportunity of wishing you a good voyage, was a severe trial of my patience, though it certainly spared me some very painful moments. Till you are gone I know not how much I should regret your absence; the want of Miss Galloway's most agreeable conversation is a blank in my enjoyments which nothing here can pretend to fill up. I promised to send you the news, but it is from your quarter that everything interesting must come. Inform me of all the circumstances of your voyage—how Miss Galloway bore the sea, and whether she be yet reconciled to the smoke and gaiety of London. Do not fail to let me know whether any of my friends are likely to forward your *pursuits*; I should consider it as the principal happiness of my life to have been an instrument, however insignificant, in restoring prosperity to so respectable a family. Soon after you had embarked, Mr. Eden expressed to me his surprise at your sudden resolution. I had no other answer to make but that your uncomfortable situation here produced such a visible effect upon your spirits, that, in spite of the risk, none of your friends could advise you to stay. Col. Balfour also took an opportunity one day of wondering that you ventured to go, and added that your treatment had been cruel beyond all example. Grant, with his five or six thousand men sailed the beginning of this month; it was understood that, after assisting in the West India service, part of the foree was to be detached to Pensacola. About the same time a part or the whole of D'Estaing's fleet pushed out from Boston in a gale of wind; they were chased by some of Byron's squadron, but a storm arose which scattered all our fleet, so that the Admiral was left for some time alone. Two of our ships are dismantled, and a third, the Somerset, is wrecked upon the coast of New England, and all the crew that were saved are made prisoners. In the mean time we know not what has become of the French, and are not without apprehensions, that they will fall in with General Grant. Admiral Byron is supposed to be going with the remains of his fleet to the West Indies. Lt. Colonel Campbell, with about 2,500 men, was lying at the hook above a week ago, ready to sail,

when another very heavy gale of wind, besides doing other mischief, drove his ordnance vessel aground, where she received so much damage, that it was found necessary to put the stores aboard another ship, which has detained the expedition till now. Their destination is supposed to be Georgia at first, and afterwards to garrison St. Augustine. From some appearances here I cannot help suspecting that there is an intention of evacuating this place, if not immediately, at least next spring. I hope the loyal subjects of America will have sufficient influence at home to prevent any peace in which their interests are not considered. The moment this point is passed, I firmly believe that the next best step Great Britain can take in her present exigencies is to withdraw all her troops from the rebellious parts of America.

Governor Franklin arrived here soon after you went away, and is much caressed. Letters have been received for you, both from Pennsylvania and from England, of which your American friends have taken care. Indeed, both Mr. Shoemaker and Mr. Potts seem extremely anxious about everything that concerns you. The Daphne has taken a packet of despatches from Monsieur Gerard, to the Court of France. They are written in cyphers, so that we are not likely to be much the wiser, nor perhaps any person on your side of the water for Gerard would make use of no language that would convey his real intentions. In haste,

Your sincere and  
Affectionate friend,

\* \* \* \*

To J. G., Esq., London.

#### No. IV.

NEW YORK, Nov. 23, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR: Notwithstanding the pains I have taken to obtain the rebel papers since your departure, I have not been able to get more than two, which I received yesterday—agreeably to your request I have inclosed them to you.

You also requested me before your departure to acquaint you with any news that might be circulating here at the time I sent you the papers. This, undoubtedly, you will receive from some better hand than mine—but as the pleasure of writing to you is not a little flattering to me, and that I may in some degree fulfill my promise of doing it, I will take the liberty of mentioning some things which, perhaps, may be thought too terrible by some more worthy of your correspondents.

By the enclosed papers you will find that poor Roberts and Carlisle have been cruelly and most wantonly sacrificed. They were walked to the gallows behind the cart with halters round their necks attended with all the other apparatus that make such scenes truly horrible—and by a guard of militia, but with hardly any spectators: poor

Carlisle, having been very ill during his confinement, was too weak to say anything; but Mr. Roberts, with the greatest coolness imaginable, spoke for some time—and, however the mind shrinks back and startles at the reflection of so tragical a scene, it is with pleasure that I can inform you they both behaved with the utmost fortitude and composure. After their execution their bodies were suffered to be carried away by their friends—and Mr. Carlisle's body buried in the Friend's Burying Ground, attended by above four thousand people in procession; the others that have been tried since, Mr. Humills and a Mr. Turner, who are both acquitted. Those who are under trial are Mr. Stevens, Mr. Garrigues and Mr. Robert S. Jones—all of whom, tis feared, will suffer. A Mr. Ellwood, of Bucks County, has been tried there and is under sentence of death. He was out of his head at the time of his trial, and, indeed, ever since the army left Philadelphia. Livingston is reappointed Governor of New Jersey and more wantonly pursuing his career of barbarity and wickedness than ever. The congress are still carrying their measures by the most ridiculous and artful manuvres that ever gulled or deceived a people to counteract the effect of the manifests, which they were fearful would raise a buz among the people. They employed a number of men to come in as express, day after day, to Philadelphia, with intelligence that New York was about to be immediately evacuated, and such was the effect, that the people all through the country believe to this moment the event will take place in a little time, and of course, whatever they think of the manifests, find it prudent to say little about it.

At present, in Philadelphia, there is a very great apparent shyness between Monsieur Gerard and the congress. What the cause is I cannot learn, and only suppose it a congressional trick to carry some measure or other. It brings to remembrance a difference that subsisted between the Adamses and Hancock, about the time independence was first proposed, which, apparently, was carried so far as to refuse the hat to each other in the street. Hancock, pretending to oppose the independence, mixed with the companies of that way of thinking, and between them both, by this means, soon discovered who were for and who were against it, and then took their measures accordingly.

There has been some little hubbub in Washington's army about the money—the men insisting upon receiving four dollars instead of one, which being granted them, the matter is, I believe, settled.

I should be happy, was it in my power, to give you intelligence more worthy your attention, but, however trivial, it is your goodness will attribute more to my desire than to my ability of serving you.

Your kindness will also bear with me in soliciting your remembrance of me, and interests at the court of Britain, and in relating some matters concerning myself, that may perhaps entitle me among others to some recompense from thence. Your knowledge of me and my father and connexions, renders it unnecessary to mention the consistency of conduct we have observed on the side of Government, and the persecution we have suffered from the commencement of this dispute. But there are some circumstances attending it, that from your absence from Philadelphia, must have escaped your notice, and may, perhaps be of service in recommending me, should a printer be appointed for the Crown in the Province of Philadelphia—or should anything be done for those who have particularly suffered. In January, 1775, while parties were very high, I opened a paper in favor of Government—the only one in Pennsylvania, and in my very first number, published a piece against taking up of arms—in consequence of which, was sent for, by some leading men, orators of those times, and offered any sum I would rate the profit of my paper at, not exceeding twenty-five hundred pounds, to drop my paper—but rejecting their proposals, in my third number, published the famous Kent County letter, and so proceeded step by step through a good deal of very hard usage and persecution, printing every thing I could find in favour of Government, not only in my paper, but in pamphlets, &c. Privately and at my own expense, I printed and circulated in small hand-bills the Commissioners Declarations. The only answer to Common Sense, worth reading, I printed after the whole impression had been burned publicly in New York. Thus, I continued until November, 1776, when I was published and held up to the public, in the *Evening Post*, as Lord and General Howe's printer, in an Essay written, as Mr. Towne afterwards informed me, by J. Adams, with the signature of Tory. The Sunday following the publication of it, I received an anonymous note to leave the town immediately—which I had scarcely done, but my house was surrounded by fifty musqueteers—who not finding me seized my brother, and sent him under guard to the common jail, and made my father a prisoner on parole to his house. In this disagreeable situation did we remain till the arrival of the British troops. I am now a second time an exile—and unhappily in a worse situation than my former—being obliged to leave a wife behind me and all my effects—my effects to the amount of twenty-seven hundred pounds, the fruits of hard industry, they have seized and sold for the use of their state—an entirely out of business and what little cash I brought with me dwindling fast. Fearful of tiring your patience I omit many circumstances in which I have fre-

quently suffered for my attachment to government—and can only urge in excuse for troubling you thus far with my own affairs, that I have no other person in London, who has a better knowledge of me and my family, on whose good offices I can depend. Give me leave therefore to solicit your interests in my behalf, and should government think proper to make me any return for what I have lost, or grant me any support in present circumstances, it will be most thankfully and gratefully acknowledged by

Sir, your very humble and obt. servant,

JAMES HUMPHREYS, JUN.

To J. GALLOWAY, Esq. }  
London. }

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### FOREIGN.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES.—*Copenhagen, May 27, 1861.*—This Society held its anniversary meeting at the castle of Christiansborg, on the above date, his majesty, King Frederick VII., of Denmark, in the chair.

The Secretary, Professor C. C. Rafn, delivered a report of the proceedings and state of the Society during the year 1860.

Two volumes of the "Annals of Northern Archaeology" are in press. They contain several papers on ancient remains in the duchy of Sleswick, with the Poem of Brage the Old on the shield of King Ragnar Lodbrok.

Volumes of the *Archæological Review*, containing the proceedings of the Society, List of Fellows, etc., as also of the "Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord" in press. The *Review* contains a series of critical notices of several newly published works on American Antiquities, of which the "Antigüedades Peruanas," by Rivero and Tschudi, "Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale," par l'abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, and the "Evangelium Aztecum," edited by Bernardino Biondelli, have been reviewed in detail.

His majesty, the king, graciously exhibited a considerable number of very remarkable objects, with which his "Cabinet of Northern Antiquities" has been enriched since the last anniversary of the Society, viz.: numerous specimens of the Age of Stone, among others a triangular arrow-point of flint, found in a turf-pit near Thorsio, in Scania, sticking in a skull; moreover, several beautiful specimens of the Age of Bronze. Among the objects of the Age of Iron were

eighty-five, almost all very fine ones, found in the turf-moor at Thorsbjerg, near South-Brarup in Angel, together with a great and valuable collection preserved in the Flensborg Museum. Their age is attested by Roman coins found with them, the most recent one belonging to the emperor Commodus, whence we may conclude with some probability, that the objects just mentioned belong to the fifth century of our era. Among those now in his majesty's cabinet, are a chain-mail of iron, and a shoulder-buckle with gold and silver covering, a circular buckler of wood thirty-eight inches in diameter, several arrow-shafts of pine-wood, with incisions for the bowstring, a silver-mounting, destined for a sword-sheath, and covered with gold bands.

Of the objects exhibited by his majesty in the meeting, several have been selected for representation in the detailed report to be given in the "Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord."

General Fibiger, commander-in-chief of the artillery, exhibited some new and very curious pieces newly received for the historical collection of arms in the Royal Arsenal.

From Dr. Henry J. Rink, inspector of South Greenland, were received and exhibited vol. ii. of "Kaladlit okalluktalliat," or Greenlandic popular traditions, written down and communicated by natives, and a collection of wood-cuts, designed and executed by Esquimaux in illustration of the said traditions. Mr. Samuel Kleinschmidt, teacher at the Godthaab Seminary, had transmitted a compendious history of the world, written by him in the Greenlandic language, and printed at Neoungne.

Mr. Niels Arnzen, of Fall River, in the county of Bristol, and State of Massachusetts, had transmitted to the Society a "Warranty Deed," by which, "in consideration of his esteem for the editor of the *Antiquitates Americanae*, and the author of the 'Memoir on the discovery of America by the Northmen,' Professor C. C. Rafn, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, in Denmark, he does give, grant, and convey unto the said professor and Royal Society the rock known as the 'Writing' or 'Dighton Rock,' and the 'lot or parcel of land surrounding it,' and situated in the town of Berkley in said county of Bristol," its limits being stated in detail in the said deed. The Society charged its Council with expressing to the donor its thanks for this gift, as also with taking the proper measures to see the monument duly fenced and preserved.

At this meeting were elected new Fellows: Baron Blixen-Finecke, proprietor of the hereditary estate of Dallund in Funen, and Colonel Taliaferro P. Shaffner, LL. D., of Kentucky, United States of America, at present the head of the expedition for the North Atlantic Telegraph enterprise.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

**ESSEX INSTITUTE.**—The annual meeting of this Society took place at their rooms, Plummer Hall, on May 8, 1861. James Upton, Esq., one of the Vice-presidents, in the chair.

The records of the last annual meeting were read, donations to the library and cabinets, also various letters were announced, received since the last evening meeting of the 15th ult. Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer and of the Curators was read, giving a cursory sketch of the condition of the Institute, the progress that has been made during the year, and the changes that have occurred.

From these reports we learn that five field meetings were held during the past summer, viz.: at Topsfield, Groveland, West Gloucester, Hamilton Ponds, and at Ipswich; and ten evening meetings, at the rooms, during the winter and spring.

To the library have been added 1104 bound volumes and about 2000 pamphlets and serials, not including many incomplete files of newspapers, &c., with few exceptions, donations; and received from thirty-four Societies, or departments of States, and national governments, and ninety individuals. The principal donors were W. D. Pickman, Esq., who presented nearly 400 volumes of valuable books, besides many serials and pamphlets, and our late President, Hon. D. A. White, on the day preceding his decease, sent to the library some fifty volumes of classical works. Judge White has bequeathed his valuable library to the Institute, with some reservations to his family.

To the cabinets, many valuable and interesting additions have been received to the various departments from 119 contributors.

The following officers were elected for the year ensuing:

*President*—Asahel Huntington.

*Vice-presidents*—Of *Natural History*, Samuel P. Fowler, of Danvers; of *Horticulture*, James Upton; of *History*, Henry M. Brooks.

*Secretary and Treasurer*—Henry Wheatland.

*Librarian*—John H. Stone.

*Cabinet Keeper*—Richard H. Wheatland.

*Finance Committee*—John C. Lee, Richard S. Rogers, Henry M. Brooks, George D. Phippen, James Chamberlain.

*Library Committee*—Joseph G. Waters, Alpheus Crosby, David Roberts.

*Publication Committee*—A. C. Goodell, Jr., Henry Wheatland, George D. Phippen, Ira J. Patch, John H. Stone, George M. Whipple.

*Curators of Natural History*—*Botany*, C. M. Tracy, of Lynn; *Comparative Anatomy*, Henry Wheatland; *Mammology*, F. Winsor; *Ornithol-*

ogy, F. W. Putnam; *Herpetology and Ichthyology*, Richard H. Wheatland; *Articulata and Radiata*, Caleb Cooke; *Mollusca and Paleontology*, Henry F. King; *Mineralogy*, David M. Balch; *Geology*, Henry F. Shepard.

*Curators of History*—*Ethnology*, W. S. Messervy, M. A. Stickney, Francis H. Lee; *Manuscripts*, Henry M. Brooks, Ira J. Patch, Lincoln R. Stone, G. L. Streeter, S. B. Buttrick; *Fine Arts*, Francis Peabody, J. G. Waters.

*Curators of Horticulture*—*Fruits and Vegetables*, James Upton, J. M. Ives, J. Fiske Allen, J. S. Cabot, John Bertram, George B. Loring, Richard S. Rogers, Charles F. Putnam; *Flowers*, Francis Putnam, William Mack, Benjamin A. West, Charles H. Norris, George D. Glover.

After the choice of officers, it was *voted*—that a committee be appointed to consider the expediency of holding field meetings the ensuing summer, and if in the affirmative, to make all necessary arrangements for the conducting of the same. Messrs. Allen W. Dodge, of Hamilton, C. M. Tracy, of Lynn, B. C. Putnam, of Wenham, S. P. Fowler, of Danvers, John M. Ives, Chas. H. Norris, and R. H. Wheatland, of Salem, were appointed on said committee.

It was also *voted*, That a committee be appointed to arrange for the evening meetings during the ensuing winter, and also to consider the propriety of having a course of lectures on subjects appertaining to the objects of the Institute, and if in the affirmative to make all needful arrangements for the same. Messrs. A. G. Goodell, Jr., C. C. Beaman, Jacob Batchelder, G. D. Phippen, C. H. Norris, James Kimball, F. W. Putnam, were appointed on this committee.

After the transaction of some general business the meeting adjourned.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Boston, July 5, 1861.*—The monthly meeting was held on the above date, the President in the chair. The report of the Secretary was read and accepted. Mr. Colburn exhibited a new variety of Japanese silver money, and read a memoir concerning it, from Mr. W. E. Dubois, of Philadelphia, an honorary member of the Society. It was thought worthy of publication, and is as follows:

"The coin in question is a novelty even in Japan, and has not heretofore appeared in any series of Japanese coinage.

"Let it be understood that the monetary mint of that empire is the *itzebu*; and in silver, this is a coin which is now worth 33 cents, according to our mint valuation, though formerly somewhat more.

"A provision in the treaty between Japan and the United States, required that, in commercial dealings Mexican or Spanish dollars should be

interchangeable by weight with Japanese silver coin; a fair bargain, assuming that both were of the same fineness. But after the treaty was duly ratified, a new coin made its appearance at Hakodadi, the port where American trade centred. It professed to be made of dollar silver, and was of the weight of half a dollar, in fact a little over, to err on the side of generosity. But the *name* of the coin, and its legal valuation, was, *half an itzebu*. How could this be when the whole itzebu was a much smaller piece? Simply for the following accommodation: The American trader exchanged one dollar for two half-itzebuns, the full equivalent in weight. He could buy nothing with his own coin; he must have the Japanese. But when he came to buy, he was told that this coin could only be received as a half-itzebu. In plain English; he got it for half a dollar, and must part with it for one-sixth of a dollar. This precious piece of political economy proved to be a source of no small annoyance to our merchants; and it lends an interest to the coin itself.

"The average weight is 210.2 grains, say two grains over the Mexican half-dollar; but the fineness is only 846 thousandths, instead of 900. However, it makes up the mint value 50 cents, at the present price of silver."

Dr. Fowle presented to the Society a curious and interesting medal with the date of 1779. It bears an inscription in Dutch, and commemorates the evacuation of Rhode Island by the Americans, in August, 1778, before the fleet of Admiral Howe. The Society passed the customary vote of thanks. Dr. Fowle also exhibited some beautiful electrotypes of rare medals. Several members exhibited coins, among which a fine specimen of the Pine-tree twopenny, belonging to Mr. Davenport, and some rare dimes and half-dimes, attracted the most attention.

#### VERMONT.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A special meeting of this Society was held at Brattleboro, on Wednesday and Thursday, July 17 and 18. Daniel Kellogg presided, and Hon. B. D. Harris acted as Secretary. On Wednesday morning the Hon. Daniel Needham, of Hartford, Vt., read, in the town hall, a very excellent and elaborate paper on the life and character of the late Hon. George E. Wales. This was followed in the afternoon by a paper on the early settlement of the town of Marlboro', in Windham county, by the Rev. Ephraim H. Newton, of Cambridge, N. Y., who is a native, we believe, of Newfane. This elaborate historical paper was gratefully received by the audience present. On Thursday, the Rev. Addison Brown, of Brattleboro' read a pa-

per on the life and character of Dr. Cyrus Washburn, which was highly interesting; and Henry Clark, Esq., of Poultney, read a brief and interesting account of the distinguished men who had gone abroad from Poultney and vicinity, which paper, written in his customary style, was received with much gratification by those in attendance on this meeting of the Society.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

THE FIRST IRISHMAN IN AMERICA.—Probably the first Irishman who reached America was the one whose name occurs in the list of those whom Columbus left on the Island of St. Domingo, in 1492, and who were cut off by the Indians before his return the next year. His name is given in "Navarrete (vol. ii, p. 19), as "Guillermo Ires, natural de Galney en Irlanda;" and it is probably William Erris or Irish, of Galway.

ROYAL PERMIT TO COLUMBUS TO RIDE ON A MULE.—In 1494, the Spanish government finding that the breeding of horses was declining from the great attention paid to mules, prohibited all but clergymen and women from riding on mules. The law was re-enacted in 1501; and when, in 1505, Columbus, from ill-health, could not ride a horse, the following permit was granted to him:

1505, Feb. 23.

THE KING. As I am informed, that you Admiral D. Cristobal Colon are indisposed in body, by reason of certain infirmities which you have had or have, and that you cannot ride on horseback without great injury to your health; therefore, conceding it to your age, I by these presents grant you license to ride on a mule saddled and bridled, through whatever part of these kingdoms or realms you wish and choose, notwithstanding the law I issued in regard thereto: and I command the Justiciary of all parts of these kingdoms and realms not to offer you any impediment, or permit any to be offered you, under penalty of ten thousand maravedis for the Camara, on whoever does the contrary.

Given in the City of Toro, February 23, 1505.

PROCESSION IN HONOR OF ARNOLD.—A concise description of the Figures exhibited and pa-

raded through the Streets of this City (Philadelphia), on Saturday last (Sept. 30, 1780).—A stage raised on the body of a cart, on which was an effigy of General Arnold sitting; this was dressed in regimentals, had two faces, emblematical of his traitorous conduct, a mask in his left hand, and a letter in his right from Beezebub, telling him that he had done all the mischief he could do, and now must hang himself.

At the back of the General was the figure of the Devil, dressed in black robes, shaking a purse of money at the General's left ear, and in his right a pitch fork ready to drive him into hell as the reward due for the many crimes which the thirst of gold had made him commit.

In the front of the stage and before General Arnold, was placed a large lanthorn of transparent paper, with the consequences of his crimes thus delineated (*i. e.*) on one part General Arnold on his knees before the Devil, who is pulling him into the flames—a label from the General's mouth with these words: "My dear Sir, I have served you faithfully;" to which the Devil replies, "And I'll reward you." On another side, two figures hanging, inscribed, "The Traitor's Reward," and wrote underneath "The Adjutant General of the British army and J\*\* S\*\*\*\*, the first hanged as a spy, and the other as a traitor to his country." And on the front of the lanthorn was wrote the following:

"MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD, LATE  
COMMANDER OF THE FORT WEST POINT.  
THE CRIME OF THIS MAN IS HIGH TREASON.

He has deserted the important post West Point, on Hudson's River, committed to his charge by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, and is gone off to the enemy at New York.

"His design to have given up the fort to our enemies has been discovered by the goodness of the Omnipotent Creator, who has not only prevented him carrying it into execution, but has thrown into our hands the Adjutant General André of their army, who was detected in the infamous character of a spy.

"The treachery of this ungrateful General is held up to public view, for the exposition of infamy, and to proclaim with joyful acclamation another instance of the interposition of bounteous Providence.

"The effigy of this ingrate is therefore hanged (for want of his body) as a Traitor to his native country, and a betrayer of the laws of honour." The procession began about four o'clock, in the following order:

Several Gentlemen mounted on horseback,  
A line of Continental Officers,  
Sundry Gentlemen in a line,

A Guard of the City Infantry,  
Just before the Cart, drums and fifes playing the  
Rogue's march,  
Guard on each side.

The procession was attended with a numerous concourse of people, who after expressing their abhorrence of the Treason and the Traitor, committed him to the flames, and left both the effigy and the original to sink into ashes and oblivion.—*Penn. Packet.*

PAST AND PRESENT UNITED STATES MINTS IN PHILADELPHIA.—Persons who visit the United States Mint, in this city, and see the number of persons employed there, the splendid machinery in operation, the piles of bullion of almost countless value, and the vast quantities of glittering coin into which the gold of California has been converted, would scarcely dream how small a beginning all these heavy operations have sprung from. There was no regular United States Mint put in operation until the year 1792, when the old Mint in Seventh-street, was put in operation. As early as 1652, a Provincial Mint was started at Boston, to supply the want of small coin. It was discontinued in 1686, and it was not re-established until a century afterwards. In 1662, Lord Baltimore established a Mint for Maryland; and Virginia, Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, coined money prior to the Constitution.

During the period of the Confederation,—1778 to 1787,—all the States were authorized to establish mints, and Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, coined money. Most of the coin struck at that time by the State establishments were copper; gold and silver money being coined generally by private individuals, most of whom were silversmiths.

There is a small thoroughfare which runs through into Cherry-street, just back of Eighth, which is known by the name of Mint Court. Tradition says that the place took its name from the fact that the first mint in Philadelphia was located there; but the story is not sustained by reliable evidence. Congress passed the law establishing the National Mint, in 1792, and while the measure was under discussion, the artists in Philadelphia, then the seat of government, were engaged in getting up dies, hoping to secure the approval of Government for their handiwork. John Harper, an extensive manufacturer of saws, at the corner of Sixth and Cherry streets, caused dies to be made under direction of Robert Birch. Most of the original Washington cent pieces were struck from these dies. The coins of 1791 were made in the cellar of Mr. Harper's shop, on a press which it is supposed was imported from England. The coins of 1792 were struck on a

press which was set up in an old coach-house in Sixth-street, above Chestnut, directly opposite Jayne-street. This last described press was made by Adam Eckfeldt, for many years the chief coiner of the National Mint.

The first National Mint established in the country was in 1792. It was located in Seventh-street, opposite Filbert, in a building which is still standing. The structure is an old-fashioned, rough-cast affair, and in its present condition it looks very unlike a mint. It is much dilapidated, and the apartments where the first coins of the Federal government were made, are now occupied as workshops by various mechanics.

On 4th of July, 1829, the corner-stone of the present Mint, on Chestnut-street was laid, and in 1832, the institution was removed into its new and handsome quarters. The buildings were amply sufficient for the business of the concern, until the discovery of gold in California. Snowden in his "Mint Manual," says:

"Washington immediately proceeded to carry out the intention of this act, and as Philadelphia was then the seat of government, he provided for the erection of suitable buildings, by purchasing a suitable lot of ground on Seventh-street, between Market and Arch streets. At this time the lot in question was occupied by an old still-house and a frame tenement building. Having proceeded thus far, Washington, on the first of July following, appointed David Rittenhouse to be 'Director of the Mint.' Rittenhouse very soon thereafter entered upon the duties of his office. The necessary men were employed, and on the nineteenth of July they commenced the work of removing the buildings which then occupied the lot, as appears by the following extract from the first record ever kept of the Mint operations.

'1792, July 19.—The following men began to work at taking down the still-house. To Saturday the 21:

John Maul.....	3 days.
Jno. Christian (House).....	3 do.
John Keyser.....	2 do.
Nicolas Sinderling.....	2 days.
John Biting.....	14 do.
Matthias Sumer.....	1 do.

'21.—8 carpenters at work this day taking down the still-house frame."

The foundation-stone of the Mint was laid on the 31st of July, as appears from the following memorandum in the same book: "1792, July 31.—This day, about 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the foundation-stone was laid for the Mint, by David Rittenhouse, Esq." As soon as the laying of the corner-stone was accomplished, the work upon the foundation commenced, as appears from the subjoined memorandum: "Four masons at work

since 10 o'clock, A. M.," which appears under the same date.

The foundation was completed and ready for the superstructure on Saturday, the 25th of August, following, and the framework was raised in the afternoon of that day. The work was rapidly pushed forward after this date; and the building was so far completed that the workmen commenced operations "in the shop," preparing the internal arrangements, such as bellows, furnaces, etc., on Friday, the seventh of September. On the Tuesday following, *six pounds of old copper* were purchased for the Mint, at "1s. 3d." per pound; this being the first "purchase of copper for coinage."

The coining presses (three in number), which they were obliged to import from abroad, arrived at the Mint on Friday, the twenty-first of September; and under date of twenty-fifth of September, the same book from which we have before quoted, states, that "Flute began, after breakfast, trimming the heavy press." These presses were put in operation in the beginning of October, and were used for striking the half-dimes, of which Washington makes mention in his Annual Address to Congress, on the 6th of November, 1792, as follows: "There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half-dimes; the want of small coin in circulation calling the first attention to them." Between this time and the close of the year 1792, several other pieces made their appearance from the Mint. \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* The first regular return of coins from the chief coiner to the treasurer of the Mint took place on the 1st of March, 1793, and consisted of eleven thousand one hundred and seventy-eight cents.—*Philadelphia Eve. Bulletin.*

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF AMERICAN MATTERS, IN 1776 (*From the Publick Ledger, April 2, 1776*).—In order to determine the strength of America it will be necessary to consider the naval force of that country. By a list of the privateers which the single province of New York fitted out in the last war, at a time when they had a large body of soldiers in the field, 1000 Battoe men employed on the rivers and lakes, and when they carried on an extensive commerce to every part of the world, the number of privateers amounted to the following:

Ships.	No. of Guns.	No. of Men.
Sturdy Beggar	26	200
Wolfe	24	200
Blakeney	20	150
Hercules	18	140
Colonel Prevost	20	150

Royal Hunter	20	150
King of Prussia	18	140
Duke of Cumberland	16	140
Oliver Cromwell	16	140
St. George	16	140
General Johnson	16	140
Tartar	16	140

#### Snows.

Boscawen	16	130
Royal Esther	16	130
Cicero	14	120
Prince Ferdinand	14	120
Abercrombie	14	120
Greyhound	14	130
Revenge	14	130
Neptune	14	120
Hornet	14	120

#### Brigantines.

Earl of Loudon	14	120
Johnson	14	120
True Briton	14	120
King George	14	120
Hawke	14	120
Prince of Orange	12	110
De Lancey	12	110
Mary	12	110
Hope	12	110
Charming Sally	12	110
Duke of Marlborough	12	100
George	12	100
Prince George	12	100
New York	12	100
Columbine	12	100
Schooner Sampson	11	100
Barque Decoy	6	40

#### Sloops.

Goldfinch	12	100
Squirrel	12	100
Fox	14	100
Catharine	12	100
Hardy	12	100
Prince Edward	10	40
Harlequin	10	50
Bradstreet	8	40
Tyger	8	40

Vessels 48 Guns 675 Men 5530

From the above state it appears, that the single province of New York equipt an armament consisting of forty-eight vessels, which carried 675 guns and 5530 seamen. It is near twenty years since they made this figure at sea. Since that period their number of ships and seamen have been nearly doubled, and as their coasting and foreign trade is now restrained by act of parlia-



ment, it may be presumed, that they will have a body of 11,060 seamen ready to act against Great Britain. If to these be added the sailors and fishermen of the whole continent, whom our oppressive acts have deprived of employment, speaking within compass, we may assert, that the Americans can send 40,000 seamen to sea.

An American Gentleman hath favoured us with the following account of the number of men which each province can furnish.

Provinces.	Men bearing arms.
New Hampshire	18,000
Massachusetts	88,000
Rhode Island and Providence	14,000
Connecticut	40,000
New York	40,000
The Jerseys	24,000
Pennsylvania	100,000
Maryland	34,000
Virginia	34,000
North Carolina	18,000
South Carolina	12,000
Georgia	2,400
Nova Scotia (supposed to be } revolted) about }	4,000
	428,400

If this computation be not exaggerated, here are four hundred and twenty-eight thousand four hundred freemen in arms! Such a band of yeomanry must bid defiance to the largest army we can send.

It is a fact, that Old Gridley (the same who conducted the siege of Louisburgh when the Americans took it in 1745) has formed a corps of engineers, whom he has instructed, particularly in the method of constructing redoubts. There is a chain of these fortifications from one end of the continent to the other; they are generally a square, capable of containing four thousand men, with four bastions, a ditch, covered-way and glacis, fraised, pallisaded and surrounded by an abattis and trons de loup.

In the interior parts of America every man's house is literally his castle. They are built of logs, and are musquet proof; they have loop-holes cut in them, and, if they are garrisoned by half a dozen men they cannot be taken without artillery. Every village that has a meeting-house and a burying ground will have a barrack and a fortified post. The minister, with his bible in one hand and his rifle gun in the other, will harangue and exhort his parishioners; he will tell them there are bishops in the English army, and they will die by his side, and be buried under the ruins of his pulpit. Will the Highlanders, loyal as they are, meddle with ministers or meeting-houses?

From the river Delaware (the channel of which is sufficiently fortified) to the extremity of New England north-eastward, there is not a single river navigable for a king's frigate. If therefore as ministry mean to make use of the rivers, it can only be by boats and small craft, and with such they will be opposed in the proportion of ten to one, amply provided with wall-pieces and rifle-guns, and accompanied with fire stages to burn and destroy whatever they find a-float. Add to this, that all the grain in the country will be locked up in redoubts, that the cattle will be driven off, and that there will be no subsistence left for man or for beast.

Previous to the commencement of the American campaign, it might not be improper for ministry to ask General Gage, what is to conduct an army through a wood in America? and what is the consequence of a defeat in a desert? General Gage commanded Braddock's advanced guard, and he well remembers what happened on the banks of the Monangahela. He knows too, that from the moment they were opposed they ceased to advance, that they left their baggage, their cannon, and their wounded behind them; and, if they were not exterminated, it was because they were not pursued. The truth is, that these countries are impracticable to an army; nature, and a combination of circumstances, are against an army. Neither the intrepidity of an Howe, nor the intelligence of a Burgoyne, nor perseverance of an Amherst will avail: Whoever attempts the conquest of America will lose his legions, his life and reputation, as Crassus, Varus and Braddock have done before him.

By the last advices from Boston, it is said, that General Howe cannot muster more than six thousand men fit for duty. The town of Boston is full of wooden houses, and has not a single casement. The provincials are in possession of the proper implements for a bombardment, and they have already annoyed the town from a ricochet battery. Whether in mercy the provincials may spare their fellow subjects lives, and chuse to preserve the town from destruction, is a question; that they may destroy the town, and consequently give law to the army, is beyond a doubt.

The most intelligent persons suppose, that Canada, like the other provinces, is by this time lost. It is no longer between two fires, it is defended by double the numbers it was in 1759. Twenty thousand men, and twenty ships of the line will make no impression in that quarter; and though Saunders and Wolfe should rise reluctant from their graves, it is doubtful whether they could recover it.

None, unless the most humane and tender hearted amongst us, can form an adequate idea

of the distress there is in the royal bosom on account of the cruel and oppressive measures of the state. His Majesty, from his earliest infancy, discovered amiable tokens of love and compassion, and if he chanced to take offence at any thing, his displeasure was but for a moment; and the least sign of sorrow or submission on the part of the delinquent, melted his noble mind into forgiveness and perfect reconciliation. This then being a true picture of the royal disposition, how are we to account for the present vindictive, obdurate, unrelenting system of measures? The answer is this: There is a private and a public conscience; the King makes a part of the legislature, he has indeed a negative, but to exercise that negative, in opposition to the advice and wisdom of Parliament, is always hazardous, has been fatal, and must not be exercised but on the fullest conviction that ministers pursue plans derogatory to the honour, prejudicial to the interests of the people and subversive of the state.

It hath been the practice of all Governments, which have been suffered to act without restraint, to impoverish the people under the pretence of necessary taxes. This was particularly the case with England, after the conquest, and before the establishment of the Great Charter, when the Kings of England claimed a right to TAKE the property of the subject in what proportion almost they pleased. For this reason our wise forefathers established the House of Commons, who were elected by the people, that they might be independent of the crown; and particularly vested them with a power of taxing the subjects AT LARGE, that they might give what the necessity of the state required. Here it is that the American maxim falls in with the constitution, which requires, that no Englishman shall be taxed without the consent of a representative body of men in Parliament, but without any distinction between the electors or non electors. Therefore, all estimates of expence are brought before the House of Commons, that they may examine the wants of the crown, whether they be well founded, and grant the supply accordingly. And not only so, but that they make take care that the taxes, paid by the people AT LARGE, be properly applied to the purposes for which they were granted. This is the security which every Englishman hath for his property, in respect to our taxation laws. And this is the constitutional security we should now offer to our American brethren, and the other provinces beyond the Atlantic.

ORIGIN OF "HAIL COLUMBIA."—In 1829, William McKoy of Philadelphia, under the signature "Lang Syne," published in *Poulson's Daily Advertiser* an account of the origin of the song "Hail

Columbia," which was set to the music of "The President's March." The air of "The Star Spangled Banner" is that of the old English bacchanalian song "To Anacreon in Heaven;" but "Hail Columbia" is wholly American in tune and words. Mr. McKoy's reminiscences have not, we believe, been reprinted since they were originally published. The article is as follows:

The seat of the Federal Government of the thirteen United States being removed to Philadelphia, and in honor of the new president, Washington, then residing at No. 190 High-street, the march, ever since known as "The President's March," was composed by a German teacher of music, in this city, named Roth, or Roat, designated familiarly by those who knew him as "Old Roat." He taught those of his pupils who preferred the flute, to give to that instrument the additional sound of the drone, while playing in imitation of the Scotch bagpipe. His residence was at one time in that row of houses standing back from Fifth, above Race-street, at the time known as "The Fourteen Chimneys," some of which are still visible in the rear ground, north-eastward of Mayer's church. In his person he was of the middle size and height. His face was truly German in expression; dark gray eyes, and bushy eyebrows, round, pointed nose, prominent lips, and parted chin. He took snuff immoderately, having his ruffles and vest usually well sprinkled with grains of rappee. He was considered as eccentric, and a kind of droll. He was well known, traditionally, at the Samson and Lion, in Crown-street, where it seems his company, in the olden time, was always a welcome addition to the pewter-pint customers, gathered there at their pipes and beer, while listening to his facetious tales and anecdotes, without number, of high life about town, and of the players—Nick Hammond, Miss Tuke, Hodgkinson, Mrs. Pownall, and Jack Martin, of the old theatre in Southwark. This said "President's March," by Roat, the popular songs of Markoe, the "city poet," in particular the one called "The Tailor Done Over," and the beautiful air of "Dans Votre Lit," which had been rendered popular by its being exquisitely sung at the time, by Wools, of the Old American Company, were sung and whistled by every one who felt freedom (of mind) to whistle and sing.

During the French Revolutionary enthusiasm which prevailed here from '93 to '97, produced by the "wide, the unbounded prospect" of civil liberty in Europe, these popular pieces were set aside everywhere by the new French songs of "Ça Ira Caramagnole," and the Marseilles Hymn. These latter were first sung upon the stage by the old company under Hallam and Henry. Ad

dison's Cato was "got up" for the occasion, when they were sung between the acts, being joined by the audience in full chorus. Does none remember?

On the opening of the new theatre, in Chestnut-street, by Wignell and Reinagle (since burned down), they were nightly called for by the audience, to the entire exclusion of all other music, prior to the rising of the curtain. Sometimes the chorus would be echoed by parcels of the audience, after the modern fashion of echoing simultaneously the "*whack*, Judy O'Flannagan," when given by Looney Mactwoler, in the "Wags of Windsor." The afterward excesses of the Revolutionists in France, Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and the rest,—the guillotine groaned night and day, in Paris, under the ponderous slide of its bloody axe, and the burnings and plunderings of American commerce, by French cruisers upon the ocean—although, borne at the time, almost without a loud murmur, and as a kind of necessary sacrifice in the cause of liberty and the rights of man, operated at last, however, with a cooling effect upon the flame of excessive gratitude towards our "angust ally," as expressed in the theatre, and in public rejoicings. From the loud and deafening calls from all parts of the house for "Ça Ira Caramagnole," and the Marseilles Hymn, as usual, they dwindled away to some half-dozen voices in the gallery, exercised in disturbing the peace of their immediate neighborhood, amid the deep silence of the crowd below. Finally, one night, as well remembered, the spontaneous, simultaneous, overwhelming hiss of a whole audience, consigned them (theatrically) to total oblivion from that time to the present.

Public opinion, having thus released itself suddenly from a passion for French Revolutionary music and song, experienced a vacuum in that particular, which was immediately supplied by the new national American song of "Hail Columbia, happy Land," written in '98, by Joseph Hopkinson, Esq., of this city, and the measure adapted by him, very judiciously, to the almost forgotten "President's March." Ever since 1798, the song of "Hail Columbia," by Joseph Hopkinson, and the "President's March," by Johannes Roat, being indiscriminately called for, have become, in a manner, synonymous to the public ear and understanding, when they are actually and totally distinct in their origin, as above mentioned.

Mr. Fox, a native of this city, a good actor and a most capital singer in the Incedon style, used to be invariably called upon to sing "Hail Columbia," to the music of the "President's March." Mrs. Marshall, one of the original company, brought out by Wignell, after being the special favorite of the public, and at all times acceptable

in tragedy, comedy, opera, or farce,—having the most brilliant and profitable benefits of any,—for some reason or other, she fell, all at once, from her dizzy height in the public favor, "all the world to nothing." Her last benefit at the theatre proved a loss; nevertheless, the audience, slender as it was, without reflecting, clamored, as usual, for "Mr. Fox and Hail Columbia." Mrs. Marshall appeared from the side scene, and stepped forward with tears in her eyes. She was in person below the middle size of women; an arch, mischievous cast of countenance; rotund in her person, and of the most exquisite symmetry. She informed them Mr. Fox had left the house, and offered, with their permission, to sing in his stead. Of this they had no intention, and dismissed her with "No! no!" and the most flattering applause.

Such was the popularity of this song, that very frequently has Mr. Gillingham, the leader of the band, been forced to come to a full stop in the foreign music he had arranged for the evening, by the deafening calls for this march, or song to the march. Giving a few raps with his bow, by way of signal to the band, and at the same time as he sat facing the east, a kind of side-scowl, very unusual with him, he would dash away, playing nothing else until the rise of the curtain; then thrust his violin hastily away, and disappear below the stage. He was remarkable for his gentlemanly appearance in the orchestra; his fine features, pale complexion, and snow-white, powdered hair. While playing, he was immovable as a statue, excepting only the motion of his right arm, while drawing a long bow, and a quick jerk of his left under jaw onwards, occasionally, for the purpose of adjusting his violin to better advantage against the shoulder-blade. Mr. Reinagle, one of the managers, and a professor of music, used to be seen, but only on particular occasions, seated at the piano-forte, then standing against the stage, in the rear of the band, for the purpose merely of touching a few notes solo, by way of accompaniment to the silvery tones of Mrs. Wignell, as the crazed Ophelia, while singing, without other music, the "snatches of old tunes," in Hamlet, her mind the while being like "sweet bells jingled—out of tune and harsh"—or in the song of "I have a silent sorrow here," as Mrs. Haller. Her pathetic tones and simple melody, at such times, were beyond all reach of art in vocal or instrumental music; never failing to bring into requisition the white handkerchiefs above, below, and all around among the ladies in the dress circle. Mr. Reinagle while thus enjoying the effect of her inimitable chant, exhibited to the audience a head not unlike that of Louis XVI., but divested of the simplicity, bushy powdered hair, large, high forehead, and round full

face, illuminated by silver-mounted spectacle glasses, a perceptible smirk at all times about the mouth, and an extraordinary depth of dimple in his cheek, while sitting there and surveying the irritability of Mr. Gillingham, the leader of the band, on his being obliged to leave the music of Handel and Mozart, and strike off into "The President's March," composed by Johannes Roat, of this city, in days lang syne.

ORIGIN OF THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.—Mrs. Anna H. Dorsey, the Catholic authoress, furnishes to the *Washington Sunday Morning Chronicle* the following account of the origin of our national anthem, the "Star-Spangled Banner:"

I am sure that, at this sad but stirring crisis, it will interest every heart that stands firm in its loyalty to the old flag, whose stars and stripes have, for nearly a century past, not only declared the history of our national prosperity and glory to the world, but which has appeared, wherever it waved, as a sign of hope and a symbol of freedom to the oppressed of every land, to hear a version of the origin of that splendid national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner," from a descendant of one of the parties concerned. Chief Justice Taney, the brother-in-law of Francis Key, Esq., the author of the song, wrote a very interesting account of it, some years ago, in which, however, some of the lesser facts connected with the affair were omitted. These facts I have heard related hundreds of times by a dear mother, now at rest, who was a guest at the house of her uncle, Dr. William Beans, when the incidents which I shall describe occurred. Dr. Beans lived on his estate in Marlborough, where he dispensed his hospitalities after the liberal and hearty fashion of an old Maryland cavalier, a class which, like that of the "old Virginia gentleman," has been gradually dying out this age past. To love his country and hate the English, was the Doctor's creed, and he let slip no opportunity to toast the one and drink confusion to the other. Among his most valued friends, was Francis Key, Esq., the eminent jurist and poet.

When the English troops were *en route* across the country to Washington, they *bivouacked* on Dr. Bean's estate; the officers being handsomely entertained by him in his house, for to him the name of "guest and stranger" gave a sacred claim to the best of every thing he had, so that, during the exercise of his hospitalities, he forgot his enmity towards the nation of his guests. After mutual courtesies on both sides, the Doctor and his self-invited guests parted in the morning, one to resume his cherished and loyal antipathies, the

others to proceed with sword and firebrand to lay waste the capital of the country. One day a rumor came that the English troops had burnt Washington. Shortly after, while Dr. Beans and several congenial spirits were sitting over their wine, a negro rushed in with the tidings that the British army was retreating from Washington, and were within a few miles' march of the place. Nothing authentic or particular had been heard of their operations since their departure, the facilities for the transmission of news being of the most primitive kind, and constantly impeded, owing to the state of the country. The only inference that our party could draw from this sudden news was, that there had been a battle in which the English had been beaten and routed, and were now retreating in confusion to their ships, which lay off Annapolis, under the broad pennant of Admiral Cockburn. Filled with patriotic enthusiasm, the Doctor proposed an adjournment to a romantic spring near the house, with lemons and other etceteras, necessary to concoct the favorite libation which they intended to pour out, to celebrate the news. This was forthwith agreed to; and in a short time the carousal was inaugurated and conducted with spirit. Patriotic speeches and toasts were the order of the day, and so well were the host and his guests occupied, that they scarcely noticed that the slanting rays of the sun announced its setting. Suddenly three foot-sore, dusty, and weary soldiers made their appearance on the scene in quest of water.

Truth must be told. Punch had made these old cavaliers, who had won laurels in the Revolution, more than valiant, and they conceived the brilliant idea of making prisoners of war of the enemy, which, with the assistance of their servants, they succeeded in doing, and conveyed them to the court-house for safe keeping, locked them in, placed a guard over them, and returned home to sleep on their laurels. But lo! at midnight, Dr. Beans was roused from his slumbers by a furious knocking at his hall door, the sound of hoofs on the gravelled drive, and the barking and yelping of hounds. The mystery was soon explained. The English soldiers had been missed. The officer in command thought they had deserted, and a detachment was sent in pursuit. They were traced to Dr. Beans' neighborhood, where some of the frightened folk, who had heard of the exploit of the evening, gave information which led to the release of the imprisoned Britons, and the arrest of Dr. Beans, who was taken from his bed,—barely allowed time to clothe himself,—forced at the point of the bayonet to mount a horse and made to accompany the party, strictly guarded to Annapolis, where he was thrown into confinement on board Cockburn's ship. His treatment

was none of the best. He was not allowed the smallest privileges of parole, and was cut off entirely from all communication with his family and friends. All this was characteristic of Admiral Cockburn, who will always be remembered in history as the demon of the Chesapeake.

But Dr. Beans' friends were not idle. The whole country side was roused and indignant, and application was made to the president of the United States to authorize some plan for his release. After some delay, the president appointed Mr. Key to proceed with a flag of truce to the British admiral, and propose an exchange of prisoners—including, of course, Dr. Beans. But by the time Mr. Key arrived at Annapolis, Cockburn's fleet had moved up the bay, entered the Patuxent River, and lay off the harbor, preparatory to making an attack on Baltimore. Mr. Key returned to Baltimore as speedily as the slow facilities for travel at that time allowed him, and impatient to obtain the release of his friend, he lost no time in seeking an interview with Admiral Cockburn, and presenting his credentials. He was courteously received, and invited to dine with the Admiral and his officers. At table, he learned by the conversation around him that Fort McHenry and the city of Baltimore were to be bombarded that night. He had heard rumors of this the day before, but the time of the attack was uncertain. After dinner, as a great favor, he requested the immediate attention of Admiral Cockburn to his dispatches, that he might return ashore accompanied by his friend before nightfall. But he was blandly informed that "it was impossible, as certain plans had been discussed in his hearing which made it of importance for him to consent to remain their guest until the following day." This was a trying and exasperating event to the high-minded Key. But there was no help for it, and controlling his indignation, he requested the privilege of spending the intervening time with his friend, whom he had not yet seen. This reasonable demand was granted forthwith, and he was conducted to the narrow, comfortless place where Dr. Beans was imprisoned. The meeting was full of emotion on both sides, as may be imagined.

It was now sunset, and the friends stood together looking out of a narrow port-hole towards the shore. The last golden beams of day lingered over shore and wave, like a parting benediction, while from the ramparts of Fort McHenry proudly waved the American flag, which the God of nations had protected up to that time from dishonor, which in the hostile attack that followed He shielded and blessed, and which, it is our firm hope He will continue to protect until the last sun that shall ever rise on earth lights up its stars and stripes with its parting glory.

"Will that flag be there, Key, when the morning dawns?" asked Dr. Beans of his friend.

"God grant it!" was the fervent response.

It was a terrible night to the two American gentlemen, whose patriotic hearts throbbled painfully, as the booming roar of the cannons, the explosion of the deadly bombs, the lurid glare that lit the smoke of the battle, the occasional shouts of defiance that rung out during the short intervals between the discharges, the sharp trumpet-tones of command that pealed above the din, fell on their strained ear. At length the firing became more infrequent as the gray dawn approached. Can we not imagine whither the gaze of Key and his friend was turned? to what object they strained their sight through the morning mist? But every thing on shore was hidden by the smoke and fog which hung low and heavily over the river. They feared the worst—there was no sign to tell them that the American batteries had not been silenced by Cockburn's guns, and Baltimore laid in ashes. While agitated by these fears, the wind suddenly moved through the mist; in a few moments it was lifted away, and they saw the stars and stripes waving untorn and unscathed from its staff, flouting defiance at the foe from every star on its azure field. The revulsion of feeling produced by the welcome sight was too much; they burst into tears and embraced each other without speaking a word. Soon recovering, however, Dr. Beans, with his usual impetuosity, sent an exultant huzza out of the port, to greet it, while Mr. Key, with a heart full and glowing, pencilled on the back of an old letter one or two stanzas, and the *outline sketch* of our splendid national anthem, which, since our proud flag has become consecrated to us by the very odium that the disloyal sons of patriot fathers have sought to cast on it, is now as sacred to our hearts as the songs of Zion that echoed beside the waters of Babylon.

The exchange of prisoners was effected, and Dr. Beans accompanied by his friend, returned home, with his feeling toward the British nowise improved. I have heard the same dear mother, who so often related this interesting narrative to me, laugh and say, that to the day of his death, Cockburn's name exercised the most salutary influence on the Doctor when in his odd-tempered moods. At such times he was apt to go beyond even the verge of eccentricity, and when he arrived at that point, his wife—a gentle-tempered lady of the old *régime*—could in a moment still the tempest by observing to him in a quiet tone: "C., my dear, I think we shall have to send for Admiral Cockburn."

RISE OF WATER IN THE GREAT AMERICAN LAKES.—Much has been said of late years, respecting the rise of water in the great northern lakes of America. Many speculations have been advanced, as to its probable cause; but, as yet, these speculations have been very unsatisfactory. That there are very great fluctuations in the depth of these lakes, is beyond a doubt, and it is equally true, that these fluctuations cannot be accounted for in accordance with any natural laws, with which we are at present acquainted.

It has frequently been asserted, that the water in these lakes sustains a regular, periodical rise and fall. But this is not in accordance with our own observation. We speak with particular reference to Lake Erie; but from the intimate connection of these lakes, it is probable they are all operated upon by similar causes, producing like results.

With regard to Lake Erie, although its waters doubtless are affected in some slight degree by the seasons, yet there can be no doubt, that its mean height is regularly increasing. Having spent the greater part of his life upon its shore, the writer has had abundant opportunity of observation. This, together with the testimony of some who have resided in its vicinity for more than half a century, establishes the fact to our entire satisfaction, that within the last forty years, the surface of Lake Erie has arisen at least five or six feet above what it was previous to that time. The data, on which this opinion is founded, are as follows:

The southern shore of Lake Erie is skirted by precipitous banks, varying from fifty to one hundred feet in height, and nearly perpendicular to the water. Now, fifty years ago, the only road leading from Buffalo to Cleveland,—distance two hundred miles,—was along the beach, between the water and this precipitous bank. In many places, this beach was several rods in width, and throughout its whole course sufficiently wide for a wagon road. At the present time, it would be impossible to drive a carriage, or even a single horse along the greater part of the distance. In many places the water washes the bank, on ordinary calm days. Nor does this arise from the removal of sands from the beach by storms or the gradual movement of the waves, for in many places the beach is composed of rock, too hard to be much affected by the friction of the water.

This is of itself sufficient evidence, that the mean height of the water has increased within the time referred to. But a rock, in the neighborhood of the writer's former residence, has long acted as a water-mark. This rock is, perhaps, twenty to thirty yards from the shore, and is, from its ponderous size, of course immovable, and like the Nilometers of Egypt, will indi-

cate the rise and fall of the water with great accuracy.

About thirty or forty years since, this rock projected from the water about four or five feet; at the present time, it is entirely covered with water, even when the lake is calm.

These facts show the rise of the waters as a fact, but as to the causes that bring about such a result, but little can be said that will be satisfactory or even plausible. The accumulation of soil and vegetable deposits from the streams on either shore, has been mentioned as a probable cause. But this, although proving a tendency to elevate the basin on which the lake rests, would not probably raise the surface of the water. The great rapidity, too, of the current for many miles above the Falls, would preclude the idea of any deposits of earthy matter at the lower end of the lake.

Were we acquainted with the existence of the coral insect in these waters, the conclusion would be a very safe one, that this phenomenon was due to their labors. But as we have no definite knowledge on this point, the mere conjecture must pass for what it is worth.

In conclusion. Although the fact of a gradual rise in the waters of Lake Erie, without a corresponding fall, is very readily established; yet the causes that lead to such a phenomenon, are still among the unexplained mysteries of nature.

S. J. M. EATON.

FRANKLIN, Pa., July, 1861.

LANGUAGE OF THE GASPESIANS.—The Recollect Father Christian Le Clercq devotes a chapter of his "*Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*" to the language of the Gaspesians. He says that it differs from the Montagnais, Soquoqui or Micmac, Abennaqui, Algonquin, Huron, and Iroquois.

Yet, from the words which he gives in his work, and which we here collect, it is evident that it is an Algonquin dialect, approaching the Micmac and Etechenin. They had great difficulty in pronouncing *r*, which they sounded as *l*.

Father Le Clercq, in another part of his work, makes the Gaspesian nation extend from Cap des Rosiers to Cape Breton, and seems to include Miramechi, Nipsignit, Isle Percée, Cape Breton, Miscou, &c., in their territory. From this too we must evidently regard them simply as a part of what now go under the general name of Micmacs.

Alas! Akai!  
Autumn, Taouak or Tkours. In Micmac, Togoak (Gallatin), Tuwagwa (Barratt); in Penobscot, Takwongo.  
Bear, Great she bear, Mouliune; Little sho

bear, Moulnehiche. In Etechemin, Mooen; in Miemac, Moowen (Barratt).  
 Beaver, Mkobit. Kopete, in Miemac (Barratt); Quahibete, in Etechemin (Barratt, Gallatin).  
 Bone in elk's head, Oagando hi gudanne.  
 Brother, My, Tahoé.  
 Come here into my cabin, for I wish to treat you, Chigonidali ouikbarlno.  
 December, Bonodemegniche, month when the salmon ascend the river.  
 Devil (familiar), Ouahiche, or Ouahaiche.  
 Elk, A small kind of, Nigaïou. The ravage of the moose (*i. e.*, trees broken by him), Pactagane.  
 Father, Thy, Koutche. In Miemac, Noutch.  
 Hawk, Koucedaoui, or Smagnis.  
 Heart, My, Nkameramon. In Etechemin, Kumlahnu (Barratt).  
 Instructive papers, Onkate guenne kignatinouoer, or kignamotinoef, or kateguenne.  
 Lend me thy devil (manitou), Emkadoui.  
 Liar, Thou art a, Once choen.  
 Medicine-man, Bouhine.  
 Mother, Thy, Kitché. In Miemac, Kich.  
 Red, a red root used as a dye, Tissaouhianne.  
 Seal (Loupmarin), Metaul; the common kind, Ouaspous.  
 Spring, Paniiah.  
 Summer, Nebk. In Etechemin, Nebun (Barratt); in Penobscot, Nibeu (Vetromile); in Miemac, Nipk (Ib.)  
 Thou, Kir. In Etechemin, Keel (Barratt).  
 Tobacco, Tamahoé.  
 Winter, Kesic. In Miemac, Kechic (Vetromile).  
 Worm, supposed to cause disease and death, Tehougis.

## PHRASES.

Koutehe kitché chibar chaktou, bagnisto, skiginouidex. Honor and fear thy father and thy mother, thou shalt live long.\*  
 Tahoé nkameramon ignemoulo: nkameramon achkon ouignidex (*or* ouignuidepcheux). My brother I give thee my heart: thou shalt remain and cabin henceforth in my heart.  
 Tahoe messet kogouar pajo ne daoui dogouil mkobit. In truth, brother, the beaver does all things perfectly well.  
 Ndegouche, apche mou† adadaseon, apche mouf onalghahi, apche mou† kedoukichtonebilchi. There, my grief is over; I assure you I will not weep more, I will not hang myself, I will not strangle myself.

\* Vetromile gives a similar phrase in Miemac, in which several words are identical: "Kulaman pkigi uehkiginwidex makamiguck tan Kijoolk ignemach-keehp,—Obey your parents, that you may live long on the earth" (which the Lord will give you?)

† In Miemac, apseh is *again*, and mu, *not*.

## QUERIES.

TREATMENT OF NEGROES TAKEN PRISONERS OF WAR.—The course of the authorities of the Southern States, now in arms against the Government, in selling as slaves all negroes taken prisoners, is the last relic of a barbarous custom; and we wish to know whether any one of the readers of the *Magazine* can tell when, where, and why it originated? The earliest allusion that I know of, is about 1700, when the English governor of New York refused, on the conclusion of peace, to give up negroes taken prisoners, alleging the rule that negroes were always regarded as slaves. The French, who had few or no slaves, soon retaliated by refusing, for the same grounds, to give up the numerous negroes that they carried off.

The Spanish negroes, put to death for complicity in the supposed Negro Plot in New York, in 1741, were freemen taken prisoners of war, but sold as slaves in spite of all their claim to be treated as prisoners.

The first condemnation of the course, seems to be that contained in the Massachusetts Resolve of Sept. 14, 1776, forbidding the sale, as slaves, of two negroes taken on the sloop Hannibal, and declaring: "That whenever it shall appear that any negroes are taken on the high seas, and brought as prisoners into this State, they shall not be allowed to be sold nor treated any otherwise than as prisoners are ordered to be treated who are taken in like manner."—*Am. Archives*, vol. vii., p. 769.

QUARE

THE FLAG OF FORT McHENRY.—Which of these is correct. A correspondent of the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, writing from Chester, says:

The "Star-Spangled Banner," that floated over McHenry at the time it was bombarded by the British, and where F. S. Key wrote his magnificent national song, is in possession of the widow of the officer who commanded at Fort McHenry when that place was bombarded by the British. His name was Armistead, I believe, and in rank a general. His daughter, Mrs. Bradford, from whom I had the facts, lives in West Chester, Pa.

E. H.

But Mr. T. T. Heron, of Baltimore, says:

During a visit to the fort, in 1859, my attention was directed, while in the garret of the barracks, to an American flag, which was rolled up in a piece of dirty muslin, and lay thrown in a corner and covered with dust. Turning to Captain Tillinghast, then stationed at the fort, and who died at Manassas in defence of that flag, I inquired the history of the national ensign, when he in-

formed me that it was the same that floated over McHenry at the time of the bombardment, and the sight of which doubtless inspired the song which has now become national and world-wide.

I examined the flag and found *eleven* bullet holes through the flag itself, and one shattering the staff, which is also preserved. Some say the holes have been made since by irresponsible parties; but I believe that they were made by the shots of the enemy, and I am borne out in my conviction by Captain Webster, who was in command of a battery at the time, and who, by his skill and energy, contributed no little to the salvation of Baltimore. I have no doubt but that the identical flag can still be seen. It should be secured and hoisted upon the most elevated position to be found in the United States.

What is the fact?

FENNE-WARD.—Some members of a Norfolk family, called Fenne, emigrated to Virginia, in "the old colonial time." They or their descendants were royalists, and lost much of their property during the War of Independence. Three sisters returned from America: two died unmarried, at Yarmouth; the third Anne (?), married Robert (?) Ward. The Wards were also a Norfolk family, who had settled in Virginia, but came back during the war. Whether the above-mentioned marriage was contracted in England or America, is not at present known—its issue was two children: Robert, who died s. p., and Anne, who married Thomas Wetherell, of Southwold, in Suffolk, and had two children who attained maturity, Robert and Anne, both of whom have left many descendants.

Information as to any of the above-mentioned persons or their families, will be of much interest to me.

EDWARD PEACOCK,

Bottesford Manor Brigg,  
Lincolnshire, England.

JAMES ATHEARN JONES.—Author of "Haverhill," "Traditions of the North American Indians; or Tales of an Indian Camp," &c., was born at Tisbury, Mass., June 4, 1790, and died of cholera, at Brooklyn, N. Y., August, 1853, aged 63. Allibone gives the title of an edition of the latter work: "London, 1820, 3 vols., post 8vo;" but it is supposed that it was originally published in this country. If such was the case, can any one furnish the date and place of publication of the first edition? "Haverhill; or Memoirs of an Officer in the Army of Wolfe," was published or republished in two vols. 12mo, by J. & J. Harper,

of New York, in 1831. From the references to this country in the work, it would seem to have been prepared and published in England, and we know that the author resided in England about this time. Can any one furnish the date and publisher's name of an English edition? Mr. Jones is said to have published a volume of poems. I would like to obtain its title. He is, also, said to have been, about the year 1826, the editor, or one of the editors, of a Philadelphia newspaper, and twenty or more years later, the editor of a Buffalo newspaper. I wish to obtain the titles of these newspapers. If an obituary notice of him was printed in any newspaper, at the time of his death, I would like a reference to it.

J. D.

#### REPLIES.

LIFE OF ALEXANDER SMITH (vol. ii., p. 278).—Mr. Babson, in his lately published "History of Gloucester, Mass.," p. 153, states that this work was written by Charles Lenox Sargent, son of Epes Sargent (H. C., 1766), of Boston. "Smith," remarks Mr. Babson, "was a Gloucester man, as represented in the story; but his career, as related by Mr. Sargent, is believed to be wholly fictitious." Mr. Sargent was a relative of Winthrop Sargent, first governor of the Mississippi Territory, and of Lucius Manlius Sargent ("Sigma"), the well-known writer.

BOSTON.

BUCKEYE STATE (vol. v., p. 124).—"Is it true that Ohio is so called from the chestnut-trees locally called Buckeyes?"

ANS.—Not true as above set down; and yet, it may be said to be thence derived, and like some etymologies, not obvious without a history.

The *chestnut*-trees spoken of, are a species of horse-chestnut peculiar to Ohio, or nearly so. The name *buckeye*, from the resemblance of the ripened nut, to the eye of a deer, has prevailed from so early a day, that it is most probably a translation of the name given it by the Indians. Loskiel speaks of the Muskingum or *Elk's Eye* River, which I suppose to be the same thing.

The name Buckeye was never applied to the State or its people by the early inhabitants, and the tree itself was not held in such estimation as to induce it. The early settlers found it utterly useless for most domestic purposes. It was unfit for building, or fences; the wood could not be split, and when green, made the worst of fuel. Its abundant fruit was utterly useless; while in one respect it was reckoned a nuisance, being injuri



ous to cattle, which sometimes ate them, causing a kind of vertigo, called the staggers. Hence, if a man should be tipsy and seen to stagger in his walk, the youngsters were wont to say, "That he had been eating buckeyes." (*Nec inde derivatur*; the nickname of the State is not derived from this.)

The first time I ever met with the name of Buckeye, as used to designate natives of Ohio, was in 1824. I was spending some days at the house of my friend, Hugh Glenn, near Cincinnati, and had taken with me "Major Long's Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, in 1819." This was then a new book to us, and Mr. Glenn desired to see it, as several of the gentlemen in that expedition had been inmates at his house, in Cincinnati, on their way out, and he had since then, passed over much of the same route to establish trading-posts. I remember the amusement it gave Mr. Glenn, when I read to him a passage which stated that the native backwoodsmen were sometimes called Buckeyes to distinguish them from new immigrants, who were introducing themselves from the Eastern States, and to whom was affixed, so says the book, "the opprobrious name of Yankees." The compiler must have picked up this item from some very recent immigrant; neither of us had ever heard of it before, and I need not say how early Mr. Glenn came to Cincinnati, nor how widely he had travelled in the West. Mr. Glenn wished that I should take notice of this new cognomen, in Foote's *Literary Gazette*; and I have yet among my papers the memorandum made for such an article.

In 1833, some natives of the West, residing at Cincinnati, agreed to have an annual celebration of the first settlement of that city. At the first of these celebrations they had fixed upon the buckeye-tree as an emblem, and agreed to call themselves Buckeyes. The organization of natives did not last long, but the notion, that natives were Buckeyes, seemed to spread; and, in the rage that existed about that time for coining nicknames for the States, induced some one to prepare the name of Buckeye for Ohio. The proposal would have gained little head, except for the presidential election of 1840. At a great convention, held at the State capital, in February, an immense delegation from Mad River appeared, with a log-cabin built upon a wagon; and this, with Otusey Curry's song, which everybody learned to sing, brought on the buckeye spasm. And through the summer, in every procession, horses were seen ornamented with strings of buckeye nuts, men wore buckeye hats, and girls wore buckeye bonnets, the ribbons of which were shavings of wood, planed from green blocks of buckeye-trees.

The writer of this note is not an *old* lawyer;

but he is bordering on the honorable age, and can say that none of his elder brothers like the name of Buckeye as a cognomen for the State, any more than they like Long Beards, which none of them wear. The expressive epithet which sagacious *settlers* had coined to denote a class of lawyers, has lost its force, and has no meaning when applied to the whole State and its native born. J. H. J.

URBANA, Ohio.

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### Notes on Books.

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*The Pulpit of the American Revolution*; or the Political Sermons of the Period of 1776, with an Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations. By John Wingate Thornton, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1860. 12mo, 537 pp.

This well-printed volume, with a clever portrait of Dr. Mayhew, has been for some time before the public, and from the character and ability of the editor, was looked for with interest. The name is wider, however, than the plan. The pulpit here represented is that of Massachusetts, the last sermon in the collection alone, that of Dr. Stiles, being from the neighboring State of Connecticut. We have therefore in this volume a key to the religious element underlying the movement in Massachusetts, which led to the Revolution. Mr. Thornton is a man of that day in mind as in research. He is a deadly antagonist of Prelacy and Catholicity, to him the banes of our social system, and his scheme of universal toleration includes their suppression, as incompatible with his theory. His bias is therefore strong and decided; but he is doubtless such an expositor as the writers would have desired.

The volume embraces Dr. Mayhew's Sermon on Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance, Jan. 20, 1750; Dr. Chauncy's Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, in 1766; Dr. Cooke's, in 1770, "Civil Government is for the Good of the People;" Mr. Gordon's Thanksgiving Sermon, in 1774, on the Christian Duty of Resistance to Tyrants; Dr. Langdon's, in 1775, "The Right of Self-government is from God;" West's Sermon on the True Principles of Government, in 1776; Payson on Popular Government, in 1778; Howard, in 1780, on the Necessity of Civil Government, and Dr. Stiles' Sermon, in 1783, "The United States exalted to Glory and Honor."

In these discourses we can see the important part occupied by the clergy and religious element in Massachusetts, in producing resistance to England, and especially how largely the anti-Catholic

feeling, excited by the toleration which the English government accorded to the French Canadians contributed to a revolution, which exhibited before its close the amusing spectacle of the selectmen of Boston following a crucifix and an officiating priest through the streets of their city; and which has, by its natural workings, produced throughout the land an almost entire severance of State and Church.

The right of insurrection, the right of self-government, and the duty incumbent on the people of establishing a suitable form of government, are all viewed in these discourses from the theological point of view, of course; and they thus constitute the moral theory of the Revolution in one large and influential, or rather the most influential school then in America.

The volume, with the notes of the accomplished editor, generally accurate, sometimes too warm, will be indispensable to any one who wishes to study the real interior history of the American Revolution. Those, especially, who were beyond the limits of the religious influence of New England, will find it the more necessary; but to all, Mr. Thornton has rendered a real service by this collection. If it has been said of some nations that they are to be judged by their songs, the rule never applied to New England; the spirit of that section is to be sought in its sermons.

*The History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By George Bancroft. Vols. I.-VIII., imp. 8vo. N. Y.: C. B. Richardson & Co. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

An edition of Bancroft's History, in an elegant style, with a corrected text, printed on the finest paper, with the portraits carefully printed on India paper, stands before us, one of the fifty copies which make up this special and elegant edition.

This is as it should be. The work of Mr. Bancroft, now so near its completion, will ever hold the first rank as the graphic, philosophical history of the country, combining the most extensive research with the most vivid picturing. As an American classic, the best edition must ever be sought by those who have choice libraries; and these few copies will be the object of eager search by those who neglect the first opportunity.

*The Anarchiad; a New England Poem.* Written in concert, by David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, John Trumbull, and Dr. Samuel Hopkins. New Haven: I. H. Pease, 1861. 18mo, 120 pp.

MR. LUTHER G. RIGGS has done service in thus collecting and editing the series of political satires

issued originally under the name of the "Anarchiad." It is strange indeed that they have never before appeared in book form.

Called forth by a period of rebellion and discontent, its lessons come now with redoubled force. Now indeed it may be said:

What madness prompts or what ill-omen'd fates  
Your realm to parcel into petty States?  
Shall lordly Hudson part contending powers,  
And broad Potomac have two hostile shores?

\* \* \* \* \*

Will this vile scheme bid restless faction cease?  
Check foreign wars, or fix internal peace?  
Call public credit from her grave to rise,  
Or gain in grandeur what you lose in size?

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### Miscellany.

Gov. OLDEN, of New Jersey, recently received from J. E. Harding, Esq., Her Majesty's Advocate-General in causes Ecclesiastical and Maritime, the original patent appointing Sir William Franklin, governor of New Jersey. It bears date the 9th Sept., in the second year of the reign of George III. It is written on three sheets of parchment, about two feet, by two feet seven inches in size, with the larger portion of a seal of old wax attached, which measures about six inches in diameter, and half an inch thick.

THE English ballad on Bunker Hill, in our last, will be found in full, in vol. ii., p. 58.

HON. AMOS KENDALL is now at Bridgeport, engaged on a life of President Andrew Jackson.

JOHN VANDERPOEL, of N. Y., on Tuesday received the award of the Board of Supervisors of Orange county, for a monument commemorating the battle of Minisink, fought in 1779. It is to be thirty-two feet high, and seven feet six inches at the base. The design is by Mr. V., and is very beautiful.

MR. JOEL MUNSELL has just issued the "Philobiblion of Richard de Bury," and "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," translated and edited by J. G. Shea, both of which we shall notice in our next.

He also announces, as the concluding volumes of his Historical Series, the "Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, appointed by law for the extinguishment of Indian Titles in the State of New York." This work will form two volumes, and be edited by Dr. F. B. Hough.

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[No. 10.

General Department.

MIOMAC OR RECOLLECT HIEROGLYPHIOS.

THE OUR FATHER.

<i>Nutschinen</i>	<i>wasok</i>	<i>ebin</i>	<i>tschiptuk</i>	<i>deluisin</i>	<i>mekidedemek,</i>	<i>wasok</i>	<i>n'telidanen,</i>	<i>tschiptuk</i>
Our Father	light	thou art sitting	may	as thou art named	honored,	heaven	that we go,	may

<i>igenemuek</i>	<i>ula</i>	<i>nemulek</i>	<i>ulod-ssenen,</i>	<i>nadel</i>	<i>wasok</i>	<i>eikik</i>	<i>deli skedask,</i>
us give	there	we see thee	we will be happy,	there	heaven	they are	as they obey thee,

<i>tschiptuk</i>	<i>elp</i>	<i>ninen</i>	<i>deli skedulek,</i>	<i>magamikek</i>	<i>einek</i>	<i>delamugubenikel</i>
may	also	we	so we obey thee,	earth	we are	the same food

<i>essemiek,</i>	<i>apseh</i>	<i>nigetsch</i>	<i>kiskuk</i>	<i>delumuktetsch</i>	<i>penegunemuin</i>	<i>nilunal</i>
us thou hast given,	again	now	to-day	the same food	to us let come	for our nourishment

<i>deli abiksiktaksik</i>	<i>wegaininamedenik,</i>	<i>elp</i>	<i>kil</i>	<i>Niksam</i>	<i>deli abiksiktuin</i>	<i>eluentiek,</i>
as we pardon	who have been angry with us,	also	thou	Great Spirit	thou us pardon	sinner,

<i>melkenin</i>	<i>metsch</i>	<i>winsudil</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>k'tigalinen,</i>	<i>kesinukwamkel</i>	<i>winschikel</i>
us strengthen	never again	bad things	not	we are brought,	evils	bad

<i>kokwel</i>	<i>tuachtuin</i>	<i>n' deliatsch.</i>
of every kind	remove from us	that is true

## MICMAC OR RECOLLECT HIEROGLYPHICS.

THE accompanying page contains the "Our Father" in the Micmac hieroglyphics, which that tribe has long employed, but to which no attention has been paid till quite recently. Leaving those who choose to build up theories as to these, we here give the result of our investigations, which have persuaded us that they are a European work on an Indian foundation.

The picture-writing was common to all the American tribes, existing in its highest beauty in Mexico. Elsewhere it was apparently only occasional. The buffalo-robe was decorated with the achievements of the warrior; a rock was occasionally inscribed with the account of some great action, or more probably was the historical register where many a brave at different intervals recorded his triumphs. The war-party having struck a blow in the enemy's country, would pin to a tree a strip of bark telling their tribe, their number, and their success.

The missionaries who have undertaken to convert the Indians, have almost always resorted to the Roman characters to express sounds, and instructed the Indians in their use and power. Gness, the Cherokee, invented a syllabic alphabet, containing eighty-five letters, many quite complex in form, but which has been adopted, and books, tracts, and newspapers even, printed in it. The missionaries at Hudson's Bay have adopted a simpler set of letters, each representing a syllable, and amounting to fifty-six in number, with ten final letters, in which character books have also been issued. These two form a second class—the syllabic alphabets.

The characters we here give are symbolic, not phonetic. Each represents a word, thus:

Ⓕ I or we,    Ⓞ thou;    Ⓔ he,    ⒺⒺ they;

Ⓕ⌒ we are;    ⒺⒺ⌒ they are;

ⒺⒻ our Father;    Ⓔ ⒺⒻ his father, or

who is father.

Of course the number of these is very great, amounting, as I am informed by the Rev. Charles Kauder, to seven thousand, and yet they have but three books in it—all religious. To carry it out would require an infinite number to express the various other classes of ideas that do not come within the compass of professed religious teaching. Undeterred by the number, this clergyman, to whose kindness I owe the "Our Father," here

given, and its explanation, is having the dies for the characters cut in Vienna, and proposes printing there the three works now extant in it—one containing the various Prayers; another, Devotions for Mass, of which I have a copy made by a chief in Cape Breton, sent me by Father Kauder; and the third, a Catechism.

To investigate their history, it was necessary to go back to the earliest accounts of European intercourse with the Micmac tribe, whose territory lay east of the Etechemius, and ran north to the lands of the Montagnais, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, including Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Champlain, Lescarbot, and Father Biard, make no allusion to any such characters as in use among the Micmacs, down to 1613, although they had every opportunity of remarking them had they existed.

A Recollect mission was established some time after; but the account of their labors, though said by Le Clercq to have been printed, is one of the unknown books on American history, and it is impossible to say what light, if any, it will give. The Jesuit missionaries, after Biard, did not extend their labors to Nova Scotia, and had only occasional missions in the upper district of the territory of the Micmacs or Souriquois. One of them, Father Julian Perrault, has left a short account of Cape Breton, where he was a missionary in 1635, and where the characters are now in use, but he makes no allusion whatever to them; nor do the accounts of the labors of Father Andrew Richard, who was a missionary at Miscou at that time, and for thirty years later, refer to them in the slightest manner. Thus far all is negative. A positive testimony comes to aid, in 1652. In that year Father Gabriel Druilletes, who had founded the Kennebec Mission, in 1646, giving an account of his labors, and especially of his method of instructing the Indians, says:

"Some wrote their lessons after their fashion; they used a small coal as a pen, and a bark for paper. Their characters are so new and so peculiar, that one would not know or understand the writing of another; that is to say, they use certain marks, according to their ideas, as a local memory, to recollect the points, articles, and maxims which they had heard. They took their papers with them to study their lessons during the night."

The hint conveyed by this was lost on the missionary; and neither he nor any other of the Jesuit Fathers seems to have thought of turning Indian symbolic characters to account, although missionaries a few years later introduced the pictures of Le Nobletz for that purpose.

The Recollect Father Christian Le Clercq, author of the work vaguely entitled "Etablissement de la Foi," underwent a similar experience, but prof

ited by it. In his "Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie," p. 141, he says: "Our Lord inspired me with this method the second year of my mission (say 1679), when being greatly embarrassed in what way I should teach the Indians to pray, I perceived some children making marks with a coal on a piece of birch bark, and pointing to them very exactly, at each of the prayers that they uttered; this led me to believe, that by giving them some formulary which would help their memory by certain characters, I would be able to progress much more than by teaching them to repeat over and over again what I said. I was charmed to see that I was not mistaken, and that these characters which I had formed on paper, produced all the effect that I desired, so that in a few days they learned all their prayers without difficulty. I cannot express the ardor with which these poor Indians contended with each other in praiseworthy emulation to see who should be most learned and skilful. It is true that it cost much time and pains to form as many as they ask; and especially, since I increased them so as to teach all the prayers of the Church, with the sacred mysteries of the Trinity, Incarnation, Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist. . . .

"As I sought in this little formulary only the advantage of my Indians, and the most prompt and easy method of instructing them, I used it with the more pleasure, inasmuch as several persons of virtue and merit, kindly, by word and letter, encouraged me to continue, even obliging me to send some to France to show the curious a new method of learning to read, and how God uses the humblest things to manifest the glory of his holy name to these people of Gaspé. The approbation of Mgr. de St. Valier, now bishop of Quebec, has more than sufficiently authorized the use; and this worthy prelate esteems them so highly, that after observing personally the use and benefit, in the very painful journey which he made to Acadia, he asked some models of Rev. Father Moreau, to whom I had sent them several years before. His lordship received with pleasure from this zealous missionary, our billets and instructive characters to give them to one of his missionaries; and I have no doubt but that this good servant of God will receive relief in the instruction of the Indians of his mission.

"Our Gaspésians have so much veneration and respect for these characters, that they scruple to throw them in the fire. When they are torn or soiled, they bring me the fragments. . . . You see the esteem which our Indians have for my *Oukate Iguenne Kignatimonoer*, which we call, as I have said, instructive characters or papers."

In a previous part of his volume (p. 129), he says: "The easy method which I found for teaching our Gaspésians their prayers, with certain

characters that I formed, convince me that most would soon become educated; for after all, I would not find it more difficult to teach them to read than to pray by my papers, in which each arbitrary letter signifies a particular word, sometimes, even, two together. They so easily conceive this kind of writing, that they learn in a single day what they never could have retained in a whole week, without the help of these billets, which they call *Kignamolinoer* or *Kategueme*. They preserved these instructive papers with so much care, and esteem them so highly, that they put them up very neatly in little bark cases trimmed with wampum, beads, and porcupine quills. They hold them in their hands as we do our prayer-books during mass, after which they put them in their cases. The principal use and advantage of this new method is, that the Indians instruct each other wherever they happen to be: the son teaches the father; the mother, her children; the wife, her husband and children; the aged, who show no reluctance to learn from their little grandchildren and little girls, even, the principles of Christianity. Even the little children, that have not the entire use of speech, pronounce, as well as they can, some words from these billets which they hear in their cabins, when the Indians in holy emulation repeat them. In fact, a little boy seven years old, at our convent in Quebec, has often been justly admired, as he read distinctly in his book the prayers which I had taught him when at the mission. He deciphered these characters with such ease and readiness that our friars and seculars were extremely surprised. Nor were they less edified to see the parents at mass with their Gaspésian prayer-books in their hands, containing the instructions that a good Christian should know in order to assist with merit at the august sacrifice."

Father Le Clercq had a theory about the Gaspésians which seems untenable. The reverence which they had for the cross, and of the origin of which Perrault had spoken long before, misled him; and like some in our days, who take up the cause of a tribe, he wished to make them out an original people. They were, however, merely a branch of the Micmacs or Souriquois, and the territory which he assigned to them, from Gaspé to Nipisiguit and Cape Breton, is still in the Micmac district. In the last number of the *Magazine* will be found all the Gaspésian words introduced by Le Clercq in his work, and a comparison of many with the Micmac, which leaves no doubt of the identity of the language.

We have then the fact, that Father Le Clercq introduced symbolic characters among the Micmacs; and as they still remain, modified perhaps by time, there can be little doubt but that he is entitled to the honor of inventing the charac-

ters we have given. If this be the case, they are the most interesting monument yet discovered of the labors of the early Recollect missionaries, and that their claim may be tested, we have styled them the Recollect Hieroglyphics, open to information, correction, or advice.

A manuscript in this character is said to exist in one of the public libraries at Paris, and steps have been taken to have it copied in whole or in part. As described to me, it is of the seventeenth century; and it may possibly be one of those sent to France by Father Le Clercq himself, who states that he was requested to furnish specimens, and did so. From its age, it will be of great value for comparison.

Of the last century I know one specimen in the British Museum, of which Mr. E. G. Squier has shown me a copy that he made; the characters are almost identical with those we give. s.

#### LETTER OF PEDRO MENENDEZ, THE FOUNDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

THE following letter of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the founder of St. Augustine, is given by the Father Bartolomé Alcazar, in his "*Chrono-Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la Provincia de Toledo*," Madrid, 1710, 2 vols. fol. (Tom. ii., Dec. iii., Año vi., Cap. iii.), from the original in the archives of Alcalá. As it has never been republished or translated, and as the work of Alcazar is of extreme rarity (not mentioned by Brunet), it may be found of interest to the readers of the *Hist. Mag.* It was written to a Jesuit father residing in Cadiz. Its tone of earnest piety seems to prove its writer's assertion as recorded by Sacchini: "Cum ejusmodi præfecturas plerique mortalium pecuniæ causâ ambire solent, profitebatur ille [Petrus Menendis], reque ipsa probabat, nam sibi propositam esse pereunium animarum curam."—*Hist. Soc. Jesu*, Pars. iii., fol. 85. D. G. B.

WEST CHESTER, PENN.

[Translation.]

"By the letters of Pedro de el Castillo, I have learned the great kindness shown toward me throughout our kingdom by the Society of Jesus. In answer to their prayers our Lord has shown me many mercies, and continues daily so to do, granting victory and good success in every thing to which myself and the Spaniards who are with me have laid our hands since we have been in these provinces. And though we have undergone great hunger, toil, and danger, and some like feeble men could not bear it but became disheartened, yet most, I among them, though the greatest sinner

of all, being sure that they came to pass through the will of our Lord, and that his reward would not fail me, never felt them; and I continued as cheerful, sound, strong, and contented as ever I was, and this even in our time of greatest need, when the Indians used to come two or three times a week, and each time would kill two or three of us and wound others, and when we had nothing to eat, and when for two months those of one fort did not know whether those of the other were alive or dead.\*

"On St. Peter's eve (the anniversary of the day that I left Spain for this land),† seventeen ships appeared off the entry to the harbor of St. Augustine, and all entered with good success, bringing fifteen hundred infantry, five hundred sailors, a large quantity of artillery and munitions of war, and a good store of provisions.‡ This was to us all a great consolation and pleasure, those who were in this fort going out to meet them weeping for joy, their hands and eyes lifted to heaven, praising the Lord. At the time I was not here. But I returned within eight days. And as I beheld how much aid and succor his majesty the king, Don Philip, had sent us, and how our Lord had conducted it safely, on the one hand I had great pleasure in witnessing the kindness of his majesty, but on the other was affected and lost that there came no member of the Society [of Jesus], nor indeed any learned religious; because on account of the many caciques I have for friends, and the good understanding and judgment of the natives of these provinces, and the warm desire they manifest to become Christians and to learn the law of Jesus Christ, half a dozen missionaries would do more good in one month than many thousand men such as we in many years. It is merely a waste of time to think of planting the Gospel in this country with the military alone. Your grace may rest assured, unless I am much in error, that the Word will spread abroad in these parts. For their religion is in great measure a worship of the sun and moon; their idols are dead deer and other animals; each year they have three or four celebrations, when they adore the sun, and remain three days without eating, drinking, or sleeping, these being their fasts. Whoever is feeble, and cannot endure this, they look upon as unworthy, and he is despised by the nobler portion; but he who best sustains these privations, is held to be greatest, and is much honored. They are a race of great strength and agility, and remarkable swimmers. They wage many wars one with another, but there is no

\* The two forts referred to were Fort St. Augustine, and Fort San Mattheo, near the mouth of the St. Johns.

† St. Peter's eve occurs on the 25th of June.—*Erl. Hist. Mag.*

‡ This was the fleet commanded by Juan de Avila.

powerful cacique among them. I have avoided entering into an alliance with any chief against another, even against my enemies, for I tell them that our Lord reigns in the heavens, and is Cacique of all the caciques of the earth and of every created thing, and He is angry with them because they make war upon each other and kill each other like wild beasts. Thus certain of them have been induced to promise that they will be friends and quit their idolatry, and have begged me for crosses to worship. I sent some youths and soldiers among them to instruct them in the Christian dogmas. When they said they wished to be Christians as we, I replied that I was expecting missionaries who would construct vocabularies and master rapidly their tongue; that these would tell them what they had to do to become Christians, and would undeceive them, showing them how, not being like us, they serve and deify the vilest creature of the world, which is the devil; but when their eyes are opened, and they become Christians, they will serve our Lord who is Cacique of heaven and earth, and will be contented and happy, and our brothers in truth, and whatever we have we will share with them. As I had promised them that the missionaries would come in this fleet, when they did not come, the natives thought I was false to them. Certain ones have created scandal, saying that I deceive them, while the caciques, my enemies, ridicule both them and me. It has thus done great harm that none of your reverences nor any other learned religious have come out to teach them. The more so since if we do not take advantage of the treaties we have at present to propagate the Holy Gospel, engaging the chiefs to certify what the missionaries say, at a later date we will be able to do nothing, as they will have no confidence in us. May our Lord stir up the excellent Society of Jesus, that it send hither at least six laborers, fit for the harvest, for it will be abundant.

"On the 14th September, 1566, a ship, sailing with a side wind, came within two leagues of this port of St. Augustine; and as it appeared to me that she did not recognize it, I sent a skiff with a number of oars to bring her inside. But the sea being rough, and the tide adverse, it could not go out, and within two days a storm arose. A fortnight afterwards a boat came to anchor in the river of the fort of San Mattheo, near the sea, with six Flemings on board, without any food, and two of them almost mortally wounded with arrows. It proved to belong to a Spanish vessel. They related how, the day before, certain Indians, our enemies, a league from there, had slain Father Martinez of the Society; and how the vessel that had passed here was the sloop whence they came; that not recognizing the harbor, the pilot had sent them ashore in the boat a fortnight before, to

learn where they were, and a storm arising they could not return. They had met many Indians who, saying that they were my friends and brothers, had received them kindly and assisted them. Their misfortune happened them a league from Fort San Mattheo.\* Father Martinez had with him some gifts from the Holy Father, and both these and whatever else he had, all were lost. Blessed be our Lord for all things. And since His Divine Majesty permits and wishes it, let us give him unceasing thanks; for we here are of so little merit that it seemed good to our Lord to visit upon us this calamity; depriving us of the great consolation we would have had in the company of the Father Martinez, of whom all of us, both Spaniards and natives, had such great need.† I believe that the sloop has not been lost, but has gone to Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, or Cuba. I have sent a servant to these isles with orders to direct the pilot of the sloop to go to Havana, and take with him the two fathers of the Society who were still on board.‡ In order that they may occupy themselves there till the end of February, when the winter will have passed, in collecting vocabularies, and studying the language of the territory of Carlos, a very friendly cacique.§ In the beginning of March, they can go to this cacique, the transit being a very easy one, and the country thickly settled, it not being necessary that they should disembark here. Most of the tribes they will encounter are friendly, having among them crosses which I gave them, and boys and soldiers to instruct them in Christian doctrine.

"We have not ventured inland, having been occupied in fortifying ourselves on the coast, and in trying to pacify the caciques about here, so that our front may be secure. We have, consequently, not seen any large towns, though there are many Indians here, both men and boys. The interior is said to be thickly peopled, and there is

\* Fairbanks ("Hist. and Antiq. of St. Augustine," p. 100) suggests St. George's Island as the probable scene of this occurrence. This, however, lies to the north of the mouth of the St. Johns; and as they were creeping along the shore to the south of this river, it must have been on the bank opposite St. George's.

† On the missionary voyage of Martinez, see Aleazar, "Chrono-Historia," tom. ii., 145, sqq., Alegambe, "Mortes Illustres," fol. 44-6, and especially Sacchinus, "Hist. Societat. Jesu," pars. iii., fol. 86-90. The latter gives the fullest account of the Jesuit missions to Florida, that I have anywhere found.

‡ Juan Rogel and Francisco de Villareal.

§ He refers to the Caloosa tribe, for a long time the leading native nation of the southern portion of the peninsula. Their chief town was twelve or fourteen leagues from the southernmost cape (cf. Brinton, "Notes on the Floridian Peninsula," pp. 112-16). The passage affords another proof of the facile communication that existed at the earliest dates between the West Indies and the northern mainland (see *op. cit.*, p. 101).

much talk of the river Salado, which goes to China.

"Let the missionaries who come out here be well chosen; otherwise they had better not come. But your grace understands this better than I; enough that the Society acts as it sees fit.

"I shall be in the kingdom, at the furthest, during the whole of May, and possibly much sooner. It would not be advisable for me to spend a day of July there if I wished to arrive here with good weather, and bring in safely those whom I take out. For at that season the winds and sea are propitious. Those of the Society and other missionaries who wish to come, I will receive, and attend upon, and regale, as though it were the king himself; and in these parts, as long as I live, I will give orders that they be respected as the ministers of our Lord, trusting that he who does not deserve this will be brought to deserve it by his companions, and should this be impossible, that he will be sent back; for this is necessary in this new country; and thus our Lord will be better served; for all good doctrine and example must proceed from the missionary, and this cannot be unless he is honored and revered. . . .

"From Florida, from this Fort St. Augustine, 15 October, 1. 66."

#### THE EARLIEST NEW YORK TOKEN.

BY FISK P. BREWER.



THERE is now preserved in the Royal Museum at the Hague, in Holland, an ancient New York token, which is not noticed in any published work on American coins. An electrotype copy of it has been procured for the Yale College numismatic collection, by means of which we are able to give the following description:

The original is struck in lead or some similar soft metal. Its diameter is fourteen-sixteenths of an inch. The obverse has an eagle displayed, with wings pointing downward, head turned to the left, and a horizontal branch in its talons. The legend, beginning from the head of the bird, is NEW-YORKE IN AMERICA. The reverse is quite singular, exhibiting a central group of five palms with a figure on each side, probably intended for a Venus and a Cupid. The left-hand figure, which is the smaller, is represented as running towards

the other, and at the same time having his right arm stretched forward and carrying a bow in his left hand. The margin of both sides of the piece shows a faint bead-work. The style in which it is executed is more Dutch than English; and as the only existing specimen has been preserved in Holland, it is probable that the dies were originally cut there.

The intelligent and gentlemanly conductor of the Hague Museum says, that this piece was in the collection when he was appointed, in 1853, but he knows nothing of its previous history. From the character of its workmanship, he would assign it to the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth century.

There is no date on the token; but it evidently belongs to the period between 1664, when the name NEW-YORKE was first adopted, and 1710, after which it was rarely spelled with an *e*.\* It should probably be referred to the latter part of this period, for the currency of the colonies was then in a very unsettled state, and the amount in circulation was not adequate to the wants of trade. In Massachusetts, early in 1701, "not a few individuals stamped pieces of brass and tin, and palmed them on community at a penny each."† Soon after a committee of the General Court reported in favor of having Province pence made of copper, but the plan was negated by the Council. "The extrem scarcity of money and the want of other medium of commerce," is spoken of in the act of the Legislature, Nov. 21, 1702, authorizing the issue of bills to the value of £10,000, and the next spring (March 26, 1703), a proposition was laid before them for importing from England £5000 worth of copper pence. In the colony of Barbadoes, also, the condition of things was indicated by the passage of an act "to supply the want of Cash, and to establish a method of credit for persons having real Estates in this Island." The queen at once repealed this act, and under date of Nov. 8, 1706, sent notice of it to the governor of New York. In her letter, after referring to "several ill consequences of passing Bills of an unusual and extraordinary nature and importance," she required him not to pass or give his consent, without her previous permission, to any such bills which might be agreed to in the New York Assembly, wherein her prerogative or the property of her subjects might be prejudiced.‡

It is not unlikely then, that at some time between 1700 and 1706, there was in New York, as we know there was in other American colonies, a deficiency of cash, to supply which and perhaps

\* The latest instance we have noted is in the Report of the English Board of Trade to the queen, Dec. 5, 1709, which uses both *New Yorke* and *New York*.

† Felt's "Massachusetts Currency."

‡ "Doc. Hist. N. Y.," vol. iv., p. 1188.



somewhat to regulate the unsettled currency, the dies of our coin were prepared in Holland (possibly at the instance of some Dutch inhabitant of New York), but were used to strike nothing more offensive to the sovereign's right of coining than this harmless trial-piece in soft metal.

Many conjectures may be offered as to why the half-penny was not brought into circulation after the dies were ready. The wants of the market may have been relieved by an importation like that proposed in Massachusetts, or the proclamation of Queen Anne may have made the New Yorkers afraid of trespassing on the royal prerogative.

Without venturing to claim that this coin contains the earliest display of the American eagle, we think it unquestionably deserves to be considered THE EARLIEST NEW YORK TOKEN.

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LETTERS TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY, FROM  
LEADING TORIES IN AMERICA.

No. V.

NEW YORK, NOV. 23, 1778.

SIR: Doctor Denormandie came here about a fortnight ago. He got a particular act of Assembly past, empowering him to sell his estate and to retire out of the state under pretence of his being a freeholder and burgher of the City of Geneva, and not interested in the event of the dispute, as he before intended returning to that place. The Doctor informs me that soon after we left Philadelphia, General Wayne pressed all the good horses in his neighborhood for the use of the Continental Army, without giving the owners' certificates, and consequently they could not be paid. The crops in general, in Pennsylvania, have been exceedingly bad. He thinks there is not wheat enough left in the interior counties for the supply of the *Inhabitants* till next harvest; and then the scarcity must continue; for few of the farmers had horses enough left to make up a team for one plough; they were obliged to borrow of one another to put into the ground even a trifling quantity of winter grain, not more than sufficient, if so much, to supply their respective families. The number of horses employed to transport flour from Maryland and Pennsylvania to Boston, were immense. These were principally taken from the farmers southward of New York, as those in the Continental Army were mostly rendered unfit for service through hard usage and bad feeding. Carrying so much provision so far, and over very bad roads, has destroyed many more of the horses belonging to the farmers. From these circumstances

judge how badly the Continental Army must be prepared for another campaign. Notwithstanding the difficulty Congress had to encounter, they were about to victual Count D'Estaing's fleet fully. By a vessel arrived here three days ago from Boston, with prisoners exchanged, we are told the Count sailed from there two days before him, (the 4th inst.) generally thought for the West Indies. Admiral Byron was not able to prevent it, being blown off the harbor in a gale of wind, and is since got into Newport.

General Grant sailed from here with ten regiments, two 50 gun ships and two 64 gun ships on the 2nd inst., no accounts from him. I hope D'Estaing and him have not met. The 2nd expedition also sailed about 10 days since, but got shattered off the Hook, and returned into harbor, where they will remain. The Refugee scheme so much talked of when you were here, seems to be dropt—nothing being said of it—and a proposal is made them by General Robertson to go near Huntington to cut wood off Rebel Estates, for the supply of this garrison. At Philadelphia the people are more violent than you can conceive, they have executed Messrs. John Roberts, and Carlisle, and have since sentenced Mr. Garrigues and a Mr. Wright for Treason. Mrs. Barton, who came here with Dr. Denormandie, previous to her departure from Pennsylvania, went to Philadelphia, where she saw Mr. Galloway well and in good spirits. Mrs. Galloway walked further to see Mr. B. than she has been able to do for several years, and without being much fatigued. As to myself, I am obliged to go into such business as I can get to do. I expect this will be handed to you by Mrs. Sullivan, who goes in the Brune. I am Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
ABEL EVANS.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq.

No. VI.

NEW YORK, NOV. 25, 1778.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Crowder carried with him two letters for you from England, one of which arrived here on the morning you sailed from the Hook and as we were ignorant of that, I procured a boat to carry the letter to you, but it was too late, and on the return I took the liberty to read them agreeable to your orders and inclose them for you. Enclosed is also a letter from Mr. Galloway who has almost too deep a sense of popular ingratitude. You may rest assured that if she is desirous to rent her own Estate and if it is practicable it will be accomplished by my brother Samuel to whom I have wrote on the subject, and who will advise with Mr. G. on the proper measure.

The unfortunate J. Roberts and A. Carlisle were executed on the 4th inst. A few of what are called *men* members met and endeavored to make a House with a declared intention of saving them, but could not, and from what we hear, it is rather probable that they will not easily be permitted to sit as representatives. S. Garrigues and J. Stevens were on their trials when the last messenger left Philadelphia. The papers which I cannot procure, are replete with abuse and contemptuous treatment of the commission and the agents under it, and never was shown, a greater confidence than appears in the whole conduct of the Congress and their agents.

D'Estaing has sailed from Boston having taken advantage of a severe gale of wind which had dispersed Byron's fleet and drove one of them on shore on Cape Cod, the Somerset of 64 guns, where she is totally lost, and four hundred of her men made prisoners by the rebels. He sailed the day after the division of the army under Grant left the Hook, but from what appears, Byron is in pursuit of him. This *Arno*: is brought by a flag of truce from Boston, which brought 57 masters of vessels taken by the rebels and carried into New England in the space of two months. There does not appear to be any great division of parties in any colony but Pennsylvania, and I am fully persuaded, that in the present circumstances no consequences will attend that division favorable to government. It appears to me that the spirit of our countrymen is too much broken to attempt to relieve themselves from a burthen grievous and disagreeable to them in the highest degree.

I take the liberty to open Mr. Galloway's letter with an intention of performing any thing which might have been desired if in my power, which I hope you will excuse.

It is very evident that unless government can disengage itself from an European war and employ a greater force and more vigor in the prosecution of this, the game is certainly up, and America lost.

You may rely on hearing from me if any thing favorable or consequential happens. Since Mr. G's letter, I received one from Mr. Potts, who mentions Mr. Galloway being in good health and uncommon spirits. Pray give my most respectful compliments to Miss Galloway who has, I suppose, forgot there is such a creature, or from the multiplicity of engagements in the beau monde.

Believe me to be with the sincerest gratitude,  
your affectionate friend

and humble servant,  
JOHN POTTS.

To JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq., }  
To the care of Mr. Alexander Jordan, }  
at Messrs. Drummonds, London. }

No. VII.

NEW YORK, Dec. 1, 1778.

FRIEND GALLOWAY: Since your departure, nothing material has taken place except an expedition of 4000 men under y<sup>e</sup> command of Colonel Campbell. There was also an excursion up the North River to interrupt the convention troops ordered by the Congress for Virginia, provisions not being to be had for them at the Northward, but it was too late, they having crossed the river some days before. However many of them have deserted, and are coming in daily, say nearly 200, already come in. At present there is about 2000 going under Sir William Erskine—said to the east end of Long Island. Yesterday intelligence was received from St. Augustine, that there is an expedition going from thence to Georgia, where it is said they will meet with little opposition, the people there being much divided, should Campbell land in North Carolina as is expected. Judge what a situation these provinces must be in, particularly South Carolina.

Great dissensions have arose among the leading people, in so much that General Thompson laid his stick over Chief Justice McKean's head, in the Coffee Room at Philadelphia, calling him and many of the Congress, rascals, for which he has been taken before a committee of Congress, where it still rests. He is supported by Generals Mifflin, St. Clair, and Arnold, and many of the citizens. Arnold it is said, will be discharged, being generally thought a pert Tory. Certain it is, that he associates mostly with those people, and is to be married to Miss Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, Esq.

The execution of Robert Carlisle and others, has had a great effect on the minds of the people of Pennsylvania. The executive council have been told publicly that it was murder committed on those persons. In short, from every part of the continent there are accounts of their disunion, owing to the French connection, and the most extravagant prices for the necessaries of life. Add to this, the money is depreciating almost to nothing. Ten dollars paper passing for one hard. Don't charge me with being sanguine. These are plain truths, and you will find the papers I have sent correspond with them. I shall suffer much in my property, but shall bear it cheerfully, provided the day of retribution is not passed. A little exertion would put every man in possession of his own.

Your friend and servant,  
CH. STEWART,  
Cashier and Paymaster.

To J. GALLOWAY, Esq., }  
London. }

## No. VIII.

NEW YORK, Dec. 12, 1778.

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR: By this Time I hope you are safely landed in England, and out of the Reach of Congresses and all their Inquisitorial Tribunals. No Person be assured was more anxious for your safe Passage across the Atlantic than I was; or that more narrowly watched the Rebel Intelligence concerning Captures. Had You been taken, it would have been announced to the Public with great Triumph; but as Nothing has been said about You, I conclude You have got clear of all Danger.

If authentic Information of the State of Things here could be of Service, Your Arrival in England might be a happy Circumstance to the Nation; for I know no Person who is able to give a more full and satisfactory Account of every Thing that Administration could be desirous to know, or indeed of whatever is necessary to be known; or who has formed juster Notions of our Case—the Causes of our Calamities, and the proper Methods to remove them now, and prevent them in Future, than Yourself: For these Matters have long engaged Your attention, and You have had opportunities of being informed which very few others possessed. Yet I am apprehensive that *Official Information* is what will chiefly be attended to by Government. Your Connections indeed with several Persons of Eminence and Authority, and the Opinion they justly entertain of Your Abilities and Integrity, will doubtless gain You a Hearing; and You can support Your Opinions with so much Reason, with such cogent Arguments, that I flatter myself they will have very great Weight. Besides, You can give Intelligence in numberless Matters of Moment, of which those who resided here but a short Time, however inquisitive, could know little or Nothing. In this You certainly have a great advantage over others; and I trust there is Wisdom enough left with those at the Helm to avail themselves of the interesting Truths and Facts which You can communicate.

You are desirous, I suppose, of knowing something of what has passed here since You left us; and agreeably to my Promise, I shall endeavor to gratify You in this as far as my Memory will serve me; without being over studious of Method—but mentioning Things in the Order they occur to me.

If I remember right, Washington fell back from his Position at the White Plains, before You sailed. This movement was partly owing to an attack which he apprehended to be meditated against some Part of New England; and partly to Discontents which prevailed in his Army concerning their Pay.—The Continental money sinking so much in Value that the Pay, first stipulated,

was not sufficient to support either officers or soldiers. He hovered till lately on the Verge of Connecticut and this Province; and his army is now cantoned out at Boston, Hartford, Providence, New Milford, and Fredericks-burgh—the latter in this Province, about 20 Miles from the Rebel Forts; and some more at Morristown and Elizabeth Town in Jersey—not more than 1000. From the best Accounts these Troops did not amount to more than 10,000, in the whole, last Month; but the time of some expired the first of this Month; and that of many more will expire the first of next Month; so that before the Winter ends, his Army will fall greatly short of that Number, and all who come in, concur in Opinion that the Rebels will meet with insuperable Difficulties in recruiting their Army.

Congress have thought proper to remove the Remains of General Burgoyne's Army to Virginia lately. This Circumstance has convinced a Matter which was much doubted by the Gentlemen of the Army before, but which they now begin to think true—viz—that there are still many Friends to Government in the Country. This was always known to those who knew the internal State of the Country; but the Gentlemen of the Army knowing little more of it than what was discovered in the Field, while they were there; formed their Judgment from thence, and concluded most *logically* that *all* the Americans were Rebels. Burgoyne's Army while on their Way through New England, but particularly through this Province, meet with the Kindest Treatment from the Inhabitants. Provisions in Abundance were brought to them—the Inhabitants cheerfully gave up their Beds to them—sympathized with them—offered them Money—and assisted many to make their Escape. Several Inhabitants of this Province came as Guides to different Parties of them who have got in—upwards of 100 have reached this Place.

This is certain, unequivocal Proof of the People's Disposition, and the Accounts I have received from several Persons of Sense and Veracity, confirm it further. It is not from Rebel News Papers, or the Declaration of violent Partizans, that we are to judge of the real State of the Rebels. As in all other despotic Governments, so here, Liberty of Speech is taken away. None but the Violent dare speak out—a single Expression hinting at a Disapprobation of public Measures, will subject a Man to suspicion—perhaps to Imprisonment, or even Banishment. The Freedom of the Press has long since fled. A man might as well attempt to write against the Pope or Inquisition in Spain or Portugal, as to write against the Rebellion in America.—Weigh the following indubitable Facts, and then judge of the State of the Rebellion.

In many Townships of New England and this Province, where there are perhaps not less than 800 Persons capable of Voting according to the old Constitutions, not more than 50 are now qualified to vote, nor do more actually vote for any Public Officers: For all who do not take a certain Oath, are disqualified for Voting, transferring Property, buying or selling, exercising any Trade, &c. Besides, the enormous Taxes now levied everywhere, each Family is obliged to furnish a Pair of Shoes and Stockings for the use of the Continental Army. The Difficulty in procuring Forage and Provision was so great, that Congress found it necessary to pass a Law authorizing Commissaries and their Deputies to go to Farmer's Houses, and take an account of their Stock, Quantity of Grain, and Number of their respective Families. After this, the Commissary or his Deputy is to judge what Quantity of Stock, Grain, and Forage is sufficient for the Farmer—and on applying to the next Justice (who you know in these Times, is sure to be a violent Partizan) the Commissary or his Deputy takes away the Surplussage at such Price as he and the Justice are pleased to fix; and for such Price or Sum, he gives the Farmer an Order upon Congress; so that some Farmers are obliged to travel 100 or 200 miles to receive that Pittance of Congress Money. A more arbitrary or oppressive Act could scarcely be devised; and we may form some Idea of the Streights which reduced the Rebel Leaders to the Necessity of passing it, when their Cause in good Policy, required lenient Measures—such as would make the Inhabitants easy. The Congress Money is much depreciated since You left this—it is sunk as low as *ten for one*. Where the People can any Way avoid it, they will not receive it at any rate; but barter one Commodity for another. The Depreciation of this Money is now so great and notorious that it is become the Subject of Complaint in the public Speeches and Addresses of Governors and Assemblies, and other Publications. The only Mode hitherto proposed for supporting its Credit, is by heavy Taxes: But it is impossible that this should answer the Purpose. Besides, a debt of some Millions Sterling due to France, the Congress Emissions amounted last Spring to two hundred Millions of Dollars—Ten Millions more we know of, have been emitted since, and they are still at Work. The Paper Money of particular Provinces has been called in—Orders on the Treasury, in the Nature of Bank Bills bearing Interest, have been given in Lieu; and these are also in Circulation. These amount to an enormous Sum, and are in as bad credit as the Congress Bills. The Fee Simple of the 13 *United States* is not equal to this Sum, which is still increasing, I therefore think it utterly impossible to support the Credit of this Money; and

were there Nothing else, this would be sufficient to destroy the Rebellion, if Britain would hold the Places she already possesses, and keep a moderate Number of Cruizers on this Coast. The Mode of securing French Debts, by which the Colonies became mortgaged for the Fripperies of every French Pedlar, is another embarrassing Article on this Head, which must prove ruinous to America; to say Nothing of some Secret Articles of the Treaty, with that Nation which are supposed to be very injurious and disgraceful to this Country.

These indubitable facts show that the Rebellion is not in a thriving, prosperous Condition. But there are others no less unfavourable. Notwithstanding the French Supplies, and the Efforts of Rebel Traders, the People at large and Army in particular, are much distressed for Clothing and other Necessaries. Even Bread, which no one imagined could ever be scarce in this Country, begins to fail. Among the Rebels, Flour *now* sells for *Ten* Spanish Dollars per hundred weight—for Congress Dollars it is not to be purchased; unless by compulsion. Beef, Pork, &c., are in the same proportion. This proceeds from real Scarcity, nor is it to be wondered at. Not less than 60,000 of the Rebels have perished by sickness, and the Sword since the War begun; and these chiefly Farmers and Labourers. At a moderate Calculation, those Americans who enlisted in the Kings Service, or we employed in the different Departments, and who have been driven within the Lines, amount to 20,000. When the Labour of all these is deducted, it must make a great change in the Agriculture of this Country. Many of the most fertile Settlements on our Frontiers, such as the German Flats, Cherry Valley, Minnipinks, &c., to say Nothing of many on the Southern Frontiers, are destroyed by Butler and Joseph Brant; and besides losing the Produce of these, the Inhabitants are driven in on the Interior Settlements. The incessant Calls on the militia to muster, go on particular Services, and join the main Army, are ruinous to Agriculture. The Farmers who can cultivate their Farms, finding their Produce must go for money that has little or no Value, aim at Nothing more than just to raise Bread for their own Families. This is the case in Jersey, this Province, and those Parts of New England where Wheat is raised; so that not a third of the Grain is produced in those places which it yielded formerly; and I believe You are sensible, that this was the Case last Summer in Pennsylvania. The wanton Waste I should say Destruction of Grain by the Rebels, and the King's Army wherever the latter penetrated, has consumed all the old Stock that has been hoarded since the Non-Exportation Scheme took place—not a grain of it remains; so that the

Country can now only be supplied by its annual Produce. I therefore conclude it for certain, that a Famine is inevitable, if the War continues two years longer—nay—one year's War more will bring inexpressible Distress on the Country with Regard to Provisions; and this will affect the Rebellion not less than the Depreciation of their *Paste Board* Dollars.

The Conclusion from these Premises is obvious—the Rebellion be assured is on the Decline—its Vigor and Resources are nearly spent; and Nothing but a little Perseverance, and a moderate Share of Prudence and Exertion on the Part of Britain, is necessary to suppress it totally. If it is asked what is it which supports the Spirits of the Rebels under these Desperate Circumstances? I answer—partly our gross mismanagement hitherto; but chiefly, a firm Persuasion that the British Army will abandon the Continent this Winter, or next Spring at furthest. This is proclaimed by Congress, by Governors, Assemblies, &c., from one End of the Continent to the other. The deluded Populace believe it, and hence their Confidence. They think that as Britain is rent by such violent, internal Factions, and is exhausted of Men and Money, with a French War just beginning, which they count certain, she cannot make any further Efforts here; and therefore must abandon America to its present Rulers, and to the French. The above is the real State of Facts—I have not exaggerated a single Circumstance, and I have had the best Information of what did not fall under my own Observation.

The last account we had of Butler's and Brant's manœuvres, is, that the latter had defeated two Battalions of Continental Troops, that went against him. About 300 of the Rebels fell, and among these were two Colonels. This happened near Cherry Valley, after the Destruction of that Settlement. A Report prevails that General Greene was taken Prisoner—but this is not satisfactorily ascertained. About the same Time, another small Party burnt 30 Houses at Minisink. The whole of Butler's and Brant's Forces, Indians, and Loyalists, I am told amounts to 5 or 6000 Men. They have distressed and terrified the Rebels much more, since last Spring, than the whole Royal Army. They are mostly dispersed in small Parties.

Ethan Allen is now Governor of the newly erected State of Vermont. That State had sent Delegates to Congress, but were refused admittance—nay, Congress was so ungracious as to deny their Right to Independence, which was taken in high Dudgeon by that *potent* State. It consists of about 30 Millions of acres, west of Connecticut River, formerly claimed by N. Hampshire but lately annexed to this Province by the Crown. Allen has lately published a Manifesto, declaring

he will maintain the Independence of his State to the last Extremity; and the Assembly of this Province, in their address to Governor Clinton, have not long since threatened Vengeance against these *Rebellious Subjects*; so that if the Matter is not compromised this Winter, there will be an internal War, and an Expedition will go against Vermont next Spring. It would not be difficult to bring over Allen; and this might be a matter of great consequence, in case any Diversion were made on the side of Canada next Summer.

As You have several Correspondents who know the State of Pennsylvania, as well, if not better than I, I need not say but little about it; It is a wretched Province. The Presbyterian Faction drive on in their Career of Persecution with the most unrelenting Rigour. Mifflin and his Party failed in their object, respecting the Votes of those who took the Oaths after the 1st of June; but it is said that the Constitution will be new modeled. Ths. McKeane, the Chief Justice, was lately caned very handsomely by General Thompson, after he (Thompson) had told McKeane that he was a *notorious Rascal and Scoundrel, and that there were several such in Congress*. Generals Arnold, St. Clair, and Mifflin were present, and openly joined their Brother Thompson in the latter Part of his Assertion. Even Rebels can sometimes tell Truth. Thus the Seeds of Discord begin to shoot out, even before the British Troops have abandoned the Continent—judge what a luxuriant Crop they would produce, were that unhappy Event to take place.

Mr. Washington is now in Jersey. He crossed the North River at King's Ferry on this side of the Highlands. The fine Train of Artillery taken from General Burgoyne followed him, and was to be transported across the same Ferry. Sir H. Clinton had Intelligence of this—and in the Dead of the Night, 6000 men were embarked to go and intercept the Artillery. Nothing could be better conducted. The Ships were on their way up the River, with the Men on board, before any of the Inhabitants knew the Title of the matter. The wind was favorable and they soon reached King's Ferry; though 2 or 3 Hours too late—The Rear of the Artillery had just got out of sight, and beyond their Reach, as the ships were standing up to the destined Place. This is the best Account I have been able to learn of the Manœuvre, which greatly raised our expectations for a little Time. It is generally believed that if the Troops had proceeded they would have taken the Forts in the Highlands, which the Rebels esteem the Palladium of their Safety, and were then garrisoned by no more than 400 Men. But this might be no Part of Sir Henry's Object; and certain it is that he has not an Army to act with now—little more indeed than a sufficient Garrison for this Place.

General Grant with about 5,000 Men is gone to the West Indies; and we have heard nothing from him as yet. Col. Campbell (he that was Prisoner so long at Boston) is gone with about 4,000 Men to some of the Southern Colonies. From the Character of the Man, as well as Disposition of many of the Inhabitants, I have great expectations from this last Expedition, if there is any Rational Support given, and common Prudence used, I am confident the Loyalists will take a much more active Part hereafter than they done hitherto. They have severely felt the Iron Hand of Oppression and Persecution—they are convinced that they must be miserable—perhaps lose every Thing unless the King prevails. These are the declared sentiments of Loyalists in this and the Eastern Colonies; and these will certainly determine their Conduct, if an Opportunity offers. Several Loyalists set fire to their own Houses at the German Flats chusing to destroy them, rather than let the Rebels possess them; and some of the Principal Gentlemen of Connecticut and this Province have declared they would cheerfully do the same to their Houses, on the same Principle and from the same Motive. In short Matters are now come to such an Extremity, that People must take an active decisive Part, or abandon all Prospect of Happiness in this Life. Things were not in this Situation till lately; and this new Situation will naturally produce a new Line of Conduct.

As to the Measures which should be pursued hereafter, Government having such full Intelligence from hence, especially from the Commissioners (whose opinion of the State of the Rebellion, I have reason to believe agrees exactly with what I have now given) will be enabled to adopt the best. Should Col. Campbell succeed in the southern Expedition, it may greatly change the Face of Affairs. He carried 5,000 stands of spare Arms with him; and should that Number of Loyalists join him, they, with the Force that accompanies him, will make a powerful Diversion in that quarter, and greatly embarrass the Rebels.

I fully agree with the most judicious People here, that the first Thing to be done in these Northern Colonies is to take Possession of the Hudson River. It is navigable for the largest Ships 130 miles above this City—for Sloops and Gallies to Albany 160 Miles, and intirely separates the Eastern from the Southern Colonies. When this Communication is cut off, which would effectually be done by our Possession of this River, the Rebels could not possibly support an Army in New England for any length of Time without Bread from the Southward; and they would find it very difficult to support an Army to the Southward without Cattle from New England. The Division of their Force, and our having the Com-

mand of the Highlands on which they greatly depend for Security, would not only weaken them much, but also break their Spirits.

When this is accomplished, an Army of 15, or 20,000 Men should enter New England—no Plunder should be committed—all who remain peaceable or in their Habitations, should be protected—the principal Ringleaders may when taken into Custody, and such as are met in Arms treated with severity—the Loyalists should be armed and embodied under Officers of the Country, and the disaffected disarmed, all which may be easily done, for every one's character is now decided—and Civil Government, so far as Circumstances would admit, restored. These Particulars should be set forth in a Proclamation when the Army enters the Country, and they should afterwards be rigidly adhered to.

Whilst these Steps are pursued on the Sea Coast, Butler and Brant should harass the Frontiers, which will then be more vulnerable than at present; and a small Diversion from Canada by only taking Possession of Ticonderoga and making Feints from thence, would be of much service. There is a moral certainty that these measures, pursued with Vigour and at the same Time, would in one Campaign reduce New England which is the principal Strength, Source and Spring of the Rebellion. Should Campbell be successful also, a small Reinforcement would enable him to keep the Southern Colonies in Play; at any Rate, they would not act in concert with New England, which would fully answer the Purpose in View.

"But would it not be necessary to send a vast Army from England to effect this?" I think not. It may indeed be Presumption in me to decide on this Point; yet I cannot forbear thinking with many here that 10,000 Men would be sufficient. From all I can learn we have here 15,000 effective Men—6,000 at Rhode Island, and about as many at Halifax.—When an Army takes the Field from hence, 5,000 Men would be a sufficient Garrison here, 2,000 at Rhode Island, and as many at Halifax. The Surplus, joined to 10,000 men from England, would be a sufficient Army to take the Field; and true Policy will dictate the Expediency of enlisting as many Americans as possible. Every American that is enlisted, is not only adding to our Strength, but proportionably weakens our Enemy; and by proper Management, when the Country is opened, I have reason to think that as many may be found willing to enlist as shall be judged necessary. This should have been attended to from the Beginning more than it was; but I hope that past mismanagement in this and other matters, may serve as lessons of Wisdom and Prudence for the Future. You will please to observe, that when I mention the above Number

of Troops, and the arrangement of Garrisons. I do not speak with the same Certainty, as of the State of the Country. I pretend not to be a Judge in the one Case, but the other is too notorious to admit of a Doubt.

All that is here advanced is on the Presumption that England will not give up the Colonies, nor allow their Independency, whatever Appearances may be for it, I cannot conceive it possible that the Nation, abounding as it does in Wealth and other Resources, will pursue a Measure so disgraceful and ruinous—it would in Reality be Suicide. The Loss of the Fisheries and West India Islands would inevitably follow the Loss of the Continent in a few Years—under these Losses—under her public Debt and Corruption, and the vast Accession of Strength, hereby thrown into the Scale of France, Britain must sink—and sink unpitied, for not exerting the Strength of which she is possessed—for not retrieving her Affairs when it is in her Power—But I will not harbour a Thought which is so big with wretchedness, and misery, and Disgrace to the whole Nation.

We have had no Intelligence from England since the August Packet arrived—the September Packet was taken by the Rebels, which leaves us much in the Dark. I ever was of Opinion, and am so still, however singular it may be, that there will be no French War on account of the Rebellion in America. There are many strong Reasons for this Opinion, which I shall not now enumerate. This Country most assuredly is reducible; and although this has not yet been done, it is—neither owing to the Thing being impracticable, nor to the Weakness of the Force sent for the Purpose. I think in my Conscience that Administration has done its Part, and that if the Force sent to America had been properly exerted, it was perfectly sufficient to have crushed the Rebellion long since. But it is best to forget the Past, forbear Recrimination, and in Future learn Wisdom from former Errors and Mistakes.

You, as well as myself, must by this Time be tired with this long Epistle; in Compassion to both, I shall therefore draw to a Conclusion. Let me hear from you often—write to me freely, fully, and candidly Your Sentiments. If there is any Point on which you desire me to be particularly explicit, let me know it, and You shall have all the Information I can give about it. You will probably meet with several People in England who feel great Sympathy and Tenderness for the Distresses of the Rebels, but are callous to the Sufferings and Miseries of the Loyalists. Be pleased to tell such, that Loyalists have Feelings, as well as Rebels, and that there is neither Patriotism, Charity, nor Virtue in this Sympathy to the Adherents of France, in such Insensibility to the Friends of Britain—for in Reality that is now

the proper Distinction in America. Tell them that every Jail in the 13 States is filled with such as from a Principle of Conscience, adhere to their King, and Constitution of their Country—tell them that many Thousands of such are banished from their Homes, their Property destroyed or confiscated, and their Families left to perish—banished into every Part of the King's Dominions, nay, into the Wilderness among Savages, more compassionate than their Republican Persecutors; to say nothing of the Hundreds that have been deliberately put to Death, or of the Thousands that remain at Home, deprived of all the Rights of Freemen for the same Cause. In my Conscience I think that America now exhibits numberless Instances of Fortitude, and disinterested Adherence to Principle and Duty which do Honor to Human Nature—that would do honor to any Country under Heaven, and at any Period of Time; and however grating it may be to *Patriot Ears*, these Instances are among the Friends of Government. As I am not an American, but a European, I may be allowed to speak with the more Freedom on this Head, and to be impartial.

This goes under Cover to Dr. Chandler, as I know not where to direct to You. Be pleased to show him this Letter; for he will be curious to know the Contents. My best Compliments wait on Miss Galloway. I hope the Sea agreed with her; or at least that she has perfectly recovered any Ruffle that it may have occasioned—My Family also join in Compliments to You both. Governour Franklin is now here—his Spirits good as usual, under his many Losses, though considerably reduced in Flesh. I am in Hopes the Refugees may be empowered to act against the Rebels this Winter; and that the Regular Troops will not be so inactive as formerly, as I am informed the Light Infantry and Grenadiers are ordered here from Rhode Island and Halifax—But I must not resume this Subject again! and shall only add that I am, with the most profound Esteem,

Dear Sir,  
Your Affectionate Friend  
and humble Servant,  
CHARLES INGLIS.

J. GALLOWAY, Esq., London.

#### EARLY HIGHLAND IMMIGRATION TO NEW YORK.

IN the year 1734, proposals were issued by the government of New York inviting settlers from Europe, to whom a certain quantity of wild land was to be granted on their arrival in this country. These proposals were repeated under the seal of the Province, in 1736, and in 1738. Captain Lauchlin Campbell, of Isla, brought over a number

of Scotch Highlanders, who were followed in 1739, 1740, and 1742, by others.

I have lately come across a list containing the names of these immigrants, and having arranged them in alphabetical order, for more easy reference, I send a copy for publication in the *Historical Magazine*, as it may interest the descendants of those people, if any there be, in America.

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

STATE-HALL, ALBANY.

N. B.—The date immediately following the name, is that of the year of arrival.

William Adair, 1740; dead in 1763.

Mary Anderson, widow with two children; Duncan Liech and Mary Liech, 1740.

Patrick Anderson and Catharine McLean his wife, 1739.

Mary Bealton, 1738.

John Brady, 1740; dead in 1763. His son Hugh lived at Amboy.

Christian Brown, 1740; d. 1763, without issue.

John Caldwell and Mary Nutt his wife; Alexander and James, his sons, 1739.

James Cameron, 1739.

Alexander Campbell came in 1738; lived in Amboy in 1763.

Alexander Campbell (of the family of Lundie) came in 1740.

Alexander Campbell and Margaret his wife, and Merran, his daughter, came in 1740.

Anna Campbell, widow of Alexander McDuffie, and five children, 1739.

Anne Campbell, 1740.

Archibald Campbell, of Ardeatton, came in 1740.

Catharine Campbell came in 1739, from Isla.

Donald Campbell and Mary McKeay his wife came from Isla, in 1738, with four children, Robert, James, Peggy, and Isbell.

Dugald Campbell and his son John came in 1739, from Isla; both dead in 1763.

Duncan Campbell, of New York, and Sarah Frazer his wife, came in 1739.

Duncan Campbell (of the family of Dantroon) came in 1740.

Duncan Campbell (of the family of Dunn), 1740.

Duncan Campbell (Lochiell) came in 1740.

Duncan Campbell came in 1740; d. in 1763; his brother's daughter was named Mary Ann Campbell.

John Campbell and Anna (Lenox) his wife, and one daughter, came in 1740.

George Campbell, merchant of the city of New York, sister's son of John Campbell, in Mubindrie, came over in pursuance of a letter, written by Capt. Campbell's orders, to him, dated 1742, offering him encouragement.

George Campbell, pedler, is his relative.

James Campbell and Anna McDougald his wife, of Isla, came in 1738, with four children, viz.: Archibald, Elizabeth, Lancelin, and Janet his wife.

John Campbell and Anna his wife, from Ballanabie, came to New York, in 1738.

John Campbell, 1740.

Captain Langlan Campbell, from Isla.

Malcolm Campbell came from Isla, in 1740.

Mary Campbell came in 1738, from Isla.

Neil Campbell came in 1739; lived in Jamaica in 1763; his mother married Alexander Montgomery.

Robert Campbell came in 1738, from Isla.

Ronald Campbell, from Isla, came in 1738; d. in 1763.

William Campbell, wheelwright, from Isla, came in 1738; died in 1763.

William Campbell, of Ardeatton, came in 1740.

William Campbell, joiner, from Isla, came in 1738; d. in 1763; family left in Scotland.

David Cargill, 1740.

Elizabeth Cargill, 1740.

James Cargill, 1740.

Jean Cargill, 1739.

John Cargill, 1740.

Margaret Cargill, 1740.

Donald Carmichael and Elizabeth McAlister his wife; John, Alexander, and Mary, their children, 1738.

Dugald Carmichael and Catharine McEuen his wife; Jennat, Mary, Neil, and Catharine, their children, 1739.

Alexander Christy, 1738; dead in 1763.

Angus Clark and Mary McCallum his wife; Catharine and Mary, their daughters, 1740.

William Clark, his wife, and son John, 1739.

Cornelius Collins, 1739.

John Cristy and Isbell McArthur his wife; and Hannah and Mary, their daughters, 1740.

Merran Culbreth, 1739; dead in 1763.

Donald Fergeson and Florence Shaw his wife; with one child of his own, and Catharin and Anna, his brother's children, 1739.

Jannet Forgison, 1738; dead in 1763; Alexander McDonald, ropemaker, N. Y., 1763, is her son.

Jennett Forgison, 1738.

Catherine Frazer, 1738; dead in 1763; left two grandchildren, viz.: Catherine Montgomery and Catherine Stevenson, of N. Y.

Catherine Frazer, 1739; dead in 1763; left one daughter.

Elizabeth Frazer, 1739.

Mary Frazer, 1739; married John McDonald, of N. Y.

Robert Frazer and Mary McLean his wife; Charles, Colin, Sarah, Catharine, Mary, and Isbell, their children, 1739.

Alexander Gillechrist, 1738.

Duncan Gillechrist and Florance McAllister his wife; Mary, their daughter, 1738.

John Gillechrist, 1738.

Margaret Gillechrist, 1740; alive in 1763.

Neil Gillespie and Mary McIlleder his wife; Gilbert and Angus, their children, 1739.

Alexander Graham, 1738.

Angus Graham, 1740.

Archibald Graham, 1740.

Catharine Graham, 1740; died before 1763.

Edward Graham and Jean Frazer his wife, 1740.

Mary Graham, 1738; dead, 1763.

Peter Green, 1739.

Archibald Hamell, 1740; dead in 1763, without issue.

Mary Hamell, 1740.

Merran Hamell, 1738.

Murdoch Hamell, 1738.

Alexander Hunter and Anne Anderson his wife; William Alexander, and Jenat, their children, 1739.

Arch'd Johnston and Kirstine Johnston his wife, 1738.

Catherine Lesslie, 1738.

Donald Lindsay and Mary McQuore his wife; Richard, Duncan, Effie, and Christian, their children, 1739.

Donald Livingston and Isabell McCuag his wife; John and Duncan, their sons, 1739.

James Livingston, 1738.



Angus McAlister, 1738; living in South Carolina in 1763; his sister's daughter married Jacob Vandle, of New York.

Charles McAlister and Catharine McInnish his wife; John and Margaret, their children, 1739.

Duncan McAlister and Effie Keith his wife, 1739.

Margaret McAllister, 1740.

Robert McAlpine, 1740.

Alexander McArthur and Catharine Gillis his wife; Duncan and Flory, their children.

Alexander McArthur and Catharine McArthur his wife; John, Donald, Catharine, and Florence, their children, 1738.

Anna McArthur, 1740.

Charles McArthur, of N. Y., went in 1738 on board the ship with his wife and family, but, the vessel being too much crowded, was turned ashore; they then went to Ireland, where he took passage, and arrived in New York a fortnight before the ship in which he first engaged with Captain Campbell.

Duncan McArthur and Anna McQuin his wife; Anna, Mary, Margaret, and John, their children, 1738.

John McArthur; Neil and Christian, his children, 1740.

Margaret McArthur, wife to Arch'd McCollum, at New York; Anne and Mary, their daughters, 1740.

Neil McArthur and Mary Campbell his wife; Alexander, John, and Christian, their children, 1738.

Patrick McArthur and Mary McDugall his wife; Charles, Colin, and Jennet, their children, 1738.

Christian McAulla, 1739.

Dugald McCapine and Mary McPhaden his wife; Donald and Mary, their children, 1738.

Alexander McChristian, 1739.

Donald McCloud and Catharin Graham his wife; John and Duncan, their sons, 1738.

John McColl, 1738.

Arch'd McCollum and Merran McLean his wife; Donald, John, Margaret, Mary, and Allan, their children, 1739.

Archibald McCollum and Flory McEachoin his wife; Hugh and Duncan, their sons, 1740.

Duncan McCollum, 1740; dead in 1763, in N. Y.

Merran McCollum; Donald and Mary, her children, 1740.

Archibald McCore, 1739; lives in Tappan.

John McCore, 1739; is married, and lives in the Highlands.

John McDonald, 1739; followed the sea in 1763.

Neil McDonald and Anne McDuffie his wife; Donald, Archibald, and Catharine, their children, 1738.

Allan McDougald and Eliz. Graham his wife; Margaret, Anna, and Hanna, their children, 1738.

Alexander McDuffie's widow (see *Campbell*); Archibald, Duncan, James, Mary, and Isbell, her children (McDuffie died at sea), 1739.

Arch'd McDuffie and Catharine Campbell his wife; John and Duncan, their sons, 1739.

Dudly McDuffie and Margaret Campbell his wife; Archibald, his son, 1738.

Malcom McDuffie and Rose Docherdy his wife; Margaret and Jenny, their daughters, 1738; Malcom, dead in 1763.

Dudly McDuffy and Margaret McDugald his wife; Dugald and Mary, their children, 1740.

Angus McDugald, 1739.

Arch'd McDugald and Christian McIntire his wife; Alexander and John, their sons, 1738.

Duncan McDugald and Jenet Colder his wife; John, Alexander, Ronald, Dugald, and Margaret, their children, 1739.

Hugh McDugald, 1738.

Ronald McDugald and Betty his wife; John and Alexander, their sons, 1738.

John McDugald, 1739; died privateering in the last French war.

Arch'd McEachern and Jean McDonald his wife; and Catharine, their daughter, 1738.

Donald McEachern and Anne McDonald his wife; Catharine, their daughter, 1738.

Patrick McEachern and Mary McQuary, his wife, 1739.

Archibald McEuen and Jennat McDugald his wife, 1739.

Duncan, Janet, and Mary McEuen, children of Hugh McEuen, 1738.

James McEuen, Archibald's son, 1740.

John McEwen and Anna Johnston his wife; Malcolm, their son, 1739.

John McEuen, 1740.

Malcom McEuen, 1739.

Mary McEuen, daughter of John McEuen.

Merran McEuen, and her daughter.

John McGibbion, 1740 (went home).

William McGie, 1738; dead in 1763.

Margaret McGillechrist, 1740.

Archibald McGown; Duncan, John, and Margaret, his children, 1739.

John McGown and Anna McCuaige his wife; Malcom and Angus, their sons, 1739.

Malcom McGown and Anna McCuaige his wife; Patrick and Eachern (*alias* Hector), their children, 1739.

Archibald Mellfieder, 1739.

Catharine Mellfieder, 1739.

Effie Mellwry, 1740.

John Mellwry and Catharine McDonald his wife; Hugh, Donald, Bridget, and Mary, their children, 1740.

Merran McIndiore, 1740.

Murdoch McInnish and Merran McKeay his wife; Catharine, Archibald, Neil, Anne, and Florence, their children, 1739.

Neil McInnish and Catharine McDonald his wife, 1739.

John McIntagert, 1738.

Donald McIntaylor, 1738; dead in 1763.

John McIntaylor, 1738; dead in 1763.

Angus McIntire, 1739.

Donald McIntire, 1738; dead in 1763; Malcom Graham, peruke-maker, of N. Y., his son.

John McIntire, 1740.

Nicolas McIntire and Margaret Patterson his wife; John and Catharine, their children, 1739.

Angus McIntosh, 1739.

Duncan McKay, 1740; dead in 1763.

Duncan McKeay, 1740.

Archibald McKellar and Janet Reid, his wife, 1738.

Charles McKellar and Florence McEachern his wife; Margaret, Catharine, and Mary, their daughters, 1738.

George McKenzie and Catharin McNiven his wife; Donald and Collin, their sons, 1738.

John McKenzie and Mary McVurich his wife; Archibald and Florence, their children, 1738.

Duncan McKinven, 1740.

Alexander McLean, 1738; died at Cuba.

John McLean, 1738; dead in 1763; left a cousin Archibald, in Albany.

Lauchlin McLean, 1740; dead in 1763.

Donald McMillan and Jenet Gillis his wife; Alexander, his son.

Donald McMillan, 1738; dead in 1763.

Donald McMillan and Mary McEachern his wife, 1738.

James McNaugh, 1740.  
 Alexander McNaught and Mary McDugall his wife;  
 John, Moses, Jennat, and Florence, their children,  
 1738.  
 Anne McNeil, widow of Hugh McEuen; Alexander  
 and Mary, her children, 1740.  
 Jean McNeil, 1740.  
 John McNeil, 1740.  
 Margaret McNeil, 1738.  
 Roger McNeil, 1740.  
 John McNeill and Eliz. Campbell his wife; Barbara,  
 Peggy, Catharine, Betty, and Neil, their children, 1738.  
 John McNiven and Mary McArthur his wife; Eliza-  
 beth and Mary, their daughters, 1738.  
 Merran and Rachel McNiven, 1738.  
 Donald McPhaden, 1739.  
 Duncan McPhaden and Flory McCullum his wife;  
 John and Duncan, their sons, 1740.  
 Neil McPhaden and Mary McDiarmid his wife; Dir-  
 vorcill and Margaret, their daughters, 1739.  
 John McPhail and Cristy Clark his wife; Gilbert,  
 Flory, and Margaret, their children, 1739.  
 John McQuary and Anne McQuary his wife.  
 Duncan McQuore (*alias* Brown), and Effie McIlfleder  
 his wife; Donald, John, Gilbert, and Christian, their  
 children, 1739.  
 Archibald McVurich and Merran Shaw his wife,  
 1739.  
 Florence McVurich, 1739.  
 Lauchlin McVurich, 1738.  
 Lauchlin McVurich, 1739; dead in 1763.  
 Malcolm Martine and Florence Anderson his wife;  
 Donald and Mary, their children, 1738.  
 Alexander Montgomery and Anna Sutherland his  
 wife, 1738.  
 Hugh Montgomery, 1738.  
 Christian Mann, wife of Dan'l McIntire, 1740.  
 Anthony Murphy, 1740.  
 James Nutt and Rebecca Creighton his wife; Robert,  
 John, and Elizabeth, their children, 1739.  
 Kirstin Peterson, 1738; dead in 1763.  
 Duncan Reid and Mary Semple his wife; Alexander,  
 Nickles, Angus, and Jeannie, their children.  
 John Reid and Margaret Hyman his wife; Donald,  
 their son, 1739.  
 John Reid, 1740; went to Virginia; left Peter Reid,  
 a relative, at Tappan.  
 Roger Reid, 1739.  
 Patrick Robertson, 1739; dead in 1763.  
 Peter Robertson, 1739; dead in 1763.  
 Jean Ross, 1738; dead in 1763; left one daughter.  
 Mary Ross, 1738.  
 Catharine Shaw, 1739.  
 Donald Shaw and Merran McEunish his wife, 1738.  
 Gustavus Shaw, 1739; dead in 1763.  
 John Shaw and Mary McNeil his wife; Neil and  
 Duncan, their sons, 1739.  
 John Shaw and Merrian Brown his wife; Donald,  
 Mary, and one infant, 1740.  
 Neil Shaw, 1739; ropemaker in New York, 1763;  
 nephew of Gustavus S.  
 Neil Shaw and Florence McLauchlin his wife, 1739.  
 Duncan Smith, 1738.  
 James Stewart, 1738.  
 Elisbie Sutherland; James, Alexander, Duncan,  
 Margaret, and Elizabeth Gillis, her children, 1738.  
 Duncan Taylor and Mary Gillis his wife; Mary, his  
 daughter, 1738.  
 Mary Thompson, 1739; lived in Pennsylvania, in  
 1763; cousin of Duncan Reid, *supra*.  
 Allan Thomson, 1738; dead in 1763.

Elisbie Thomson, of Dunardree, 1738.  
 Dugald Thomson and Margaret McDuffie his wife;  
 Archibald, Duncan, and Cristie, their children; also,  
 Catharine, his brother Allan's daughter, 1739.  
 Rodger Thomson, 1740; died in the Provincial ser-  
 vice; left a widow and one child at Amboy; Arch'd  
 Gilchrist, of N. Y., guardian.  
 George Torry, 1739.  
 James Torry and Florrance McKeay his wife; Mary  
 and Catharine, their children, 1739.  
 Jean Widron, 1740.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### MAINE.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Brunswick, Au-  
 gust 8, 1861.*—This body held its annual meeting  
 at its rooms in Bowdoin College, at the above  
 specified time. The absence of the President and  
 Vice-president, was followed by the election of  
 the Hon. Philip Eastman, of Saco, as President  
 for the occasion. The officers of the last year  
 were re-elected, as follows:

*President*—Hon. Wm. Willis, Portland. *Vice-  
 president*—Rt. Rev. George Burgess, Gardiner.  
*Cor. Sec'y*—Hon. James W. Bradbury, Augusta.  
*Rec. do.*—Rev. Edward Ballard, Brunswick. *Li-  
 brarian, &c.*—Rev. Alpheus S. Packard, D.D.,  
 Brunswick. *Treasurer*—Augustus C. Robbins,  
 Brunswick.

The several committees were re-elected, as  
 heretofore.

The thanks of the Society were tendered to the  
 Hon. George Folsom, of New York, for his valu-  
 able contribution to the history of his native  
 State, by the publication of a "Catalogue of  
 Original Documents," in the English archives, re-  
 lating to the early history of Maine: and a com-  
 mittee was also appointed to make investigations  
 and collections in the same quarter.

An examination of the interesting localities on  
 the sea-coast of the State, as connected with its  
 early settlements, was proposed, and a committee  
 raised to suggest a plan of proceeding to a future  
 meeting.

The Librarian reported that a catalogue of the  
 Library had been prepared after the most approved  
 form, with cross references, indicating every work,  
 monograph, and discourse. The pamphlets have  
 been assorted into packages, with titled labels to  
 facilitate access to their contents. By additions  
 from various sources, more than nine hundred  
 volumes, exclusive of public documents, besides  
 more than a thousand pamphlets, now occupy  
 the cases and shelves of the Library, with a hun-  
 dred and twenty bound volumes of newspapers,

and several unbound. Contributions of books have been received from Greenland, various parts of Europe, our own and other States of our own country. Indian relics of various forms have been added to the cabinet, and others are expected. During the year a circular has been published, calling attention to the preservation of old pamphlets, for the benefit of the purpose steadily kept in view by the Society.

This meeting being purely of a business nature, no papers were presented or read.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, August 8, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting, the President in the chair.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop announced the death of the Hon. Nathan Appleton, a resident member of the Society, and spoke as follows:

“We have been called on so often of late, gentlemen, to notice the departure of those whose names have adorned our Honorary or our Resident Rolls, that the language of eulogy may seem almost exhausted. Yet I am sure you would not excuse me, nor could I excuse myself, were I to fail to make some brief allusion this morning to a valued and venerable associate, who died only a day or two after our last meeting.

*Lowell*, the Reverend Pastor; *Shaw*, the illustrious Jurist; *White*, the accomplished Counselor and Scholar; *Bowditch*, the faithful Conveyancer and genial Humorist, whose diligence has illustrated so many title-deeds, and whose wit has illuminated so many title names;—all of these and more have received, in sad succession, our farewell tributes within a few months past. The wise, upright, and eminent merchant presents no inferior claim to our respectful remembrance, nor will his name be associated with less distinguished or less valuable services to the community.

Not many men, indeed, have exercised a more important influence among us during the last half century than the late Honorable Nathan Appleton. Not many men have done more than he has done in promoting the interests, and sustaining the institutions, to which New England has owed so much of its prosperity and welfare. No man has done more, by example and by precept, to elevate the standard of mercantile character, and to exhibit the pursuits of commerce in proud association with the highest integrity, liberality, and ability.

The merchants of Boston have already recognized his peculiar claims to their respect, and have paid him a tribute not more honorable to him than to themselves. But he was more than a merchant. As a clear and vigorous writer on

financial and commercial questions; as a successful expounder of some of the mysteries of political economy; as a wise and prudent counsellor in the public affairs of the country, as well as in the practical concerns of private life; as a liberal friend to the institutions of religion, education, and charity; as a public-spirited, Christian citizen, of inflexible integrity and independence,—he has earned a reputation quite apart from the enterprise and success of his commercial career.

Few of those whose names for thirty years past have been inscribed with his on the rolls of our own Society, have taken a more active or intelligent interest in our pursuits. Few have been more regular in their attendance at our meetings, or more liberal in their contributions to our means.

Tracing back his descent to an early emigrant from the county of Suffolk in England, where his family had been settled for more than two centuries before, he was strongly attracted towards our Colonial History, and was eager to co-operate in whatever could worthily illustrate the Pilgrim or the Puritan character. He was a living illustration of some of the best elements of each.

This is not the occasion for entering into the details of his life and services; but should the Society concur with the Standing Committee in the Resolutions which they have instructed me to submit, there may be an opportunity of pursuing the subject more deliberately hereafter. Let me only add, before offering them, that on many accounts I should have been disposed to shrink from the responsibility which they impose on me, had not our lamented friend so far honored me with his confidence as to express the wish, that I would undertake any little memoir of him that might be customary in our collections,—accompanying the expression with some sketches of his life, which will form the largest and best part of whatever I am able to prepare.”

Mr. Winthrop then offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That in the death of the Hon. Nathan Appleton, our Society has lost a valued member, a liberal friend, and one whose enterprise and integrity as a merchant, whose ability and accomplishments as a writer, and whose distinguished services as a public man, have rendered his name an ornament to our rolls.

*Resolved*, That the President be requested to prepare the customary memoir for our transactions.

Rev. Dr. Blagden, in seconding the resolutions, paid a most eloquent tribute to the memory of Mr. Appleton as an eminent merchant, a wise and useful citizen, and a sincere Christian.

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, Sept. 4, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held on the afternoon of Thursday, on the above date, at their rooms, No. 13 Bromfield-street, President Winslow Lewis, M. D., in the chair.

The Librarian, John H. Sheppard, reported that since the previous meeting, there had been donated to the Society, bound volumes, 25; pamphlets, periodicals, catalogues, &c., 270; newspapers, including two in Arabic, 56.

The Corresponding Secretary, John Ward Dean, reported that he had received letters accepting membership from the following gentlemen, as corresponding: William Winthrop, of the island of Malta, and Thomas Spooner, of Reading, Ohio.

Frederic Kidder, Esq., read a very able memoir on the late Hon. Nathan Appleton, for which he received the thanks of the Society. On motion of Mr. Kidder the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

*Resolved*, That in the death of Hon. Nathan Appleton, our city, State, and the nation, have lost a man whose place cannot easily be supplied, and whose long, quiet, and unostentatious labors have resulted in great benefits to his country.

*Resolved*, That we desire particularly to testify to his services in the cause of Education, Literature, History, and Genealogy, and in gratitude to his memory, we will place these resolutions on the records of our Society.

Col. Samuel Swett read a very interesting and instructive memoir of the late Major Grafton, who was born in Salem in the spring of 1782. At the commencement of the War of 1812 he was in partnership with Hon. William Appleton, and on the commencement of hostilities, being thrown out of business, he entered the army as captain and afterwards as major. He served during the war, first on the lakes, and towards the close was stationed at Fort Independence. After the war he was appointed to the custom-house, and holding the esteem of all parties, retained the appointment during ten years.

Rev. Mr. Holland read a short, but very interesting sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, for which a vote of thanks was passed.

Rev. Mr. Morse read quite an elaborate paper entitled "Northmen in America," founded upon researches on Cape Cod. Having discovered some hearths buried in the earth, the question naturally arose, by whom they were built. Englishmen, it was proved, had never built houses on these spots. Indians had never regularly laid hearths, and the writer concluded that they must have been built by the Northmen, and brought forward several reasons as proofs. A vote of thanks was passed by the Society, and a copy

was requested for the archives. On motion of Mr. Kidder, Rev. Mr. Morse was requested to pursue this subject, as it might afford valuable aid in settling the disputed question of "Northmen in America."

The Recording Secretary, Rev. Mr. Bradlee, read a very elaborate paper on Bishop Heber. He opened his lecture thus:

"It is very hard work for us to determine who are Americans and who are foreigners, especially when we come to deal with a literary man who is born everywhere and can be localized nowhere. Milton is as much an American as he is an Englishman, since his mind, which is the best part of of him, hallows the new country as well as the old—is as much our property as anybody's. So also we might say the same of Fénelon and Penn, and of thousands of others who never can claim a fatherland save for their bodies; whose souls are cosmopolitan, whom all thinkers claim as brethren, and in whose nativity all lands claim equal share and honor. It is with such thoughts and under a firm conviction of their genuineness, that I ask the attention of the members of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society to a brief review of the life, writings, and character of Bishop Heber."

The speaker, after sketching the life and writings of Heber; and after proving his close connection with America, through his hymns, thus concluded:

"View him as a man, apart from all particular church relations and offices, and we should say that he was strictly honest, a trustworthy neighbor, a good citizen, a true patriot, a faithful husband, a kind father, an affectionate child, a loving brother, a sincere friend. His heart and head were well balanced, and he was ready to execute what they commanded; whatever conscience said was duty, he always endeavored to perform without complaint and without query; he was excessively active without becoming rash; he was very patient without becoming servile; he was full of prayer, but just as full of work.

Heber, we thank thee for thy presence with us at this time; that thy life was so very worthy of perusal; that thine influence upon us is so very sweet, and potent, and pure; that the church has been blessed with thy ministrations; that earth has received thy visits and thy work; that thou art never very far from any of us, but, by the blessed will of God, hover round the heart of man to bless it in the name of Jesus, thy Master and ours.

Friends and fellow-members, we have spoken to you of one whose history undoubtedly to many of you is familiar; and whose death has been somewhat recent; and about whom nothing new could be said; we have simply put together facts

already printed, put them together in our own rough way, but with a loving heart, touching them piously as sacred relics of one whose fame can never die out.

And we leave Heber's life, and writings, and character in your hands, and pray that all that was good and great in his history may become your possession forever."

The thanks of the Society were passed to Mr. Bradlee for his paper, and a copy requested for the archives.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Aug. 2, 1861.*  
—The regular meeting was held on Friday, of the above date.

The Secretary read his report, and made a small donation of coins to the Society.

Mr. Davenport read a paper originally prepared for the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, by Mr. W. E. Dubois, of that city, upon the universal distribution and admixture of gold over the surface of the earth.

Mr. Pratt exhibited a curious little silver medal, with a scene from Biblical history, and the date 1551, on each side. Mr. Davenport exhibited a valuable collection of ancient coins and gems; it contained nine beautiful gold pieces of Alexander and Philip of Macedon, and a large number of silver coins of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and other countries. They attracted great attention, and were much admired. The Secretary exhibited his series of medals, struck in honor of Admiral Vernon's victories at Porto Bello and Carthage. It comprises nine varieties, one of which bears the inscription "J. W. fecit;" but this is the only clue to the name of the engraver. He also called the attention of the members to a Russian amulet, such as is worn for the protection of soldiers and travellers. It is of brass, and contains small enamelled figures of the Madonna and saints, and inscriptions which it is impossible to explain without the aid of a priest. An engraving of a similar, but much inferior amulet, which was a trophy of the Russian war, may be found in the *Illustrated London News*.

The Society voted to omit the next monthly meeting, and adjourned till the regular meeting for October.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

LITERARY EMPORIUM.—"It was at the close of Kean's first engagement in Boston [1821], that, in a speech from the stage he called Boston 'the literary emporium of the New World;' an expression which soon became a proverb, and is now frequently heard, sometimes in derision, but quite as often in sober earnest."—*Buckingham's Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 102. BOSTON.

EARLY COUNTERFEITING OF NEW ENGLAND MONEY.—In the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. i., p. 84, &c., will be found proceedings against Charles Pickering and Sam'l Buckley, in August, 1683, for "their abase to 'Government' in Quin-ning of Spanish Bitts and Boston money."

The dies were cut by Robert Fenton. The parties were convicted: Pickering was compelled to redeem the money and pay a fine of £40; Buckley got off with £10 fine, and the ingenious Fenton sat an hour in the stocks.

"BIRTHPLACE OF ANDREW JACKSON."—The *Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 148, contains a letter of mine to the *National Intelligencer*, on the "Birthplace of Andrew Jackson," in which reference was made to a statement of W. Marshall Anderson. Not long afterwards I wrote again to the *Intelligencer*, inclosing a copy of Marshall Anderson's letter, which ought to be preserved in this *Magazine*, and so I send it. Marshall Anderson is a brother of the distinguished Major Anderson of Fort Sumter. JOHN H. JAMES.

URBANA, Ohio, August 28, 1861.

To the Editors of *National Intelligencer*:

The letter of S. H. Walkup, dated March 22, and printed in the *National Intelligencer* of April 28, 1859, has this language: "If Mr. James' conversation with W. Marshall Anderson, of Circleville, is entitled to credit, Gen. Jackson also said," &c. This leads me to say that the conversation is entitled to full credit; and having the means now of showing how nearly accurate I was, I communicate a letter of Mr. Anderson's written to me on the same 22d of March. I give Mr. Anderson's letter entire:

"SEVEN OAKS, NEAR CIRCLEVILLE,  
"March 22, 1859.

"COL. JOHN H. JAMES—DEAR SIR: Being in Cincinnati a few days since, a friend of mine placed in my hands the *National Intelligencer*,

which contained your letter on 'The Birthplace of Andrew Jackson,' which I need not assure you, I read with great interest. In your note of the 14th, you say: 'I have long intended recalling your recollection of that conversation, and ask you to reply to me by letter, giving me all the circumstances of the visit of President Monroe to your father's house, and particularly the conversation of your father with Gen. Jackson. Will you oblige me by writing such a letter for verification and preservation?' I will do so as clearly and as accurately as I can, observing, as far as my memory will justify, the very matter and manner of that conversation.

"In fulfilment of a promise made by letter or message, the President, while on his southwestern tour, came to Soldier's Retreat, my father's residence, in the harvest season of 1817. A large concourse of friends and strangers accompanied him from Louisville. In Mr. Monroe's special retinue, I can now only call to memory, his son-in-law, Mr. Gouverneur, a Dr. Bronagh, and Gen. Jackson. After my father and Mr. Monroe had opened and healed again their Trenton wounds, the company became distributed in several groups through the lawn, the hall, and the rooms. Jackson and my father had been talking over the chief incidents of the two wars; they seemed to be very much interested in the subject, and my youthful admiration was moved to its very centre. I lost not a gesture or a sound. My father rather abruptly, as I thought, asked, 'General Jackson, where were you born?' His reply was, 'I was born, sir, at sea, off the coast of North Carolina, about fifteen miles from shore.' Such was the question, such the answer. You have now, sir, a letter of variance or verification, as it may be received. I shall ever be convinced that our hero of New Orleans was of 'those who come up out of the sea.'

"Hoping that the above may meet your views, I am yours, &c. W. MARSHALL ANDERSON."

It is perfectly competent for Mr. Walkup to prove, if he can, that General Jackson was mistaken in saying that he was *born at sea*; but that he did say so in 1817, does not admit of doubt. If Mr. Walkup seeks to prove that Kenton was mistaken about seeing Jackson in Kentucky, in 1779, and to do it by the testimony of witnesses now living in North Carolina, these persons will be speaking of what they knew eighty years ago, and they were either very young then, or they are very old now; and if "the account-books of gentlemen in Salisbury and Charlotte, N. C.," show dealings with Andrew Jackson between 1779 and 1783, then it follows, that these gentlemen kept book accounts with a boy twelve years old, if they choose to fix his birth in 1767.

Mr. Walkup speaks of James Crow as a brother-in-law of Jackson's father. The name attracts my notice so far as to inquire whether this James Crow had any connection with "Crow's Station," near Danville, Kentucky, spoken of by Kenton?

Y'rs respectfully,

JOHN H. JAMES.

URBANA, Ohio, May 12, 1859.

ERROR IN COLORING MAPS.—I have "A New Universal Atlas" compiled by Jeremiah Greenleaf, purporting to be a new edition "corrected to the present time, 1842." In the map of Virginia, in this atlas, Hampshire county is colored red, but the person who colored it has crossed the Potomac (the dividing line between Virginia and Maryland) with his or her brush, and colored the western angle of Maryland also red, instead of leaving it white, like the rest of the last mentioned State, thus annexing, in appearance, all that part of Maryland, west of Cumberland, to Virginia. \* † \*

GEN. WILKINSON AND THE "PAIR OF SPURS."—There are two versions of the anecdote embodying the ludicrous remark said to have been extorted from a member of the Continental Congress, by the apparent delay of Gen. Wilkinson in his journey to Yorktown (then the seat of government), with the news of Burgoyne's surrender.

Irving ("Life of Washington," vol. iii., pp. 302-3) says: "The officer whom Gates had employed as bearer of his dispatch to Congress, was Wilkinson, his adjutant-general and devoted sycophant; a man at once pompous and servile. He was so long on the road that the articles of treaty, according to his own account, reached the grand army before he did the Congress. Even after his arrival at Yorktown, he required three days to arrange his papers, preparing to arrange them in style. At length, eighteen days after the surrender of Burgoyne had taken place, he formally laid the documents concerning it before Congress, precluding them with a message in the name of Gates, but prepared the day before by himself, and following them up by comments, explanatory and eulogistic, of his own. . . . A proposal was at length made in Congress that a sword should be voted to him as the bearer of such auspicious tidings, upon which Dr. Witherspoon, a shrewd Scot, exclaimed, 'I think ye'll better gie the lad a pair of spurs.'" (See also Duer's "Life of Lord Stirling," p. 182, referred to by Irving in p. 303, vol. iii., "Life of Washington.")

In 1815, the venerable Thomas McKean, in a letter to John Adams (*vide* "Life and Works of Adams," vol. x., pp. 176, 177), after endeavoring

to answer the question, "Who shall write the History of the American Revolution?" gives the following version of the "Spurs" anecdote:

"With respect to General Wilkinson, I recollect an anecdote. He was, in 1777, an aid to General Gates, and by him sent to Congress, at Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, with the dispatches giving an account of the surrender of Sir John Burgoyne and the British army to the Americans at Saratoga. On the way, he spent a day at Reading, about fifty miles from Yorktown, with a young lady from Philadelphia, whom he afterwards married. When the dispatches were read in Congress, propositions were made for paying a proper compliment to the favorite of General Gates, who brought us such pleasing news. Governor Samuel Adams, with a grave and solemn face, moved Congress that the young gentleman be presented with 'a pair of spurs.'"

Mr. McKean was a delegate in Congress at the very time Wilkinson presented his dispatches, and therefore the latter version of the anecdote must be regarded as the correct one.

It cannot be denied that Wilkinson was vain, pompous, and over fond of ceremony; yet, in the particular instance before us, the rebuke so ungraciously bestowed upon him seems to have been undeserved, and I am surprised that Irving, with his well-known love of candor, should have taken so much pains not only to heighten the sarcasm, but justify it. "He was so long on the road," says Irving, "that the articles of treaty, according to his own account, reached the grand army before he did the Congress. Even after his arrival at Yorktown, he required three days to arrange his papers. At length, eighteen days after the surrender of Burgoyne had taken place, he formally laid the documents concerning it before Congress." These preliminary statements make out a very plausible case of unnecessary delay, and are well calculated to prepare the reader to enjoy the joke that follows; but let us see how they are sustained by the facts and dates.

The surrender of Burgoyne took place on the 17th of October, 1777. Wilkinson "formally laid the documents concerning it before Congress" on the 3d of November following (within *seven-teen* days). The letter borne by Wilkinson from Gates to the President of Congress, was written on the 18th of October, and he was not dispatched from Albany until the 20th. Here were three days lost through no fault on the part of Wilkinson. On the road to Albany, being unable, in consequence of illness, to keep his seat on horseback, he was conveyed on a bed in a wagon. "In this enfeebled condition, with a surgeon of the hospital, Dr. Hogan, to accompany me, I was dispatched on the 20th, with the Convention and the following letter to the President of Congress,"

&c. (Memoirs, vol. i., p. 323). "The first days and nights of my journey were painful in the extreme, but moderate exercise and change of climate gave me strength, yet I was extremely sensible of fatigue" (Memoirs, vol. i., p. 325). On the 24th he reached Easton, where he "rested the 25th." He arrived at Reading on the evening of the 27th. Here a violent rain storm (during which "the Schuylkill overflowed its banks and swept away all the scows from the neighboring ferries") delayed him until the 30th. He reached Yorktown on the 31st (within eleven days after leaving Albany), and immediately delivered his dispatches to the President of Congress, and had an interview with the members. On the 3d of November he "was again introduced to Congress," when he formally laid before them thirteen original documents, consisting of the correspondence between Gates and Burgoyne, Articles of Convention, Army returns, &c., &c. Gates having furnished several parties with copies of the treaty prior to dispatching Wilkinson, there is nothing surprising in the fact (frankly admitted by Wilkinson) that "the articles of treaty reached the grand army before he (Wilkinson) did the Congress."

I cannot but think, that had Irving taken the pains to look carefully at facts and dates, he would not only have omitted Duer's humorous version of the story about the spurs, but refrained altogether from the preliminary remarks, so unjust to the reputation of a man who, with all his weaknesses and faults, was a brave and accomplished officer, and whose memoirs are among the most invaluable contributions to our Revolutionary history.

J. F. JR.

NEW ROCHELLE, Aug. 14, 1861.

OLD FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE—PINE-STREET, PHILADELPHIA.—A landmark which has survived the tumults of the nineteenth century, has just returned to its original element of dust. The old Friends' Meeting-house, in Pine-street, below Second, built in 1753, amid the village scenery of that day, was torn down a few weeks ago, a victim to the needs of the gigantic city around. It had been deserted for twenty-five years by its worshippers, and has since been variously tenanted, by an infant school, or used for storage of worthless rubbish. Its days of rural stillness, of fields and embowering trees had long faded away, and its humble front was superciliously eyed by towering modern piles with marble steps and doorways, till it bowed its venerable head into oblivion. A youthful race of "seven elegant dwellings, on lots twenty feet wide, by one hundred deep," are rearing their heads in brick and marble pride over its ashes,

and the busy world will no more give a thought to its demure and pious associations.

The funds for its erection were bequeathed by Samuel Powell, a carpenter and builder, grown rich by a progressive spirit, whose wealthy descendants still form a portion of our community. It was the third Friends' meeting-house built in Philadelphia; the two first, the Bank Meeting-house, Front-street, above Mulberry, and the Evening Meeting, on Centre Square, were both erected in 1685, and filled the place of a little building of wood which had been temporarily constructed by the Friends on their immigration. Both of these have also passed away.

In the old meeting-house attended Nicholas Wain, a noted lawyer and fine preacher; Emmor Kimber, a well-known minister; Jonathan Evans, the orthodox leader; and the venerable Isaac T. Hopper, whose life was a prolonged career of misfortunes. Also, Charles Wharton, and his son William, whose widow is now an esteemed preacher; Samuel R. Fisher and his wife; John Hutchinson, Samuel Shinn, father of the present Earl Shinn; John Morton, once president of the Bank of North America; John Townsend, Isaac W. Morris, Alexander Wilson, Henry Cope, Isaac Lloyd, Alex. Emslie, still living, at a great age; and many others, of high repute in the community. Here preached Richard Mott, of New York; Richard Jordon, of New Jersey; and Elias Hicks, of Jericho, Long Island, who died in 1830. It was he who held that conduct should be guided by conscientious promptings rather than by church rules. This caused a division in the Society. A large number ceased worshipping in the old meeting-house, in 1827, and built a new one. The Orthodox portion of the congregation remained there till beyond 1835, when the building was finally abandoned for a more commodious position.

The old meeting-house has, till recently, been unsold, owing to a difference of opinion between the former trustees of the two branches of the Society. Moreover, it appeared that Samuel Powell had made a proviso that the building should be a place of worship; and on its ceasing to be so, a portion of his heirs claimed it, but were defeated.—*Philad. Inquirer*.

SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF VIRGINIA.—In John Smith's "Account of Virginia," in the July number of the *Historical Magazine*, in the second column of page 193, instead of "New England is a part of America betwixt the degrees of 41 and 45 the very meane between the North Pole and the line from 43 to 45. The Coast is mountaynous, rockye," &c., &c., as the manuscript now stands, we ought evidently to read:

"New England is a part of America betwixt the degrees of 41 and 45 the very meane between the North Pole and the line. From 43 to 45 the Coast is mountaynous, rockye," &c., &c.

W. D.

FORT INDEPENDENCE, IN BOSTON HARBOR.—The first movement towards the fortification of Boston harbor, was made in the year 1633. About that time, the citizens fearing some act of hostility on the part of Cardinal Richelieu, it was thought expedient to build a fort at Nantasket Point. Accordingly, on the twenty-first of February, Governor Winthrop went down to that place, accompanied by a party of gentlemen, including "three ministers," for the purpose of laying out the plan. On the third day after their departure they returned and reported the project useless. The governor and his party were detained there two nights by a heavy gale, and slept in a hovel on some straw pulled from the thatch, eking out their scanty rations with a "poor kind of muscle." But though there was no immediate cause for alarm, and as Hubbard the historian tells us, they were "more afraid than hurt," it was decided by the General Court on the fourth of March following, to fortify the island now known as Castle Island, and orders were issued to build a fort "40 ffoote long and 21 ffoote wide."

*July 29th.* The governor and council, attended by the ubiquitous "ministers," visited the island and prepared every thing for the work, adding to the plan two "platforms" for heavy guns.

*Sept. 3d.* The records of the Court show another order, to build a platform on the northeast side of the island, and a "house to defend it." This first structure was of mud. No great progress, however, could have been made in the work, as on March the fourth, of the following year, orders were issued to "finish the Castle," and authority vested in the constables to press men for that service. The clergy took great interest in the project, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, according to Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, "gave bountifully for this wilderness work" (1000 pounds).

The scanty records inform us that Captain Simpkins was the first commander. After him came one Gibbon, who in the year 1635 was succeeded by Lieut. Morrison.

*January 12, 1637.* At this early day the fortification had so far fallen to decay, that the authorities deemed it useless to be at any further expense, and ordered the munitions of war collected there to be sold. On the second of May following, the Court officially gave notice that no further liability would be incurred, but added, that if any private parties saw fit to rebuild the defences,



they were at liberty to do so. A month later, however, seeing a disposition on the part of many inhabitants of Boston and vicinity to take some action, the Court receded so far as to appropriate one hundred pounds for repairs. Accordingly the guns were soon in working order again, and on the twentieth of June, while the gunners were at practice, an unlucky shot cut down an "honest passenger" standing on the deck of a ship coming up the harbor.

The next January two hundred and fifty pounds additional were voted for the Castle, and Captain Sedgwick was appointed to the command.

*June 12, 1643.* At this date the fortifications had again fallen to decay, and were so far neglected, that when Monsieur La Tour's ship, the Clement, sailed up the harbor, there was no one left to return her salute.

*Sept. 7th.* The Court again ordered the munitions of war to be sold, and the island rented until required for use.

*March 7, 1644.* The General Court granted one hundred pounds towards building a new fort, on condition that Boston and the neighboring towns assume the pecuniary obligation, and prosecute the work of building. This new structure was not to be less than fifty feet square on the inside, the walls to be ten feet thick, and the whole to remain the property of the colony. Five barrels of powder were also granted. The towns accepted the proposition and immediately began the work. The commander's commission, embodying a complete set of instructions, is an interesting document, and may be found in "Colony Records," vol. ii., p. 63. It appears that the garrison was to consist of not less than twenty men in summer, and ten in the winter.

*November 13th.* Captain Davenport was appointed to the command. Fifty pounds were appropriated for his house, and he was also to have one-third of the island for his own use.

*May 14, 1645.* Captain Davenport was notified that he could expect no regular chaplain for the garrison, but that "the Lord having granted him able gifts," he was expected to perform the duties of that office, and take care of the garrison as his own family. His pay was to be one-half in "corne," and one-half in "beaver and shop commodities."

*October 18th.* Boston and other towns having failed to carry on the work at the Castle with sufficient dispatch, the Court "thinke it meete" to fine them twenty pounds apiece. It was also ordered to press men for military duty at the island.

Passing over a period of eight years, we find the Castle again in a ruinous condition, but the Court, in no wise disheartened, issued orders to build a new one. Roger Clap tells us, in his Me-

moires, that it was built partly of brick, and contained a number of apartments. He says that there was a "Dwelling room below, a lodging room over it, the gun room over that, wherein stood six good Sacker guns, and over it, upon the top, three lesser guns." This affair cost four thousand pounds. Johnson, whom I have before quoted, remarks, "Yet are not this poor pilgrim people weary of maintaining it in good repair, as it is of very good use to awe in-olent persons." While this new fortification was going up, the train-bands from the town worked upon it during the time usually spent in parade and drill.

1662. This year the patriotism of the people ran low, and the authorities were again obliged to press men to work on the Castle.

*Aug. 10, 1666.* Captain Roger Clap was appointed to the command, Captain Davenport having been killed by lightning the year previous, while lying on his bed in a room next to the powder-magazine. Captain Hudson was in command during the intervening time. Captain Clap found the Castle in a miserable condition, as the work had never been properly finished. In this poor state of defence, fears were entertained of a descent upon the Colony by the squadron of De Ruyter. But the Dutch Admiral suddenly sailed away from the coast towards Newfoundland, and the excitement became somewhat abated. About this time the salary of the commander was forty pounds per annum.

1673. This year while the alarm occasioned by the war with Holland was still existing, the Castle, which was built chiefly of wood, was accidentally burned to the ground. This proved a serious loss to the Colony, but the Court, according to the records, "having considered the awful hand of God in the destruction of the Castle," voted to build a new one sixty feet square, the first cost of which was three hundred pounds. The work was begun immediately, and during the next October the Court went down to the island in a body to see what progress had been made. Little is said of the style of this new fortification, nor can I learn at what date it was finished. Governor Pownal's view of Boston, drawn at Castle Island, in the year 1757, affords a glimpse in the foreground of a portion of this structure as it appeared at that late day.

The Castle was quadrangular, and supposing the governor's sketch to be correct, was built of large squared stones, having at the southwest corner something answering to a campanile tower. A long line of palisades, facing Castle Point (South Boston Point), extend down to the water. It is flanked on the opposite side by a clump of irregular-looking buildings, two stories high, the upper story having large bay windows. After

being completed, the whole work was covered with sheet-lead. The sketch made by Governor Pownall probably represented the Castle as it appeared with the alterations and additions made by the celebrated engineer Romer, who was sent out from England twenty-five years later for this purpose.

For several years, beginning with the year 1673, the strength of the Castle was gradually increased, and in 1679 thirty large guns were mounted and in a fair working condition. Seven of these guns were planted on a battery at the northeast side of the island, near the site of the wharf now standing there. Captain Clap continued in command until 1686, when, being opposed to the government of Sir Edmund Andros, he felt obliged to resign. Removing to Boston, he died there on the second day of February, 1690, or 1691, and was buried, with high military honors, in the burial-ground of King's Chapel.

Captain John Pipson succeeded to the command, and this stronghold soon passed fairly into the hands of the royalist party.

*April 18, 1689.* On this day the Castle suddenly changed hands again. This event was brought about by the well-known uprising of the people against the tyranny and usurpation of Governor Andros, a movement which during the following winter caused that functionary to return home a prisoner. After the governor's arrest, a demand was made upon him for the surrender of the Castle, which was held by his adherents. This he at first resolutely refused to do, but when the violence of the popular feeling was made known, he gave an order to that effect, and the island and the fortifications were surrendered to the agents of the people. The officer in command, however, did not yield with much grace, as the annals of the times relate that the Castle was "surrendered with cursings." The royalist soldiers were brought away for safe-keeping, and Captain Fairweather was appointed commander.

1701. We now pass over a period of twelve years, and find the Court still earnestly engaged in the defence of Boston, appropriating fifteen hundred pounds for the work on the Castle. This sum was undoubtedly expended under the direction of Romer, a celebrated engineer, sent out from England, though I have been unable to discover what was actually done by him. This year the name of the Castle was changed to "Castle William," in honor of the king. From this time until toward the period of the Revolution nothing remarkable transpired. Year after year the garrison pursued the even tenor of its way, having no severe duties to perform. The records of the Courts frequently refer to repairs on the works, of which there seems to have been no end, and to the appointment of officers.

1710-20. Capt. Zechariah Tuttle was lieutenant of the Castle from January 16, 1710, to Nov. 28, 1720. Drake is in error in making John Larabee commander of the island from 1712 to 1762. He became lieutenant of the Castle, June 16, 1725, and was only quarter-gunner, in Nov., 1720.

1712. Rev. John Barnard was appointed chaplain.

1721. Hon. Wm. Dummer, lieutenant-governor commanding.

1722. We have nothing to chronicle at this date, except that the garrison had come in possession of a new barge, at a cost of sixty-three pounds.

1730. This year the Court passed an order prohibiting soldiers from running in debt or pawning their clothes. The penalty for the latter offence was confinement in bilboes.

1744. War having now been declared between England and France, the home government sent over for the protection of the colonists twenty forty-two pound cannon, together with large quantities of munitions of war. Two years later the French cruisers were found hovering upon the coast, and unlimited authority was given to strengthen the Castle. No attack was made, however, upon the town.

*October, 1756.* The Court passed an act for the enlistment of one hundred and twenty men to serve at the Castle six days in each year, to be exercised by the gunner in the use of heavy artillery.

*June, 1764.* The commander of the Castle was at this time both port and quarantine officer. It was his duty to collect two shillings of every vessel passing up, except wood-sloops and such craft; and to bring to anchor near Rainsford Island every vessel not having a clean bill of health.

The troublesome days of the Revolution were now drawing near, and the Castle frequently proved useful to the loyalists, who managed to keep possession.

*June 10, 1768.* The king's commissioners who had seized a sloop belonging to the patriot Hancock, being attacked by a mob, Governor Barnard gave orders for their reception at the Castle, whither they immediately retired.

1769. This year the armament of the Castle had been increased to one hundred and twenty guns, all of which were in working order.

*March 6, 1770.* The 29th British regiment, then stationed in Boston, was removed to Castle Island by Colonel Dalrymple. This was the regiment engaged in the fight with the people in King-street, and its withdrawal was deemed necessary in order to avoid a fresh outbreak.

*March 5, 1776.* The Revolution having now been fully inaugurated, and the royalists closely shut up in Boston, General Howe resolved to

make a grand dash at the patriot forces intrenched on Dorchester heights. Accordingly he ordered twenty-four hundred men down to Castle William, with the intention of crossing over to make an attack during the night. But a severe gale coming on, the transports were unable to reach the island, while the surf ran so high on the beach no boat could live in it. The expedition, therefore, proved a failure.

*March 9th.* On the second night after the failure of this expedition the guns of the Castle were brought to bear upon the Americans at Nook's Hill, Dorchester, where an attempt was being made to throw up some earthworks. The British commander also ordered the fire to open from the lines on Boston Neck. The Americans replied to the fire from Cobble Hill, Lechnere Point, Cambridge, and Roxbury. This proved a fearful night for Boston, the roar of the artillery continuing until daylight. This was the only really serious work the guns of the Castle were ever employed in. For nearly a century and a half this fortification stood in the colony as an "ounce of prevention," verifying the predictions of Elder Johnson, that it would be "of very good use to awe insolent persons."

*March 11.* General Howe becoming weary of his prison, gave the order to evacuate Boston. But before leaving the harbor the British took the precaution to demolish the Castle, burning the blockhouse and barracks, and knocking off the trunnions of the cannon.

By the departure of the British troops the seat of war was removed to a distance, and Boston and vicinity remained in a comparatively peaceful condition throughout the long struggle for independence.

*June 25, 1798.* Castle Island was at this time ceded to the United States for military purposes. Before being relinquished, however, it was used by Massachusetts as a penal colony, a sort of Botany Bay, and in 1702 there were confined here no less than seventy-seven convicts, with a guard of *sixty-seven* men to look after them.

B. F. D.

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, }  
Oct. 19, 1775. }

DEAR SON: We hear you have had an alarm at Philada. I hope no ill consequences have attended it. I wonder I had no Line from you. I make no doubt of our People's defending their City and Country bravely on the most trying occasions.

I hear nothing yet from Mr. Goddard, but suppose he is on the Road. I suppose we shall leave this Place next Week. I shall not return in com-

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pany with the other delegates, as I must call for my sister, and we shall hardly be able to travel so fast; but I expect to be at Philada within a few days of them.

There has been a plentiful Year here, as well as with us; And there are as many cheerful countenances among those who are driven from House and Home at Boston, or lost their all at Charlestown, as among other People. Not a murmur has yet been heard, that if they had been less zealous in the Cause of Liberty, they might still have enjoyed their Possessions. For my own Part, tho' I am for the most prudent Parsimony of the public Treasury, *I am not terrified by the Expense of this War, should it continue ever so long.* A little more Frugality or a little more Industry in Individuals, will with Ease defray it. Suppose it a £100,000 a month, or £1,200,000 a year. If 500,000 Families will each spend a Shilling a Week less or earn a Shilling a Week more; or if they will spend Sixpence a Week less, and earn Sixpence a Week more, they may pay the whole Sum without otherwise feeling it. Forbearing to drink Tea saves three-fourths of the money; and 500,000 Women doing each Three-pence Worth of Spinning or Knitting in a Week will pay the rest. I wish, nevertheless, most earnestly for Peace, this war being a truly unnatural and mischievous one; but we have nothing to expect from Submission but Slavery and Contempt.

I am ever,

Your affectionate Father, B. F.

"GOD SIFTED A WHOLE NATION that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." So spoke William Stoughton, afterwards lieutenant-governor of the Massachusetts Province, in his Election Sermon, 1668, and the sentiment has become a "familiar quotation." As I do not find it noted in Mr. Bartlett's excellent work, I think it would be well to preserve a permanent reference to it in the *Historical Magazine*. J. D.

CUSHING'S "MAN ON HORSEBACK."—Hon. Caleb Cushing's "Man on horseback," was so often referred to during the political contest last year, that perhaps it would be well to put on record where it is to be found. In Mr. Cushing's Bangor letter, Jan., 1860, he prophesies, in certain contingencies: "Cruel war—war at home, and in the perspective distance a man on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand, some Atlantic Cæsar, or Cromwell, or Napoleon," &c. J. D.

REV. JOSEPH PILMORE.—In the concluding portion of the article on Methodism, under the

general heading of "Societies and their Proceedings—Massachusetts," is recorded in your number for July (p. 213), that "in 1769, two regular preachers, Boardman and *Fillmore*, were sent over here from England." Now, the last *name* is incorrect: and aware of your desire to be scrupulously accurate in all the records of your thus valuable and interesting *H. M.*, I venture to send to you herewith an extract from the MS. journal—now in my possession—of the late Rev. Joseph Pilmore, D. D.

After his separation from the Methodist connection, Dr. Pilmore became attached to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for a time officiated as rector of Trinity, St. Thomas, and All Saints' churches; he was then called to a church in New York, from whence he was invited to return to this city, and so became rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Third-street, where for many years he was a most zealous, devoted, popular, and efficient clergyman. He died in this connection, although latterly unable, from advanced age and disease, to officiate in the church, in the summer of the year 1824.

CHAS. A. POULSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 332 So. FRONT-STREET,  
July 29, 1861.

[Extract.]

"Accordingly, when the proposals for sending missionaries to America were mentioned, I told them, in the fear of God, what was on my mind, and offered myself for that service. At the same time Mr. Richard Boardman offered himself to go likewise."

"After preaching once more in the Foundry, we took leave of our dear London friends, went to the Carolina coffee-house, where we met with Capt. Sparks, with whom we were to sail, and two gentlemen, who were to go passengers with us. We took coach for Gravesend, where we embarked in the evening on board the *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, for Philadelphia."

Then follows details of the incidents of the voyage, and the "Journal" continues thus:

"After a passage of nine weeks from London, on the 20th of October, 1769, we made land, and on the 21st landed at Gloucester Point, six miles below Philadelphia."

INDIAN TRADITION OF THE FIRST FRENCH IN CANADA.—Peter Pastedehouan, a Montagnais, taken to France by some Recollect missionaries prior to 1629, related to Father Le Jeune, in 1633, that "his grandmother used to relate with pleasure the astonishment of the Indians when they saw the first French vessel arrive in the country. They thought it was a moving island;

they did not know what to make of the great sails that made it go; their astonishment increased when they saw a number of men on the deck. The women began to prepare cabins for them, as they do commonly when new guests arrive, and four canoes of Indians ventured to approach the vessels, and invited the French to come to the cabins prepared for them, but they could not understand each other. The French gave them a keg of bread or biscuit. They took and examined it, but not liking the taste threw it in the water. . . . Our Indians said that the French drank blood and eat wood,—so they styled wine and biscuit.

"Now as they could not make out to what nation our people belonged, they gave them a name which has always stuck to the French, *Quinichigouchion*, that is, a man that works in wood, or who is in a wooden canoe or vessel, as they saw our ship to be made of wood, while their little canoes are made merely of bark."

#### QUERIES.

"MEMOIRS OF HON. THOMAS JEFFERSON, Secretary of State . . . of the United States of America; containing a concise History of those States . . . . In Two Volumes. Printed for the purchasers. 1809."

Who was the author of this work? Henry Stevens, in his "Catalogue of American Books" in the British Museum, ascribes it to — Carpenter. I have heard Hanson and Gouverneur both mentioned. L.

[Allibone in his dictionary gives it as the work of Stephen Culien Carpenter, a native of Great Britain, who came here in 1803, and died in 1820. He was associated with Bristed in editing the *U. S. Magazine*, Charleston, and originated the *Monthly Register*. He wrote, besides the "Life of Jefferson," "D. Campbell's Overland Journey to India," N. Y., 1809-10, and compiled the "Select American Speeches" that bear his name.]

ANCIENT COINS FOUND IN AMERICA.—When Seneca wrote his famous chorus, wherein he foretold that in the later ages Oceanus would relax the fetters of the continents, and Tethys disclose new worlds to the daring mariner who holds on his course "*inter vira mortisque rias*," he is generally supposed to have looked into the future merely with the poet's "prophetic soul, dreaming on things to come." But that a more solid source of knowledge may have furnished him a

hint seems not unlikely, if certain asserted discoveries of ancient coins in the New World be authorities. Most of these discoveries relate to Roman coins. The earliest that I have found on record, occurred in the Province of Panama, while some Spaniards were searching for gold. It was a piece of money bearing the name and image of Cæsar Augustus. The bishop of the Province, Juan Quevedo, obtained possession of it and gave it to the assistant archbishop, Juan Rufo, who sent it to the Holy Father at Rome as a curiosity. Such, at least, was the story told by the Father Maluenda, and given by Marinus (Rer. Hispan., lib. xix., cap. xvi.), and Garcia (Origen de los Indios, lib. iv., cap. xix.); and though Solorzano (Polit. Ind., lib. i., cap. vi.) denies the authenticity of the coin, he gives no good reason for doing so. Who knows but that the very ancient slip, of a strange and antique build, discovered by some other miners deeply imbedded in the earth in this same portion of the country (Padre Simon, Notie. de Tierra Firme, lib. i., cap. x.), may have been a Roman galley?

Again, many years later, in a neighboring part of the continent, in French Guiana, the Jesuits, while digging the foundation of a church at Ouyapoc, discovered at a depth of four or five feet a little medal, quite rusty, "but bearing the image of St. Peter, and appeared to date from the first centuries of our era." Father Lombard thought it not unworthy the attention of learned antiquaries, and offered to send it to his superior in France; but whether he did so or not, does not appear (Lettres Edif. et Cur., tom. iv., pp. 457-8).

Within the limits of the United States, passing over as too meagerly described the Roman coin reported to have been found by an Indian on the banks of the River des Pères, in Missouri, in 1821, and presented to Governor Clarke ("Gazetteer of Missouri," p. 312), there is an account of some said to have been dug up near the Elk River, Tennessee, in 1818 or 1819, preserved in Brande's "Quarterly Journal of the Royal Society" (vol. vi., p. 180). "One of them," says the writer, "has the following inscriptions on it. On one side, 'Antonivs. Avg. Pius. P. P. Tri. cos. III.:' on the other side, 'Aureliivs. Cæsar. Avg. P. iii.' These have been construed thus: Antonius Augustus Pius princeps pontifex Tribune tertio consule, and Aurelius Cæsar Augustus pontifex tertio consule. This coin would be of the reign of Marcus Aurelius." Whatever we may have to say to such "construction," we cannot but regret that the writer restricted himself to this single piece.

Various other accounts have appeared from time to time bearing rather an apocryphal air; such as the exhumation of silver coins near Oregon, Wisconsin, in 1839, mentioned by Mr. School-

craft ("Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," p. 661); that of eight coins "larger than a dollar, the inscription in a language wholly unknown," near Buchanan, Botetourt county, Virginia, in 1856 (*Littell's Living Age*, No. 629); and again last summer (1860), in Wisconsin, mentioned in various papers, to both of which places I sent letters of inquiry, but received no answer.

The only discovery of the kind that received fitting attention was that near Medford, Mass., in 1787. While some men were digging a road, they found nearly two quarts of copper medals under a large flat stone. They were square, or nearly so, and marked with an inscription that could not be deciphered. An account of them was published some years afterwards by Thad. M. Harris, in the "Mems. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences" (vol. iii., pt. I., pp. 195-6), in which, from a resemblance to some figured by Strahlenberg, he concluded they were of Tartar origin. Perhaps they had been the booty of the old Norse sea-rovers. Can any of your readers inform me what became of these coins, and whether any further attempt at their identification was made? And should others have been found beyond what I have mentioned, will they not send a mem. thereof to the *Magazine*?

D. G. B.

WEST CHESTER, Pa.

MONSON.—In *Notes and Queries*, 2d Ser., vol. ii., p. 10, it is stated that some members of a younger (Catholic) branch of the Monson family of England, are believed to have emigrated to the United States about one hundred and sixty years ago [*i. e.*, 1696], and Lord Monson inquires (as the name is said to be not uncommon here), if any particulars are known of their early colonial lineage, or could they be obtained from provincial histories or documents?

Munson's Hill, in Fairfax Co., Virginia, would indicate that as the quarter in which the family settled. \*†\*

BIRTH OF REV. SAMUEL DEANE, D. D.—The date of the birth of Rev. Dr. Deane, of Portland, Me., is given in the "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," vol. iii., p. 185, August 30, 1733; while under a portrait of him in the *Journals of Smith and Deane*, edited by Hon. William Willis, we find: "Born July 10, 1733." Which is correct?

BOSTON.

JEFFERSON'S NOTES ON VIRGINIA.—Who has a copy of either of the editions of "Jefferson's Notes," printed in Philadelphia, in 1788 and 1792, pp. ii., 336, mentioned in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. i., p. 52? Will the owner give the full title of each? Q.

KEYSTONE STATE.—In the *Historical Magazine* for 1857, p. 279, W. L. inquires whether any one can give authentic information, who it was that first used the phrase, "*The Keystone of the Federal Arch*," in reference to Pennsylvania—the occasion, or place where, and the time when, it was so applied.

Cannot an answer be given by some reader of the *Magazine*? J. S. F.

WEST CHESTER, Pa. \_\_\_\_\_

HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—In the *Port Folio* for Oct., 1819 (printed in Philadelphia), it was announced that Dr. John Eberle, the editor of the *Medical Recorder*, was engaged in translating from the German professor Ebeling, a *History of Pennsylvania*. The work was to commence with the settlement of the State, and to be brought down to the year 1802; to be enriched with notes by Du Ponceau. Was this work ever published, if not, where is the manuscript? T.

#### REPLIES.

ETHAN ALLEN (vol. v., p. 156).—The question, "Did Ethan Allen, in 1781, act openly for the British?" ought to receive a more decidedly negative answer than can be inferred from the replies already given to it. Neither in 1781, nor any other year, did he act openly for the British. No doubt he gave them to hope, and perhaps to believe, that he and the whole body of Green Mountain Boys were disposed to enter into alliance with them. But this was for the purpose (and for no other purpose) of persuading the Congress of the United States to recognize the independence of Vermont, and admit it into the Union.

The exact facts are these: In 1780, Vermont was in circumstances of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. On the one hand, New Hampshire asserted jurisdiction over the whole territory, comprised within "The Grants;" on the other hand, New York was equally strenuous, indeed more so, in claiming supremacy, while Vermont had declared itself independent of both, organized a government, and made application for admission to the Union. The first attempts were unsuccessful. At this juncture, the British generals in America, supposing that Vermont had become alienated from the other States by its long and warm controversies, thought to take advantage of that feeling and bring Vermont into a union with Canada. Allen being the foremost man in the young State, a letter was written him by Col. Beverly Robinson, of the British army, who gave encouragement that if Vermont would become

loyal to the British crown, it should be established as a separate government under the king and constitution of Great Britain. Allen did not answer the letter, but communicated it to Gov. Chittenden and a few others, who agreed with him that it was best to let it pass in silence.

To gain, however, as much as possible from this overture of the enemy, it was decided to send a flag of truce to the commander of the forces in Canada, proposing an exchange of prisoners and an armistice. The British were expected soon to appear on Lake Champlain in great force, and it was important to secure delay. But a formidable fleet soon made its appearance, and caused great alarm among the people. The commander soon forwarded to Allen a letter assenting to both his requests, after which the fleet retreated down the lake, to the no small astonishment as well as satisfaction of the people. Early in 1781, Robinson sent another letter to Allen, of the same purport as the first. Allen then sent both the letters to Congress, accompanying them with a communication of his own, the concluding paragraph of which is as follows:

"I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say I am fully grounded in opinion that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms for a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them; for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the united claiming States, and they, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded that when Congress consider the circumstances of this State, they will be the more surprised that I have transmitted to them the inclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress are that of the United States; and rather than fail, I will retire with my hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large."

The correspondence with the enemy in Canada was maintained until the close of the war. On the part of the British it consisted of constant attempts to persuade Allen and other leading Vermonters to renounce their allegiance to the American States and convert Vermont into a British province. On the part of the Vermonters it consisted of evasive, ambiguous answers, calculated to keep alive the British hopes, but carefully avoiding any thing that could be regarded as a positive engagement. Eight Vermonters were in the secret, every one of them

avowed and confirmed friends of the American cause. Their object was simply to protect Vermont against the incursions of the British in Canada, and they achieved a most signal success in that regard. Not only so, but they outgeneralled their opponents in Congress to such a degree, that resolutions were adopted inviting the Vermonters to make a new representation of their case, which eventually resulted in the admission of Vermont into the Union. Had this negotiation, protracted for nearly three years, been conducted by eight trained diplomatists, instead of eight plain farmers, it would be universally regarded as one of the most skilful diplomatic manœuvres of which there is any record.

P. H. W.

COVENTRY, Vt., Sept. 11, 1861.

WM. TAILER (vol. v., p. 252).—Hon. William Tailer, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, died at his seat in Dorchester, March 1, 1732, aged fifty-five years, wanting six days. He was interred in the old burial-ground in that ancient town, March 9th. The remains were placed in Lieutenant Stoughton's tomb, his mother, Rebecca, having been a daughter of Col. Israel Stoughton, and a sister to Lieutenant-governor William. The bells in Boston "were tolled from Eleven o'clock till Five. The Cannon of His Majesty's Castle William, (of which he was the beloved Captain) were discharged at their Funeral Distance, the Flag being half rais'd. The Pall was supported by His Excellency Governor BELCHER; the Honourable, *William Dummer*, Addington Davenport, Thomas Hutchinson, Elisha Cooke, and Adam Winthrop, Esqrs. The Funeral was attended by a great Number of Gentry in their Coaches, Chaises, &c. and abundance of Spectators."—*Boston News Letter*.

"It is hard to determine," says the same paper, of March 16th, "whether he was more serviceable in the Seat of Government or out of it; when he discharged the Duties of his Superiour Station with impartial Justice and unsullied Honour; or when he was frequently employed in the most laborious and hazardous Enterprizes for the Honour of his Prince, and the good of his Country, which he pursued in Arduous Expeditions by Sea and Land, with a noble Spirit and Resolution, with approved Courage and Fidelity. Every one acknowledged and admired his quickness of Apprehension and liveliness of Fancy, with his ready Invention and Active Genius. Every one esteemed him as an uncommon Instance of Good Nature, Tenderness, Affability, and Friendship, nor was he less amiable for his Catholick Principles in Religion. And if the most valuable Personal Qualities are worthy of Esteem, if the most obliging Husband, and tenderest Parent, if the

devout attender upon Divine Service, the sincere Friend, the affectionate Neighbour, and the steady Patriot should be endeared to us, he was all these in a Superior Degree: We have therefore all imaginable reason to expect from this Government some distinguishing Marks of their Esteem for his Name and Memory, and of their thankfulness for his Meritorious Actions."

The Dorchester records say: "Mr. William Tailor, married unto Mrs. Rebecca Stoughton, 25 (6) 1664; Stoughton Tailor, son of Mr. Wm. Tailor, born 18 (4) 1665;" but the birth of Wm., the lieutenant-governor, I do not find, either on the Dorchester or on the Boston records. The descendants of the lieutenant-governor, in Dorchester, write their name *Taylor*. A *fac-simile* of his signature may be seen in Drake's "History of Boston," note to page 551.

"Wm. Taylor, exit, July 12, 1682; July 14, 1690, Mrs. Rebecca Taylor dies" (N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. vii., 345; vi., 74). These were probably the parents of the lieutenant-governor.

T.

MERCHANTS' MARKS (vol. i., pp. 151, 185, and 222).—In Dudley's "Illustrated Archæological and Genealogical Collections," 1st Series, published at Boston this year, several merchants' marks are figured from original documents. On Plate 1, are those of Thomas Sandbrook, of Boston, and William Holmes: the former bearing the initials T. S. with the triangle and cross; the latter W. H. with a rude figure of a tree between. The documents to which they are attached are both dated 1649. On Plate 2, we find the marks of John Mills, of Boston, 1651; James Astwood, of Roxbury, 1653; and Nicholas Busby, of Wattertown, 1657. That of Mills bears the initials I. M., the triangle and cross at top; a heart pierced with an arrow at the bottom, six stars and some other figures; that of Astwood, the initials I. A. with a branch between them; and that of Busby, the initials N. B. united, the triangle, some scrolls, &c.

J. D.

EARLY N. H. GOVERNORS (vol. v., p. 252).—Your correspondent C., in the August number of the *Magazine*, inquires the times and places of death of certain presidents and deputy-governors of New Hampshire, 1680-1700. I answer:

*Richard Waldron*—was killed by the Indians at Dover (Cochecho), N. H., June 27, 1689. The particulars may be found in the several histories giving an account of that destructive outbreak.

*Edward Cranfield*—deputy-governor, 1682; returned to England in 1635, and died there, 1704. The precise time is not given in Savage's "General Dictionary," which cites authorities.

*Walter Barefoote*—deputy-governor, 1683; is also mentioned by Savage, who says Barefoote was at Great Island (New Castle), N. H., 1660; was counsellor of the colony, 1682; deputy-governor, 1685; and died 1688. His will may be found on the record in Suffolk Registry, Mass.

*John Usher*—deputy-governor, 1692; was born in Boston, April 27, 1645; died in Medford, Mass., Sept. 5, 1736.—*Farmer's Register.* w. w.

PORTLAND, Me., Sept. 4, 1861.

JAMES ATHEARN JONES (vol. v., p. 286).—“Haverhill, or Memoirs of an Officer in the Army of Wolfe. By James Athearn Jones.

Glory's pillow is but restless if Love lay not down his cheek there.—*Werner.*

In Three Volumes.

London: T. & W. Boone,  
29 New Bond Street.  
1831.”

LORD NORTH (vol. v., p. 188).—FREDERICK, 8th Lord North, minister of George III., was the son of Francis North, 7th Lord North, and 3d Earl of Guilford, who was created Earl of Guilford, 8th April, 1752. His mother was Lucy Montagu, daughter of George, earl of Halifax. He was born on the 13th April, 1732, married May 20, 1756, Anne, daughter and sole heir of George Speke, by whom he had issue. In 1759 he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury; in 1766, joint-paymaster of the forces; in 1767, Chancellor of the Exchequer; in 1770, first Commissioner of the Treasury; and in 1772, elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

In 1790, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Guilford, and dying in 1792, was succeeded by his son George Augustus.

G. A.

## Notes on Books.

*The Original Account of Capt. John Lovell's "Great Fight" with the Indians at Pequonket, May 8, 1755.* By Rev. Thomas Symmes. A new edition, with notes by Nathaniel Bouton. Concord, N. H.: P. B. Cogswell, 1861. 4to, 48 pp.

LOCAL histories like this, of particular battles, will not only be of interest as guide-books to those who actually visit the spots, but insure the

historical student what he is most frequently unable to obtain—local and topographical description, and the comparison between the ground as it was and as it is.

*Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Par J. B. A. Ferland, Prêtre, Professeur d'histoire à l'Université Laval. Première Partie, 1534–1663. Québec: A. Côté, 1861. 8vo, 522 pp.

MR. FERLAND is well known to all who have of late years given any attention to Canadian history. His long and careful researches here and in Europe, have made him an authority in the history of his country; and his modest notes on the Register of Quebec, and his review of the charlatan Brasseur, only stimulated the desire of all to see him undertake a work for which he was so eminently fitted, the History of Canada. The present volume initiates the work in a manner to satisfy all. His researches assure us that the ground has been thoroughly explored, and the material is moulded into a graceful narrative, elevated in tone, and judicious in its treatment of the various interests and events, avoiding the too common fault of those, who devoted to one interest allow it to usurp a disproportionate part of their work. We congratulate the Canadian public on the appearance of this work.

*Philobiblon; a Treatise on the Love of Books.* By Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancellor of England. First American Edition, with the literal English translation of John B. Inglis. Collated and corrected with notes, by Samuel Hand. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1861. 8vo.

FROM Mr. Munsell's well-known bibliographical taste, we may evidently assign the credit of this volume to him, and he certainly merits the praises of bibliophiles. Mr. Hand has done his work well, and we cannot but regret that he did so little. It is not easy to say whether Inglis is worse as a translator or as a commentator, so utterly unqualified is he for either employment. The translator of a work addressed by a bishop of the Middle Ages to his clergy, should know something of their religious ideas, books, and usages; but the allusion of de Bury, at the end of his exordium, to the prayer, “Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum,” &c., is made the occasion of a pointless note to display his ignorance. What the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or a discussion of the right to tithes has to with de Bury's book others may see, we confess that we do not. We had marked many passages where the mistranslation was glaring; but we do not wish to be severe on a book that has afforded us so



much real pleasure, and, as is evident, been carefully read. Yet we note one passage on p. 58: "Non cujuslibet sæ scriptæ, 'Scriptum est' præmittens quod vivæ vocis articulo erat prolaturus;" "Not truth in general, but written truth," premising that he was to declare orally with the words: "It is written." A reference to Matt. iv., in the Vulgate, where these words "Scriptum est" occur, will show this to be the meaning.

*Brick Church Memorial*; containing the Discourses delivered by Dr. Spring on the closing of the Old Church in Beekman-street, and the opening of the New Church on Murray Hill; the Discourse delivered on the 50th Anniversary of his Installation as Pastor of the Brick Church, with the Proceedings of the Memorial Meeting. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1861. 8vo, 248 pp.

THE title fully explains the scope of this elegant volume, of which the publisher may justly feel proud, and which will ever be the ornament of the library of every student of the history of the city, as well as the members of the church to whom its contents are especially addressed. Dr. Spring's address embraces a sketch of the history of that church so well known to old New Yorkers, now replaced by the Times' Building; and the volume generally is the history of the church during his long career as pastor, a half century of acceptable labors in ministering unto them.

*Obituary Records of Graduates of Yale College deceased during the Academical Year ending in July, 1861.*

THIS interesting pamphlet shows how large the number of Yale's graduates must be, when sketches are here given of nearly fifty who have passed away in a single year. Their Alma Mater does well thus to collect the obituaries of her children from Stoddard, of the class of 1790, to Sheffield, of the class of 1859. In this list, the most noted are Henry Meigs, of the American Institute; Dr. Heman Humphreys; Royal Robbins, on whose "Outlines of History," we made our first steps; Prof. J. W. Gibbs; Rev. W. B. Weed; and the gallant Theodore Winthrop.

*Rapport du Surintendant de l'Éducation pour le Bas Canada, pour l'année, 1860.* Quebec: 1861.

THE reports of the Hon. Mr. Chauveau always deserve examination, as showing the progress of the educational establishments of our neighbor, Lower Canada; a progress due, in no small de-

gree, to the intelligent exertions of the superintendent, who here details some of his struggles in the cause.

*The Soldiers' Pocket Bible.* An exact reprint of the original edition of 1643; with a Prefatory Note, by George Livermore. "Trust in the Lord and keep the powder dry." Cambridge: Printed for private distribution. 1861.

MR. LIVERMORE, whose bibliographical taste is well known, in endeavoring to ascertain what pocket-edition of the Bible was carried by Cromwell's soldiers, obtained a copy of "The Soldier's Pocket Bible," not a Bible indeed, but extracts, "containing" says the title-page "the most (if not all) those places contained in holy Scripture, which doe shew the qualifications of his inner man, that is a fit Souldier to fight the Lord's Battels, both before he fights in the fight and after the fight." It is a tract of sixteen pages, printed at London by G. B. and R. W., for G. C., 1643. This was evidently the one sought, as Mr. Livermore clearly shows. No other copy was known, till the British Museum discovered that it actually possessed *inscienter* the only known duplicate. Mr. Livermore caused a hundred copies to be beautifully printed in exact *fac-simile* of the original, and this affords matter for a supplement to O'Callaghan's American Bibles; for no sooner had the hundred reached the hands of his friends, than the American Tract Society reprinted it, and the *New York Herald* gave it entire in the columns of its issue of Sunday, Sept. 1. Other editions also have, we understand, appeared, so that the list of editions will be of some length, and furnish a most curious chapter.

*Sketches of the Life of the V. Rev. Felix Andreis,* First Superior of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, and Vicar General of the Diocese of New Orleans; with a Sketch of the Progress of the Catholic Religion in the United States, from the beginning of the century to the year 1860. Baltimore: Kelly, Hedrian & Piat, 1861. 12mo, 276 pp.

THIS volume, a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the country, especially of Louisiana and Missouri, is from the Italian, and with its concluding sketch forms a useful volume. The period of the labors of Mr. de Andreis was short, extending from 1815 to 1820; but his biography is the history of the introduction into the United States of the Lazarists or Priests of the Mission, an order founded by St. Vincent de Paul for Home Missions. Few have any idea of the numbers, variety, and extent of the religious orders in the United States; and most will be astonished

to learn that conventual establishments of no less than fifty different orders have sprung up here within the last fifty years. A Monasticon will soon be needed to guide the general reader, and still more the local historian. The present well-printed work is one contribution.

*The Southern Rebellion, and the War for the Union.* A History of the Rise and Progress of the Rebellion, and consecutive narrative of events and incidents, from the first stages of the treason against the Republic down to the close of the conflict; together with important Documents, Extracts from remarkable Speeches, &c. New York: J. D. Torrey, 1861. 1-5.

To write contemporaneous history, is a most difficult task, and at this moment no one can see far enough into futurity to judge of the full importance of the actions of each day. The author of this creditable work is sanguine of the success of the government as at present constituted, and is Northern in feeling, but his narrative is, on the whole, fair and dispassioned; the whole subject being viewed from a national stand-point. The history of previous rebellions is pretty fully presented, though we miss any allusion to the Bright case, in which Pennsylvania took up arms against the United States Government.

"The true cause of the Rebellion" is the chapter where the views of the author and some of his facts will be most controverted, but the whole subject is thoroughly presented. After this, the history of the Secession movement begins, and is carried on in a clear, interesting narrative, sufficiently ample in detail, and embodying in the text such important documents as are monuments of the history. The work thus possesses great value, and will be extremely useful at home and abroad, by placing the whole affair in its proper light. We can only hope, with the author, that "the close of the conflict" may soon terminate his labors, and relieve our country from desolating war. We like the work far better than any we have yet seen, and think that abroad, especially, it will do great good by placing the facts in a readable narrative before the thousands who now look with interest on a contest, which many doubtless view as a fatal blow to the great Republic and in fact to popular liberty itself.

*The Wetmore Family of America, and its collateral branches;* with genealogical, biographical, and historical notices. By James Carnahan Wetmore. Albany: J. Munsell, 1861. 8vo, 670 pp.

SPACE prevents a note of this elegant volume this month.

## Miscellany.

POULTNEY, Vt., on the 21st September celebrated her centennial anniversary, inviting all her sons and daughters to the festival. The Historical Sketch was delivered by Henry Clark, and the Oration by Rev. J. Newton Sprague.

WE understand that the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine has ready for the press a new edition of his "American Loyalists;" a work which at the present time will be read with new interest, and which, by the way, some writers have evidently consulted with much profit, though not always doing the justice to Mr. Sabine of acknowledging their indebtedness to his work.

We understand that Mr. Sabine has devoted much time and labor for several years past to consulting public records and procuring and digesting family papers, &c., with a view to his new edition of the "Loyalists," the issue of which, at the present time will be very opportune.

FROM the genealogy of the Hopkins family, lately prepared by Rev. Calvin Durfee, of Williamstown, it is proved that the grandmother of President Hopkins was a niece of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of the college. It is a remarkable coincidence that the institution founded by the gallant soldier should be presided over by a lineal descendant after so many years have passed away.

THE Wisconsin Historical Society invites all the Wisconsin soldiers to keep and transmit to it, diaries, especially of important movements, plans of battle-fields, trophies, and proposes to publish, at the close of the war, a "History of the Services of the Wisconsin Volunteers." Such a work by each Historical Society will contribute greatly to the fidelity and accuracy of future historians. The plan is worthy of general adoption, and we learn that the Massachusetts Historical Society has taken a similar step.

MR. BUCKINGHAM SMITH is preparing for publication a grammar of the Nevome, one of the most important dialects of the Pima, a language of Sonora. The original manuscript, the work of some old missionary, came to his hands in Spain.

A NEW part of the Bulletin of the American Ethnological Society is in press.

AN edition of Swedberg's "*America Illuminata*," one of the works on the Swedish colony, is in preparation.

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[No. 11.]

General Department.

LITHOBOLIA; OR, THE STONE-THROWING  
DEVIL, ETC.\*

Such is the sceptical Humour of this Age for Incredulity, (not to say Infidelity,) That I wonder they do not take up and profess, in terms, the Pyrrhonian Doctrine of disbelieving their very senses. For that which I am going to relate happening to cease in the Province of New Hampshire in America, just upon that Governour's Arrival and Appearance at the Council there, who was informed by myself, and several other Gentlemen of the Council, and other considerable Persons, of the true and certain Reality hereof, yet he continued tenacious in the Opinion that we were all imposed upon by the waggery of some unlucky Boys; which, considering the circumstances and Passages hereafter mentioned, was altogether impossible.

I have a wonder to relate; for such (I take it) is so to be termed whatsoever is Præternatural, and not assignable to, or the effect of, Natural Causes: It is a Lithobolia, or stone throwing, which happened by Witchcraft, (as was supposed,) and maliciously perpetrated by and elderly woman, a Neighbor suspected, and (I think) formerly detected for such kind of Diabolical Tricks and

\* LITHOBOLIA; or, The Stone-throwing Devil. Being an Exact and True Account (by way of Journal) of the various actions of infernal Spirits, or (*Devils Incarnate*) Witches, or both; and the great Disturbance and Amazement they gave to *George Waltons* Family, at a place called *Great Island*, in the Province of *New Hampshire* in New England, chiefly in throwing about (by an Invisible hand) *Stones, Bricks, and Brick-bats* of all Sizes, with several other things, as *Hammers, Mails, Iron-Crows, Spits*, and other domestick Utensils, as came into their Hellish Minds, and this for the space of a Quarter of a Year. By R. C., Esq., who was a sojourner in the same Family the whole Time, and an Ocular Witness of those Diabolick Inventions. The Contents hereof being manifestly known to the Inhabitants of that Province, and Persons of other Provinces, and is upon record in his Majesty's Council Court held for that Province. 4to. Dedication 2, and pp. 16. LONDON: Printed and are to be sold by *E. Whitlock* near *Stationers-Hall*, 1698.

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Practicies; and the wicked Instigation did arise upon the account of some small quantity of Land in her field, which she Pretended was unjustly taken into the Land of the Person where the scene of this matter lay, and was her Right; she having been often very clamorous about that affair, and heard to say, with much Bitterness, that her Neighbour (*innuendo* the fore mentioned Person, his Name *George Walton*) should never quietly enjoy that piece of Ground. Which, as it has confirm'd myself and others in the opinion that there are such things as Witches, and the Effects of Witchcraft, or at least of the mischievous Actions of evil spirits; which some do as little give credit to, as in the case of Witches, utterly Rejecting both their Operations and their Beings, we having been eyewitnesses of this Matter almost every day for a quarter of a year together; so it may be a means to rectifie the depraved judgements and sentiments of other disbelieving Persons, and absolutely convince them of their Error, if they please to hear, without Prejudice, the plain, but most true Narration of it; which was thus.

Some time ago being in America, (in His then Majesty's service) I was lodg'd in the said *George Walton's* house, a Planter there, and on a Sunday night, about Ten a Clock, many stones were heard by myself, and the rest of the family, to be thrown and (with noise) hit against the top and all sides of the House, after he the said *Walton* had been at his fence-gate, which was between him and his Neighbour one *John Amazeen* an Italian, to view it; for it was again (as formerly it had been, (the manner how being unknown) wrung off the hinges, and cast upon the ground; and in his being there, and return home with several Persons of (and frequenting) his family and House, about a slight shot distance from the Gate, they were all assaulted with a peal of Stones, (taken, we conceive, from the Rocks Hard by the House) and this by unseen hands or Agents. For by this time I was come down to them, having Risen out of my bed at this strange alarm of all that were in the House, and do know that they all look'd out as narrowly as I did, or any Person could, (it being a Bright moon-light night) but cou'd make no Discovery. Thereupon, and

because there came many Stones, and those pretty great ones, some as big as my fist, into the Entry or Porch of the House, we withdrew into the next Room to the Porch, no person having Receiv'd any hurt, (Praised be Almighty Providence, for certainly the infernal agent, constant enemy to mankind, had he not been Over-Ruled, intended no less than Death or maim) save only that two Youths were hit, one on the Leg, the other on the Thigh, notwithstanding the stones came so thick, and so forcibly against the sides of so narrow a Room. Whilst we stood amazed at this Accident, one of the maidens imagined she saw them come from the Hall, next to that we were in, where searching, (and in the cellar, down out of the Hall), and finding nobody, another and myself observed two little stones in a short space successfully to fall on the floor, coming as from the Ceiling close by us, and we concluded it must necessarily be done by means extraordinary and preternatural. Coming again into the Room where we first were, (next the Porch) we had many of these lapidary salutations, but unfriendly ones; for, shutting the door, it was no small surprise to me to have a good big stone come with force and noise (just by my head) against the door on the inside; and then shutting the other door, next the Hall, to have the like accident; so going out again, upon a necessary Occasion, to have another very near my body, clattering against the Board-wall of the House; but it was a much greater, to be so near the danger of having my head broke with a Mall, or great Hammer brushing along the top or Roof of the Room from the other end, as I was walking in it, and lighting down by me; but it fell so, that my Landlord had the greatest damage, his windows (especially those of the first mention'd Room) being with many stones miserably and strangely batter'd, most of the stones giving the Blow on the inside, and forcing the Bars, Lead, and hasps of the casements outwards, and yet falling back (sometimes a yard or two) into the Room; only one little stone we took out of the glass of the window, where it lodg'd itself in the breaking it, in a hole exactly fit for the stone. The Pewter and Brass were frequently pelted, and sometimes thrown down upon the ground; for the evil spirit seem'd then to effect variety of Mischief, and diverted himself at this end after he had done so much execution at the other. So were two candlesticks, after many hittings, at last struck off the table where they stood, and likewise a large Pewter Pot, with the force of these stones. Some of them were taken up hot, and (it seems) coming out of the fire; and some (which is not unremarkable) having been laid by me upon the table along by couples, and numbered, were found missing; that is, two of them, as we return'd imme-

diately to the table, having turn'd our backs only to visit and view some new stone-charge or Window-breach and this experiment was four or five times repeated, and I still found one or two missing of the number, which we all mark'd, when I did but just Remove the light from off the table, and step to the door, and back again.

After this had continued in all the parts and sides of the first Room (and down the chimney) for above four hours, I, weary of the noise, and sleepy, went to Bed, and was no sooner fallen asleep, but was awakened with the unwelcome disturbance of another Battery of a different sort, it issuing with so prodigious a Noise against the thin Board-wall of my chamber, (which was within another) that I could not imagin it less than the fracture and downfall of great part of the chamber, or at least of the Shelves, Books, Pictures, and other things, placed on that side, and on the Partition-wall between the Anti-Chamber and the door of mine. But the noise immediately bringing up the company below, they assured me no mischief of that nature was done, and shewed me the biggest stone that had as yet been made use of in this unaccountable Accident, weighing eight Pounds and a half, that had burst open my chamber door with a Rebound from the floor, as by the dent and Bruise in it near the Door I found next morning, done, probably, to make the greater Noise, and give the more astonishment, which would sooner be effected by three motions, and consequently three several Sounds, viz., one on the Ground, the next to and on the Door, and the last from it again to the Floor, then if it had been one single Blow upon the door only; which (tis Probable) would have split the door, which was not Permitted, nor so much as a square of the glass-window broken or crack'd (at that time) in all the chamber. Glad thereof, and desiring them to leave me, and the door shut, as it was before, I endeavoured once more to take my Rest, and was once more prevented by the like Passage, with another like offensive weapon, it being a whole Brick that lay in the anti-chamber chimney, and used again to the same malicious purpose as before, and in the same manner too, as by the mark in the Floor, whereon was some of the dust of the Brick, broken a little at the end, apparant next morning. The Brick itself lying just at the door. However, after I had lain awhile harkning to their adventures below, I dropp'd asleep again and Receiv'd no further molestation that night.

In the morning (Monday morning) I was inform'd by several of the domesticks of more of the same kind of trouble; among which the most signal was, the vanishing of the spit which stood in the Chimney Corner, and the sudden coming of it again down the Chimney, sticking of it in a log

that lay in the fire-place or hearth; and then being by one of the family set by on the other side of the chimney, presently cast out of the window into the Back-side. Also a pressing-Iron lying on the ledge of the chimney Back, was convey'd invisibly into the yard. I should Think it (too) not unworthy the Relation, that; discoursing then with some of the family, and others, about what had past, I said, I thought it necessary to take and keep the great stone, as a proof and evidence, for they had taken it down from my Chambers; and so I carried it up, laid it on my table in my Chamber, and lock'd my door, and going out upon occasions, and soon Returning I was told by my landlady that it was a little while after my going forth, removed again, with a noise, which they all below heard, and was thrown into the anti-chamber, and there I found it lying in the middle of it; thereupon I the second time carried it up, and laid it on the table, and had it in my custody a long time to show, for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

There were many more stones thrown about in the house that morning, and more in the fields that day, where the master of the house was, and the men at Work. Some more Mr. Woodbridge, a minister, and myself, in the afternoon did see, (but could not any hand throwing them) lighting near, and jumping and tumbling on the grass: so did one Mrs. Clark, and her son, and several others; and some of them felt them too. One Person would not be perswaded but that the Boys at work might throw them, and strait her little boy standing by her was struck with a stone on the Back, which caused him to fall a crying, and her (being Convinc'd) to carry him away forthwith.

In the Evening, as soon as I had sup'd in the outer Room before mine, I took a little musical-Instrument, and began to touch it, (the door indeed was then set open for Air) and a good big stone came rumbling in, and as it were to lead the dance, but on a much different account than in the days of old, and of old fabulous Inchantments, my musick being none of the best. The noise of this brought up the Deputy-President's wife, and many others of the neighborhood That were below, who wonder' to see this stone followed (as it were) by many others, and a Pewter spoon among the Rest, all which fell strangely into the Room in their Presence, and were taken up by the Company. And beside all this, there were seen by two youths in the orchard and fields, as they said, a black cat, at the time the stones were toss'd about, and it was shot at, but missed, by its changing Places, and being immediately at some distance, and then out of sight, as they Related: Agreeable to which, it may not be improper to insert, what was observed by two maids, Grand-children of Mr. Walton on the Sunday

Night, the beginning of this Lithoboly. They did affirm, that as they were standing in the Poreh-Chamber window, they saw, as it were, a Person putting out a hand out of the Hall Window, as throwing stones toward the Poreh or Entry; and we all know that there was no Person in the hall except, at that Instant, myself and another having search'd dilligently there, and wondring whence those should come that were about the same time drop'd near us; so far we were from doing it ourselves, or seeing any other there to do it.

On Monday night, about the hour it first began there, were more stones thrown in the kitchen, and down the Chimney, one Captain Barefoot, of the Council for that Province, being present, with others; and also (as I was going up to bed) in an upper Chamber, and down those stairs.

Upon Tuesday night, about Ten, some five or six stones were severally thrown in the maid's chamber, near the kitchen, and the glass-Windows broke in three new places, and one of the maids hit as she lay. At the same time was heard by them, and two young men in the house, an odd, dismal sort of whistling, and thereupon the youths ran out, with intent to take the supposed thrower of stones, if Possible; and on the back-side near the window they heard the noise (as they said) of something stepping a little before them, as it were the trampling of a young colt, as they fancied, but saw nothing; and going on, could discover nothing but that the noise of the stepping or trampling was ceas'd, and then gone on a little before.

On Saturday morning I found two stones more on the stairs; and some were on Sunday night convey'd into the Room next the kitchen.

Upon Monday following Mr. Walton going (with his men) by water to some other land, in a place called the Great Bay, and to a house where his son was placed, they lay there that night, and the next morning had this adventure. As the men were all at work in the woods, felling wood, they were Visited with another set of stones, and they gathered up near upon a hat-full, and put them between two trees near adjoining, and returning from carrying wood, to the Boat, the hat and its contents (the stones) were gone, and the stones were presently after thrown about again, as before; and after search, found the hat press'd together, and lying under a square piece of timber at some distance from thence. They had them again at young Walton's House, and half a brick thrown into a cradle, out of which his young child was newly taken up.

Here it may seem most Proper to inform the Reader of a parallel passage, (viz.) what happened another time to my landlord in his Boat: wherein going up to the same place, (the great Bay) and

loading it with Hay for his own use at his own house, about the mid-way in the River (Pascataqua) he found his Boat began to be in a sinking Condition, at which being much surpriz'd, upon search, he discover'd the cause to be the pulling out a Plug or stopple in the Bottom of the Boat, being fixed there for the more convenient letting out of the Rain-water that might fall into it; a Contrivance and Combination of the old serpent and the old woman, or some other Witch or Wizard (in Revenge or innate enmity) to have drown'd both my good Landlord and his Company.

On Wednesday, as they were at work again in the Woods, on a sudden they heard something gingle like glass, or metal among the trees, as it was falling, and being fallen to the ground, they knew it to be a Stirrup which Mr. Walton had carried to the Boat, and laid under some wood; and this being again laid by him in that very Boat, it was again thrown after him. The third time, he having put it upon his Girdle or Belt he wore about his waste, buckled together before, but at that instant taken off because of the heat of the Weather, and laid there again buckled, it was fetch'd away, and no more seen. Likewise the Graper, or little anchor of the Boat, cast over-board, which caus'd the Boat to wind up; so staying and obstructing their Passage. Then the setting-Pole was divers times cast into the River, as they were coming from the Great Bay, which put them to the trouble of paddling, that is, rowing about for it as often to retrieve it.

Being come to his own house, this Mr. Walton was charged again with a fresh assault in the out-houses; but we heard of none within doors until Friday after, when, in the kitchen were 4 or 5 stones (one of them hot) taken out of the fire, as I conceive, and so thrown about. I was then present, being newly come in with Mr. Walton from his middle Field, (as he call'd it) where his servants had been mowing, and had six or seven of his old troublesome Companions, and I had one fall'n down by me there, and another thin flat stone hit me on the thigh with the flat side of it, so as to make me just feel, and to smart a little. In the same day's evening, as I was walking out in the lane by the field aforementioned, a great stone made a rusing noise in the stone-fence between the Field and the lane, which seem'd to me (as it caus'd me to cast my eye that way by the noise) to come out of the fence, as it were Pull'd out from among those Stones loose, but orderly laid close together, as the manner of such fences in that Country is, and so fell down upon the ground.

Some Persons of note being then in the field (whose names are here under-written) to visit Mr. Walton there, are substantial witnesses of the same stonery, both in the field, and afterward in

the house that night, viz. one Mr. Hussey, Son of a Counsellor there. He took up one that having first alighted on the ground, with rebound from thence hit him on the heel; and he keeps it to show. And Captain Barefoot, mentioned above, has that which (among other stones) flew into the Hall a little before supper; which myself also saw as it first came in at the upper part of the door into the middle of the Room; and then (tho' a good flat stone, yet) was seen to rowl over and over, as if trundled, under a bed in the same Room. In short, these Persons, being Wonderously affected with the Strangeness of these Passages, offer'd themselves (desiring me to take them) as Testimonies; I did so, and made a Memorandum, by way of Record, thereof, to this effect, Viz.

"These Persons underwritten do hereby attest the truth of their being Eye-witnesses of at least half a score stones that evening thrown invisibly into the field, and in the entry of the House, Hall, and one of the chambers of George Walton's, viz.:

Samuel Jennings, Esq; Governour of West Jersey.

Walter Clark, Esq; Deputy-Governour of Road-Island.

Mr. Arthur Cook.

Mr. Matt. Borden of Road-Island.

Mr. Oliver Hooton of Barbados, Merchant.

Mr. T. Maul of Salem in New England, Merchant.

Captain Walter Barefoot.

Mr. John Hussey.

And the wife of the said Mr. Hussey."

On Saturday, July 24. One of the family at the usual hour at Night, observ'd some few (not above half a dozen) of these natural (or rather unnatural) Weapons to fly into the kitchen, as formerly; but some of them in an unusual manner lighting gently on him, or coming towards him so easily, as that he took them before they fell to the ground. I think there was not any thing more that night Remarkable. But as if the malicious Dæmon had laid up for Sunday and Monday, then it was that he began (more furiously than formerly) with a great stone in the kitchen, and so continued with throwing down the Pewter-Dishes &c. great part of it all at once come Clattering down, without the stroke of a stone, little or great, to move it. Then about Midnight this impious Operation not ceasing, but trespassing with a *continuando*, 2 very great stones weighing above 30 pound a piece, (that used to lye in the kitchen, in or near the Chimny), were in the former, wonted, rebounding manner, let fly against my desk and wall in the ante-chamber, but with some little distance of time. This thundering noise must needs bring up the men from below, as before, (I need not say to wake me) to

tell me the effect, which was the beating down several Pictures, and displacing abundance of things about my chamber: but the Repetition of this Cannon-Play by these great rumbling Engines, now ready at hand for the purpose, and the like additional disturbance by four Bricks that lay in the outer-Room Chimney (one of which having been so employ'd the first Sunday night, as has been said) made me despair of taking Rest, and so forced me to Rise from my bed. Then finding my door burst open, I also found many stones, and great Pieces of Bricks, to fly in, breaking the glass windows, and a paper-light, sometimes Inwards, sometimes outwards: so hitting the door of my Chamber as I came through the ante-chamber, lighting very near me as I was fetching the candlestick, and afterward the candle being struck out, as I was going to light it again. So a little after, coming up for another Candle, and being at the Stare-foot door, a wooden mortar, with a great noise struck against the floor, and was just at my feet, only not touching me, moving from the other end of the kitchen where it used to lye. And when I came up my self, and two more of the same house, we heard a whistling, as it were near us in the outer Room, several times. Among the rest of the tools made use of to disturb us, I found an old card for dressing flax in my chamber. Now for Monday night, (June 26) one of the severest. The disturbance began in the kitchen with stones; then as I was at supper above in the ante-chamber, the Window near which I sat at table was broken in 2 or 3 parts of it inwards, and one of the stones that broke it flew in, and I took it up at the further end of the Room. The manner is observable; for one of the squares was broke into 9 or 10 small square pieces, as if it had been regularly mark'd out into such even squares by a workman, to the end some of these little pieces might fly in my face, (as they did) and give me a surprize, but without any hurt. In the meantime it went on in the kitchen, whither I went down, for company, all or most of the family, and a neighbour being there; where many stones (some great ones) came thick and three fold among us, and an old hoving Iron, from a Room hard by, where such utensils lay. Then, as if I had been the design'd object for that time, most of the stones that came (the smaller I mean) hit me, (sometimes pretty hard) to the number of above 20, near 30, as I remember, and whether I remov'd, sit, or walk'd, I had them, and great ones sometimes lighting gently on me, and in hand and lap as I sat, and falling to the ground, and some times thumping against the wall, as near as could be to me, without touching me. There was a Room over the Kitchen infested, that had not been so before, and many stones greater than usual lumbering there

over our heads, not only to ours, but to the great disturbance and affrightment of some children that lay there. And for variety there were sometimes three great, distinct knocks, sometimes five such rounds as with a great maul, reiterated divers times.

On Tuesday night (June 28) we were quiet: but not so on Wednesday, when the stones were play'd about in the House. And on Thursday morning I found some things that hung on nails on the wall in my Chamber, viz. a Spherical Sundial, &c. lying on the ground, as knock'd down by some brick or stone in the ante-Chamber. But my landlord had the worst of that day, tho' he kept the field, being there Invisibly hit above 40 times, as he affirm'd to me, and he Receiv'd some show'd hurtful Blows on the Back, and other Parts, which he much complain'd of, and said he thought he should have reason to do, even to his dying day; and I observ'd that he did so, he being departed this life since.

Besides this, Plants of Indian corn were struck up by the Roots almost, just as if they had been cut with some edged Instrument, Whereas *re vera* they were seen to be eradicated, or rooted up with nothing but the very stones, altho' the injurious Agent was altogether unseen. And a sort of noise like that of Snorting and whistling, was heard near the men at work in the fields many times, whereof I my self going thither, and being there, was witness of; and Parting thence I Receiv'd a pretty hard Blow with a stone on the calf of my leg. So it continued that day in two fields where they were severally at work; and my landlord told me, he often heard likewise a humming noise in the air by him, as of a bullet discharg'd from a gun; and so said a servant of his that work'd with him.

Upon Saturday, (July 1) as I was going to visit my neighbour Capt. Barefoot, and just at his door his man saw, as well as myself, 3 or 4 Stones fall just by us in the field, or close, where the house stands, and not any other Person near us. At night a great stone fell in the kitchen, as I was going to Bed, and the Pewter was thrown down; many Stones flew about, and the Candles by them put out 3 or 4 times, and the snorting heard; a negro maid hit on the head in the entry between the kitchen and Hall with a Porringer from the kitchen: also the pressing-Iron clattered against the Partition Wall between the Hall and a chamber beyond it, where I lay, and Mr. Randolph, his Majesty's Officer for the Customs, &c.

Some few stones we had on Sunday morning, (July 2) none at night. But on Monday morning (the 3d) both Mr. Walton, and 5 or 6 with him in the field, were assaulted with them, and their ears with the old snorting and whistling.

In the afternoon Mr. Walton was hit on the Back with stones very grievously, as he was in his boat that lay at a Cove side by his house. It was a very odd Prank that was Practis'd by the Devil a little while after this. One night the cocks of hay, made the day before in the Orchard, was spread all abroad, and some of the hay thrown up into the Trees, and some of it brought into the house and scatter'd. Two logs that lay at the door, laid, one of them by the Chimny in the kitchen; the other set against the door of the Room where Mr. Walton then lay, as on purpose to Confine him therein: A form that stood in the entry (or Poreh) was set along by the fire side, and a joint stool upon that, with a napking spread thereon, with two Pewter Pots, and two Candle-sticks: A cheese-Press likewise having a spit thrust into one of the holes of it, at one end; and at the other end of the spit hung an Iron kettle; and a Cheese was taken out, and broke to pieces. Another thing, I full well remember 'twas on a Sunday at night, my window was all broke with a Violent shock of stones and brick-bats, which scarce miss'd my self; among these one huge one made its way through the great square or slash of a case-ment, and broke a great hole in it, throwing down books by the way, from the window to a picture over against it, on the other side of the chamber, and tore a hole quite through it about half a foot long, and the piece of the cloth hung by a little part of it, on the back-side of the Picture.

After this we were pretty quiet, saving now and then a few stones march'd about for exercise, and to keep (as it were) the Diabolical hand in use, till July 28, being Friday, when about 40 stones flew about, abroad, and in the house and Orchard, and among the trees therein, and a window broke before, was broke again, and one Room where they never used before.

August 1. On Wednesday the window in my ante-Chamber was broke again, and many stones were plaid about, abroad, and in the house, in the daytime, and at night. The same day in the morning they tried this experiment; they did set on the fire a pot with Urine, and cooked pins in it, with design to have it boil, and by that means to give punishment to the witch or wizard, (that might be the wicked Procmr or Contriver of this stone affliction) and take off their own; as they had been advised. This was the effect of it: As the liquor began to grow hot, a stone came and broke the top or mouth of it, and threw it down, and spilt what was in it; which being made good again, another stone, as the pot grew hot again, broke the handle off; and being recruited and fill'd the third time, was then with a third stone quite broke to pieces and split, and so the operation became frustrate and fruitless.

On August 2. Two stones in the afternoon I heard and saw my self in the house and Orchard; and another window in the house was broke. And as I was entering my own chamber, a great square of Casement, being a foot square, was broke, with the noise as of a big stone, and pieces of glass flew into the Room, but no stone came in there from within or without. At night, as I, with others, were in the kitchen, many more came in, and one great stone that lay on a spinning-wheel to keep it steady, was thrown to the other side of the Room. Several Neighbours then present were ready to testify this matter.

Upon August 3. On Thursday the gate between my said landlord and his Neighbour John Amazeen was taken off again and thrown into Amazeen's field, who heard it fall, and averr'd it then made a noise like a great gun.

On Friday the 4th, the fence against Mr. Walton's neighbour's door, (the woman of whom formerly there was great suspicion, and thereupon examination had, as appears upon record;) this fence being maliciously pull'd down to let their cattle into his ground; he and his servants were pelted with above 40 stones as they went to put it up again; for she had often threatened that he should never enjoy his house and land. Mr. Walton was hit divers times, and all that day in the field, as they were Reaping, it ceas'd not, and their fell (by the men's computation) above an hundred stones. A woman helping to reap (among the rest) was hit 9 or 10 times, and hurt to that degree, that her left arm, Hip, thigh, and leg, were made black and blue therewith; which she showed to the woman, Mrs. Walton, and others. Mr. Woodbridge, a divine, coming to give me a Visit, was hit about the hip, and one Mr. Jefferys a Merchant, who was with him, on the leg. A window in the kitchen that had been much batter'd before, was now quite broke out, and unwindow'd, no glass or lead at all being left: a Glass Bottle broke to pieces, and the Pewter dishes (about 9 of them) thrown down, and bent.

On Saturday the 5th, as they were reaping in the field, three sickles were crack'd and broke by the force of these lapidary Instruments of the devil, as the sickles were in the Reapers hands, on purpose (it seems) to obstruct their labour, and do them injury and damage. And very many stones were cast about that day; insomuch, that some that assisted at that Harvest work, being struck with them, by reason of that disturbance left the field, but were followed by their invisible Adversaries to the next house.

On Sunday, being the 6th, there fell nothing considerable, nor on Monday, (7th) save only one of the children hit with a stone on the Back. We were quiet to Tuesday the 8th. But on Wednes-



day (9th) above 100 Stones (as they verily thought) repeated the Reapers disquiet in the corn-field, whereof some were affirm'd by Mr. Walton to be great ones indeed, near as big as a man's head; and Mrs. Walton, his Wife, being by curiosity led thither, with Intent also to make some discovery by the most diligent and vigilant Observation she could use, to obviate the idle Incredulity some inconsiderate Persons might irrationally entertain concerning this venefical Operation; or at least to confirm her own sentiments and Belief of it. Which she did, but to her Cost; for she Received an untoward Blow (with a stone) on her shoulder. There were likewise two sickles bent, crack'd, and disabled with them, beating them violently out of their hands that held them; and this reiterated three times successively.

After this we enjoy'd our former peace and quiet, unmolested by these stony Disturbances, that whole month of August, excepting some few times; and the last of all in the month of September, (the beginning thereof) wherein Mr. Walton himself only (the Original perhaps of this strange Adventure, as has been declared) was the designed concluding sufferer; who going in his Canoe (or Boat) from the Great Island, where he dwelt, to Portsmouth, to attend the Council, who had taken Cognizance of this matter, he being summoned thither, in order to his and the Suspect's Examination, and the Courts taking order thereabout, he was sadly lit with three pebble stones as big as ones fist; one of which broke his head, which I saw him show to the President of the Council; the others gave him that Pain on the Back, of which (with other like strokes) he complained then, and afterward to his death.

Who, that peruses these præternatural Occurrences can possibly be so much an Enemy to his own Soul, and irrefutable Reason, as obstinately to oppose himself to, or confusedly fluctuate in, the Opinion and doctrine of Dæmons, and Spirits and Witches; certainly he that do's so, must do two things more: He must temerarily unhinge, or undermine the best Religion in the World; and he must disingenuously quit and abandon that of the three Theologick Virtues or Graces, to which the great Doctor of the Gentils gave the precedence, Charity, through his unchristian and uncharitable Incredulity.

[The preceding rare tract details operations very like more modern cases. There seems to be very little known of it, although the author refers to judicial proceedings in regard to it. Our correspondents in New Hampshire may find some trace of them, and we shall be happy to insert them.

The free use of the names of well-known and prominent men, seems to preclude the idea that the whole is fictitious, which might occur to many from the fact of the tract appearing abroad and almost anonymously. It is dedicated to Mart. Lumley, Esq., and has also a poetical address in the beginning.]

ROGEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE FLORIDA MISSION (1569-70).

FATHER JUAN ROGEL, the writer of the following letter, was born of a noble family in Pamplona,\* and after taking the degrees of Licentiate of Arts and Bachelor of Medicine, entered the Society of Jesus at Valencia (April, 1554), studied theology in the Jesuit college at Gaudia, and was in 1566 stationed at the Professed House in Toledo. When, at the request of the king to Francisco de Borja (dated Madrid, March 3, 1566), the first Jesuits were sent out to Florida, he was one of the two companions of Father Martinez (sailed July 28, 1566). After the murder of the latter (Sept. 28, 1566), he retired to Havana and applied himself to the languages of South Florida. From the following spring, till June, 1569, when the present letter takes up the thread of his history, he was occupied among the various tribes of the peninsula.

The account was written for the Adelantado, and was preserved in the archives of the Jesuit college at Alcañá-de-Henares. It is the original authority of Barcia's account of these missions, and is the only description of them ever published by any of the Jesuit priests. I translate it from Bartholomé Alcazar, "Chrono-Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus en la Prov. de Toledo," Dec. III., Año VIII., cap. iv., § ii. D. G. B.

WEST CHESTER, Penn.

[Translation.]

May the grace and love of Jesus Christ ever remain in the soul of your Highness, amen. Truly do I wish I had better news to write your Highness, since your Highness labors so much and with such holy zeal. But it appears that the Lord in his mysterious judgment, ordains that neither the desires, toils, nor charges of your Highness, nor our industry, should yield any return. Let Him be forever blessed. May it please God that my great sins be not the impediment.

I shall proceed to give your Highness an account of what I have been about since we were at Sancta Elena, in the June of '69. Having settled at Sancta Elena, as soon as the vice-provincial† ordered me, I went to reside with Orista, going with much joy from the desire and great hopes I had that we should accomplish much. At first my hopes were greatly increased on perceiving that their customs and manner of living were so much better than those of Carlos ‡. When I found each Indian married to only one wife, assisting in the tillage of the fields, maintaining and ruling their children and households with much

\* A history of the house of Rogel was written by Hernando Davila, but has remained *inédite*.

† Juan Bautista de Segura.

‡ The Caloosas.

care, not addicted to the crime against nature, neither incestuous, nor cruel, nor thieves, dealing among themselves with great justice, truth, and gentleness, I gave God thanks; for it seemed to me that we had obtained our desire, and that the delay would be rather in my learning their language in order to declare to them the mysteries of our Holy Faith, than in any hesitation on their part to accept it and become Christians.\* Therefore I and three others who were with me applied ourselves diligently to its study, and with such success that in six months I was able to speak and preach in it. At the end of this time I commenced declaring and expounding to them such truths of our holy religion as are manifest by the light of nature, such as the unity of God, His power and majesty, that He is the cause and creator of all things, how He loves what is good and abhors evil; and also certain truths that our Faith teaches us, as rewards and punishments in another life, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the dead.

At first they seemed to listen with some attention, and asked questions, although very silly ones, such as, whether God had a wife, and such like. At this season they were congregated together, but when the acorns ripened, they left me quite alone, all going to the forests, each one to his own quarter, and only met together for certain festivals, which occurred every two months,† and this not always in the same spot, but now in one place, now in another. I attempted to attend these festivals and meetings to see if I could not proceed in my work; but instead of improving, they grew worse and worse, jesting at what I told them. Nevertheless I persevered, thinking to persuade them in the spring, at the time of planting maize, to put in sufficient to last them, so that the subjects of one cacique could remain in the same place for the whole year. To win them to this the more certainly, I offered to furnish them iron spades to dig with, and as much maize as they wanted to sow, and proposed that they should sow it at the place where we were, as farming land there was abundant and very good for that country, which is very sterile. For this purpose I brought eight spades, and Esteban de las Alas gave me five more, and there were twenty houses already built there. I published this throughout the tribe. But the result was, that after having promised me many times to come and plant, the inhabitants of these twenty

houses scattered themselves in twelve or thirteen different villages, some twenty leagues apart, some ten, some six, and some four. Only two families remained. For all this I did not despair, but labored in those two families to do what good I could, preaching and exhorting, assisting and making much of them.

At the end of eight months, after I had told them how they must believe in God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in Jesus Christ our Lord, and why we Christians adored the cross, and they continued to show me great love and friendship (for I protected them as much as I could, and they were glad to have us for interpreters), and I thought I had obtained their goodwill, I commenced to tell them that to become sons of God, they must become enemies of the Demon, for he is evil and loves all evil things, but God is good and loves all good things. When I began to speak thus, they became greatly displeased, and so bitter was the hatred that they conceived against me, that they refused to see or hear me any more, and told those who were with me that they were very much offended, and disbelieved every word I said, since I had spoken evil of the Demon, for the Demon was so good that there was nothing better than he. Soon these two families left, and on being asked why they were going, they replied, because I spoke evil of the Demon.\*

After they had departed, I made a journey to other caciques, promising them that if they would be Christians and receive me among them, I would live with them where they were, and teach them the law of God; but if they would not, I had made up my mind to return to Spain. But none of them responded to me. And at a general meeting of most of the subjects of Orista on the Rio Dulce,† I repeated these words. They all commenced to look sorrowful and to say to me: Since you tell us that you love us so much, yet do you wish to go from among us? so that truly I thought to have lost my life. Seeing how the matter stood, I changed my discourse, and managing them like children, escaped in safety back to my post. There I determined to remain till the Vice Provincial should arrive and signify what he wished me to do.

This was already at the end of June, and it happened that just at this time the ensign Juan de la Bandera, lieutenant-governor of your Highness at Sancta Elena, went to a festival at Escamacu, and, compelled by necessity, ordered three or four caciques, among them Escamacu,

\* By the Demon, *el Demonio*, Rogel means the supernatural power which the Indians had been accustomed to worship; a use of the word common in the Spanish writers.

† The Fresh Water River. Does he refer to the Savannah?

\* These Indians belonged to that branch of the Muskogeh or Creeks, later known as the Yemassee, who at the time of the first settlements occupied the banks of the Savannah river, near its mouth, and the low country of South Carolina.

† A curious description of one of these is preserved by Laudonniere, "L'Hist. Not. de la Floride," p. 43, seq.

Orista, and Hoya,\* to bring some canoe loads of maize to Sancta Elena on a certain day. About the same time I learned from the ensign, that not having enough to eat, he would be obliged to send forty soldiers among the Indians, to be maintained until a ship should arrive. Now, as I knew very well that if I was among the Indians they would apply to me to rid them of this vexation; and as I also knew that I could be of no avail, as the Christians were forced to this measure by necessity; and as, on the other hand, I saw no prospect nor hope of their conversion, and that to remain there was idle and useless; and knowing that unless I favored the natives they would molest me, it being obvious that when so many soldiers came among them they would mutiny, and wreak their rage upon me, which they could very safely do; and as in addition to this the Vice Provincial had ordered me to return to Sancta Elena on the first appearance of danger; considering all these things, and having commended it to God, and celebrated some masses, I determined with great grief of heart to pull down my house and church some eight or ten days before the arrival of the soldiers, and to set out with my little pack to Sancta Elena, repeating, however, to the Indians, that if they wished to be Christians, that they should send for me, that I would return, that they should build me another house, and that I would live among them. Thus I took leave of them on the thirteenth day of July, of the present year, 1570. A few days afterwards the ensign sent the soldiers, and every thing turned out precisely as we had foreseen. For Escamacu, and Orista, and all those Indians revolted immediately, and continued to make trouble, till the Captain Pedro Melendez Marques and Estaban de las Alas succeeded in pacifying them with gifts and toys. After I had departed, Orista came to visit me. I told him that I had left because they would not become Christians, but if they would be such, I was ready to set out that very day and return with him. But he did not tear my cassock in his anxiety for me to go.

Your Highness may learn from this my way of action with the Indians, as well as the scanty return, and little likelihood of their becoming Christians unless God our Lord miraculously interposes. The main reason for this is, that for nine out of the twelve months they wander about without any fixed abode. Even then, if they only went together, there would be some hope that, going with them, by ceaseless iteration one might make some impression, like drops of water on a hard stone. But each one takes his own road. Thus have I experienced the opposite of

the persuasion your Highness has so much at heart, namely, that the Gospel will readily take root in this land. It is my opinion that to win any of the blind and wretched souls of these provinces, it is first requisite that the Indians be collected together in towns, and cultivate the land sufficiently to provide themselves with food for the whole year, and when once firmly fixed, then let preaching be introduced. Unless this be done, missionaries may labor among them for fifty years, and will never achieve any thing more than we have these four years that we have been at work, which is merely nothing at all, not even a hope or a semblance of success. And let your Highness understand that to congregate them together thus is a work of time and difficulty, as it must be done in a lawful manner, and as God our Lord commands it, not by compulsion nor an armed hand. This for two reasons: First, because they have been accustomed to this kind of life for thousands of years, and it would almost kill them to tear them rudely from it; and secondly, if they were willing, the nature of the soil would not permit it, as it is poor and barren and easily wears out; and they themselves say that it is for this reason that they live so scattered and wander so much.

I conclude therefore that unless the Lord interposes in a way unknown to us (which He may very well do), of human means none seems to me possible, except the one I mention, and even to this there are these drawbacks. Your Highness has already seen how we labored in Carlos; and also at Tocobaga\* the Gospel was preached; and a settlement was made in Tequesta;† and in these parts, speaking through interpreters, nothing whatever was accomplished. This door being shut, we all hastened to the other which was opened, and there went about it in a different way, going among them alone, studying the language, and declaring to them in it the mysteries of our Holy Faith. Brother Domingo Augustin was in Guale‡ for more than a year, and learned that tongue so thoroughly that he composed a grammar of it, and then died.§ Father Sedeño was there fourteen months, the Father Vice Provincial six, Brother Francisco ten, and Father Alamo four; and all accomplished nothing whatever. They only baptized seven souls, four of them children, and all at the point of

\* On Old Tampa Bay, two leagues from the main.

† On the southeastern extremity of the peninsula.

‡ Now known as Amelia Island.

§ Domingo Augustin Vaez, a native of the Canary Islands, came over to Florida with Segura, in 1568. It thus appears that the honor of having drawn up the first grammar of any aboriginal tongue north of Mexico, is due to him, and not to Sedeño, as I erroneously stated through a mis-reading of Barcia (p. 138), in my Notes on the Florida Peninsula, pp. 42 and 152.

\* In these chiefs we recognize the Audusta, Maccou, and Hoya of Ribaut's first voyage (1552). See the "Histoire Notable," pp. 41, 42, 50, 55.

death.\* I have been out fourteen months, and I assure your Highness that almost did God our Lord work miracles visibly, so that these wretched souls came to me in their afflictions to beg that I would pray God to spare them; yet with all this they were so hard-hearted, and had such an aversion to our teaching, that it annoyed them for us to learn their tongue, and after I had commenced to disclose to them who the Demon was, rarely or never would they answer correctly any thing I asked them concerning the language. The same thing was also told me by the fathers who labored in Guale.

At present the father Vice Provincial has gone to Axacan with Don Luis; they are nine in number, five of the Society, and four youths who have been instructed. He left orders for me to reside here meanwhile till further directions; and ordered Father Sedeño to come with us as far as the forts, and there remain to take charge of the boys that the subjects of Satureba and Tacataenuruf promised to bring in. But we found the forts in such wretched plight, and the neighboring Indians so hostile, that, as will be written you at greater length by Pedro Marques, it did not appear safe to remain there, and so he came with us to Havana; and also because it was necessary to bring with us the sloop in which he had to return to Sancta Elena. If the Lord grant that a door be opened in Axacan, we stand prepared to do what the V. P. shall command. May it please God to give him such good direction, as to open up to him such an abundant harvest that he may send for us all to go there and labor with him. He commanded me to take care and remind the proper persons (*esos Señores*) to send some vessel in the spring to visit them.

Such, your Highness, is what I had to tell you about what I have done, which, after all, amounts to nothing at all. But let your Highness be consoled, and rest assured that God our Lord will reward all the labor that has been expended here, just as richly as if the whole of Florida had been converted. May His blessing ever rest upon your Highness, and may he prosper you in all good things, both temporal and spiritual, augmenting your life and honors even as much as this his useless servant wishes. From Havana, the 9th of December, of the year 1570. From your Highness' useless servant in the Lord.

JUAN ROGEL.

\* Todos estando á la muerte. Barcia says, "los tres estando á la muerte."

† Satureba lived on the coast north of the St. John's River; Tacataenru was the name of a small island at the mouth of that river, the scene of the martyrdom of Father Martinez. Pareja speaks of a tribe named Tacurru, apparently in this vicinity (Hervas, Catal. de las Lenguas conoçidas, tom. 1., p. 587). The forts referred to are San Augustin and San Mattheo.

## A CHAPLAIN OF THE REVOLUTION.

MEMOIRS OF THE REV. JOHN GANO.

THE Rev. John Gano was of French origin, his first ancestors in this country having been settled at New Rochelle, Westchester county, N. Y. He was born at Hopewell, New Jersey, and began his career as a Baptist clergyman in Virginia; he labored also in New Jersey and the Carolinas. In December, 1760, he became clergyman of the Baptist church, in Philadelphia, and the next year removed to New York. Here he continued in charge of the Baptist congregation till the Revolution broke out. After the war he again collected his flock, but soon after removed to Kentucky, where he died, August 10, 1804, in the 78th year of his age.

In 1790, at the instance of one of his sons, he wrote a sketch of his life, which was printed at New York, in 1806, under the title of "Biographical Memoirs of the late Rev. John Gano, of Frankfort, (Kentucky,) formerly of the City of New York. Written principally by himself. New York: Tiebout, 1806." Pp. 151. From this now rare volume we extract the following account of his Revolutionary services:

"The war now coming on, obliged the church to separate, and many removed from the city, in almost every direction through the Union. I was invited by Mr. Peter Brown, of Horseneck, in the edge of Connecticut, to remove my family to his house, as he understood I was determined to remain in the city till the enemy entered it; the British fleet were in the Narrows, and part of their troops were landing on Long and Staten Islands.

I was invited to become chaplain of the regiment belonging to Colonel Charles Webb, of Stamford, and Lieut.-col. Charles Hall. This I declined. They then proposed to me to come to their regiment, which lay a little distance from the city, and preach to them one service on Lord's-day, and attend them every morning. To this I acceded.

The enemy's shipping took possession both of the North and East Rivers, and clearly evinced their determination of landing their troops. This left me no possible opportunity of getting my household furniture; I was obliged, therefore, to retire precipitately to our camp. The next day, after a little skirmishing, the British took possession of the city, and our army was driven to Harlem Heights. From thence after a few more skirmishes, we had to retreat to King's-bridge, in West Chester, leaving at Fort Washington a garrison of about fifteen hundred men, all of whom, a little after, fell a sacrifice to the British. From King's-bridge we retreated to White-plains, where

General Washington had the greater part of his army, excepting those that were employed in Pennsylvania. On the heights of White-plains we had a warm though partial battle; for not a third of our army, or probably of theirs, was brought to action. My station, in time of action, I knew to be among the surgeons; but in this battle, I, somehow, got in front of the regiment; yet I durst not quit my place, for fear of damping the spirits of the soldiers or of bringing on me an imputation of cowardice. Rather than do either, I chose to risk my fate. This circumstance gave an opportunity to the young officers of talking; and I believe it had a good effect on some of them. From this place, we withdrew in a few days to North Castle, and encamped not far from the Presbyterian meeting-house, which was made an hospital for the sick and wounded. I obtained a furlough to visit my family for a few days; and upon my return found all the army gone from the place, except one poor soldier, whom I found at the hospital with a bottle of water at his side.

The British had passed through New Jersey towards Philadelphia; and had garrisoned a body of men at Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, where they had quartered the chief part of their Hessian troops. General Washington had passed over the Delaware with a part of his army, and encamped in Newton, in Pennsylvania; and had ordered the remainder, which I belonged to, and which General Lee commanded, to come after him. We marched through Morristown and Baskinridge in New Jersey, where General Lee was taken in the night in the outskirts of our army. The command then devolved on General Glover, who led us through Aimwell over the Delaware to General Washington's Army.

Our troops principally consisted of men enlisted for the year, and the militia. General Washington gave orders for the army to march in the evening across the Delaware to Trenton and attack the Hessians. In this attack eleven hundred Hessians were taken prisoners. The time for which our troops were engaged being out, General Washington visited the various regiments and requested them to serve six weeks longer. In that time, he said, he expected a reinforcement, with an army raised either for three years or during the war. Our affairs were principally conducted by State Congresses. The British hearing of our army being at Trenton, marched their troops after us; and the two armies met at Prince Town, where a skirmish took place, and the British retreated to Brunswick. Here General Washington with a handful of men kept the British in close quarters for the remainder of the year.

Six weeks being now expired, and we about to

return home, the colonel and officers of the regiment requested to know if I would join them provided they should raise another body of men. I answered them in the affirmative, but on my return home, I found a letter from Colonel Dubosque, who was stationed at Fort Montgomery, on the bank of North River opposite Fishkill. On the receipt of this letter I set off to the colonel's regiment, to refuse the invitation therein contained. On my arrival there, I found General James Clinton, in company with the colonel, both of whom urged me to accept the office of chaplain, in so forcible a manner, that I finally consented. I repaired to the fort, where I remained till the British took it from us by storm.

The North River was a great object both to the Americans and the enemy. For while we had the command of it, the eastern and southern States could operate to great advantage; but if the enemy could control it, it would involve us in great difficulties and embarrassments. They were therefore anxious to have their army come from Canada to Albany, and their navy to take possession of North River, and thereby form a junction with each other. Their navy sailed up the river and landed their soldiers, amounting to about five thousand men. We had both in Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton but about seven hundred men. We had been taught to believe that we should be reinforced in time of danger, from the neighboring militia; but they were at this time very inactive. We heard of the approach of the enemy, and that they were about a mile and a half from Fort Clinton. That fort sent out a small detachment, which was immediately driven back. The British army surrounded both our forts and commenced a universal firing. I was walking on the breastwork, viewing their approach, but was obliged to quit the station, as the musketballs frequently passed me. I observed the enemy marching up a little hollow, that they might be secured from our firing until they came within eighty yards of us. Our breastwork immediately before them, was not more than waistband high, and we had but a few men. The enemy kept up a heavy firing, till our men gave them a well-directed fire, which affected them very sensibly. Just at this time we had a reinforcement from a redoubt next to us, which obliged the enemy to withdraw. I walked to an eminence, where I had a good prospect, and saw the enemy advancing towards our gate. This gate faced Fort Clinton, and Captain Moody, who commanded a piece of artillery at that fort, seeing our desperate situation, gave the enemy a charge of grape-shot, which threw them into great confusion. Moody repeated his charge, which entirely dispersed them for that time.

About sunset the enemy sent a couple of flags,

into each of our forts, demanding an immediate surrender, or we should all be put to the sword. General George Clinton, who commanded in Fort Montgomery returned for answer, that the latter was preferable to the former, and that he should not surrender the fort. General James Clinton, who commanded in Fort Clinton, answered the demand in the same manner. A few minutes after the flag had returned, the enemy commenced a very heavy firing, which was answered by our army. The dusk of the evening, together with the smoke, and the rushing in of the enemy, made it impossible for us to distinguish friend from foe. This confusion gave us an opportunity of escaping through the enemy over the breastwork. Many escaped to the water's side and got on board a scow and pushed off. Before she had got twice her length, we grappled one of our row-galleys into which we all got and crossed the river. We arrived safe at New Windsor; where in a few days after we were joined by some more of our army who had escaped from the forts. By our return we had lost, killed and taken prisoners, about three hundred men. The enemy, as we afterwards understood, had one thousand or eleven hundred killed, among whom were eighteen captains and one or two field-officers, besides a great number of wounded.

When we arrived at New Windsor, I obtained a furlough, to visit my family, who then lived at New Fairfield, where was born my daughter Susannah, on the 8th of November, 1777, and from whence, after tarrying a few days, I departed for the army.

The command of the North River, as I before said, was a great object with the Americans as well as the enemy. The British, therefore, made every exertion to unite their northern and southern armies. A spy was dispatched from Sir Henry Clinton, to obtain information of our situation. But providentially for us, the spy was apprehended, and the enemy's scheme frustrated. Their northern army was captured at Bennington, on their way to Albany, principally by the New England militia under the command of General Gates. I obtained another furlough to visit my family, but as our army was encamped near a meeting-house, I was ordered to visit them and preach. My family removed to New Milford, where I often preached when on a visit to them.

At the opening of the next campaign, General Clinton's brigade consisted of two regiments from New York, one from New England, and one from New Jersey, neither of which had a chaplain. I was therefore constituted chaplain to the brigade, by General Clinton, and soon after commissioned as such by Congress. During this campaign the principal operations of the enemy were in Pennsylvania and New England. In the latter they burnt part of

Old Stratfield and attacked Danbury, where they were so warmly repulsed that with difficulty they escaped. At the close of the campaign Gen. Clinton's brigade was ordered to take winter-quarters in Albany. While we remained there, a message came from our troops which lay at Canajoharie to General Clinton, requesting to let me go and spend a little time with them. To this the general consented, and I went. When I got there, they asked me to preach; and wished I would dwell a little more on politics than I commonly did. In one of my discourses, I took the words of Moses to his father-in-law: "*Come, go thou with us, and we will do thee good; for he that seeketh my life, seeketh thy life, but with us thou shalt be in safeguard.*"

About this time the western expedition was meditated, to be conducted by General Sullivan. General Maxfield, of New Jersey, was to go up the Susquehanna and form a junction with General Clinton. General Banis's brigade, from New England, to go to Otsego, at the head of the Susquehanna, and wait for orders, to come down the river with flat-bottomed boats, which were for the conveyance of troops and provisions. Accordingly, one hundred and eight boats were provided, and went up the North and Mohawk rivers to Canajoharie. From thence they were carried through woods and swamps sixteen miles to Otsego, which forms the Susquehanna. While some of the army were cutting and preparing the road for the conveyance of the boats, the general sent others to dam the outlet, which was so effectually done that the whole lake was raised three or four feet. We encamped at Otsego for five or six weeks previous to our receiving orders for marching. We lay here on the fourth of July, and the officers insisted on my preaching, which I did from these words: "*This day shall be a memorial unto you throughout your generations.*" On this occasion the soldiery behaved with the most decency that I ever knew them to during the war. Some of them usually absented themselves from worship on Lord's-day, and the only punishment they were subjected to was the digging up of stumps, which, in some instances, had a good effect.

Our troops, both officers and privates, grew extremely impatient of remaining so inactive, fearing the campaign would fall through. The general informed me that he had received orders to move, and that he should do it on the next Monday. He requested me not to mention it, till after service the next day, which was Sunday. I preached to them from these words: "*Being ready to depart on the morrow.*" As soon as service was closed, the general rose up and ordered each captain to appoint a certain number of men out of his company to draw the boats from the lake and string them along the Susquehanna, be-

low the dam and load them, that they might be ready to depart the next morning. Notwithstanding the dam had been opened several hours, yet the swell it had occasioned in the river served to carry the boats over the shoals and flats, which would have been impossible otherwise. It was at that time very dry; it was therefore matter of astonishment to the inhabitants down the river, for above an hundred miles, what could have occasioned such a freshet in the river. The soldiers marched on both sides of the river, excepting the invalids, who went in the boats with the baggage and provision. In a few days we formed a junction at Cayuga with the troops from below. The general calculated the route and the time it would consequently take them; examined the provisions, and finally concluded to form a garrison, leave all the baggage and provision, (excepting that in charge of Colonel Butler,) and proceed with two or three pieces of light cannon, for the place of destination. The next day we had a little skirmish with the Indians, who we believed had secretly watched the motions of both divisions of our army.

We marched for Newton (Penn.), where the different nations of Indians under their two chiefs, Butler and Brant, had collected and ambuscaded. General Sullivan, by some of his spies, gained information of this the evening before; and therefore planned the attack for next morning. Sullivan with his division and cannon was to march up and attack, while General Poor with his regiment should march to the right and take possession of a mountain, where it was judged the main body of the Indians lay. General Clinton to advance further to the right, and station himself at the back of the mountain to head the enemy, if they were routed. We pursued our orders till forced by an impassable defile to go nearly into General Poor's route. Many of the enemy by this means escaped. One circumstance prevented our gaining a complete victory. Our orders were not put in execution when the attack was made by General Sullivan; he commenced with heavy firing from his cannon, which created a general alarm among the Indians. This we learnt from two prisoners whom we took. They also told us, that the instant the first cannon was fired, they broke their ranks and took to running, although Butler and Brant ordered them to stop. When our army collected we saw ourselves surrounded by a large field of Indian corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans, &c., which was no unpleasant sight to soldiers who were as hungry as we were. Here General Sullivan displayed his generalship, by putting the army on half allowance that we might more effectually secure the victory by pursuing the Indians. Our success and the exhortations of our officers induced the soldiery to a cheerful compliance,

and they consequently set up a loud huzza! An Irishman observing this, said he had been a long time in the British army, and some time in the service of America, but he had never heard soldiers cry huzza! for half allowance before; however, as they all had, he would. To this place we brought several of our boats; and from here they were sent back to convey wounded soldiers and corn for the garrison.

On our return, the Indians that were settled in Cayuga and Tioga were apprised of our approach, and had left those two places, leaving behind them an old squaw, and a young one to take care of her. The general destroyed the town, but first ordered her into a wigwam, and forbid any one hurting her or her wigwam, and also left a note on the door to that effect. We understood that in going to the Genesee we had to go through a considerable town. The general sent off a lieutenant and sergeant with twenty men to make discoveries and to return that night. Instead of returning, they wished to try the convenience of an Indian wigwam, and therefore tarried all night. The Indians, hearing of this, formed an ambuscade between them and the army, which our men did not discover till they were entrapped. One of our men, by name Murphy, cleared himself from them, shot an Indian who attempted to oppose him, and brought us the information. The general put the army in motion; but before we arrived to the relief of our men, we were stopped by a rivulet, and were obliged to throw a bridge across it. While this was doing, the general stationed centinels beyond the men who were at work, and nearly within gunshot of the Indians. In crossing the bridge, they shot one or two of our men; one of our centinels, a daring fellow, saw a cluster of them rise from their concealment, and knowing it was impossible for him to escape from them, ran toward them, halloed and waved his hat, as though our army was nigh him. This alarmed them so that they arose and ran, leaving their baggage, &c., behind them. We crossed the bridge, but had not marched far before night overtook us. We were obliged to encamp. The distance between us and the Genesee flats was but small. Next morning we set off on our march, crossed the Genesee, and marched seven miles to a large Indian town. Here we discovered that the Indians had massacred our Lieutenant Boyd and the sergeant, and had burnt down their huts. Among the ruins of the huts we found a number of human bones, which we supposed were those of Boyd's scout taken in the skirmish, and of their own men who were killed and wounded. Here we encamped for the night.

In the morning we heard the guns from the British garrison. We discovered amazing fields of corn, not yet gathered, which our army de-

stroyed. It was supposed that the Indians were gone to the British garrison, and that they had concluded our intention was for the garrison. In the afternoon our army wheeled about, and General Clinton was ordered to encamp at the Genesee, and wait for our division to come up. Sullivan's division encamped in a large corn field. Our division marched with all the dispatch they could, being amazing weak and emaciated by their half allowance and green corn. We returned near to the garrison at Cayuga, the garrison came out to meet us. The next day we had a great feast in the garrison, and then arranged matters for our return to Easton. But here I must not forget a circumstance peculiarly pleasing to me. Two or three young soldiers were under great distress of mind concerning their souls, and frequently came to see and converse with me. I mentioned a text to General Sullivan, which frequently occurred to me when I thought of the Indians, and the devastation which was made in their country. The text was: "They shall walk through them, be an hungry, and curse their God and their King, and look upwards." The general intended to have a sermon when we arrived at Easton, and wished me to preach from these words just mentioned. But, when we arrived at Easton, I found there was another chaplain who had made preparations to preach a sermon, I therefore gave him the opportunity.

I obtained a furlough, to visit and tarry some time with my family. While here I received a letter from the Baptist church in Philadelphia, as requesting me to come and supply them. I showed the letter to General Clinton, who granted me leave to pay them a visit for two or three weeks. I informed the church that I was not discharged from the army, neither did I wish to engage myself to any people. For if, in the providence of God, the enemy should be driven from New York, I intended to collect my scattered church, and settle myself in that place. I therefore wished them to look for a supply elsewhere. While in Philadelphia I had a severe turn of the colic, which detained me from the army several days longer than I intended to have staid. That winter we encamped near Newbury, and my family lived at Warwick: as the distance was not great, I had the privilege of being more at home that winter than at any time since the commencement of the war; and it was a providential circumstance, as the winter proved extremely severe, and my family needed all the assistance I could give them.

The operations of the enemy at this time were principally at the southward, where General Gates and the southern militia, opposed them with no very great success. General Gates, after

his defeat, was succeeded by General Greene, which gave new life and vigor to the militia. About this time General Washington collected his army in the neighborhood of the British, at New Jersey. This excited the wonder of everybody. *Does he intend to make a forcible attack on the British in New York?* was the general question. Neither did the enemy understand his movements. General Washington had large ovens erected, which confirmed the opinion of his intended operation against the enemy at and about New York.

The period now arrived of a forced march of the combined army of French and Americans to Williamsburgh, in Virginia. They marched through New Jersey and Pennsylvania into Virginia; and came in the rear of Lord Cornwallis the same day that the French fleet arrived and blockaded the British at Gloucester Point. After a short siege, in which the whole British force in that quarter was reduced, General Washington moved his army. This movement was so sudden and unexpected to me, that I was totally unprepared for it. I had with me only one shift of linen, of which I informed General Clinton, requesting leave of absence to get more; but to this he objected, and said I must go on with them at all events. When we arrived at Newark, I found an old lady who had been a member of my church in New York. I told her my situation, and she furnished me with what was needful for the campaign. From Newark we marched to Baltimore. There General Clinton's aid was taken sick, and I was ordered to stay with him till he was able to come after the army. The major's anxiety to follow the army retarded his recovery. However, he attempted, and set out; but after one or two days he was obliged to lay by. In a day or two we set off again, but did not reach the army before the British capitulated. However, we partook of the joy with our brethren.

Matters being adjusted the general ordered the return of the army. On my way home I stopped at a Mr. Hart's in Hopewell, in New Jersey, and after staying there one night, started for home. Between Hopewell and the Piscataqua, I met a messenger from Scotch Plains, who informed me he was going to get Mr. Hart to preach a funeral sermon on the death of Mr. Miller, who was to be buried the next day; unless I would stop and preach it. I told him I would stop, but that he had better get Mr. Hart to preach the sermon. He went on, and informed Mr. Hart of what had passed. Mr. Hart said he wished to be excused. The duty then devolved on me; one circumstance made it very striking to me: it had been a private agreement between Mr. Miller and myself, that the survivor of us, if he had word of the death, should preach the funeral sermon of the



other. Never did I esteem a ministering brother so much, or feel the bereavement so sensibly as I did Mr. Miller. At the funeral, I got information that my family had moved; which was a day's ride less distant. I set off for home and found them well, and an addition of another son, whose name was William.

On my return to the army we encamped at Newbury, and erected some huts and a place for public worship on Lord's-day. We had three services a day, and preached in rotation; one from each brigade. We continued here during the winter, and had frequent reports that the British were negotiating a peace, which occasioned expresses being sent to and from the British general at New York, and General Washington.\* The next spring the British evacuated New York; and General Washington entered the city with his army. The army was soon after disbanded, and we poor ruined Yorkers, returned to our disfigured houses."

LETTERS TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY, FROM  
LEADING TORIES IN AMERICA.

No. IX.

MY DEAR SIR: I fully intended to have done myself the Pleasure, of taking You by the hand, before Your departure from New York, but was unfortunately prevented by an Attack of the Dysentery which Confined me, until after You had sailed, this also preventing my furnishing You, with a State of the Province of New Jersey, as I promised when We last parted. I have since had an opportunity of Conversing with many Persons, lately from that Province, on whose Information I could depend—from what I have collected from them and from my own Knowledge, You may be assured that the Men of Property in general, excepting only such as have held Posts under Congress, the Members of Congress, and the Assembly for the Province, are desirous, and anxiously wish, for a Reconciliation with the Parent State. Among the common Rank of life, a great Majority would Eagerly seize the Terms, offer'd by the Commissioners, if they dare. They are Heartily tired of the War, and groan under the Yoke of Tyranny, & the heavy Taxes that are imposed on them, add to this, the scarcity of Provisions, & other necessaries of Life, which has enhanced

\* Gen. Heath, in his "Memoirs," p. 371, mentions: "April 19, 1783. At noon the proclamation of Congress for a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed at the door of the New Building, followed by three huzzas; after which a prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Gano, and an anthem (*Independence* from Billings-) was performed by vocal and instrumental music."

the price, almost beyond the Bounds of toleration. The French Alliance, altho' it has afforded a temporary Relief, even amongst the most Violent (the thinking part I mean) is detested, much more so by those, who are only luke warm, or Friends to Government. Livingston is reelected Governor, an attempt was intended to be made, to supersede him, but the dissenting Parsons, getting knowledge of it, exerted themselves in such a manner, that his opponents were deterr'd from making the Experiment. You know the Man, & will with Me pity the poor People, that fall under his displeasure.

There have join'd the Kings Troops from New Jersey, since they came into the Country, & taken up Arms, upwards of two thousand five hundred, & at least five hundred more Refugees, are now within the Lines of the Kings Army. From this State, You may with Your own Knowledge of the Province, form a perfect Idea, of its present Condition. As a Proof of the Truth of the above Representation, I need only mention the following fact, that in the late Expeditions to New Bridge and Egg Harbour—tho' the Kings Troops were a long time at both places, yet very few of the Militia of Jersey, would be prevailed on to turn out, & those that went left home with reluctance and two thirds of them, deserted in a few days, & returned to their Families.

I think the foraging Party to New Bridge, had not returned when You left this Country, the Forage collected there, was inadequate to the General's Expectation, or the Expence attending it. I was exceedingly disappointed, when I found that the General had no further Views in that Expedition than to collect Forage. From my Knowledge of the County, I was sensible, that the Expedition for that purpose was ill judged, for the following Reasons. Because Eight tenths of the Persons in that Neighborhood, were & ever had been Friends to Government, & most of them had Sons in its service, Because little Forage could be procured, and the danger of transporting it, was great, as was verified by six of the Vessels, being taken by the Rebels in the Passage—and because all the Forage and Provisions, that the Inhabitants would spare from that quarter, would be brought into York in the Course of the Winter. The Effect of it has been, that the wanton and indiscriminate depredation, and waste, that was committed, has made many persons Rebels, & has deprived New York of a very considerable Resource. The accidental *Coup de main*, by which, Baylor's Regiment of Dragoons was cut up, in some Measure atoned for the Blunder. Ten times the quantity of Forage, in one tenth part of the time, might have been collected at Eliz'h Town, and in it's vicinity (*a Rebellious Country* You well know) & without risque, and a

polite Visit to Morris might at the same time have been paid &c. &c—with good effect.

The Expedition to Egg Harbour, was so long talked of, and the Preparation so tedious, that it was known at Philadelphia, before the Troops sailed, the Consequence was that all the Privateers, but one, got out of the Harbour—this one with the many Prizes carried in there were burnt. Ferguson has merit in the conducting the Expedition especially in the destruction of part of Count Powlasky's Legion, but for an Accident, Powlasky & his whole Corps, would have met the same fate. The particulars of these Matters, are pretty honestly related in the News Papers, to which I refer you— Nothing worth mentioning has occurred in the Military Way since—Except Gen'l Grant's sailing with about 5000 British Troops for the West Indies. We sailed on the 3d instant, and Count DeEstaing sailed on the 11th from Boston, in a Violent Gale of Wind, which forced Admiral Byron to quit his Station, in Boston Bay. It is said the Count is bound for the West Indies, if so, We may with Reason be under great Apprehension for the Fate of Gen'l Grant & his Fleet. The Bedford one of Admiral Byron's Fleet, has got into York dismantled in the Storm. It is said the Somerset is wrecked on Cape Cod, & her Men Prisoners in Boston, and two or three others are damaged & got into New Port—where the Remainder are I know not.

Lieut't Coll'n Campbell of the 71st Regiment, with that Regiment two Hessian and four or five Provincial Regiments, embarked, fell down to the Hook, and were ready to sail the last Week, but a Violent Wind drove one of the Store Ships on Shore, damaged some others & drove two out to Sea with Troops who have since returned, Whether in Consequence of this Storm, or the uncertainty of the destination of the Count De Estaings Fleet—this Fleet returned to Staten Island (where it now lies, I don't know. The general Opinion is that this Expedition is intended against Georgia, if so from the great Military abilities of Coll'n Campbell, We may hope for success. The Remainder of the Troops are gone into Winter Quarters, there are near 5000 on Long Island, these consist chiefly of the light Troops & Dragoons. I dread the consequence to New York from the Destruction they make on Long Island, I think it will be felt severely the next Spring.

Thus has ended a Campaign (if it deserves the appellation) without any thing Capital being done, or even attempted. Now will the Historian gain Credit, who shall relate that at least 24,000 of the best Troops, in the World, were shut up within their Lines, by fifteen thousand at most, of Poor Wretches, who were illy paid, badly fed, and worse clothed, and scarce at best deserved the name of soldiers—but I forbear.

The Commissioners will, it is said, Embark on Wednesday for England. You are much better acquainted with their proceedings, in this Country than I am,—It would have been happy for America, if they had succeeded equal, to their wishes and Endeavors, I must confess, I am not disappointed at the Reception their Propositions met with—If the Leaders in Rebellion had been as well known (and the Views which they set out with, and have uniformly pursued) in England as in this Country, the Expence and Trouble of their Voyage might have been saved. However I flatter myself it will answer the good Purposes of rousing, & uniting the Nation, silencing opposition, and giving Vigour to their Councils and future Plans. The Commissioners have had an Opportunity of gaining such Knowledge in this Country, that they will be enabled to inform his Majesty, that Great Numbers of his American Subjects, through all Tryals, & Perrils, stedfastly and faithfully, preserve their attachment to him, that they have Sacrificed their Fortunes, and are willing to devote their Lives to his Service—and will Contradict any interested and malevolent Reports to the Contrary. Their last Manifesto which I believe You saw in this Country—was suppressed among the Rebels and not suffered to circulate. Great Numbers of Pamphlets containing all their proceedings have lately been published, and Endeavors are made, to disperse them in the Country, if they could be generally read, they would have a tendency to increase their Divisions &c.

You may not possibly have heard of the Fate of Poor Roberts, & Carlisle, in Philadelphia, they were condemned, I believe before You left this—great Interest was made, to save their Lives—Roberts's wife with ten Children, went to Congress, threw themselves on their knees & supplicated Mercy—but in vain. His Behaviour at the Gallows did Honor to human Nature. He told his Audience that his Conscience acquitted him of Guilt—That he suffered for doing his Duty to his Sovereign, That his Blood would one day be demanded at their hands, and then turning to his Children charged & exhorted them to remember his Principles, for which he died, and to adhere to them while they had Breath. This is the Substance of his Speech, after which he suffered with the Resolution of a Roman. Three others it is said, are under Sentence of Death at Philadelphia on similar Pretences, whose names I do not know. Billy Hambleton had a narrow Escape, his Tryal for Treason, against the *States* lasted 12 Hours. I have seen a Gentle'n who attended his Tryal, he informed me that his Acquittal, was owing to a Defect of Proof, of a Paper from Lord Cornwallis, the Direction being torn off.

I heartily congratulate You on the Release of

Gov'r Franklin. I have spent some time with him, since his Return. He will write You by this Fleet. He informs me that he has wrote fully his Sentiments, on American Matters to Administration, and has submitted his Letter to the Inspection of the Commissioners, Who gave him not only their Approbation but thanks. Great part of his time since he came in, has been taken up in getting redress for Suffering Friends to Government. He has happily succeeded (after much *Doubt, Fear & Difficulty* with the Commander in Chief) in one instance which I will give You. Some time since a Number of Refugees from Connecticut, employed by Gen'l Tryon, to cutt Wood on Long Island, were taken off by a Party from New England, & sent to their Different Counties, to take their Tryals, who of Course must without the Interposition, of the General Suffer Death, or a worse punishment—in this situation Gov'r Franklin propos'd, & insisted, that an equal Number of Connecticut Prisoners, should be selected, & retained as Hostages, for these unfortunate Persons. The Gen'l had his *Fears* lest Gen'l Burgoyne's Officers, would Suffer &c. &c. However after much Importunity, and a lucky Capture, of Eight Men the last Week from Connect't—who were taken on L. Island, He succeeded so far, as to have these Eight Men delivered up to him, to make the Experiment. In Consequence a Flag is gone out to Connect't, to demand the Eight Prisoners, they have, in Exchange for the Eight Gov'r Franklin has—in case of Refusal the Gov'r of Connect't is to be assured, that the same punishment, that they administer to those Prisoners, shall be inflicted on the Hostages. I dare say You will think with Me, this a very proper Measure—if it succeeds it will have many good Effects, first in saving the lives of the Prisoners—secondly in evincing a certain *Spirit* that has long been wanting—thirdly in convincing the Friends to Government, throughout the Continent, that some Attention is paid to them, and that Government will no longer tamely see, some of the King's best Subjects sacrificed with Impunity. It will also deter the Rebels from pursuing their System of putting to Death for very trifling Crimes. Governor Franklin has with success been the Advocate, for many Ill treated Refugees. I could wish he had the Appointment of *Super Intendant General* of Refugees, Friends to Government &c., some such office is exceedingly wanted. You are too well acquainted with the Necessity of it for me to pretend to point out it's uses. You also know the scandalous Neglect & Ill Treatment they—as well as the New Corps as others have received. I may say safely that this Treatment, has prevented thousands, from joining the Kings Army, that would cheerfully have done it. You also know whence this Abuse to the

New Corps arizes—for the great & *Mighty* Inspector General of Provincial Forces is a Man of *Note*.

Gov'r Franklin has urged a Campaign of Vigour, but the Gen'l seems to have delicate Ideas of Carrying on the War &c., and is hurt by the loss of the Men that are gone to the West Indies.

I have the last Week received from different hands the Returns of the Rebell armies (I mean their Regulars) from Georgia to New Hampshire, & they do not amount to 11,000 in the whole. Washington's Head Quarters, it is said, will be at Morris Town. Lord Sterling is now at Eliz'h Town, with about 1200. Gates will have a Considerable part of their Army in Connecticut, so that their Army will be nearly equally divided between Jersey, & Connect't, being the two Province's most Exposed to Incursions. Those in Jersey may be easily routed—but alas We have almost forgott the Word *Enterprize*.

I hope before this time the Parliament are met, & something will be determined on *vigorous*. The Idea prevails here that this Country, will be abandoned by the King's Troops, the next Spring, but I cannot entertain one so disgracefull, & destructive, to the British Empire. It's Fate depends on their Success here—to Abandon this Country is to give up the West Indies, for whoever has this Country will have the West India Islands. The Rebellion hangs by a Slender Thread. The Majority of the Inhabitants dissatisfied with their present Tyrannical Government—Their Money depreciating—The French Alliance in general detested—Provisions scarce & that scarcity increasing—(Butler has not contributed a little to it—he has lately offer'd to join Gen'l Clinton in any part of Jersey, York, or Pensylvania, & will keep hovering about the Frontiers till he gets an answer. A few Butler's would do the Business.) In this situation, what is necessary to Crush the Rebellion? It is easily answered—Only one Vigorous Campaign properly conducted. I mean by this, that the Person commanding, should be a Man of *Judgment Spirit & Enterprize*, and one who would make himself acquainted, with the Geography of the Country (which has hitherto been a fatal Neglect) & a few more Troops to Supply the place of those gone to the West Indies. In this case one Province would soon be conquer'd, when only by disarming the Rebels, and putting Arms into the hands of the King's Friends, It would be kept & thousands of Oppressed, & persecuted Friends to Government, would take Refuge there, & very soon form such a Body of Men that Washington with his whole Force would be afraid to approach.

There has lately been made a Calculation of the Refugees, within the Lines of New York, & including those that have joined the Provincial

Corps, they amount to upwards of ten thousand. The most of these Persons have from their Attachment, to their Sovereign, abandoned their Fortunes, and from Affluence are reduced to Indigence, which they bear with Patience, in full Confidence that the *Faith* of Government, & the Promises of Protection, repeatedly given them, would be sacredly Observed. Can it be possible that Britain will, under these Circumstances, give up this Unhappy Body of People, to the Vengeance of their Persecutors? If she should, She may forever bid adieu to this Country, & to the Affection, of any of its Inhabitants.

I fear I have already intruded on your Leisure, and have troubled you with Sentiments, on Matters that You are much better acquainted with than I am. Excuse it and attribute it to My Warmth and Zeal. Remember me to Doctor's Chandler & Cooper. Tell Doct. Chandler that Mrs. Chandler & his Daughter Polly with Miss Ricketts, are now in York with a Flag for a few days. His son Bille I saw last week, at Staten Island, who has recovered from his Illness, he intends sailing for England in a short time in the Amazon.

I shall be happy to hear from You by the first, & every Opportunity, that Offers. I have been obliged to write in great Haste, not knowing of the Fleet's sailing so soon. This must apologize for Omissions, &c. &c. I will write again in a few days if any thing occurs worth telling.

I am Your most Affectionate & Obedient  
Servant, ISAAC OGDEN.

NEW YORK. †  
22d Nov'r, 1778. †  
JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq.

N. B. I have ventured to sign My name to this Letter, as the Bearer has promised to destroy it, *in case of Accidents.*

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## Societies and their Proceedings.

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### ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Chicago, Ill., Sept. 17, 1861.*—The monthly meeting, the first after the summer recess, was held on the above date, W. H. Brown, Esq., President, in the chair.

The collections of the Society have been increased the past three months, by donations of 592 bound books, 2,906 unbound books and pamphlets, 120 files of periodicals, 85 files of newspapers, 15 old and rare newspapers, 116 manuscripts,

90 charts, 13 photographs and prints, and 3 collections of miscellanies—in all 3,940, from 92 contributors, from Illinois, Canada, Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Missouri, Iowa, Michigan, and Great Britain.

The Society owe to Mr. Ford, of Lacon, a copy of the "Illinois Emigrant," Aug. 19, 1818—vol. i., No. 12—published at Shawneetown, and containing the journal of the Constitutional Convention, then in session.

On the contested title to the territory of the Northwest, have been received Trumbull's "Vindication of the Connecticut Claim"—an exhibition of the so-called "Susquehanna Title"—and a rare work printed in Philadelphia, 1757, being a vindication of the claim of the French, as against Great Britain, and containing, entire, Major Washington's journal of his expedition, in 1754, towards the Ohio, in which, to an Indian treaty, he subscribes, by his own and an Indian name, "WASHINGTON, or CONOTOCARIOTS."

Mr. Archibald Clybourne—the oldest continued resident of Chicago (since 1823), and the longest occupant of the same house (since 1835)—obligingly placed in the Society's charge, the original manuscript narrative of an expedition in 1810, from Montreal *via* New York and the Sandwich Islands to the Northwest coast, in the service of the Fur Company, by William Wallace, of Scotland, who died in Chicago some thirty-five years since. The narrative gives interesting notices of the Sandwich Islands, and of the operations of the Fur Company on the Northwest coast.

Mr. P. Anderson, of Lowell, Mass., a gentleman of Norwegian birth, early interested in promoting emigration to America from his native country, forwarded copies of the "*Bergens Stiftstidende*," 1844 (a newspaper of Bergen, Norway), containing his communications recommending "the West" to emigrants, with a translation of the same into English; also, a letter from Mr. Geo. Flower, of Illinois, on the same subject.

Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, an early and esteemed resident of Chicago, placed in the Society's possession, what is believed to be the original, and probably unpublished, journal of the expedition by Major Livingston and the younger Baron de St. Castin, in 1710, from Port Royal, *via* the Penobscot river, overland to Quebec, dispatched by Gen. Nicholson, after the capture of Port Royal by the combined British and colonial forces.

This manuscript was in the possession of Gov. Hutchinson, while preparing his "History of Massachusetts," in 1750, and the expedition is noticed in Judge Williamson's "History of Maine," and Penhallow's "Indian Wars."

The manuscript is in good condition; details the unusual hardships encountered on the route through a pathless wilderness during approaching winter; and particularly notices Major Livingston's attempt to recover Eunice Williams, daughter of the minister of Deerfield, made captive, at the memorable assault and destruction of that town by the Indians, in 1703. Major Livingston had subsequently, 1706, secured the freedom of the father, and other captives of Deerfield; but he now failed in the recovery of the daughter, who remained in Canada, and was the ancestor of the late Rev. Eleazer Williams, missionary at Green Bay, and noted for the claims which he set up to be Louis XVII., of France.

This valuable and important journal was probably presented to a congress of the governors of New England and New York, which assembled at New London, Conn., in June, 1711 (to which place Major Livingston belonged), as appears from the N. Y. Colonial Documents. Gov. Saltonstall attended the Congress; and from him the journal is supposed to have been transmitted to Mr. Hubbard, his lineal descendant. The erasures and interlineations in the manuscript indicate its genuineness as an original paper.

The Baron de St. Castin, who accompanied him, was son of the elder baron (by a Tarrantine squaw, his wife), who lived on the Penobscot, giving his name to the territory now known as Castine, in Maine. The younger Castin subsequently returned to France, to enjoy his hereditary honors and estate, and died there. He, with his father, possessed great influence over the Indians of the Penobscot.

The Librarian reported the Society's possession of more than five hundred different specimens of "Union Envelopes," received by the liberality of publishers, news agents, and individuals in this city, chiefly by the friendly efforts of Mr. H. R. Boss.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

N. E. HISTORICAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, October 2, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society, says the *Advertiser*, was held Wednesday afternoon, Rev. Martin Moore, Vice-president, in the chair.

The Librarian reported that since the previous meeting there had been donated to the Society: Bound volumes, 70; pamphlets, periodicals, sermons, &c., 56; newspapers, 19; manuscripts, 2. Especial attention was called to the donation of John Ward Dean, Esq., including, among other books, 46 bound volumes of the *European Magazine*, from the year 1774 to 1816.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he

had received letters, accepting membership to which they had been elected, from the following gentlemen: as resident, Abraham A. Daine, Esq., of Boston; as corresponding, James Carnahan Wetmore, Esq., of Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Trask read a very interesting memoir of the late Ex-governor Briggs, an honorary member of the Society, who was born in Adams, Mass., April 12, 1796, in humble circumstances, and who, by his own native talent and worth, became one of the most honored men of his native State.

Mr. Trask announced that the "Hand-Book of American Genealogy," by our fellow-member, Mr. Whitmore, was in press, and spoke quite highly of it, as being a very valuable publication, and one that every genealogist should possess.

A paper was read on the interesting subject of the "Anglo-Saxon Race in Old and New England," by E. R. Humphreys, LL. D., formerly of England, now Principal of the South End Collegiate School.

The thanks of the Society were expressed to Dr. Humphreys, and a copy requested for the Society. The paper traversed a wide field of history, from a description of the character and habits of the old Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain to that of the achievements of their descendants now-a-days in America, Australia, India, and China. The spirit of the address may be judged of from such passages as this:

"The writer or speaker who, either here in America, or there in England, should attempt to draw invidious distinctions between the several component elements of our Race and Language, unduly exalting the one to the unfair disparagement of the other, would be equally false to his country and the cause of Truth. The ancient British, or Welsh stock, and the cognate Celtic or Erse of Scotland and Ireland are too intimately and indissolubly united with the Anglo-Saxon, ever to be regarded in such an invidious, distinctive way. Moreover, in opposition to more than one recent writer, I maintain that our language, national character, and religion are under deep and lasting obligations to the ancient Cymry of Britain, and the cognate Kelts of Ireland; and were it not for the awkwardness of using '*sesquipedalia verba*,' I would gladly adopt in all the latter part of this address the term 'Anglo-Celtic-American Race.' But even did no such claims exist in the Past, what Englishman who has a heart and memory to recall such scenes as those of Albuera, and Badajoz, and Waterloo, and a hundred others in the Peninsular War; or at a later time those of Alma, and Inkermann, and all the sufferings and successes of that eventful struggle, in which Scotchmen, and Irishmen, and Englishmen were all sharers of the same sorrows, and

sharers, too, of the same undying glory;—and what American, who looks only even to the Present and the recent Past, and beholds with grateful admiration the brave Irish Kelt standing 'shoulder to shoulder' by his Anglo-American brother in this life-and-death struggle to maintain the glorious cause of Law and Union, and to subdue and crush this unholy and unnatural rebellion,—what American, I say, who looks on this, can or will ever hereafter draw invidious distinctions between the component parts of this great and generous people?"

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—*Boston, Oct. 4, 1861.*—The regular meeting was held on Friday, of the above date; in the absence of the President, Mr. Colburn, Vice-president, occupied the chair.

Two distinguished numismatists of another State were elected honorary members. A valuable donation from a friend was received by the hands of Mr. Pratt. A very large number of interesting coins were exhibited. A remarkably perfect and curious series of Chinese coins, shown by Mr. Pratt, attracted great attention. They were neatly arranged on seven sheets of cardboard, and date from the present time as far back as the birth of Christ. Mr. Davenport exhibited several coins, among which was a small ancient gold Hindoo coin. He read the following short description of it: "This coin is called a 'pratap,' and is half a 'hou.' The device is an image of Devi, as we call her. She has other names, such as Durgā and Kāte. On the other side are the words 'Swhar,' which I suppose means Shiv, enchantress, and so it is another name for Devi, who is the wife of Shiv." A strange story also attached to the finding of the coin.

Mr. Ellis exhibited some ancient coins found in building one of the bridges of London, and the Secretary a French copper coin from the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga.

The Chairman called the attention of the members of the Society to an impression of a remarkable piece lately found in Philadelphia, of which the following is a description: Copper—Obverse, an Indian holding in his right hand a plant, his left extended to a bird descending with a sprig of leaves in its beak; at the left of the coin an Indian hut. Legend: "*Tyrannis in perpetuum abiet terra.*" Reverse, a radiated star, in the centre of which is the letter G, surrounded by thirteen stars. Legend: "*Confederatio Americana Juvenis.*" Weight, 182 grains; size 17.

Dr. Fowle exhibited a collection of coins found in the Island of Candia (the ancient Crete), with which was a small bronze image, apparently of the god Eros.

The Society then adjourned.

#### NEW YORK.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*New York, Oct. 1, 1861.*—This meeting, the first after the summer recess, was very well attended. The Hon. Luther Bradish presided.

George H. Moore, Esq., the Librarian, presented a report, from which it appears that the number of donations to the Society during the summer has been quite large, comprising a valuable collection of manuscripts, books, works of art, etc. Among others, autograph letters of Jonathan Edwards, Paul Dudley, and others, and some valuable volumes from George Adlard, Esq. The chairman of the Executive Committee reported several names for membership.

Mr. Bradish then announced that a collection of statuary just from Rome, the last works of the late sculptor Crawford, which have been deposited with the Society by his widow, through the agency of Mr. John Ward, was on exhibition in the library.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Ward. Mr. Thompson, an artist from Rome, now on a visit here, made some interesting remarks showing the estimation in which Crawford's works were held in Europe, and stated that soon after his death a meeting of artists had been held at Rome, at which Mr. Gibson, a leading English sculptor, proposed that the last, and in his esteem the best and most characteristic work, of Crawford—the Indian, should be cast in bronze and erected in one of the leading squares of Rome. The idea was warmly seconded, resolutions were passed highly complimentary to Crawford, and subscriptions begun. This testimonial of artists to an artist was, he said, more than empty compliment. In the speaker's opinion, Crawford's Indian surpassed in bold originality all other works of the kind. Unfortunately, the committee of artists could not find a place at present that would in any manner be suitable to the work.

The statues on exhibition are the Indian lamenting the downfall of his race; the Hunter Boy, Adam and Eve, the Boy playing Marbles, and the Peri at the Gates of Paradise. The paper of the evening was "The Surprise and Capture of Poundridge, Westchester County, on the 2d of July, 1779, by Lieut.-col. Tarleton, with a biographical sketch of that officer," by John M. McDonald, Esq., of Flushing.

The writer described with a peculiarly graphic pen the extraordinary celerity of Tarleton, the struggle, capture, and subsequent retreat, as well as the ineffectual efforts made to surprise Tarleton on his return—efforts which that wily and daring officer baffled. As usual in these forays, the column on its retreat to New York lighted its way by the flames of burning homesteads.

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—*N. Y., Oct. 7, 1861.*—This Society held its first meeting since the summer recess, on Tuesday evening of the above date, at the residence of Professor Guglielmo Gajani. The chair was occupied by the Vice-president, Thos. Ewbank, Esq.

The Corresponding Secretary, E. G. Squier, Esq., presented letters from several foreign societies, acknowledging the receipt of the Society's bulletin. He also read letters from Professor Rau, of St. Louis, and Mr. Boellari, of London, author of a book on the Antiquities of America, in which he attempted to trace the origin of the terms *marañon* and *caique* to Indian words.

Professor Rau described ancient Indian graves on the bluffs of Munro county, Ill., and its vicinity, as usually about three feet deep and formed by placing flat stones, vertically, in four parallel rows, east and west, at one and each end, and filling up with earth, leaving the stones projecting above the surface. The heads generally are towards the west, and but one body in each grave, being laid in the middle compartment, with arms extended. There are no mounds; and no implements, or any other works of art are found in graves of the above description.

The "Rock-house" and the "Sand Cave" are two caverns examined by him. A fragment of rock, which had fallen from the roof of the latter, bears a rude impression, resembling the track of a human foot. A drawing of this, in Prof. R.'s letter showed a square heel and the toes of equal length, and terminating in a line.

Extracts of letters were read, all relating to the opening of two more of the small mounds under the Great Stone Stack, in the vicinity of Newark, Ohio.

One of these was in the centre of the circle occupied by the Great Stack, and had been partially examined several years ago, when a large part of the stones were removed. Water was then discovered below, and it has since been reported that there was a well. But early in September last, Mr. D. M. Johnson, of Coshocton, was at the trouble and expense of opening it, when it proved that the water was held under the base of the little mound by a bed of clay, which had been brought from a distance and laid there, in the form of a bowl, after which the mound was constructed of "muck," brought from different places, to the height of about five feet, with forty feet base. One-half of this was examined, and found to contain numerous human bones, and some of animals, thrown together in such a manner as to show that they were deposited there when destitute of flesh, and separated.

The other mound was formed of different materials, differently disposed; first, a heap of clay,

now hard, like mortar, four feet thick; then three thin layers of loose stones over that, the middle layer being of flat, and the others of small stones. Over these was heaped six feet of yellow clay.

It is remarkable that no uniformity exists in the plans or materials of the mounds yet examined in that singular locality; and conjecture is set at defiance.

The Recording Secretary read an account, by Mr. Joane, of the Micronesian mission, published in June last, of a voyage of five hundred miles and back, made by a few natives in their little canoes, without a compass, and with only two stopping-places, guided by the stars, currents, winds, &c. This writer remarked that this fact proved that the islands of the Pacific might have been peopled either by accident or by design, and accounted for resemblances in language.

It is certain that the Sandwich Islands were peopled from the Society Islands, and that voyages were made between them, before the days of Captain Cook, Mr. Gulick stated, at a former meeting of the Society, that he had seen natives who had recently performed that voyage, in canoes; and they declined accepting a compass, saying that their pilot had one *in his head*.

Mr. Buckingham Smith mentioned that certain old Spanish writers spoke of the Americans as having the points of the compass always in mind, so that they knew their courses and bearings even at the bottom of a mine. Their languages also have words corresponding with this remarkable custom.

Dr. Davis then presented a short paper. Having seen it published that the Society of Northern Antiquities have obtained a skull from Scania, pierced by a stone arrow-head, he had brought one from his own collection, found at Yoheogany, Pennsylvania. He remarked that such an object is not proof of antiquity in America, because stone arrows are here of recent use, but called attention to the importance of examinations to find in the drift remains, skulls pierced by stone arrows, which would be undeniable proofs of contemporaneous existence of man and the animals.

The wonderful skill and power of some of the Indians in the use of their bows and arrows, was spoken of by Professor Torrey and other members, who had good evidence to believe that buffaloes have been shot through and through with them.

Ex-president Roberts, and Governor Benson, both of Monrovia, Africa, and Mr. Wharton, consul for the Feejee Islands, were elected corresponding members.

## RHODE ISLAND.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Providence, R. I., Oct. 1, 1861.*—The quarterly meeting of this Society was held at the Cabinet, on Waterman-street, on the above date, the President, A. G. Greene, Esq., in the chair.

Several donations were announced. Among those from Dr. U. Parsons, were the full manuscript notes of Chief-justice Eddy, of the trial of E. K. Avery.

A framed certificate of membership of the President, ex-officio, of the Society, in the Roger Williams Monument Association, was received, and the thanks of the Society returned therefor.

A Bill of Health, donated by Mr. Blodget, is a very quaint affair, and reads as follows:

"District of Charleston; to all the faithful of Christ to whom these presents may come: Whereas it is pious and just to bear witness of the truest error and deceit overthrow it, and whereas the ship Rebecca, of which John Arnold, under God, is Master, is now ready to depart from the port of Charleston, and if God please, to sail for Hamburg and other places beyond the sea, with twelve men including the Master of said ship; we therefore to you all by the tenor of these presents do make known that (praise be to God the Most High and Good) no plague of any dangerous or contagious disease exists in the said port."

On motion, a committee was appointed, consisting of Dr. Collins and Messrs. Lothrop and Beckwith, with instructions to examine the records and make out a corrected list of members.

The Society then listened with marked interest to a paper prepared by the Secretary, Mr. Sidney S. Rider, which evinced laborious and careful research. It was entitled "A History of Rhode Island Paper Money or Bills of Credit, from 1710 to 1786, with tables of all the emissions, burnings, depreciations, and denominations; to which is appended the famous trial of the case of Trevett vs. Weeden; the whole illustrated with specimens of the Bills." The following is a synopsis of the curious and interesting treatise:

The first paper money (of this State) was issued in 1710, and the emissions were continued from that time to 1786. The Assembly issued small and large amounts either to supply the Treasury or to loan. These bills depreciated in value very soon after their first issue. Counterfeits appeared when the first emission (1710), had been but three months in circulation. The Assembly passed acts from time to time, calling in the different issues, and when no other means were at hand, gave Treasury notes in payment. These notes depreciated to about the same extent as the bills had.

The last issue was the most memorable. One

hundred thousand pounds was the amount. It commenced to depreciate almost with its appearance, and eventually fell so low that \$15 in bills were worth but \$1 in silver. It was finally sunk in payment for State taxes.

To sustain, if possible, these bills from depreciation, the Legislature passed in June, one month from their issue, a kind of forcing act, subjecting any person who should refuse to receive them on the same terms as specie, or who should in any way discourage their circulation, to the penalty of paying \$100 and losing the rights of a freeman. The result of this act was the complete stagnation of business. Merchants would not open their shops, and in retaliation farmers would not bring in their produce; although they were nearly all in favor of paper money. Great distress was thereby occasioned. In Providence, \$500 was borrowed to send abroad for those who needed bread. In Newport a riot occurred on account of the refusal of the grain dealers to receive the bills.

Arnold in his history says that the Assembly passed, in their infatuation, an additional forcing act, which suspended the usual forms of justice, by requiring the immediate trial of offenders within three days after the complaint should be issued, without a jury and before a court, of which three judges should form a quorum, whose decision should be final and whose judgment should be instantly complied with on penalty of imprisonment. The fine for the first offence was from six to thirty pounds, and from ten to thirty for the second. These forcing acts speedily provoked litigation to test their validity and constitutionality.

At the trial of the great case Trevett vs. Weeden, these laws were declared unconstitutional and void. For this decision the judges were summoned before the Legislature to account for their proceeding. Judge Howell defended the case in an able argument, and asserted the independence of the court, contending that they were accountable to no person on earth for their judgment.

The total amount of paper money issued was £1,572,240, and there appears to have been destroyed £1,379,948, leaving £182,292 to be accounted for. It is probable that the greater part of this sum was in treasury notes, which formed a part of the Revolutionary debt of which we have heard so much.

The text of this essay was illustrated by a large collection of the bills themselves, preserved in a neat and tasteful form.

The reading of the paper was listened to with much interest, and at its close several traditional anecdotes were related by gentlemen present, illustrating the depreciation of this paper currency. One stated that his father had a farm left to him, which was sold by his guardian, and pay taken in



these bills of credit, which depreciated to such an extent, that when he became of age, they were barely of sufficient value to buy him a suit of clothes. The President related how a farm was sold, and before the deed was taken an act was passed making these notes legal tender. The seller was therefore obliged to take them, and after a short time he actually paid the whole to the buyer of the farm for a cow. Mr. Z. Allen told of a man formerly living at the foot of "College Lane," who, on being informed one day that a man was coming to the house to discharge his indebtedness, jumped out of a back window and ran away from his debtor to avoid having a tender made of this paper currency, his refusal to accept, involving the loss of the debt.

Hon. J. R. Bartlett and Secretary Rider were appointed a committee to ascertain upon what terms the Society can obtain the missing numbers of their publications.

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## Notes and Queries.

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### NOTES.

BEAUREGARD.—This seems to have been an ancient name in Canada. We have before us a grant of land made to André Jaret, sieur de Beauregard, an inhabitant of Verchères, near Montreal, dated August 17, 1674. o'c.

FIRST BORN WHITE CHILD IN NOVA SCOTIA.—Mathieu Martin is the name of the first white child born in Nova Scotia, then called Acadia, as appears by a grant of land at Minas, made to him March 28th, 1689, in which the fact is set forth. o'c.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.—I have seen a letter of William Tudor to a friend, dated about the time of the appearance of the first number of the *North American Review*, in which he states that he wrote *every article* in that number. BOSTON.

INTENDANTS OF CANADA.—The following list comprizes the names of those who filled this important office in Canada. It is compiled from authentic documents, and may be useful for reference. E. B. O'c.

1663. M. Robert. Though so named in the commission erecting the sovereign council of Quebec, it is said that he never was in Canada.

1665. Jean Talon.  
 1668. M. de Bouteroue.  
 1669. Jean Talon.  
 1675. Jacques Duchesneau.  
 1682. M. Demuelles de la Source.  
 1686. Jean Bochart de Champigny.  
 1702. François de Beauharnois.  
 1705. { Jacques Raudot, jointly with his son  
 { Antoine Denis Raudot. The latter returned to France in November, 1710; the former in 1711 or 1712.  
 1712. Michel Begon de la Picardière.  
 1726. Claude Thomas Dupuy.  
 1728. M. d'Aigremont (*ad interim*).  
 1729. Gilles Hocquart.  
 1748. Francis Bigot, arr. at Quebec August 26.  
 1749. Jean Victor Varin (*ad interim*).  
 1750. Francis Bigot, visited France in 1754.  
 1754. Jean Victor Varin (*ad interim*).  
 1755. Francis Bigot.

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"GOING THROUGH THE MOTIONS."—From the "Genealogy of the Wetmore Family" a work recently printed, we extract the following anecdote of Rev. Izrahiah Wetmore, of Stratford, Conn.: "When the news of the surrender of Gen. Cornwallis to Gen. Washington reached Stratford, it was on Sunday, and during the hours of worship. Word was immediately taken to the pulpit, where Parson Wetmore was engaged in delivering his discourse. Drawing himself up to his fullest height, and making known the intelligence, he said—'My friends, the house of God is no place for boisterous demonstrations; we will, therefore, in giving *three cheers*, only go through the motions.' That the motions were given with an emphasis, the reader will easily imagine, and to the congregations of the present day, given to applause, it may convey a useful hint."

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RARE SERMON.—The Rev. Mr. Peters preached a sermon before the Congress at Albany, in 1754, which that body ordered to be printed. It was doubtless on the necessity of a Union, and were it extant might furnish hints to speakers of our day. o'c.

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RUSSIAN FRIENDSHIP TO THE UNITED STATES. One of the oldest and bravest commodores in the U. S. Navy writes:

For many years Russia has taken every proper occasion to show her friendship for the government of the United States and its citizens; and whenever the civil or military officers of either service meet, it manifests itself in the warmest language on the part of the Russians. This displays itself in the strongest manner when our

ships visit St. Petersburg, or our men-of-war meet in a friendly port.

As an illustration of what has been said on this subject, I will state a fact which came to my knowledge many years since, that I have never seen in print.

During the time the American and British commissioners were at Ghent, in the year 1814, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace between the two governments, the European war came to a close; and it was the determination of the British government to employ a considerable portion of her forces, now at her disposal, to humble us on this side of the Atlantic. A dispatch was therefore sent to the British commissioners, either to increase their demands or to throw every obstacle in the way of an immediate adjustment between the two governments. The Emperor Alexander soon learned this from his minister at London, as he was returning with his army after the exile of Napoleon to the island of Elba. Instead of making the best of his way to Russia, as was his first intention, he halted with his large forces in Poland, and hinted that he should remain there until he heard of the result of the negotiations at Ghent. This was soon communicated to Lord Castlereagh, then prime minister of England, who sent in immediate instructions to come to an understanding with the American commissioners.

This statement was made by Rufus Amory, of Boston, who received it direct from John Quincy Adams, one of the commissioners at Ghent; and repeated in the presence of Langdon Cheves, Samuel L. Southard, and others at Washington soon after the war. I recollect that Mr. Cheves endeavored to throw some doubt on this being the cause of the sudden termination of our war with England, which he attributed to the exhausted state of the British treasury; the fact of the good intentions of the Emperor Alexander was not called in question.

I am respectfully yours,

AN OLD OFFICER OF THE NAVY.

NEWPORT NEWS.—This locality has been frequently mentioned of late. Oldmixon states that "Captain Newport arrived in Virginia, in November, 1621, with 50 men on his own account, and settled a plantation at the place, which from him is called *Newport's News*." o.c.

[By an article in vol. iii., p. 347, it would seem however that Newport News, like Saybrook, Wilkesbarre, Hampton-Sidney, embodies the name of two individuals. In this case they were Captain Christopher Newport, and Sir William Newce, marshal of the colony.]

HOW ROBERDEAU AND HAND WERE ELECTED BRIGADIER-GENERALS IN THE REVOLUTION. — Now that we are engaged in a great civil war, and that the public mind is much exercised about the selection of generals to command the half million of men called into the field for the maintenance of the Union, it may gratify some curious persons to know how our grandfathers in the Revolution chose such high officers. It is a fact very little known, that Roberdeau and Hand were elected brigadier-generals of the Pennsylvania troops by a military convention, held at Lancaster, in that State, for that purpose, on the 4th day of July, 1776. That convention was composed of delegates from each battalion of the militia. These battalions were all represented, the representatives of each consisting of four commissioned officers, and of four non-commissioned officers and privates. The selection of generals was made with almost perfect unanimity.

It has been often said that Pennsylvania did not enter heartily into the Revolution; but the truth is that the people of Pennsylvania were a good way in advance of their former political and social leaders. That is shown by this very convention, in which the delegates, coming from the people and from every part of the colony, met together to choose leaders of a military resistance to Great Britain.

The papers of this convention, consisting of the call for it, the credentials of the delegates of each battalion, the tally-paper of the election, the resolutions, and the records of its proceedings, were once all in my hands, precisely as they came from the hands of the secretary. A very distinguished public man of this State, being informed of their character, declared that if such papers, evidence of such a transaction, existed in any Southern State, we would never hear the end of it on the floors of Congress. That may be so. The papers passed into his hands to make a beginning; but as I have never heard of the papers, or of the transaction of which they were the evidence, since, now more than seventeen years, I beg to make a "Note" of the matter in our American "N. & Q."

J. P. J.

READING, Pa.

FATHER RALE.—The obelisk erected many years ago, to commemorate the labors and death of this scholar and devoted minister of his church, has recently been restored to its position, by the citizens of Norridgewock, Me., by whose suggestion it was at first raised. On the day of its re-erection a very large number of people assembled, when several speeches were made, and many small relics, such as beads, flints, shot, bits of pipes and shells, were found.

But the most interesting specimen of the things of ancient date, was a crucifix of bronze, about about two inches long, and well preserved, though buried, probably, for a period of no less than one hundred and thirty-seven years. It was found (Sept. 12, 1861) near the spot where the monument stands.

On the obverse is the form of the crucified Saviour, over the head are the letters "F. N. R. I.," and a skull and cross-bones are below the feet. On the reverse is the image of the Virgin, in low relief, bearing her hands folded across her breast. The attitude and expression betoken sorrow. It bears the inscription, "Virgo Immaculata, Præsta Putam Vitam." The first two words are inscribed on the head of the cross; the next is on its left arm; the fourth at the bottom; and the last on the right arm. A circlet of stars environs the head.

It is easy to believe that this relic was the possession of the missionary, who lost his life, Aug. 22, 1724, in the attack which dispersed the Indians from "Old Point," to which they never returned for settlement. The hope is cherished that this memorial of the past will be ultimately deposited in the cabinet of the Maine Historical Society, as a companion to "The Strong Box" of the same original ownership, which has been promised by bequest to its permanent guardianship.

BRUNOVICUS.

**BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION.**—The leading article in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1861, by Joel T. Headley, on "Bouquet's Expedition," is one of the most characteristic which that celebrated periodical has ever illustrated for the public. It gives only in the first line any date designating the year in which the expedition may be supposed to have been undertaken, and the date is twelve years later than Bouquet's expedition into Ohio. "The peace of 1772, between France and England, left the latter in possession of the Northwest," Mr. Headley says, when in fact the peace was declared in 1762. In 1763 Bouquet marched to Fort Pitt, and in 1764 conducted his expedition into Ohio. Mr. Headley does not speak in too high terms of the skill with which it was executed, but he might have been generous enough to have given proper credit to an ancient chronicler for the facts, and indeed many of the scenes which he describes in his pleasant article. A sketch of the expedition was published in the "Annual Register," of London, in 1763, and in 1766 a thin octavo was published in Philadelphia and in London, "from authentic documents, by a lover of his country," which gives an historical account of the expedition, a preliminary sketch of the previous campaign, the fight at Bushy Run, and contains also much matter of interest

cerning the Ohio Indians. The book is illustrated with maps and copper-plates, showing the line of march, places of encampment, plan of battle at Bushy Run, and several interesting interviews with the Indians. The maps were drawn by Thos. Hutchins, engineer with the expedition, and the designs for the engravings, representing interviews with the savages, were executed by Benjamin West.

The narrative is clear, and one well acquainted with it would frequently be reminded of it while reading Mr. Headley's sketch. A copy of the work is in the Ohio State Library; it preserves the record of an interesting and important episode in the history of the wilderness out of which the State of Ohio has grown.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

**EARLY COMMERCE OF NEW YORK.**—The West India Company sent to New Netherlands, according to De Laet's History of the Company:

1624, in two ships,	Guilders,	25,569
1625, in several,		8,772
1626, in two,		20,984
1627, in four,		56,170
1629, in three,		55,778
1630, in two,		57,499
1631, in one,		17,355
1632, " "		31,320
1634, " "		29,562
1635, " "		28,875

Returns from New Netherlands:

1624,	4000	beaver,	700	otter,		27,125
1625,	5295	"	463	"		35,825
1626,	7258	"	857	"	&c.,	45,050
1627,	5934	"	130	"		43,690
	1586	"	240	"		12,730
1628,	6951	"	734	"	&c.,	61,075
1629,	5913	"	681	"		62,185
1630,	6041	"	1085	"		68,012
1632,	8569	"	646	"		94,925
	4944	"	1115	"	&c.,	48,200
1633,	8800	"	1383	"	"	91,375
1635,	14891	"	1413	"	"	134,925

705,117

**INDIAN JARGON.**—The Chinook jargon has, in our days of research, been actually printed and critically examined. George Gibbs, Esq., has made an extremely interesting little work on it, in which he traces each word to the Indian or European language to which it belongs. This system of jargons began very early, and has, doubtless, led to many errors. As early as 1633, the Jesuit Father Paul Le Jeune wrote: "I have remarked in the study of their language, that there is a certain jargon between the French and

Indians, which is neither French nor Indian; and yet when the French use it they think they are speaking Indian, and the Indians using it, think they speak good French. I wrote some words last year, which I styled Indian words, and I thought they were—for example: *Ania*, a barbarous word used constantly by the Indians speaking to the French, and by the French speaking to the Indians, and all use it to mean *my brother*; but in real Montagnais, *nichtais* means my elder brother, *nichim*, my younger brother. The word *sagamo* is used here only by a few, to mean chief, the real word is *oukshiman*. The word *sagamo*, I believe came from Acadia. There are many such. G.

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.—A large assembly collected at the church on the 4th Sept., 1861, to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of its foundation. Bishops Potter, Odenheimer, De Lancey, and Drs. Ducachet, Stephens, and Clay, officiated. The sermon was delivered by Bishop De Lancey. The following is a brief sketch of the history of the church:

In June, 1758, the vestry of Christ Church resolved to erect a new church "at the south end of the city, on a lot of ground lately granted by the honorable proprietaries of the province for that purpose;" and the following persons were appointed a committee to superintend the building of the same, viz.: Joseph Sims, Dr. John Kearsley, William Plumstead, Jacob Duché, Alexander Stedman, James Child, Evan Morgau, Redmond Conyngnam, Attwood Shute, John Wilcocks, Samuel McCall, Jr., James Humphreys, and Wm. Bingham.

Under their direction St. Peter's church was built, and opened for public worship, September 4, 1761, on which occasion a sermon was preached from the words, "I have surely built thee a house to dwell in," by Rev. William Smith, D. D., provost of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania).

The building is of brick, sixty feet in width, by ninety feet in length. In the year 1843, a tower and spire were added to the west end, to accommodate a chime of bells, which had been donated to the church by the late Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, Esq.

The interior of the church has received but few alterations from the original design, and with its high-backed pews, antique pulpit, etc., is a well-preserved specimen of a church of the olden time.

In the churchyard are interred the remains of Rev. Jacob Duché, the first chaplain to Congress, Commodore Decatur, and other eminent men.

Christ Church and St. Peter's were originally united into one corporation, to which St. James's

Church was added, in 1810. St. James's Church was separated in 1829, and St. Peter's Church in 1832.

#### Rectors.

Rev. Robert Jenney, LL. D., 1761 to 1762. Died January, 1762.

Rev. Richard Peters, D. D., 1762 to 1775. Died July 10, 1776.

Rev. Jacob Duché, D. D., 1775 to 1777. Died January 3, 1798.

Rt. Rev. Wm. White, D. D., 1779 to 1836. Died July 17, 1836.

Rev. William H. De Lancey, D. D., 1836 to 1839. Now Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York.

Rev. William H. Odenheimer, D. D., 1840 to 1859. Now Bishop of the Diocese of New Jersey.

Rev. George Leeds, Rector at the present time.

COHONKS NOT WINTER, BUT GRAY GOOSE.—Oldmixon, vol. i., p. 421, says: The Indians of Virginia "reckon their years by Cohonks, or Winters." The author evidently misunderstood the word for the Indian name of the season, whereas it is the name, in the dialect of the country, for the Gray goose, the migration of the bird southward denoting the approach, if not the presence of cold weather. The passage in Oldmixon is curious, showing how unchangeable have been the habits of the bird, and how early and correctly the Indians observed them. o'c.

CORRECTIONS TO LUDEWIG'S "BIBLIOTHECA GLOTTICA."—This work is a most valuable guide to students of American Ethnology, and the few errors should be noted as they are met; and as the *Historical Magazine* furnishes a convenient volume of reference, I inclose a few:

MAQUAS (p. 10). "Extinct tribe of the Iroquois in Eastern Pennsylvania and Western New York. At a later period, we find the Onondagas sometimes called Maqua."

This is all confusion. The Dutch, after the Mohegans, called the Mohawks, Mahakuas, or Maquas, and Mohawk is but a corruption of the word. The words mentioned should therefore be transferred to the title "Mohawk." As the Mohawks were the prominent tribe, the Dutch and the New Englanders used the term Maqua, Mohawk, to embrace all the confederates, and in this way it was equivalent to the French term Iroquois, since adopted. Zeisberger's Grammar was, therefore, an Onondaga Iroquois Grammar. The locality assigned to the tribe, is of course wrong. They lay on the Mohawk.

MONTAGNAIS (p. 107). The tribe called by the early French writers Montagnais, but termed by our scholars Sheshatapooshoish, on the authority of the boy Gabriel, did not lie west of Hudson's Bay, but near the Saguenay, on the Lower St. Lawrence, as correctly stated on p. 196. They are an Algonquin tribe.

What misled the author, is the fact that the Canadians now apply the name Montagnais to the Chepewyans, a tribe of the Athapascan, an entirely different family. The Kristineaux or Crees gave the name of Chepewyan (according to Bishop Taché. *Tehipaw*, pointed; *weyan*, skin; *oji*, canoe); but these Indians call themselves *Dene*, men. Chepewyan has again been confounded with Chippeway, the name of a Western Algonquin tribe, originally written Outchipoués, but now Otchipwé or Ojibway. Chippeway, therefore, is the name of a western, Montagnais of an eastern, Algonquin tribe; while Chepewyan and Montagnais are both names of the same Athapascan tribe.

THE DUCHÉ FAMILY.—“A tablet in the south wall of the old Swedes' church has this inscription:

“Near this stone are deposited the remains of Catharine and Anthony Duché. Catharine died October 10, 1752, in the 46th year of her age. Anthony died April 5, 1787, in the 81st year of his age.”

The celebrated Dr. Jacob Duché was a son of Anthony Duché, who was most probably the person buried at “Gloria Dei.” This Anthony was the son of Anthony Duché, who came out with Penn, and is noted in anecdote for his refusal to take the square of ground between Market and Arch and Third and Fourth streets (with the exception of the Friends' burial ground) for £30, which Penn had borrowed of him. There were two principal families of Duchés in Philadelphia about 1750—the head of one being a potter, the other a dyer. Both were doubtless descended from Anthony Duché the first.

RARE NEW YORK TRACT.—William Bradford, of New York, printed in 1719, by order of government, a tract containing: I. Three clauses of an Act of Parliament relating to Pitch and Tar made in the Plantations; II. A form of a Certificate to be given to the Officers of the Customs to intitle the Importers to the Premium allowed for said Pitch and Tar; III. A Method of preparing Tar in Russia, with Remarks thereon, and IV. Rules for raising and making of Hemp.”

This tract is earlier than Colden's on the Fur Trade, or Five Nations, and therefore more sought after by bibliographers.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM PENN TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND AND CHARLES II.—

NO. I.

PHILADELPHIA, 23 5 mo., July, 1683.

MY NOBLE FRIEND:

It is an unhappiness incident to great men, to be troubled with the respects of the small folk their kindness obliges; however, I had rather need an excuse, than be wanting of gratitude to my noble Benefactors, of which the Lord Sunderland was one of the first, in the business of my American country, and tho' I have nothing to returne but humble thanks and good wishes for all his generous favours, yet they have Engaged me in a most firm Resolution to embrace all occasions by which I may express my sense of them, and gratitude to him. And being thus oblig'd to interest my selfe in his success and Prosperity, I must take leave to congratulate the happy Restoration of the king's grace and favour, in which without flattery I take the freedom to say I think he has done right to the Lord Sunderland's abilities, and his own buisness; for ever since he yielded me the advantage of his acquaintance in France (a time of twenty years standing, or running rather), I have said many times to many people, I remember not to have mett a young nobleman Promising a sharper and clearer Judgment, and of closer and better sense; and pardon me if I wish that this Occasion may give thee time to prove it yet more abundantly to the world. I was a little elevated with the hopes of a free discourse and censure upon my American enterprize, when it Pleas'd thee to give me to beleive I might meet thee some evening at Col. Henry Sidney's;\* but some greater affaire diverting, Rob'd me of the advantage I had Reason to Promess my selfe from so correct a conversation. But tho' I mist that expression of thy favour, lett me not want the effects of it: I am now in a station, where my own Weakness, or my neighbours' Envy, may happen to hurt my honest Interest, and the good work I have in my Eye: Please to take me and my Poor feeble concerns into thy Protection, and give us thy Smiles and Countenance, and I will Venture to say that, by the help of God, and such noble friends, I will show a province in 7 years equal to her neighbours of 40 years Planting.

I have lay'd out the Province into countys. Six are begun to be seated; they lye on the great River, and are Planted about 6 miles back, the town platt is a mile long, and two deep,—has a navigable river on each side; The least as Broad

\* The younger brother of the Earl of Leicester and of the celebrated Colonel Algernon Sidney, who suffered death at the close of this very year. Henry was himself created a Peer after the Revolution, by the title of Earl of Romney.

as the Thames at Wootwiche, from 3 to 8 fathom water; there is built about 80 houses, and I have settled at least 300 farms contiguous to it. We have had with Passengers 23 Ships, and trading 40, great and small, since the last summer,—not amiss for one year. The country is in soyle good, aire Sereen (as in Languedock), and sweet from the Ceder, Pine, and sassefrax; with a wild mer- tile, and that all send forth a most fragrant smell, which every breez carries with it to the inhab- itants where it goes. Cyprus, Chesnutt, Ceder, black Walnut, Poppler (the largest in the World), oake of six sorts, White, Red, Black, Spanish, Ches- nutt, and swampe, are the timber of these Parts. Ash there is also, but not so frequently. Here is a hickory nut tree, mighty large, and more tough than our ash, the finest white and flaming fire I have ever seen.

I have had better Venison, bigger, more tender, and as fatt as in England; turkys of the wood I had of 40 and 50 Pound weight; fish in abun- dance, especially of Shad and Rock, which are here an excellent fish; Peareh and trout, but no Salmon hereways yet as I here of; but oysters, that are monstrous for bigness, tho there be a lesser sort. Here are of fruits divers wild, the peach, grape, and Plum, and that of divers sorts. We have also in the woods flowers, that for col- our, largeness, and beuty excel; I intend a col- lection of the most valuuable of which this Place affords for Europe the next season. For the people, they are savage to us; in their Persons and furni- ture all that is rude, but they have great shape, strength, agility; and in Councel, for they (tho in a kind of Community among themselves) observe Property and government, grave, Speak Seldom, inter spaces of Silence, short, elegant, fervant. The old sitt in a half moon upon the ground, the middle aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them, and the young fry in the same manner behind them; none speak but the aged, they having consulted the rest before; thus, in selling me their land, they ordered themselves;\* I must say that, their obscurity consider'd, want- ing tradition, example, and Instruction, they are an extraordinary People. Had not the dutch, Sweeds, and English, learn'd them drunkenness (in which condition they kill and burn one an- other), they had been very tractable, but Rum is so dear to them, that for 6 Penny worth of Rum, one may buy that fur from them that five shil- lings in any other commodity shall not Purchase. Yet many of the old men, and some of the young People, will not touch with such spirits; and be-

\* This description may suggest to an artist a design arranged very differently from the well-known picture by Benjamin West, and one which will be recommend- ed for greater historical accuracy, founded on the best possible authority.

cause in those fits they mischief both themselves and our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any. Pardon, my noble friend, this length (longer too in my scrawling hand than in it selfe); I thought it my duty to give an account of the place to one whos favour had helpt to make it myn, and who was Pleas'd more than once to discourse the set- tlement of it.

I have only to Recommend the bearer my kins- man, Capt. Markham, and to pray access in my affaires, yet not fully fixt, by an unkindness of my neighbour the Lord Baltimore,\* and that it would please thee to accept a Poor Present of our growth, Remembring that the ancients vallued offerings by the heart that made them, and finally to give me leave to ware the character of, my noble Freind, thy very sensible and faithful fr'd and serv' to my Powr,

(Signed) WM. PENN.

May I Present my humble duty to the king?

For the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

No. II.

TO HIS MAJESTY:

Great and Gracious Prince,—It is a barren soyle that yields noe Returns to the dew that feeds it, and they are mean and ungratefull mindes that are oblivious of the favours they Receive. I would fain excuse this freedom, if I were not bound to use it, for, being destitute of better ways, gratitude makes it necessary to me, and necessity is a solicitor that takes no denial. Lett the king then graciously please to accept my most humble thanks for his many Royall favours con- ferr'd upon me, more especially this of Pennsil- vania. I only lament myselfe, that my own inability will not suffer me to express myselfe in a way suitable to the sense I have of the great obligations I lye under. But, Because the alter was not ordain'd for the Rich and great only, and that offerings are to be accepted by the heart that makes them, I Perswade myselfe to hope that the king will please to Receive my dutifull acknowledgements by the Integrity that humbly sends them; and to beleive that among the num- erous subjects, as well of his goodnes as of his Pow'r, there is none that with more truth, zeal, and affection, loves and honours him.

Give me leave next to say, so soon as I was arriv'd and made my settlement of this Province, I thought It my duty to waite upon the king, by some Person of the Province, in condition of an agent extraordinary, which is the bearer my kins- man, Markham (formally deputy in this govern- ment); and tho this would not look wholly free of vanity (considering my late Private capacity),

\* The proprietor of the adjacent province of Mary- land.

yet I take it to be the duty of those persons whom the goodness of the Kings of England hath at any time clothed with Extraordinary Powers in these Parts of the world, to show their deference to the Imperiall Majesty they are tributarys to, and their dependence upon it, by the mission and attendance of agents in their names at the Court.

I have only now, great Prince, to Pray Pardon and acceptance for a Poor Present, of Country produce, and that it would graciously Please the King to take me still into his favour, his young Province into his Protection, and God, the Bountefull Rewarder of good and gracious acts, Retaliate the both with temperall and Eternall glory.—I am, with Reverence and truth, great and gracious Prince, thy most thankfull, humble, and obedient Subject and Servant in all I can.

(Signed) WM. PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 13 Aug., 83.

#### QUERIES.

**CARIBS IN OUR PRESENT TERRITORY.**—Is there any reason for supposing, or authority for believing, that the Caribs of the West India Islands have been in any territory now of the United States?

There appears to be such an idea in the books, but I could never see upon what it rests. M. B.

**CALIFORNIA POISONED ARROWS.**—It is often said that some nations of California employ poison on their arrows. Have any late observers verified this fact, and is it vegetable or mineral, or, as some state, of animal origin? Was this, or any other poison, made use of in the same way by the more civilized races of Mexico and Central America?

**JAYHAWKERS.**—This word has lately appeared in the Western States, to designate a class of marauders who, like the Cowboys of the Revolution, prey on friend and foe, alike. Whence is it derived? O. C.

**WHO FIRST PROPOSED TAXING AMERICA?**—Mr. Henry C. Wetmore claims, in *Notes and Queries*, 2d S., iv., 169, that Sir William Keith's plan of taxing the colonies is "the first on record"—that it was the worthy baronet

" . . . . . qui fragilem truci  
Commissit pelago ratem  
Primus."

As this is a matter of importance in an historical point of view, Mr. W. is requested to furnish a date of the "plan," and oblige A STUDENT.

**GOLDEN WEDDINGS.**—These are of quite recent introduction into this country; at least, I never heard of them till within the past dozen years. I have the impression that they were introduced by our German immigrants. Am I correct? and can any one furnish a history of them in the land where they originated? or state when they were introduced here? BOSTON.

**FORTIFICATIONS AT NEW YORK, IN 1776.**—The following statement of the batteries in New York, May 22, 1776, is found in a note in Irving's "Life of Washington:"

"*The Grand Battery*, on the south part of the town.

*Fort George*, immediately above it.

*White Hall Battery*, on the left of the Grand Battery.

*Oyster Battery*, behind Gen. W.'s head-quarters.  
*Grenadier Battery*, near the Brew House on the North River.

*Jersey Battery*, on the left of Grenadier Battery.

*Bayard's Hill Redoubt*, on Bayard's Hill.

*Spencer's Redoubt*, on the hill where his brigade is encamped.

*Waterbury's Battery* (fascines), on a wharf below this hill.

*Bullani's Redoubt*, on a hill near the Jew's burying-ground."

Can any of your correspondents give what would be the present position of these batteries?

FRANK BUCKEYE.

**BURIED INDIAN VILLAGE.**—What truth is there in the story of an Indian village of thirty-four houses found some nine feet under ground in Nacoochee Valley, Georgia, about 1834?

ANTIQUARIAN.

**AMELIA ISLAND AFFAIR.**—How came so many ships with valuable cargoes to be at Amelia Island at that opportune moment when this island became part of the United States? Were some merchants privately informed, and so enabled to make a fortune, or was it their own judgment that such would be the case? Can any one give a list of the vessels, owners, and value of the cargoes? The present grown up generation know very little of this affair. W. Y. M.

**WORKS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES BY MOTHER MARY OF THE INCARNATION.**—In her letters the foundress of the Ursulines in Canada says, that she wrote "a large Algonquin volume of sacred history, with an Iroquois dictionary and catechism; an Algonquin dictionary in the French alphabet and another in the Indian alphabet, a

Huron catechism, an Algonquin catechism and prayer-book."

Will our friends in Canada tell us whether any of these still exist; and what she means by "Indian alphabet?"

THE MOTT (N. Y.) TOKEN.—In my collection of coins I have a very good specimen of the Mott penny, which has an *l*, instead of an *e*, in the word *watches*. Is it so with all of Mott's?

FRANK BUCKEYE.

THE HEAVIEST BATTALIONS.—Napoleon has had the credit of the remark, "I have observed that Providence always favors the heaviest battalions." But the readers of *Las Casas* will find that he had a different opinion. The saying is to be traced to General Lee. Perhaps some of your readers, who have access to his "Life"—a duodecimo, written many years ago—can furnish page and paragraph.

BRUNOVICUS.

THE SALT BOX—RICHARD PORSON—FRANCIS HOPKINSON.—In the *London Notes and Queries*, June, 1861, C. H. & Thompson Cooper make a "Note" of the fact that Mr. Watson in his recent "Life of Porson," pp. 411-415, gives the Dialogue on a Salt-box, with a statement that it is so much in Porson's manner that there can hardly be a doubt of its being his. The Messrs. Cooper say that it has been attributed to Judge Francis Hopkinson, and cite Duyekink's "Cyc. Am. Lit.," vol. i., p. 213, and Allen's "Amer. Biog. Dict.," I find this *jeu d'esprit* at p. 340, vol. i., of the "Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq. Philadelphia, printed by T. Dobson, at the Stone-house, No. 41 Second-street, 1792." It bears the date, "May, 1784." It seems to me that its first appearance was in a periodical called *The Columbian Magazine*, published in Philadelphia, it may be, about the year 1784; an odd volume of which, as containing "the Battle of the Kegs," unquestionably by Mr. H., and this very piece, I remember as being one of the delights of my early boyhood. Porson was born in 1759, and was, therefore, old enough, and certainly had wit enough, to have been the author of this dialogue. But in these respects Hopkinson was his equal; and the question between them as to its authorship, comes down to this, Which of them published it first as his? and where? J. P. J.

READING, Pa.

#### REPLIES.

RAIN WATER DOCTOR (vol. v., p. 252).—In your *Magazine* of August, I notice a query in reference to the Rain Water Doctor, of East Hartford

(should be East Haddam). He was drowned in 1815, just after the settlement of the English difficulty, very singularly in a large barrel of rain water, which stood under the eaves of a porch to his house. His name was Octavius Plinth. His residence was North Dedham, Mass. He was skilful, honest, and generous.

P. VINE.

KEYSTONE STATE (vol. v., p. 316).—The term, I believe, was applied about the close of the last century, in consequence of the initials of the State being engraved on the keystone of the arch of the stone bridge that was erected over Rock Creek, between the city of Washington and Georgetown. This bridge, which has since been destroyed, was built of stones brought to build the walls of the first capitol, and unused for it. Its arch is said to have consisted of thirteen stones, the keystone of which had engraved on it the initials of Pa., and the twelve others, those of the other States at that period, one on each. Probably *Pa.* may have been put on the keystone, from the fact of the bridge being at the termination of Pennsylvania Avenue.

S. H.

SMITH'S VIRGINIA (vol. i., pp. 27, 59).—There were evidently three editions of Smith, one with the London and two with the Williamsburg imprint, one of them being on poor paper and the others on good paper.

All three copies have signature x., pp. 295-310, on the poor paper. The type in all is the same, and evidently from the same office.

The pages of the London, and the good paper Williamsburg, correspond entirely, in type, lines, pages, ornaments. The pages run to 304, then back to 295-310.

The poor paper Williamsburg edition differs frequently from the other two in the lines, but generally ends the pages in the same way, with occasionally a word or two more or less. It differs from them in many of the ornaments. Its paging runs on correctly to 256, and then begins again 247.

All copies end on p. 331.

D. P. S.

RUSSELL (vol. iii., p. 280).—The brother of was Lord William Russell, who served in America, Lord George Russell, who graduated at Oxford in 1666-7. He was in Boston in 1680, and was an ensign at Albany in 1687, and at New York in 1689. In the latter year he was sent out of the province by Lieut.-gov. Nicholson, because he was a Roman Catholic. He died in 1692. See Dr. O'Callaghan's "Woolley's New York," p. 94.



HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (vol. v., p. 316).—It is believed that Dr. Eberle did not make any very considerable progress in his projected translation of that part of Büsching's *Allgemeine Erdbeschreibung*, which relates to Pennsylvania. The active part of his professional career was opening about the year 1819, and soon after that he was drawn almost exclusively into those deep medical studies, which he pursued with so much distinction to himself and with so much profit to his profession. Dr. Eberle's MSS. are probably with some of his descendants, who may be living at Cincinnati or in Kentucky.

Ebeling's "Geography and History of North America" was a contribution, in five volumes, to the work before mentioned, which reached seventy odd volumes. The history of Pennsylvania was a part of that contribution. Ebeling had a large and good library relating to America, containing four thousand volumes. This work of his enjoyed a high reputation in Europe; and, though it may now as a whole be superseded, its parts may be well worth the consideration of the several Historical Societies of the States, whose histories it presents.

J. P. J.

READING, Pa.

## Notes on Books.

*The Wetmore Family of America, and its collateral branches; with genealogical, biographical, and historical notices.* By James Carnahan Wetmore. Albany: J. Munsell, 1861. 8vo, 670 pp.

A most elegant volume, creditable to the taste of the author and publisher. To most readers, family histories have a very repelling appearance, which in comprehensive works like Savage's Dictionary reaches its most formidable point. Mr. Wetmore has avoided this by his arrangement, which is certainly more attractive and easy for reference than the usual one.

The Introduction is devoted to the English Wetmores. The founder in this country was Thomas Whetmore, born in 1615, and an emigrant in 1635, to Middletown, Connecticut. He left sixteen children. And Mr. Wetmore treats of each separately, and then of the descendants of each, generation by generation, quoting very largely from published and unpublished sources matter referring to the various members.

Among the more distinguished of the descendants of Thomas Whetmore, were Captain John Wetmore and his sons, John and Prosper Wet-

more, all of the army of the Revolution; Hon. Seth Wetmore, of Montgomery county, N. Y., Major Alphonzo Wetmore, U. S. A., Capt. Leonidas Wetmore, U. S. A., Com. W. C. Wetmore, U. S. N., Rev. Izrahiah Wetmore, Dr. Charles H. Wetmore, Prosper M. Wetmore, Rev. J. Wetmore, identified with the early Episcopal history of Connecticut, David B. Wetmore, a judge in New Brunswick, and Thomas, attorney-general of that province, Judge Seth Wetmore, Hon. Lansing Wetmore.

Sketches of these, and of several eminent persons connected with the family, are given.

The appendix contains very good sketches of President Edwards, Elder Brewster, and Hon. John Treadwell, and a very full one of Miles Standish.

*History of the Town of Newburg; general, analytical, and geographical.* By E. M. Ruttenber. Illustrated with views, maps, portraits, &c., drawn by Chas. W. Tice, engraved by David Nichols. Newburg: E. M. Ruttenber & Co., 1861. No. 10.

This handsome local history, of which we noticed the opening two years since, is now brought to a close. The present number contains a part of the family history of the town, with the Index to the whole work. Mr. Ruttenber has done his various shares of author, printer, and publisher, in a most creditable manner, and affords Newburg a history, which for accuracy, arrangement, and skill, as well as for typographical and artistic excellence, is one of the first in the State.

*Inauguration of the Perry Statue, at Cleveland, on the 10th of September, 1860; including a history of the Battle of Lake Erie, by George Bancroft; Addresses and other proceedings, with a Sketch of William Walcutt, the sculptor.* Published by direction of the City Council. Cleveland, O.: Fairbanks, Benedict, & Co., Printers, 1861. 8vo, 128 pp.

This extended pamphlet is not only creditable to the city of Cleveland, but valuable as an historical contribution. Besides the paper of Mr. Bancroft, and his address, it contains a considerable number of letters and sketches relative to the Battle of Lake Erie, well worth preserving in this shape.

Cleveland shows an example which other cities may well imitate. New York is sadly deficient in statues or monuments of her illustrious men. The statue of Washington, the monuments of Montgomery, Emmet, and Worth, alone catch the eye, unless we add that in Trinity, to the martyrs of the prisons. But will New York

never raise a statue to Hudson, who discovered it? to a Knowlton, who lies in his unadorned but glorious grave?

*The Southern Rebellion and the War for the Union.* Nos. 6-10. F. Gerhard. New York: 1861.

THESE numbers bring the history of the movement to the commencement of the year, and embrace the history of the important debates in that Congress where the delegates of the whole Union last met. The debates are well given, with however some party leaning, but so far as we have seen, with no positive injustice. All who talk of compromise or peace, should go back and read the words of the South before they seceded. No compromise that could have been offered would have met acceptance then or will now. It is on our part a struggle for national existence, and for democratic institutions. The publication which we notice, is of great value in thus keeping the real causes and objects of the movement before the people.

*Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York.* Began the 9th day of April, 1691; and ended the 27th of September, 1743. Published by order of the Senate of the State of New York. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1861. Folio, 814 pp.

THIS volume contains a most interesting historical introduction by Dr. O'Callaghan, which embodies the material part of the early legislative history of New York; a matter of some difficulty, from the various questions as to the period of the Dutch rule and the powers of the people after the conquest. The minutes of the Council existed in a single copy in manuscript, and Dr. O'Callaghan, deeming their preservation of great importance, suggested their publication. The Journals of the Assembly from 1691 were published prior to the Revolution. The present work therefore completes the Legislative Journals of the colony.

*The Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer*; an Historical Magazine, embracing a Digest of the History of each Town, Civil, Educational, Religious, Geological, and Literary. No. II. Bennington County. Edited by Messrs. A. M. Hemenway. Ludlow, Vt.: 1861.

THIS second number of this valuable collection of Vermont local history bears a portrait of Gov. Hillard Hall. The history of Bennington County, with sketches of prominent men, is here given fully. The names of the contributors are not always given; but we hope to find these and a full

index at the close of this valuable work, which contains an immense mass of information, not only as to Vermont itself, but also as to the history of Vermonters elsewhere.

*Further Traces of the Ancient Northmen in America*; with Geological Evidences of their Vineland. By Rev. Abner Morse, A. M. Boston: Dutton & Co., 1861. 16 pp.

DESPITE the ridicule which a school has for some years thrown on all attempts to investigate the question of a Northman visit to our shores, Mr. Morse has here, after considerable investigation, brought forward a class of monuments, evidently not of Indian origin, and which in his opinion may be ascribed to the Northmen, and be a new motive of crediting the accounts given. When the question is again considered these will doubtless have some weight. One thing is certain, Mr. Morse puts forward his views with the modesty of a scholar, and with no dogmatism whatever.

### Miscellany.

WILLIAM B. WOOD, long known from his connection with the American stage, died recently in Philadelphia. He was born in Montreal, C. E., May 26, 1779, but was brought up in New York, to which his family removed at the close of the Revolution. His father intended him for a mercantile career, and placed him with John Pintard, Esq.; but as a merchant he failed, and in 1798 went on the stage with Mr. Wignell's company. He soon became a favorite actor, and by his versatile talents long retained the public applause. He was for some years one of the proprietors of the New Theatre, but lost every thing by its destruction by fire, in 1820. He outlived all his associates by many years, and was one of the last links connecting us with the last century.

On the 19th day of October, 1861, Thomas Wildey, the founder of the Odd Fellows, in America, died at Baltimore. The first lodge was established in that city in 1819; and as others sprang up, Mr. W. united them all, and was Grand Master or Grand Sire from 1825 to 1833. He was born Jan. 15, 1783.

WHITMORE'S "Hand Book of American Genealogy" is now in press.

JUDGE JOHN M. McDONALD is preparing for the press a volume of his "Historical Sketches."

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V.]

DECEMBER, 1861.

[No. 12.]

General Department.

INTRODUCTION OF HORSES INTO THE NORTH-  
ERN COLONIES OF AMERICA.

An article in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. i., p. 154, states that, according to Prince's Annals, there were no horses in New England in 1632, but that they evidently made their appearance between that year and 1636; moreover that the animal seems to have been introduced into New Netherlands under the administration of Gov. Van Twiller, 1633-38. The following is a somewhat detailed examination of this not uninteresting point:

The Dutch West India Company, having received their charter during the year 1621, dispatched their first vessel, called the "New Netherland," in the spring of 1623, with thirty families, chiefly Walloons, to form a colony upon the Hudson river, near the present site of Albany. These were under the control of a commissary, the Hon. Daniel Von Krieckebeeck, who was also commander of the Fort Orange, which they there raised on Castle Island. At this time the only domestic animal known among the natives was the dog; for although the earlier traders had brought over bucks, goats, and rabbits, these had all perished from eating some poisonous herbage.

In April, 1625, the Hon. Pieter Evertsen Hulft agreed to ship, at his own risk, for the directors of the West India Company, one hundred head of cattle, including stallions, mares, steers, and cows for breeding; besides all the hogs and sheep deemed requisite. Three vessels were accordingly prepared, one carrying horses, another cows, and the third, hay: "Each animal had its own stall, with a floor of three feet sand," and being well attended, and provided with abundance of water and forage, only two died upon the voyage out; subsequently about twenty were poisoned, on being turned out to pasture, from weeds growing in the rank soil. With these vessels went six families, probably Walloons, and some freemen, in all forty-five settlers, to form an establishment on

Manhattan Island,\* under a new Director,† Willem Verhulst. During the succeeding year they constructed a stone fort, called Amsterdam, a horse-mill, over which was a large room for worship, and a bell-tower; these buildings were erected at the order of the third Director or Governor, the Hon. Pieter Minuit, and were situated upon the southern extremity of the island. Subsequent to 1630, when the country began to be more thickly populated through the colonies introduced by the Patroons, cattle, horses, and live stock of course rapidly increased.

Father Jogues, writing in 1644, informs us, that when any one was desirous of settling in the Novum Belgium, he was loaned horses, cows, &c., and given a certain quantity of provisions, which he repaid at his own convenience. From the same authority we learn, that at Rensselaerswick, on the Nassau, or North River, the people raised chiefly wheat and "oats, for beer and for their horses, of which they had a great stock."

Six years after Corn. Van Tienhoven, secretary of the Province, while giving certain information relative to taking up land in New Netherland, states that a young mare with her second or third foal was worth from 150 to 160 florins (\$60), and a four or five year old stallion 130 florins, while in New England, where these and other cattle were especially abundant "and to be had at a reasonable price," a good mare sold for from 100 to 120 florins, and a stallion for 100 florins.

Arnoldus Montanus, in his "Description of the New Netherlands," published at Amsterdam, in 1671, informs us that the horses there "are brought from England, or from the diocese of Utrecht. Those from the bishopric far excel the English. Both are subject to a curious disease, whereof many die within a few hours. The same disease attacks horned cattle that are pastured in new ground. But hay grown in salt meadows is found to be a remedy against this."

From Bradford's "History of Plymouth," we learn that in March, 1624, Mr. Edward Winslow,

\* The old settlers or traders, who had been located on Manhattan Island since 1615, abandoned their fort on the South River, and united with these last comers.

† Cornelis May, of Hoorn, had been the Company's Director in 1624.

who had gone to England as an agent for the colony, again returned in the *Charity* (Baker, m<sup>5</sup>), and that "he brought three heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in y<sup>e</sup> land;" this was nearly thirteen years after their introduction into the Virginia colony by Sir Thomas Gates. It is not at all probable that horses were introduced into Plymouth at any early period of the settlement, and as Bradford nowhere makes mention of them in the course of his writings, we may suppose that the colonists obtained them from their immediate neighbors at the Massachusetts Bay.

On the 17th of April, 1629, the first general letter was written from Gravesend by the Governor\* and Deputy† of the New England Colony for a Plantation in Massachusetts Bay, to the Governor‡ and Council for London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England. It contains the following clause: "Such cattle, both horses, mares, cows, bulls and goates, as are shipped by M<sup>r</sup> Cradock, are to bee devyded in equall halfes twixt him and the Companie, w<sup>ch</sup> was omitted to bee done heere for avoyding partialitie, soe yo<sup>r</sup> must doe it equally there."

With the second letter, dated London, 28th May, 1629, was sent a list of all the goods and cattle which had been brought over on the six vessels lately dispatched by the Company, viz: The *George Bonaventure*, Thomas Cox, master, which left the Isle of Wight on May 4th, 1629; the *Talbot*, Thom. Beecher, master, and the *Lyons Whelp*, John Gibbs, master, which left the same port about the 11th, to be soon followed by the *Mayflower*, of Yarmouth, Wm. Peirse, master; the *Four Sisters*, Roger Harman, master; and the *Pilgrim*, of London, Wm. Woolrige, master. It appears that the *Lyons Whelp* had on board, at starting, twenty cows and bulls, valued at £4 each, and ten mares and horses, worth £6 each. The Rev. Francis Higginson, however, who came over in the *Talbot*, which sailed in company with the *Lyons Whelp*, says in his journal that "the chief carriage were cattle, twelve mares, thirty kine, and some goats."

The same Company-letter, last referred to, informs Endicott that "the cattle now and forin<sup>ly</sup> sent have bin all p<sup>ro</sup>vyded by the Gov<sup>no</sup><sup>r</sup>, excepting 3 mares that came out of Leicestershire," and that Mr. Whyte, the minister, recommends that Wm. Dodg, "a skillful and painfull husbandman," be appointed to "the charge of a teame of horses."

Endicott was succeeded by Gov. John Winthrop who, writing to his wife from aboard the *Arabella*, at Cowes, on the 28th of March, 1630,

\* Matthew Cradock, merchant of London.

† Thomas Goffe, merchant of London.

‡ John Endicott, at Naumkeag (Salem), N. E.

says: "We are, in all our eleven ships, about seven hundred persons, passengers, and two hundred and forty cows, and about sixty horses." The vessel, which did not leave the Isle of Wight until the 8th of the following month, reached Salem on the 12th of June, having on board, as we learn, at least one ox and ten wethers, which had been shipped at Cowes by Mr. Henry Winthrop. The *Ambrose*, John Lowe, master, which had sailed in company, did not reach the shores of New England until the 19th of June, and of the cattle which she brought out, two cows were lost upon the voyage.

On Thursday, July 1, 1630, the *Mayflower* and the *Whale* arrived safe in the harbor of Charlestown, with most of their cattle dead, however, including a mare and horse belonging to the governor himself, though, as he writes in his journal, "some stone horses came over in good plight." By the 6th of July, all the Company's vessels were anchored in the waters of Charlestown or Salem harbor; the last arrival, the *Success*, having a number of goats on board.

The governor, writing to his son John, at Gorton, Suffolk county, Eng., on the 23d of July, 1630, mentions the account of Mr. Thomas Goffe, stating that "he is to discount for two mares and a horse, which died by the way, 277." One of the animals belonged to Benj. Brand, who had been a passenger on the *Arabella*. As in a succeeding letter, Winthrop informs his son that not one half of the cows, which had been shipped, came on shore, we may infer that the horses fared equally as bad in the voyage out.

After a long interval we hear of the *Charles*, which had left Barnstable, April 10, 1632, arriving June 5th, "with near eighty cows and six mares."

Thursday, Oct. 25, 1632, Gov. Winthrop, with a small party, started on a visit to Plymouth. He sailed as far as Wessagusset (Weymouth), and journeying thence on foot, reached the place of his destination on the evening of the following day. When leaving Plymouth, on the 31st, he was accompanied by Lieut. Wm. Holmes and two others for some distance, while the governor, Wm. Bradford, kindly loaned his mare as far as the great swamp, about ten miles.

During the year 1633, "thirty-four Dutch sheep and two mares reached the colony, June 15, on the *Eliz. Bonadventure*, Graves m<sup>5</sup>, six weeks from Yarmouth, and on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sept. the *Bird*, Yates m<sup>5</sup>, arrived, having on board four mares, after being twelve weeks at sea."

Two Dutch ships which had left the Texel on the 27th of April, 1635, came to anchor in the harbor of Salem, June 3d, following. They brought, with other live stock, twenty-seven Flanders' mares, and three horses, the former valued at

£34 each. From this time forward we may readily imagine that horses began rapidly to increase, though not perhaps in such great number as the neat cattle which, according to Hutcheson, might, in 1640, be computed at 12,000. But the horses\* of New England soon became an object of traffic, and were sought after, not only by the Dutch at New Amsterdam, but even by the West Indian colonists, Winthrop informing us that in June, 1640, eighty of them were shipped by the *Welcome*, of Boston, for the Barbadoes.

Previous to this, in June, 1636, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, with about one hundred others, left the shores of New England for the interior of the wilderness, and in a beautiful spot, upon the banks of the Connecticut river, they founded the town of Hartford; Mrs. Hooker "was carried in a horse litter, and they drove one hundred and sixty cattle, and fed of their milk by the way."

Among those who may have early turned their attention towards the rearing and management of horses, must not be forgotten Dr. John Clarke,† of Boston, who introduced a breed into the country long known at Plymouth by his name. He died in November, 1664, aged 66, leaving by will his large stock of horses, mares, and colts, both in the Massachusetts as well as the Plymouth Colony, to his son John, and his daughter, Mrs. Drew.

The correspondent of May, 1857, states that "the first horse ever seen in Canada was brought to that country from France in a ship that arrived at Tadoussac, on the 20th of June, 1647;" but I fail to find a confirmation of this assertion, although Jesuit writings, referring to the mission during that year, particularly mention the arrival of some tape-stry and bells, and the great interest taken in the latter by the natives.

The official document issued in September, 1538, by Francis I., containing probably the earliest instructions for a settlement in Canada, expressly states: "They must also carry out as many as possible of all manner and kinds of domestic beasts and birds, as well to do work as to breed in the country; and all sorts of grains and seeds." In 1540 the Sieur de Roberval obtained a grant as viceroy over all the lands on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and along the river of the same name, but the colonizing expeditions which sailed

in 1541 and '42, accomplished nothing, nor do I learn that any live stock was carried out. Sailing again for his possessions in North America, in 1549, with a numerous train of adventurers, Roberval was never more heard from.

At length, in 1604, the first permanent French colony was established at Port Royal (Annapolis), in Nova Scotia, and in 1608, Champlain, "the father of New France," founded Quebec. Affairs were now under the management of a company of merchants called the Hundred Associates, established by Cardinal Richelieu. These, in 1664, resigned their charter, the last of the Fur Governors was recalled, and the king transferred their privileges to the French West India Company.

On the 30th June, 1665, the Marquis de Tracy arrived at Quebec, accompanied by a numerous suite and a large part of the regiment of Carignan-Salières, which had returned from successful conflict against the Turks. About two months after the arrival of the viceroy, other vessels came to anchor before Quebec, having on board the new intendant, Talon, the governor of the colony, De Courcelles, and the remaining companies of the regiment. The squadron also brought out a great number of families and a crowd of artisans and peasants from Picardy and the Isle of France, with a quantity of cattle, sheep, and the first horses which had been seen in Canada.

In conclusion, it may be noted that scarcely a year had elapsed since the discovery of America, when Columbus again arrived (Nov., 1493), at Hispaniola, with a fleet of seventeen vessels. The admiral brought with him from the Canary Islands, where he had touched on the passage out, calves, goats, sheep, hogs, and domestic fowls, together with seeds of oranges, lemons, melons, and fruit; he had also shipped at Palos, previous to his departure from Spain, a number of horses. These latter animals, being the first which had appeared in the New World, "were objects of terror, no less than admiration, to the Indians, who having no tame animals themselves, were unacquainted with that vast accession of power, which man hath acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They supposed them to be rational creatures. They imagined that the horse and the rider formed one animal, with whose speed they were astonished, and whose impetuosity and strength they considered as irresistible." Indeed, the poor natives even brought flesh and bread for the nourishment of the horses, believing their food to be the same as that of men. I. J. G.

NEW YORK, Oct., 1861.

[Our former correspondent (vol. i., p. 154) was correct as to the first introduction of the horse into Canada. He cited Ferland, "Notes sur le Registre de Quebec," p. 57, and Mr. Ferland's

\* In connection with the subject of horses, it may be noted that we hear of "horses and carts" crossing the frozen waters of Boston harbor during the severe winter of 1641-2. In March, 1656, a fine of two shillings and sixpence was imposed for irregular driving and galloping through the streets of the town, except "upon days of military exercise, or any extraordinary case require it." Coaches appear to have been introduced in Boston about 1669.

† Brother-in-law of Sir Richard Saltonstall. His portrait is in the possession of the Mass. Hist. Society.

authority is the following passage in the Journal of Father Jerome Lalefiant:

"1647. The 20th of June, arrived the first vessel at Tadoussak, and the news was brought here (*i. e.*, Quebec) the 23d, St. John's Eve. This vessel brought us Father Peter Bailloquet, Brother Nicholas Faulconnier, mason, on the 25th.

"The St. John's Bonfire was made as last year. I was not present, M. de St. Sauveur officiated.

"This same vessel brought the first horse, which the colonists presented to the governor."—Ed. H. M.]

LETTERS TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY, FROM  
LEADING TORIES IN AMERICA.

No. X.

MY DEAR SIR: I hope You will have received long before this reaches You the Original of which the Inclosed is a Duplicate. Nothing has since Occurred Except a Miscarriage in an Attempt, that was made the last Week to cut off the Rear of Washington's Army that was crossing the North River at King's Ferry and below the High Lands & their heavy Baggage. The Convention Troops You was informed were Ordered to the Southward. The Difficulty of procuring Provisions to the Eastward for them made this Necessary. These passed Hudson's River at the Fish Kills above the High Lands, & that part of Washington's Army that were destin'd for Jersey &c., passed at King's Ferry. Gen'l Clinton got Information of this & that their heavy Baggage was with the rear guard at King's Ferry. In consequence of this about 4000 Men Embarked on board of Vessels & went up, but when they arrived there every thing was removed. Another Object (it was supposed) of this Expedition was to open the Country for many of Burgoyne's troops that had escaped the Vigilance of their Guard to come in—about forty of these have got safe in. If this Expedition had been a Week sooner great part of Burgoyne's Troops probably would have arrived here, as a Disposition of rising on their Guard strongly prevailed and all they wanted to Effect it, was some support near at hand.

You will see by the Papers that a Dissention prevails among the Rebell Generals. Lee's Tryal and Sentence makes a *great noise*—his Party rather increases. If Mifflin, Arnold Sinclair & Thompson join him he will be formidable—this is Expected & some good may result to the Publick from it, Washington's being a Churche-man must in the End if nothing else does the Business discharge him from the Command. The Party against him gains strength, Lee's Defence in the

Paper You will easily discover tends to this point.

We are waiting with impatience for some intelligence from England, the last Authentick Account is in August. The Rebels have Papers as late as the 6th of Oct'r but they have carefully concealed the News they contain.

Admiral Byron was to sail & I believe did sail from New Port for the West Indies—three or four days since. The Culloden has not joined him since the Storm, but is supposed to have left for the West Indies. There never was a more Unfortunate Fleet—DeEstaing may thank the Winds for his Escape. I hope that Admiral Byron may still come across him in the West Indies & by a Successful Action recompence himself & the Nation for his Ill Fortune &c.

No News yet from Gen'l Grant, or from Coll'n Campbell, he sailed the same day the Commissioners sailed, which was the 26th of last month. I hope soon to be able to give You good tidings from him, tho' the Winds have been adverse. I never recollect so frequent & Violent Gales of Wind in my life as We have had for this Month past.

I send You Enclosed the Papers. I would also send You the Rebell Papers, but I have none of a late date.

We have established a Refugee Club composed of the first Characters from the different Provinces. Gov'r Franklin thinks it will be attended with good Consequences, I fancy it will be respectable. You will perceive by the Address to the Commissioners, & by some late Publications in the Papers, that the Friends to Government dare begin to Speak &c.

I remain still without Support except what My Credit with my Friends afford Me, if You can do any thing for me with Administration, for God Sake let Me request it of You.

I am with much Esteem Your Most  
Affectionate Humble Serv't,  
ISAAC OGDEN.

Dec'r 15th, 1778.

MR. GALLOWAY.

No. XI.

NEW YORK, Dec'r. 16, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND: No proper opportunity of writing to you presented itself till the Commissioners went away, when I delivered a letter to Mr. Gordon to be inclosed in his Packet. About that time Major Bruen was sent up the North River to transact some business with Mr. Washington relative to prisoners as is reported; but he was stopped a little on this side of King's Ferry, & obliged to turn back: It seems that Burgoyne's Troops were just then passing the river on their

march to the Southward. Nearly a week afterwards some deserters from the Conventioneers made their way good to us here from New Jersey, & gave information that many more who had escaped in the same manner were hid in the woods near the North River. At the same time intelligence was received that a considerable part of the rebel army were crossing at King's Ferry to take up their winter quarters near Freehold in New Jersey. Upon this Sir H. Clinton determined upon an expedition, & having detached Sir W. Erskine with about 3000 men to march up along the Jersey side of Hudson's River, he proceeded himself with about 1500 men by water as high as King's Ferry. But we were too late as usual. The two Brigades which formed the Rebel's rear, & were our principal object in the Expedition, had passed some little time before we arrived; and no considerable body of the Enemy were at any time seen during the whole affair. It was, however, rather a wholesome airing for the troops, & favored the coming in of several stragglers from Burgoyne's army. Some time ago a vessel arrived here from Jamaica, by which we learned that the inhabitants were very apprehensive of a visit from the French Fleet, and were making all the preparations in their power for a vigorous defence. Though it is now six weeks since d'Estaing left Boston, the public, & I believe the Commanders are utterly ignorant of his destination; the people of Boston firmly believe that he is gone to the West Indies, indeed to Jamaica; but a great many here suspect he is recalled to Europe. The October Packet is not arrived, and our latest intelligence from England is by a trading vessel, which came from Lisbon to Walmouth to enter his cargo, and then sailed immediately for this Port, consequently cannot bring much information. The surest and best news we learn by her is, that the Channel swarms with English Privateers, of whom she met a prodigious number soon after she left port. O'Hara with the other Deputies are just returned from Amboy, where they met Deputies from the rebels to negotiate about an exchange of the prisoners under the Convention. But the rebels behaved with great haughtiness, & nothing was effected. It is said that private intelligence has just been received from Gen. Grant; if it be so, the Commanders here think proper to keep it a profound secret. The principal force of the rebel army is said to be encamped in different parts of New Jersey. Governor Franklin has a good deal of attention paid him; it is commonly supposed that he stays here to acquire all the information in his power, will then go to England. Mr. Paterson, the Collector, goes to Cork in this Fleet. Byron is said to have sailed from Rhode Island.

Do not fail to let me know how affairs go on.

both public and private. Remember me most affectionately to Miss Galloway, of whom the more you write the more agreeable shall I find your letters. Inform me, when you are yourselves determined, whether either, or both of you, intend returning to this country. If it should happen to lie in your way to assist me in getting recalled from hence, I will depend on your good offices, & remain,

dear Sir,  
ever very affectionately yours.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. XII.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17th, 1778.

DEAR SIR: I once had thoughts of waiting to hear certainly of your arrival in England before I wrote, but so good an opportunity presenting as Capt. Jacobs of the Amazon, I am tempted to say a few words, though very little material to inform you of since your departure. Col. Balfour, who sailed away lately, must give you every material occurrence both as to the state of Politics here, and also our own private affairs at the Court of this place. A very sudden, but ineffectual movement of the main body of the Army took place the other day on an expedition up the North River as far as Haverstraw, intended, as was generally imagined, to relieve and intercept the whole or part of Gen. Burgoyne's Troops passing over the Hudson for the Southward from New England, but I believe the true design was to lay hold of Washington's heavy Baggage and his Artillery at Tarrytown—had the first information been attended to and the Troops moved but three days sooner, it would probably been affected, but waiting that period for confirmation the Bird escaped, and the Troops returned without doing any thing. Between 4 and 500 of the Conventioneers have, however, deserted on their March, 90 of which have come in, and the rest still sculking in the Woods, or pushing for Brant some of whom it is said have actually joined him. The curse, of a Day after the Fair, still attend us. Washington's Army is at present much dispersed in their Winter Cantonments the whole not exceeding 7000 Men from the best Information I can collect. This State, York retains its own Troops at Albany & different Posts on the Rivers. New England the same in order to protect their country; Washington fixes his Head Quarters in Jersey at Baskingridge, Lord Sterlings place, with about 3000 Troops occupying Hakensack, Aquaquenonck, Newark, Elizabeth Town extending to Amboy & Brunswick, and including two Virginia Brigades (about 1400 men) posted on the Rariton at middle Bound Brook & Mountain Gap, as support to the others. The last return to their different Southern Colonies.

The Winter You know generally weakens his Army more or less—no recruiting—the Militia harassed and tired, the People in general disappointed that the British Army have not yet totally evacuated America as they were taught to believe. Disaffection & Discontent reigning in almost every State even among themselves, independent of the Friends of Government their weakness & inability every day increasing & more glaring. What may not Great Britain do in another Campaign, early & properly reinforced & conducted with Vigor & Activity. I mean *here* to the Northward, taking it for granted that the Expedition under Col. Campbell has its effect to the Southward in conjunction with Major Provost, who we yesterday learn, by a small vessel from Augustine, has made his landing good in Georgia up the Savannah River with 1200 Men—8 of Regulars and 4 of Refugees, and where it is expected they will be joined by a large body of Highlanders settled in that Country. Should this be true, I think the three Southern Colonies of Georgia & the two Carolinas must be completely subjected this Winter. Every Encouragement to Butler in the Spring on the Frontiers, and proper exertion here to cooperate with him, joined with the assistance of the Friends to Government will bid fair I think to quell the Rebellion next Summer. Britain must be mad not to lay hold of these advantages if her Disputes with France &c. can possibly admit of it. The Temper of the People in your State appear to me to be verging fast to some convulsion or another. From their murmurs action must be the consequences—Some of the Principals of the Army and State do not accord properly. The Chief J. Mackeane has been publicly flagellated by Gen. Thompson, countenanced *it is said* by Arnold Milin & St. Clair who bestowed at the same time some charitable reflections on several Members of the Congress, to whose supreme Power the Chief happened to say he should appeal to. Ned Biddle has declined his Seat in Congress for a want of sufficient capacity to direct the helm of Empire in a storm which he expects will increase with more violence—the truth is he means to do more essential service in Assembly, which has already ordered the general Sense of the People to be taken respecting the present Constitution. Joe Reed is elected to & accepted the honor of being President & Com. in-Chief of the State. In short two Factions are at present trying their Strength, Violence, moderation, as one or the other prevail such will be their Govt. & Politics. The Unexpected & daring Execution of poor Roberts & Carlisle has raised the Presentiments & murmurs of many & give general disgust and I think it would not want much Fuel to set that whole Province in a Flame if advantage was taken of the moment when to fan the latent spark. Revolutions re-

quire a critical attention. My last *cartridge* informs me of a Loan the Congress have actually negotiated with Holland of *six millions* guaranteed by France, but at what rate of Interest or upon what particular Principles I can't learn. The design is with this Sum to sink at once 100,000,000 of their Public Debt by reducing, as the very lowest, the Depreciation at 10 for 1 and which at an exchange of 66 &  $\frac{2}{3}$ ds will wipe off this Sum. By this stroke the true National Debt is to be only 6 millions Sterling, the annual Interest of which they are only to pay for a certain time, and certainly avoids an alarming Tax upon the Principal. I have since seen a person of undoubted Intelligence from Philad'a. who confirms the above in every particular and has no doubt of the fact, as well as that the Person who You remember was there in the character of a Spanish Merchant & lived in your House, is in fact from the Court of Spain and at a proper time to disclose himself. These are circumstances, especially the first, that ought to be known to Gov't. tho' I believe the Com'rs. were not ignorant of it altogether, yet perhaps not so clearly as I have it now. The consequences of such a great stroke in Politics are too plain not to have its effect unless prevented if possible—I fear however it may be too late,—nothing but the utmost Wisdom and Efforts of Britain can ward off the blow, which if she can do at Home by managing matters with France and Spain, the rest I take it may be easily settled here—all depends upon this I apprehend. We can hear nothing certain of D'Estaing, whether gone Home or to the West Indies. If the latter, which is very probable, I fear for Grant and our Army said to be gone thither—Adm'l. Byron it is said is expected here every day with his Fleet from Rhode Island, but with what Design I know not—I thought he had orders to pursue the French Fleet wherever they went—all is mystery to me, nor know I what to think or depend upon scarcely. Mr. James Willing, the Gentleman who acted for Congress on the Mississippi, is just brot in as Prisoner here, taken on his Passage to Philad'a. from New Orleans by a York Privateer. Thus much for American Politics.

I have nothing more to add as to our own private matters here but what, as I hinted before, Col. Balfour will inform you of, unless an order from Sir Henry to pay us each £50 sterling apiece "*in consideration of our Distresses by having been obliged to fly from our Estates & Property,*" a Pittance as pitifull as the manner of the consideration expressed. The Secretary told me the General Expected soon to hear from Home on the Subject, not being at Liberty to do any thing more at present—considering all things, few People have been more ungenerally treated than we have been. I hope however our applications will



meet with a more generous attention at home, and with your kind assistance & representation be put upon a certain footing. Mr. Eden with whom I had some little conversation on this point advised us to memorial, but that as our appointment was an act of Sir William Howe's it must, as an act of Justice due to us from him, receive his support and countenance. *I have so much dependence on Sir William's Honor & respect for gentlemen who have acted under his Commission that I cannot doubt of his utmost support and countenance in this matter, more especially as it appear to me rather ungentle to treat his warm recommendation in the manner it has been.* Whatever is necessary & proper to be done, now you are on the spot, will, I am persuaded be attended to by you to compleat our wishes, and I hope soon to hear from you on this head, as well as every Political Intelligence respecting America & our future destiny. I shall wait with great Impatience for your friendly communications how to conduct myself, whether to remain here the ensuing Year or fly across the Atlantic.

Mrs. Coxe, in her last to me, mentions having seen Mrs. Galloway very well, and tho' happy at the thoughts of you and Miss Galloway having actually sailed for England, lamented her amiable Daughter's absence very pathetically. I may venture here, I presume, to congratulate Miss Galloway on her happy and safe arrival after a boisterous and rough voyage—my particular compliments to her. I must also trouble You with my respectful compliments to Sir William Howe & all the gentlemen of his Suite that we had the honor of knowing in Philadelphia. The civilities and attention of the noble Brothers to many of us at Philad'a. ought never to be forgot. The contrast of the present is too glaring not to regret the change for many reasons. Gov'r. Franklin is at last come in—as he will naturally write to You he will of course acquaint you with his reasons for staying here this winter—I confess were I in his situation I should soon be of your Party in London.

With great Esteem and Regard,  
I am D'r Sir  
Your most Ob't H'ble Serv't.  
DAN'L COXE.

No. XIII.

NEW YORK, Decem'r 17th, 1775.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed letter to Miss Galloway was brought to me by Mrs. Potts and a Message from Mrs. Galloway for you, *that she had not the most distant hope remaining,* but I am informed they have permitted the dear lady to have twenty Cords of Wood taken off her Estate for her use. It will be useless

to you to be informed of the detail of the contentions in our truly wretched country, be assured the divisions are great and most violent. A very considerable number of those, who were foremost in this opposition to Great Britain, have united to overturn the present Government in Pensilvania & after failing in many Questions, have succeeded fully in that measure in procuring a Vote of the Assembly tantamount to the calling (what they nominate) a new Convention next April. The distress of the Country exceeds every idea, we had formed flowing from a variety of causes, the principal the devastation of the Indians and in consequence thereof, the necessity of such numbers being compelled to retire into the interior parts of the Country for subsistence and security. Added to this the prospect of a real scarcity of provisions, so great that many people of Judgment dread a famine next year. It appears to me, that the greater part of our Countrymen depressed by the evacuation of Pensilvania and their confidence in Government destroyed by that measure, have abandoned themselves to a lethargy very nearly bordering on dispair. They will not even exert themselves sufficiently to cultivate their own Ground. They have no hope remaining. They say, They cannot be certain of possessing the fruits of their labour & they publicly declare they would rather suffer their land to remain uncultivated by which it will gather strength, than have their property taken from them by Commissioners or Quarter Masters who will pay them in paper which depreciates so fast that no man knows what value to affix to it. Their discontent is as great as their loss of confidence in Government. The Opposition in our Country powerfull but not the least disposed in favour of Government. I am firmly persuaded nothing but the most vigorous exertions of military force will ever reduce this Country to their dependence on Great Britain and you are both from your situation, and superior knowledge better able to judge than I can be, whether Government can at present spare that force. You are perfectly acquainted with my Opinion of the Interest of Government in the present circumstances of affairs and I am very free to confess that every days experience convinces me still more that this Opinion is justly founded. If Government means to pursue this matter she must spare men Enough to take possession of the Isthmus between Newcastle and Chesapeak Bay & by clearing that Country of Rebels procure sufficient provisions & forage for the whole British force in America. That Country can also supply the fleet with a great Quantity of Naval Stores. The whole Trade of Maryland & Pensilvania will be destroyed & great part of Virginia. The interior of that Peninsula better disposed towards Government than any

other Country in the middle Colonies. If Possession of Rhode Island & this place is retained and that Post taken, America has no access to Sea from any intermediate port but Egg Harbour which will then be scarcely an Object. This is Your plan excepting the possession of Philadelphia & Bordentown and as the troops could not be dispersed too much, would for that reason be more eligible. The Ice in the Winter will never prevent the Ships of War lying at Reedy Island and but a very short time at Newcastle. In short if this Warr is to be prosecuted, & the method adopted, that of taking Posts, there is no place on the Continent so advantageous to his Majesty's Service and so detrimental to the Rebe's. Ten thousand Men would be amply sufficient. Five could be well spared from hence because the Rebel army would be obliged to take the nearest secure position to the lines they could find to cover the Country. Their army is weak and recruiting difficult and almost impossible. This I am assured of by an unexpected communication from the person you will recollect without my naming. He also informed me of six French frigates just arrived to convoy their trade home. I hope you will excuse the incorrectness of this scrawl I am really hurried by my sister and Mrs. Potts permits me just to mention a little of my private affairs. The matter in Philad'a. failed, the scarcity of flour occasioned an embargo to be laid which frustrated my plans & I am obliged to loose  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the principal by receiving paper. Col. Balfour's attention and kindness deserve and will ever be remembered with the most grateful thanks not only on my own account but for assistance which he rendered to a number of our Country men who were in the utmost necessity and who are in the favor of the present powers. A present of £50 Sterl'g was the extent which the friends of the late Comm'r could procure from them to present to each of us. We were advised & did memorialize him on the subject. Our situation is really desperate in my Opinion, I entertain the highest sense of the honour of Government, but when I consider the number & every circumstance occurs to me I cannot help thinking that the situation of the Refugees is truly deplorable and almost hopeless. Be pleased to give my most respectful Compts to Miss Galloway and also to Col. Balfour. It will be impossible to eradicate the deep sense I entertain of his last kind friendly conduct. Your own kindness did exceed it. Everything will be done which Mrs. Galloway will direct. The Gentleman I mentioned to you will undertake it, if she chooses. But assured of this We wait with anxious expectation for an arrival from England having nothing publick since the beginning of October. I have inclosed two papers. You will observe the party in Opposition by the

Votes in Towne's paper, which is firmly united with the following characters out of Doors, Wilson, G. Ross Thomson late Gen'l in the Rebel army, a man of very considerable influence in the back settle'm'ts, Sinclair Gen'l also. Reed is elected President. Biddle has refused his seat in Congress under an apprehension that it was insidiously given to him to oblige him to vacate his seat in the assembly, where he leads and Pennsylvania is now represented in Congress by the most despicable trifling sett of men that ever were appointed to conduct the affairs of a community. The Revenue for that body is greatly lessened. Mrs. Potts adds her respectful compliments to Miss Galloway. I am with the sincerest gratitude

Your real friend &  
Humble Serv't,  
JNO. POTTS.

Altho' I am persuaded that you are acquainted with the Character and situation of the Author of the enclosed Crisis yet least your recollection sh'd fail I just mention that His name is Payne an Englishman sent out by Dr. Franklin, in the Service of the Congress at a settled Salary. His authority may be depended on in matters relative to them. From the Knowledge I have of these people It is my real Opinion the paper contains their sentiments at the same time It appears to me that there is an air of timidity which runs through the whole, that I never observed in any former publication of this person. The Commissioners carried one of these papers with them. J. P.

Silas Dean and Congress are Quarrelling in the Public papers but I cannot procure one to send by this opportunity.

No. XIV,

MY DEAR SIR: The difficulty of the times and the uncertain situation of Public affairs has almost deterred me from writing; but when I consider the Friendship with which you formerly were pleased to Honor me; I could not justify a silence either to myself or you, when so good an opportunity offers, however imperfect my Information may be.

When it became absolutely necessary for me to leave my Country or to violate my Conscience the latter of which I had no inclination to do, I used every endeavor to secure as much of my property as possible, and in this was so happy as to be able to leave a competent provision for my unmarried Daughter, and bring off a small Sum of hard Money for my present subsistence. In this situation I arrived in this City the beginning of November with the intention of proceeding immediately for Europe, but this at the solicitation and advice of all my friends I have put off

to the Spring of the Year. The day after my entering the British lines Mr. and Mrs. Barton came in on the same errand, but whether they will proceed any further is now problematical. The return of the Commissioners and the Public papers will furnish you with better Ideas of the temper and disposition of the leading Men of the Colonies, than I am able to give you: by the first you will learn that all the kind offers of indulgence and reconciliation have contemptuously been rejected, unless Independence be a preliminary condition. By the last you will find the Kings faithful Subjects are suffering with a fortitude more than Roman, and such as is unparalleled in History, every species of Persecution, Imprisonment, Confiscations, Proscriptions, and even Death itself. Nevertheless from appearances the people who have assumed the lead, and are now spreading terror and destruction round the land, are far from being at ease. The Turbulent spirit of some, and the sordid avarice of others, have raised ferments among themselves, which all their artifice cannot conceal, and will have their uses in opening the Eyes of the misguided People. Lee's address to the People in justification of his conduct in the affair of Monmouth, and on the unprecedented discharge as he terms it of the French General Conway. Dean's attack upon the Character of Lee's both in Europe and America, and obliquely against the Congress itself, were too pointed, and of too dangerous a tendency to be suffered to go on; for this reason they have found a method of silencing him, and in one of the late Philadelphia papers, he has recalled a promise made to the Public in his first letter, of exposing the mal administration of their Servants in a series of Publications, by acquainting them that Congress by affording him a personal hearing, has obviated the necessity of his appealing to them. Mifflin openly attacks the Constitution of Pennsylvania, and the Public measures, and together with Arnold, Thompson, St. Clair, and Lee, are using every endeavor to undermine Washington. But the publications themselves which I have no doubt you will receive, affords a much better detail of these proceedings than I can give in a letter. But what greatly adds to the embarrassment of these gentry are, the prospect of an approaching famine, for it is an incontrovertible fact, and what in part fell under my own observation before I left Pennsylvania, that in the whole Province there is not more Bread Corn, if sufficient, for the consumption of the Inhabitants; and their Army will not want, whilst any remains in the Country. This scarcity arises from a number of concurring causes, amongst which the depreciation of their paper Currency which I am told is as Seven for one Proc: and still continue rapidly to fall; the Assembly's limiting the price of produce, and the

destruction of Horses, & the wanton burning of Wheat by Lacy, in consequence of Washington's proclamation, are none of the best. The attempt to raise five Million of Dollars in the Colonies by taxation in all probability will serve in some measure to open the Eyes of the People. In Pennsylvania the Taxes are 15 s., to the pound, which is Ten times greater than at any time before, even that of sinking the Debt contracted last War; but I left the Province before they began to collect, so I cannot say what effect it has on the minds of the People.

The detail of the ravages and the confiscation of your own Estate you undoubtedly have heard. Mrs. Galloway I am informed supports the misfortune with amazing fortitude, she enjoys better Health than has fell to her lot for many years before, and has rooms at a Widow Morris's, and has some expectation, but how founded I know not, that she will be allowed the income of the Paternal Estate to live on, and that Doctor Bond and his Family had proved themselves her true Friends, and was exerting himself in procuring the Estate for her. I am told all our friends in Philadelphia are well, except Mr. Tho. Wharton who has had a return of his Paralytic complaint, and that he is in danger of sinking under it. Accounts are said to have arrived this day of the detachment under Gener'l Grant safe Arrival in Barbadoes, and that four Ships of D'Estangs Fleet were seen to the Southward, steering either for Barbadoes or Martinico. The Packet arrived this day, the intelligence she brings, I hope will in some measure dispel that gloom which too generally prevails amongst the Refugees, for it is a melancholly reflection to think, that the consequence of our present dispute must be a separation from the parent State, or such a Military execution as will involve the Country in Ruin. I request & Mr. and Mrs. Barton join me in it, that Miss Galloway would accept our most affectionate Compliments. And be assured I am with the greatest Esteem & Respect,

My dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,  
and most Obedient Humble Servant,

J. A. D.

NEW YORK, Dec. 22d, 1778.

A Friend of ours asserts I ought not to seal this letter without obviating to you a cruel and unjust censure, which some prejudiced or partial Persons are pleased to bring against the Americans that is the King has no Friends or Faithful Subjects among them. Unhappy People, suffering every species of persecution from your own Countrymen, branded with every mark of infamy, cursed as the Authors of all the Calamities attending a State of Warr, creatures & tools of a Tyrant,

and every species of obloquy which Cruelty can invent, sacrificing plenty and their dearest connections and Thousands of them exposed even in these lines to the greatest distress—yet these are insufficient to wipe off the aspersions which to a generous Mind is as intolerable as that Hunger which numbers even in these Streets are experiencing. This detail which every one knows to be true, contain the fullest proof of the injustice & Cruelty of the censure; and for my own part I am well assured his Majesty has not in any part of his Dominions Subjects more firmly devoted to his Person, Family and Government than are to be found among the Americans, and I am fully satisfied that if they were properly encouraged and supported they would greatly contribute if not put a final end to this Rebellion.

## No. XV.

NEW YORK, 11th Jan'y, 1779.

DEAR SIR, I hope ere now, that you, and your amiable daughter are safe arrived, and happy with your friends in England, after a short and an agreeable passage.

Nothing material has happen'd *here* since you left us, excepting the expeditions, under the commands of Genl. Grant to the West Indies; and Conl. Campbell to Georgia & Carolinas of which you will be better inform'd, before this can reach you, than we are at present. We have hear'd of Grant's arrival at Barbados & Campbell at Savannah through the Rebel channel. It is conjectured that Grant has nothing more in view *at present* than to Garrison and secure our own Islands—but more is expected from Campbell although we believe he'll meet opposition before he reaches Charlestown, for he was detained at anchor off Staten Island and at the Hook, *after the Troops were embark'd*, so long as to give the Enemy time to learn his numbers (not four thousand) and send expresses to prepare for his reception, and no doubt to take up those persons who they judg'd would join him. We have also had a powerfully secret expedition up Hudson's River, by land and by water, headed by the Commander-in-chief. What was the object I will not presume to say. However nothing was effected. It hath been said that Burgoyne's men were on their march to the Southward, and had not we been some days too late they would been intercepted. On the return of the Troops they went to Winter quarters on Staten Island—Long Island (where are a considerable body at the East end under command of Sir William Erskine) and on this Island besides the small post keep't up at Paulus-hook. The American Army also went into their Winter quarters in New Jersey—head quarters at Morristown, and the Troops along the Raritan River, at Brunsic, at Amboy, Elizabeth

Town, &c. Their numbers are but few, ill appointed, badly fed, and worse clothed—their paper money keeps still going down hill, in spite of all efforts—it's said that Congress now amuses people, by telling them that it will sink no lower than as ten is to one, (now it's 8 for 1) for that they are to get a loan from Holland of six millions sterling, guaranteed by France which at the exchange of 166 $\frac{2}{3}$  pct. make ten millions, and yet at ten for one will sink one hundred millions Pennsylvania currency and for all that sum rubb'd off leave them but the six mill. in debt. We have, almost every week people from Philad'a., chiefly women—who return again well clothed & who smuggle out a little for their friends, which is great doings *these times*; many of them come under the pretence of collecting debts and many sums are collected—but if any of *us* were to go without these Lines on such business we would be paid with a halter. You will hear that Joe Ried, his Excellency, is chosen President of the Supreme Council of Pennsyla. and that party matters prevail much in Philadelphia. Silas Dean & the Lees have opened the scene—*North* against the *South* and that Genl. Lee and Common Sense have felt the effect. Lee has been wounded, and common Sense had the seat of honor very much insulted, and can now shew more stripes on his back than their Flag can boast of. We had Mrs. Potts here on a visit to her husband last week. I enquired particularly for Mrs. Galloway and have the pleasure to inform you she was very well. The Congress (till lately) have gull'd the people into a belief that we were going totally to leave the country, which in some degree reconciled many to their fate. You will also hear that Genl. Arnold Commandant in Philada., has behaved with lenity to the Tories and that he is on the eve of marriage to one of Edward Shippen's daughters. Great schemes hath been on foot, to purchase the Goods and merchandize we have on hand before we depart, the sweets of which some of them felt at our leaving Philada.—unhappy evacuation, it confirm'd the people in an opinion, which artfull men had long been endeavoring to establish—it supported the Rebelious & brought misery and distress on the best friends to Government. A scene however well painted bears but faint resemblance of what I pray God we may never see again—“therefore the Lord God, went him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Ground”—happy state when compared with ours, for we repair'd on board of ships and were obliged to till the sea, with but a poor prospect of a Crop to follow. Will the day niver again dawn? Shall the tide always run Ebb? Shall the poor Tories, after being so long in Purgatory, not see better days? Yes. And in hopes they will, I buoy myself up

from sinking. I shall remain in the Country, while the hand of industry can support me gloriously independent, rather than go home to be a burden to my friends, and do every thing in my power to restore Government and good order again. The weather for some weeks past, hath been severely cold, and the ground covered with snow, which hath been disagreeably felt by many Refugees who, heretofore liv'd in affluence. Firewood is limited at Five pounds a Cord, but it's not to be got. Irish Pork at £10 a bbl., Beef at £8, and fresh flour will bring £12 p. bbl. Our markets have been pretty fully supplied with fresh prog from Long-Island & Shrewsbury, for they run all risques for a little of the hard money—but what would become of us should a Cork fleet miscarrie—which sooner or later may be the case—the army wou'd eat up the market and the inhabitants wou'd starve. We have had this prospect staring us in the face for sometime past, but thank God yesterday and to-day a fleet of Victuallers arrived, otherwise we should not had a mouthfull in a short time.

If the War is to be carried on, we shall be obliged to take possession of the Peninsula laying between the River Delaware and Chesapeak Bay—by taking posts on that Isthmus somewhere between the Head of Elk & the heights of Wilmington, so as to secure the Mills on the Brandywine—or even farther down the country, we would possess the Granery of America. Eleven to thirteen Counties would furnish great part of the Army, Navy, & Garrisons with bread—besides it would prove an Asylum for the poor persecuted friends to Government, who, if incouraged would flock there, and with the well affected inhabitants would form such a Militia as would brave their oppressors to come amongst them. I wish to see a well regulated Government, or Police established in that Country, it would be a great step towards the Conquest of the whole—suppose a Court of Admiralty fix'd and privateering incouraged, would it be possible for a vessel to get out of Delaware or Chesapeak? No, we could take them with Rowboats both on the one side, and the other—not a barrel of Flour could be sent to New England, nor a Hoghead of Tobacco to France, in short it would effectually knock up the trade of export and import of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey—Feed ourselves, and send great sneer to the British W't Indies, which now go to the Foreign Islands, such as all sorts of Lumber, Corn, Pork &c. The seat of Government would answer at Newtown on Chester River, Reddie Island, or New Castle—provided the lines did not extend to Wilmington—however by turning your eye to the Map a place adjacent to safe Navigation in Winter could soon be fix'd on. Jonathan would soon

cease to feel bold, and Monsieur withhold his credit. Had it not been for the supplis brought in prizes, we should not have been able to make out for bread so long as we have—yet this Arrival has distress'd private trade greatly—no man who has been once here will even incline to come back. The W't India Vessels, many of them that had been here since May & June, were at last permitted to go, and Convey appointed—they were detained at anchor off Staten Island (with all the appearance of what did happen) until a Snow storm came, which sent between 20 a 30 of them ashore and many of them is lost—which I hardly think the service required, and which I hope the underwriters will take notice of in due time. I should not be so particular but as this goes by Paquet, it cannot fall into any hands but your own, who I know will not make a bad use of it. We have now fix'd a Refugee Club, meet once a fortnight at Hic's Tavern, the Members are respectable people from each Colony—Governour Franklin in the Chair. We talk freely of Politics, tell all the News, and are for the time happy.

I wish much to know *and as early as possible* what plans are probable to take place next Campaign that I may govern myself accordingly. And if any Establishment is likely to take place, such as I have mentioned, and a Court of Admiralty is to be fix'd to the Southward, I will be much obliged to you to name me for to be appointed Martial to the Court or Vendue Master, in either, or both of these offices, I could acquit myself with reputation. And if the Government have favors to bestow they must know, that their friends in this country, have brought themselves to want here by supporting their cause, to their own ruin if no notice is to be taken of them. By my attachment to my King and Country, good Government and good order, I have wilfully lost a pritty little fortune, which by hard labour and long industry I had gathered to gather many years in this Country and the West Indies. You know or must have heard that I was the person who oposed Independency (and that in the Month of May and to the declaration) on the Commons of Philadelphia in the face of five Battalions of Associators, and was hiss'd of the Parade—that I maintained my integrity and at all times refused to Acquiesce in any of their proceedings, until I was obliged to flee to this place for refuge. My desks were broken open, my papers and books ransacked, and my Nephew and Servant put in Goal—thus kick'd out of doors, they made an Hospital of my House for the Rebel sick and wounded.

I wish the Government may not deceive themselves by thinking the Congress will ever treat on terms short of Independency, until they are forced

to it—they are not Actuated by Motives of honor and humanity, but by those of interest and Ambition—they will try (while they can keep an army together) the chance of events, and ever risque all to that point, believing that they can never be losers, for that in the end, and at the very worst extreemitee they will be able to make terms, which indeed they have had too much reason to expect. They know that they are but a parcel of poor Devils—but they also know the inactivity with which they have been followed up—the disunion at home—the prospect of a French War & the kind treatment they have received, when taken prisoners in the very acts of Rebellion and Murder. I wish you the Compliments of the Season and am with great truth

D<sup>r</sup> Sir Your much obliged hum<sup>l</sup>e Serv<sup>t</sup>  
D. S.

N. B. You have herewith the Newes Papers sent by Ferguson.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Chicago, Ill., Oct. 15, 1861.*—This Society met on the above date, W. L. Newberry, Esq., in the chair. The monthly additions to its library consisted of 394 bound books, 596 unbound books and pamphlets, 22 files of periodicals, 8 files of newspapers, 4 charts, 6 manuscripts, 1 print, and 2 collections of miscellanies—in all 1,033, from 42 contributors.

The above included the entire laws of Pennsylvania, from 1700 to 1816, of Maryland from 1692 to 1800, of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1807, of New York from 1799 to 1823, with the code of 1850, together with the first directory of Pittsburgh, 1815, and others to 1860, as also a numerous collection of canal documents of Pennsylvania from 1795, and New York from 1817, a history of Mormonism in 1840, and other rare historical works and documents, a considerable part of which was received through the liberality of Hon. W. Wilkins, C. Shailer, Dr. W. Addison, and other esteemed citizens of Pittsburgh.

The Secretary communicated some facts relating to the history and growth of Pittsburgh, and the establishment of printing and publishing houses in that city, with notices of the first "Western Almanack," printed there from 1803 to 1820, as also of the "River Navigator," commenced early the present century, by Zaddock Cramer, and continued many years. Respectful notice was taken of Mr. N. B. Craig and W. Eichbaum, the living

and esteemed historians of that city; as also of Rev. Drs. Smith and Eliot, the faithful chroniclers of the early religious history of the "Red Stone" region.

From the Hon. I. N. Arnold, M. C., was received the map of the seat of war in Virginia, used by the military commanders at the battle of Bull Run.

An interesting communication was received from Mr. P. Anderson, of Lowell, Mass., on the subject of Norwegian emigration to the United States. The number of emigrants arrived here, in 1861, is estimated by Mr. A. to be 2100, *via* Bergen, and an equal number from other parts of Norway, the chief point of arrival being Quebec. Mr. Anderson noticed the early and laudable efforts made for the religious instruction of emigrants, and the valued services to that object rendered by Mr. Ellingson. He exposed at some length, also, the exaggerated and false accounts, spread in America, of a disease called "leprosy," existing among the Norwegians of the seacoast, from lat. 58 degs. to the extreme north, erroneously supposed contagious, and attributed by Mr. A. to the crude fish-diet of the inhabitants, with their low esteem of personal cleanliness.

### MAINE.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Brunswick, Me., —, 1861.*—At the annual meeting of the above Society, held at the Society's room in King's Chapel, in the absence of the President and Vice-president, Hon. Philip Eastman, of Saco, was chosen President *pro tem*.

The officers for the year were elected as follows:

*President*—Hon. Wm. Willis, Portland. *Vice-president*—Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D. D., Gardiner. *Cor. Secretary*—Hon. James W. Bradbury, Augusta. *Rec. do.*—Rev. Edward Ballard, Brunswick. *Librarian and Cabinet Keeper*—Rev. Alpheus S. Packard, D. D., Brunswick. *Treasurer*—Aug. C. Robbins, Esq., Brunswick.

*Publishing Committee*—Hon. William Willis, Leonard Woods, D. D., Hon. R. H. Gardiner, John McKeen, Esq., P. Barnes, Esq., Rev. A. D. Wheeler.

*Standing Committee*—Leonard Woods, D. D., Hon. R. H. Gardiner, John McKeen, Esq., Rev. A. S. Packard, D. D., Rev. A. D. Wheeler, and the President and Recording Secretary *ex officio*.

Dr. N. T. True, of Bethel; J. W. North, Esq., of Augusta; F. D. Sewall, Esq., of Bath, were elected resident members of the Society.

Wm. F. Jordan, Concord, N. H.; Wm. Cothren, Woodbury, Conn.; Hon. Geo. Bancroft, L. L. D., of New York; Hon. J. G. Palfrey, of

Boston; Hon. Jared Sparks, LL. D., of Cambridge, Mass.; Paul A. Chadbourne, of Williamstown, Mass.; Porter B. Bliss, of Boston, were elected corresponding members.

The sixth article, chapter one, of the by-laws, on recommendation of the Standing Committee, was amended.

The thanks of the Society were tendered to Hon. George F. Folsom of New York, for his valuable contribution to the history of his native State, by the publishing of a "Catalogue of Original Documents in the English Archives relating to the early history of the State of Maine."

Resolutions were also adopted, urging the publication in full of the various papers and documents—the English archives relating to Maine (including the Charter and Records of the Virginia Company, under the original Charter of April 10, 1609, if the same can be obtained)—as essential to a true and full knowledge of the history of our State; and also urging a thorough exploration of the coast in an historical view.

Prof. Packard, Librarian, submitted his Annual Report for the year ending Aug. 7, 1861, announcing that a catalogue had been prepared with great pains and at considerable labor, under the direction of the Standing Committee, during the past year.

There have been added during the year one hundred and twenty volumes, and three hundred and fifty pamphlets, of which nine volumes have been purchased, and one pamphlet to supply a vacancy in a serial. There have been given to the cabinet several coins, including a series, nearly complete, of American cents.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—*Worcester, Mass., October 21, 1861.*—The annual meeting of this Society was held at the place above named, in their beautiful Library. The attendance was unusually large, and among the members was Jared Sparks. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the President, was in the chair.

Judge Merrick read the report of the council, which presented the Society in a favorable light. It dwelt on the value of a complete collection of the early statutes—the expediency of collecting material to illustrate the present war—and concluded with a feeling and beautiful tribute to its late member, Hon. Nathan Appleton.

Hon. Henry Chapin, the Treasurer, represented the funds, \$41,000, as securely invested.

The Librarian, S. F. Haven, Esq., made an interesting and elaborate report, by which it appeared that 217 volumes and over a thousand pamphlets had been added during the past year.

The President then read, by request of the Society, an essay on the copies of Michael Angelo's Christ and Moses, which in 1859 and in 1861 he presented to the Society; the one, Christ, standing in the library, a symbol of Progress—and the other, Moses, recently presented, standing in the entrance hall, as a type of the lawgiver and historian. This essay fixed the date of Christ as 1520, and that of Moses as ten years before—there having been much obscurity as to the time when they were executed by the great artist. The copies are admirably done, and the thanks of the Society were tendered to the President for his liberality.

The annual election of officers resulted in the choice of the President and Board of last year, with the change only of Judge Mellen, as Recording Secretary, in the place of Mr. Bullock.

Gov. Lincoln offered resolutions paying an appropriate tribute to Hon. Nathan Appleton. Mr. Folsom presented a curious restoration of the half of an inscription on a stone—one portion of which was lost—which was remarkably verified by the whole printed copy, presented by Dr. Shurtleff, and taken from an old magazine.

The meeting was uncommonly interesting, and the valuable reports were referred to the Committee on Publications. The Society, under the auspices of the hospitable and liberal President, never was in a more flourishing condition.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL SOCIETY.—*Boston, Oct. 18, 1861.*—This Society held its quarterly meeting on Friday afternoon of the above date, at rooms No. 23 Chauncy-street; the President, Edward Jarvis, M. D., in the chair. The Recording Secretary, Mr. John Ward Dean, read letters from Rev. Elias Nason, of Exeter, N. H., accepting corresponding membership, and George S. Hale, Esq., of Boston, accepting resident membership.

The President announced the death of the Librarian, Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D. D., and passed a eulogy upon his character and the services which he had rendered the Association.

Rev. Dr. Clark, he remarked, was a firm and devoted friend of the objects of this Society, and labored assiduously and successfully for its prosperity. His great object was to search out and gather the records of truth, in all its phases, and to make use of the facts of history for the instruction of man, the guidance of the present and coming generations, and the amelioration of humanity. For this purpose he gave his heart and his hand to the work of gathering and preserving all the records of man's doings and thoughts—the facts and the deductions of human life wherever he could obtain them. The Library is now a monument of his devotion and industry, his persevering labor, and his skill in arrangement.

J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., added his testimony to the value of Dr. Clark's services and to the excellence of his character.

A ballot being taken for a successor to Rev. Dr. Clark, as Librarian, Rev. Sewall Harding was unanimously elected.

Dr. Jarvis then read an elaborate paper on the "Worth of Life in the Army," in which he examined the vital statistics of the armies of Europe and America, and showed that the sickness and mortality in these armies, exclusive of that produced by wounds in battle, had been largely in excess of that of similar classes in civil life; and argued that government should endeavor to remove the causes of this disparity. Economy as well as humanity demand this: for it costs as much to support a sick soldier,—or one in a low state of health, who is therefore less efficient,—as it does one in the highest state of health.

The thanks of the Association were voted to Dr. Jarvis for his paper, and he was requested to furnish a copy for publication.

**BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**—*Boston, Nov. 1, 1861.*—The monthly meeting was held on Friday of the above date. After the usual introductory business was finished, several members made donations to the cabinet. The number of coins and medals exhibited was also very large.

Mr. Fisher exhibited a case containing a remarkably large collection of Masonic medals and tokens, generally very beautiful specimens. The members were much interested in examining them, and passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Fisher, for contributing so much to the pleasure of the meeting.

Dr. Fowle exhibited a number of ancient coins, and a copper image of a female, found in the island of Delos. The President showed some medals, including a silver one struck at Lisbon, in 1775, in honor of the Marquis of Pombal.

Mr. Davenport called the attention of the members to a small brass medal, which is particularly interesting now. The following is a description: Obverse, a palmetto; at the foot of which are a cannon, powder-barrels, and cotton-bales, surrounded by rays and stars. Legend, "No Submission to the North, 1860." Reverse, various plants growing. Legend, "The Wealth of the South: Rice, Tobacco, Sugar, Cotton." This was probably struck at the time when the South was arming and drilling; but we were wholly unsuspecting of treason.

On motion of Mr. Colburn, a committee was appointed to represent to the director of the mint the abuses that have existed of late years, from the practice of preserving at the mint the dies from which the coins of each year are struck. There have been instances of rare coins suddenly

becoming more common; the cause of which is found in the existence of these dies, which properly should be wholly useless. The Society and the members are all interested in the matter, and it is hoped some reformation may be made at the mint.

The Society adjourned at five in the afternoon.

#### NEW YORK.

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—*New York, Nov. 5, 1861.*—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held at the Library building, the President, Luther Bradish, in the chair.

The usual report of the Executive Committee was made and several new members nominated.

The paper of the evening, "Jefferson at Monticello," was by Rev. Dr. Pierson, President of Cumberland College, Kentucky.

"Thomas Jefferson still survives" were the dying words (Dr. Pierson said) of the elder Adams. At that moment the devoted family and friends of Jefferson were gathered about his death-bed at Monticello. Adams and Jefferson breathed their last on the 4th day of July, 1826. The waves of sorrow occasioned by these events mingled as they overspread the land. The nation was in tears. Adams, by his tongue, and Jefferson, by his pen, had done more than any others in obtaining, for those who mourned, the liberties of their country.

"Thomas Jefferson still survives," and will survive so long as our country and our history endure—and long may they endure.

After some remarks on the character of the subject of his address, the speaker stated that it would probably be new to his audience that Thomas Jefferson still survived in his every-day life at Monticello—in the iron memory of the sturdy old man, Captain Edwin Bacon, who had lived with him for twenty years, as an overseer of his estate and business, and had, during that time, sustained the most intimate relations with his employer, sharing his confidence throughout.

Dr. Pierson then described the circumstances of his introduction to Captain Bacon, which were amusing, stated that the captain was seventy-six years of age, and the possessor of a plantation of four thousand acres in extent; and that as he was a resident of the First Congressional District of Kentucky, represented by Mr. Burnett, it might be proper to say that he was the strongest sort of a Union man, actively opposing the whole secession movement.

Mr. Jefferson's estate was quite large. There were about ten thousand acres. It was not a



profitable estate, being uneven and hard to work. The whole was divided into four plantations, each in charge of an overseer. Around the buildings acres of ground were planted with trees; flowers were very plentiful, and these were also found scattered over the estate. Of fruit of every description there were great quantities. The speaker had never seen such a place for fruit. Monticello was on high ground, and fruit never failed. Mr. Jefferson was fond of shrubbery; he cultivated it carefully, and when he was in Washington sent home large quantities, which he procured in a nursery in Alexandria. He always knew all about every tree or plant on every part of his grounds, and just where any were missing.

Mr. Jefferson was very fond of all kinds of good stock. The first full-bred Merino sheep in all that portion of country were imported for himself and Mr. Madison while he was president. He afterwards imported from Barbary four large broad-tailed sheep; and also six hogs, of which General Dearborn had two. But the horse was Mr. Jefferson's favorite animal; he was passionately fond of fine, good horses, and would not ride or drive any thing but high-bred animals. Bay was his favorite color; he would have no other. John Randolph would have none but black horses. When Mr. Jefferson came from Washington, at the conclusion of his presidential term, he had a new carriage built, according to a design of his own. The work was all done by his own workmen, except the plating, which was done in Richmond. He always had five horses when he rode out in that carriage—four attached to it, and one saddle-horse. These had such names as Washington, Wellington, Eagle. The last thing (said Captain Bacon) I ever did for Mr. Jefferson, was to buy Eagle for him, for a riding-horse. The last time he ever rode on horseback, he rode Eagle. The last letter I ever received from him came from Kentucky, and described how Eagle had fallen into the river with him and lamed his wrist. These horses made a splendid appearance in the new carriage. Mr. Jefferson would never allow them to be controlled by reins; he would not trust himself; but two servants rode on horseback, each guiding a pair.

Mr. Jefferson built a flouring mill while Bacon lived with him; it was a large four-story building, and had four runs of stones. He also built a railway, on which ten or twelve persons were sometimes employed. He had a factory for making domestic cloths; there were three spinning-jennies, one with thirty-six spindles, the second with eighteen, and the smallest with six. There the clothing for all his servants was made, and a good deal besides. He also had a blacksmith's shop.

Dr. Pierson gave a particular account of the personal appearance and habits of Mr. Jefferson

at home. Mr. Jefferson was (in the language of Captain Bacon) six feet two and a half inches high, well-proportioned, and straight as a gun-barrel. He had no surplus flesh. He was very strong; and he had a machine for measuring strength. Very few men I have seen try it were as strong as his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph; but Mr. Jefferson was stronger than he. He enjoyed the best of health—was never really sick in his life until his last sickness. His skin was pure—just as he was in principle (continued Bacon, emphatically); he had blue eyes, and kindness always marked his countenance, which bore a serenely mild expression; he was never disturbed. Captain Bacon referred to a single instance in illustration. On one occasion eleven thousand bushels of wheat were in the mill: the rain fell in torrents, when the water was already high, during an entire night: I got up early and went to the dam; soon it began to break, and I saw the whole swept away. I never felt worse in my life. I went to see Mr. Jefferson about it. He had just come from breakfast. On seeing me he inquired if I had heard from the mill-dam. I replied that I had just come from there, and that the dam was all swept away. He replied, as calmly as though nothing had happened, that we must build a temporary one for this season, and that next summer we would make a dam that could not be washed away.

Mr. Jefferson was always an early riser, and generally rode out at daybreak or before. I have never found him in bed, though often having occasion to see him very early in the morning. I thought several times, when I went at an unusually early hour, that I would find him in bed; but there he would be walking on the terrace (the captain closing with his favorite expression), straight as a gun-barrel. He never had a servant to make a fire in his room; he always had a quantity of ashes in the fireplace, and usually kept the fire alive by covering it, doing the work with his own hands. He did not use tobacco in any form; he never used a profane word, nor any thing like it; he never played at cards. I never saw a card in the house at Monticello, and his overseers had particular orders to suppress card-playing among the negroes. I never saw any dancing in his house. He was never a great eater, but what he did eat was very choice; never ate much hog-meat, and he told me when I gave out food for the servants, for one week, that it was more than he would need in six months. He was very fond of guinea-fowl; also ate two or three kinds of flesh, particularly lamb. He was also very fond of fruit and vegetables, and raised every variety. In his dress he was very neat; he wore short breeches and bright buckles. When he rode on horseback he wore overalls.

Mr. Jefferson never debarred himself from hearing any preacher that came along. An instance of his liberality and peculiarity is given. A poor Baptist named Richter preached a sermon near his estate, and Mr. Jefferson—he was quite old then—had his stool, with which a servant accompanied him, carried to the place, where he sat during the delivery of the sermon. At the close some one proposed that the hat should be passed around to collect the means of purchasing a horse for brother Richter. Without waiting for the hat, Mr. Jefferson got off his stool, placed his hand in his pocket, taking thence a considerable sum (neither he nor any one else knew the amount) and striding up to the preacher, gave it to him with his best wishes. He then took his departure.

He was very kind to the poor. When he came home from Washington, those people were the first to find it out, and came asking for assistance. He gave them notes to me directing me what to give them. I knew them better than he, and told him some of them were undeserving, but he said he could not resist their appeals. Finally, he placed the matter in my hands; but these people would not come to me, and they often induced him to depart from his rule, giving them orders, which sometimes I did not fill. In 1816, corn was very badly injured by a frost: there was much distress. Mr. Jefferson directed me to obtain for our own use, from a locality not far off, where the crops were not injured, thirty barrels of meal, at \$10 per barrel. But before I could have it conveyed to the estate, he had given away orders enough to poor people to include nearly the whole amount.

Mr. Jefferson was very particular in the transaction of all his business, and always had a written statement about every thing, so that I knew exactly what to do. He kept an account of every thing relating to his farm, and knew exactly how much of every thing was raised, on what plantation, and what became of it—how much was sold and how much used. Mr. Jefferson, in his business transactions, would never have a bargain of any kind with any man without putting it in writing.

Relative to Mr. Jefferson's family, Captain Bacon's statement may be given briefly. He had four children, of whom two died very young. The other two were named Martha and Maria. The former married Thomas Mann Randolph, who afterwards became governor of Virginia; and the latter, John W. Epps, subsequently member of Congress. After some statements concerning Mrs. Jefferson, Captain Bacon says that Mr. Jefferson was the most industrious person that he ever knew. All the time that I was with him I had full permission to visit his room at any time,

day or night, when I thought it necessary to see him on business. I have scarcely ever gone into his room when he was not busy, unless he was in bed. I remember but two instances in which I found him unemployed—once he was suffering from toothache, and on the other occasion from neuralgia. At all other times he was reading, writing, arranging his business plans, conversing about something he had on his estate, or ordering something else.

Mr. Jefferson had six grandchildren, to whom he was much devoted, and they to him. He took great pleasure in talking to them and giving them advice. I have heard him tell them enough of times that nobody should live without some useful employment. When one of them said to him, "We are rich, and do not need to work," Mr. Jefferson replied, "Ah! those who expect to get their living without work, because they are rich, will be greatly mistaken. The people who do work will soon get possession of their property."

He took great pleasure in sports, sometimes presiding at juvenile races, and deciding who was the victor. He was always very kind and indulgent to his servants; he would not allow them to be over-worked, and would scarcely ever permit them to be whipped. Once a servant stole some nails. I had evidence of the fact, and informed Mr. Jefferson. Jim, the thief, had previously been a faithful servant. Mr. Jefferson, somewhat surprised, told me to be at his house with Jim when he took his ride. I never saw any person, white or black, so mortified as he was when he saw his master. Tears streamed from his eyes; he begged to be forgiven, exhibiting the most acute anguish. Mr. Jefferson turned to me and said: "Sir, we cannot punish him any more; he has suffered enough already." He then talked to the servant, giving him much good advice, and dismissed him. Jim's overseer expected to be called to whip him, and was surprised when the negro stated the facts; Jim added that he had been seeking religion a great while; yet he never heard any thing that made him feel so bad as he did when master said, "Go, and don't do so any more." Jim was soon converted, and came for a permit to be baptized. He was a good servant afterwards. Mr. Jefferson had several family servants, and they were allowed to do as they pleased.

Mr. Jefferson freed a number of his servants in his will, and I think (said Captain Bacon) that he would have freed them all if his affairs had not been so involved that he could not do it. He did not like slavery; I have heard him talk a great deal about it. He believed it was a bad system. I have heard him prophesy that we should have just such trouble with it as we are having now.

In regard to the opinions of Jefferson and others, the speaker said that while a reference to them

increased our reverence for those master-builders who labored to lay the foundation of our glorious Union, they should give intensity to our abhorrence for their traitorous successors, who are attempting to tear down the magnificent structure. The Virginia of Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, fallen, alas! to the Virginia of Floyd, Wise, and Mason! What a fall! The contrast is surely enough to fire every loyal heart, and nerve every loyal arm to wipe out the stigma. May the contest not cease until treason and rebellion are everywhere crushed beneath your tread, and

"The Star-spangled Banner in triumph shall wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Hon. George Bancroft said that nothing could be more proper or interesting than the discourse which had just been delivered. He was sorry that the speaker had not turned his glass and given one or two other views. Mr. Jefferson was one of the first to anticipate the danger of secession, and to denounce it in advance. In one of his letters he spoke of the principle of secession—which he called separation—and insisted that no desire for such separation existed among any considerable number of the American people. He cleared of it the public men of the nation, and all political parties, with the exception of one small aristocratic faction, to be found at that time in the North. If he were alive now, he would see it in the southern portion of the republic, and would denounce it as heartily as he did that in the North. Mr. Bancroft hoped the speaker would develop these statements for the press. In conclusion, he moved that Dr. Pierson receive the thanks of the Society, for his able and interesting discourse, and that it ask of him a copy to be placed in its archives.

The Society adjourned.

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## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETIES SHOULD PRESERVE MATERIALS FOR THEIR OWN HISTORY.**—The writer of a notice of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the *Cambridge* [Mass.] *Chronicle*, June 26, 1852, makes the following remark: "We regret to say that the library of the Historical Society itself does not contain the materials for a bibliographical history of its own 'Collections.'" As that was written more than nine years ago, probably the want here noticed

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has been partially, at least, supplied since then. My object in citing it, is to draw the attention of historical societies to the importance of preserving the materials that illustrate their own history. How few of our societies have all such materials that could have been saved! Perhaps there are not any of them. But all can and should preserve the documents of this kind, of the present day, and do something towards supplying the wants of the past. BOSTON.

### THE FIRST PENNY PAPER IN PHILADELPHIA.

—The first penny paper started in Philadelphia, was the *Daily Transcript*, which was published in Third-street, above Walnut, in a building on the site of which the *Sunday Dispatch* office now stands. It was established in the spring of 1835, by W. L. Drane & Co. The *Ledger*, established shortly after, bought out the *Transcript* in September of the same year.

**CONTRABAND.**—This word has received, within the present year, a new application, and is used to indicate slaves who run away from their masters and seek protection in the lines of the United States army. Many of these fugitives having reached Fort Monroe, Va., were, on being reclaimed by their previous owners, declared by Gen. Butler "contraband of war," and on that ground were refused to be restored. Hence this class of runaway slaves are now known as "contrabands." Ω

**POPULAR SUPERSTITION.**—Orders were sent from England, in the course of the last century, to have the census taken in New Jersey; but the authorities were unable to execute them, as the inhabitants generally refused to furnish the requisite information, attributing the previous general epidemic "to the last numbering of the people," which was considered "a repetition of the same sin that David committed, and might bring on the like judgments." \* † \*

**SINGULAR FACTS FOR HISTORY—TWO RIVAL HEIRS TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE VISITING THE UNITED STATES AT THE SAME TIME.**—In the number of the *Magazine* for January last, I called attention to the singular fact that there were two Princes of Wales, heirs to the throne of England, visiting the United States at the same time. We have now to record the singular coincidence of two heirs to the throne of France—Bourbon and Napoleon—visiting this country at the same time; the former in a time of peace; the latter, that of war. G. A.

Sept., 1861.

INDIAN NAMES IN SONORA AND THEIR SIGNIFICATION.—Father Peterkorn, in his work on Sonora, gives the following names of places in Sonora, with their meaning. As so much imagination has been wasted in inventing interpretations for names in other parts, this list will be of service, and the ounce of prevention will be of more avail than a pound of cure, after false meanings have been given, as they have been to Kentucky, Mississippi, Ticonderoga, Alabama.

*Acontzi*, thistle field.  
*Aki imari*, raven's nest.  
*Anahues*, place where tunas grow.  
*Arisona*, sand-hills.  
*Arispe*, great hole (? cave).  
*Ati*, brook.  
*Babivora*, snake valley.  
*Bavispe*, snake-hole.  
*Babakibac*, owl-houses.  
*Bawat-patzzi*, at the white mountain.  
*Bicimatzzi*, white earth.  
*Bicwaizi*, high mountain.  
*Bicwimtzzi*, green field.  
*Bisepwa*, fir woods.  
*Beschulda*, bear's den.  
*Bitoco*, channel of water (? cañon).  
*Bisani*, ant-hills.  
*Bisawic*, a bat.  
*Caborca*, a flat place.  
*Chimaba*, oak-tree.  
*Chimapi*, oak woods.  
*Chimawora*, oak stump.  
*Chiricagui*, burnt oak.  
*Cuesperca*, onion mountain.  
*Cucurpa*, wood-pigeon.  
*Cukwadzzi*, splinter mountain.  
*Cumapa*, swamp.  
*Cumucurpa*, cat-hole.  
*Guavis*, tree-frog.  
*Guasibus*, or *Guassibus*, place where there are many frogs.  
*Guabari*, great river.  
*Guapaco*, a bird of prey.  
*Kebari*, ruined houses built by the ancient Indians.  
*Mitopi*, red field.  
*Motepere*, deer-leap.  
*Nicotineru*, pasturage.  
*Nigori*, wild bees.  
*Nicosari*, bee-work (wax and honey).  
*Omea*, a marshy grassy place.  
*Okitwa*, or *Kistwa*, sparrowhawk's nest.  
*Opulpe*, stone quarry.  
*Opulpa*, place of potato.  
*P'ripa*, wagtail.  
*Pitiki*, mud-house.  
*Suawetzzi*, black mountain.  
*Suic*, *Suriki*, place where it is very windy.  
*Stetzzi* (? a mowed field).  
*Suokipi*, hollow tree.  
*S. Miguel Sonolita*, fountain of St. Michael.  
*Soyopa*, hot.  
*Teoripa*, mouse-hole.  
*Tepatzzi*, fox mountain.  
*Tepaspe*, partridge.  
*Terapa*, canebrake.  
*Teras*, canes.  
*Terenate*, thornbrake.  
*Teuricatzzi*, pointed mountain.

*Toape*, arrow-wood.  
*Tabaca*, soap-plant, place where it grows abundantly.  
*Tabutama*, hollow way.  
*Tuesun*, heath.  
*Tamacacori*, pepper-plant, place where the small round pepper is found.  
*Tupo*, place where there is much moss.  
*Ures*, wild-cats.  
*Vac*, *S. Xavier del*, an Indian district that takes its name from Cuema Vac, a Spanish town in New Spain, where a picture of St. Francis Xavier is in great veneration.  
*Zuaki*, greenhouse.

DISINTERMENT OF THE REMAINS OF MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES LEE, AT CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.—The entrance of Church alley, leading from Second-street to Third-street, is inconveniently narrow, owing to the projection of Christ Church, and a brick wall, which extends about one hundred feet along the alley. Arrangements have been made with owners of the tombs adjoining the inside of this wall, to have the bones removed to another part of the yard, in order to rebuild the wall on a line with the houses. Fourteen tombs were opened on Monday, Nov. 4, belonging to old resident families. Their contents were carefully collected and placed in small pine-wood boxes, two and a half feet long by one foot wide. The burials chiefly took place last century, and little was left of the coffins but scraps of rotten wood and hinges. Prominent among these disinterments were the bones of Major-general Charles Lee, of Revolutionary memory.

He was born in England, in 1731, fought through the old French War, in company with Washington, and on the breaking out of our Revolution became a prominent officer in the Continental army. He played a prominent part at that period, and nearly caused the losing of the battle of Monmouth by a disobedience of orders. He was finally dismissed from the service for disrespect towards the commander-in-chief, and towards Congress, and retired to his farm, near Martinsburg, Virginia. This he managed very badly, and in visiting Philadelphia to sell it, died of a delirious fever, Oct. 2, 1782. He was a man of ungovernable temperament, of great immorality and profanity. He was philosophic in religion, and, in his will, remarked that the religious ideas of a man were of no consequence, and that he was no more answerable for his faith than for the color of his skin. He also desired that his body should not be placed in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house. This clause in his will is as follows:

"I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-

house; for since I have resided in this country I have kept so much bad company when living, that I do not choose to continue it when dead. I recommend my soul to the Creator of all worlds and all creatures; who must, from his visible attributes, be indifferent to their modes of worship or creeds, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Jew, whether instilled by education, or taken up by reflection, whether more or less absurd; as a weak mortal can no more be answerable for his persuasions, notions, or even skepticism in religion, than for the color of his skin."

These orders were disregarded. Among his bones, his wig was found in good preservation. The hair was of a deep reddish brown, probably stained by the dye of the mahogany coffin, as it decayed in the humid earth. This was the color also of his bones, and of all those found in the vicinity, occasioned probably by the same cause.

Major-general Lee died in Philadelphia, at the Chestnut tavern, on the south side of Market-street, between Fourth and Fifth streets, October 2, 1782. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people: the clergy of different denominations, his Excellency the President of Congress, the President, and some members of the Council of Pennsylvania, his Excellency the Plenipotentiary of France; M. Marbois, secretary to the embassy; the Minister of Finance, General Baron de Viomini, Duke de Lausain, the Minister of War, and several other officers of distinction, both in the French and American army.

The remains of the dead that had been disinterred, have been placed near the foundation walls of the ancient edifice, and the original tombstones have been relaid.

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 7, 1861.

REV. GABRIEL RICHARD AND TECUMSEH.—I find the following communication in a number of the *Detroit Catholic Vindicator* of May, 1855, and think it worth preserving in your *Magazine*.

II.

SIR: I am a subscriber to the paper of which you are the editor, but I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you. Will you pardon me for the liberty I take in writing to you? I am an Indian; and although cannot write the English language as it should be written, still I am attacked with the disease called, in the literary world, "Cacoethes scribendi." So I send you the inclosed article. Should you consider it inadmissible, I will not be angry with your publisher.

The circumstances mentioned in that article were related to me by a person who had sometimes heard Father Richard himself speak of

them; and the letters at the foot of it, are merely the initials of three words, "North American Indian." I am, very respectfully yours, \*

When Hull surrendered, in 1812, the British required of the citizens of Detroit, not prisoners of war, to take the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain. In return protection to persons and property was promised. With these advantages in view, some took the oath; while others, preferring to stand by their country even in the dark hour of her misfortune, refused to take it. Among the latter was Father Richard. When asked to swear allegiance to the king, he answered: "I have taken one oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and I cannot take another; do with me as you please." Upon this refusal, he was seized and hurried away to Malden, and was there placed among the prisoners of war.

At Malden, the place of confinement for the prisoners, was a pen, or small inclosure of high pickets. On one side of it near the ground, there was a small opening through which the prisoners were thrust in, and their daily allowance of food passed to them, when it was not thrown in over the pickets, as it was sometimes done. Within this inclosure there was no covering or shelter of any kind as a protection against the hot rays of a noontday sun, the dampness of the midnight air, or the inclemencies of the weather. This was the place into which Father Richard was thrown, after having been denied the use of even his hat. While he was an inmate of this pen, the other prisoners paid him the utmost respect, and they would open for him, while reciting the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, a narrow walk through the middle of it.

Among the Indian allies of the British, in the war of 1812, Tecumseh, as everybody knows, was one of the most distinguished, and was apparently held in high estimation by them. One day, while the above scenes were passing at Malden, he presented himself before the British commander, and, in tones and bearing of one well aware of the importance of his services, said to him in substance as follows:

"I have come to tell you that my young men will fight for you no longer; for you hold the *black-gown* (a Catholic priest) as a prisoner. I cannot answer for my warriors while you keep him shut up—I demand his liberty."

The commander, well acquainted with the character of his red visitor, and being unwilling to lose his friendship at such a time by a refusal, wrote immediately the order discharging Father Richard unconditionally; thus leaving him to pursue his peaceful ministry in the country unmolested. Was Tecumseh a savage? S. A. I.

CUMOUS EPITAPHS.—I inclose for publication several *verbatim* epitaphs and monumental inscriptions which I have collected within a few years. Yours, &c., R. P.

Sleep on, sleep on my love  
Sleep on my love for you are my turtle dove  
My dear wife & children dont you mourn for me  
Heaven is my throne & earth is my footstool.  
*Hillsdale, N. Y.*

When you my friends are passing by  
And this informs you where I lie  
Remember you e're long must have  
Like me a mansion in the grave  
Also 3 infants, 2 sons & a daughter.  
*Pittsfield, Mass.*

Ab lyes tis she who once like you  
Did stand such monuments to view  
But soon with me you here must be  
And others stand & read of the. Age 27.  
*Rutland, Vt.*

While Chrystal dew's impearl the lawn  
A Tear shall drop o'er Betsey's urn.  
*Middlebury, Vt.*

MR  
JOHN  
SCOTT  
DYED oN OC<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>r</sup>  
3 1737 AGE<sup>p</sup>  
27 YEAR oF  
MR KINGS  
TOWN  
WIL<sup>M</sup> Scot son  
*Amherst, Mass.*

Here lies y<sup>r</sup> Body of  
Mr<sup>s</sup> Elizabeth Lee  
the Relict of CaP<sup>t</sup>  
Stephen Lee Dec<sup>d</sup>  
Who Served In y<sup>r</sup> office  
of a Midwife 45 Year<sup>s</sup>  
Untill She was 90ty  
Years of Age & Dec<sup>d</sup>  
May y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> 1760 In  
y<sup>e</sup> 91<sup>st</sup> Year of her Age.  
*New Britain, Ct.*

Poor Elizabeth  
only 19.  
*Burlington Green, N. Y.*

Now I am old, & out of Mind  
Upon this stone, My name you<sup>n</sup> find  
And when My name, you plainly see  
You can no less, than think of me.  
*New Britain, Ct.*

Dear friends we regret that  
we cannot frequent the spot  
Whare this lov'ly form lies  
that will never be forgot.  
*Gouverneur, N. Y.*

1813  
D O D  
D x H  
age x 74  
*Angelica, N. Y.*

I here bid y<sup>e</sup> emty  
World adieu  
My Dearest friends  
& so must you.  
*Pomfret, Ct.*

by this denotes Mortalite  
then be prepared to follow me.  
*Pomfret, Ct.*

Here  
Lays the Bodey of the  
deceased maria  
barbara brown Wife of  
John brown She was  
born the 16<sup>th</sup> day of  
November 1750  
and died the 6<sup>th</sup> day of  
January 1817  
her age Amount to 66 years  
1 month 21 days Lived  
in marige 47 years 6  
month 19 days.  
*New Jersey.*

May all Mankind put off hypocrisy  
& Superstition & put on a new coat  
of Philosophy lined with the laws  
of Nature.

Uni Deo confideo.  
*Naugatuck, Ct.*

Oh dear son your sweet lips we have often kissed,  
Likewise your dear hands we have many times  
pressed,  
Your form that we loved is now wasting away  
Oh that we could in your bosom lie.  
*Camden, N. Y.*

Molly tho' pleasant in her day  
Was suddenly seized and sent away  
How soon she's ripe, how soon she's rotten  
Laid in the grave, and soon forgotten.  
*Milford, Ct.*

My body is not to be found by this stone  
 For God hath decreed it a watery tomb  
 But since it is the lot of all men to die  
 It is my sad fate in the ocean to lie.  
 Capt. James Paine · 1816 Dec 14 · Age 32.

*Old Sekonk, Mass.*

CITIZEN GENET.—It is erroneously stated, by the late Dr. Francis, in his "Old New York," extracts of which are given on p. 46, vol. ii., of this *Magazine*, that "Citizen Genet died at Jamaica, N. Y."

In the graveyard of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church at East Greenbush, about four miles southeast from Albany, N. Y., is a plain marble tablet, bearing the following inscription:

“ Under this humble stone  
 are interred  
 the remains of  
 EDMOND CHARLES GENET,  
 late adjutant-general,  
 Minister Plenipotentiary  
 and

Consul General

from the French Republic,

to the United States of America.

He was born at Versailles, Parish of St. Louis, in France,

Jan. 8, 1763,

and died at Prospect Hill, town of Greenbush,

July 14, 1834.

Driven by the storms of the Revolution to the shades of retirement, he devoted his talents to his Adopted Country, where he cherished the love of liberty and Virtue. The pursuits of Literature and Science enlivened his peaceful solitude, and he devoted his time to usefulness and benevolence. His last moments were like his life, an example of fortitude and true Christian Philosophy. His heart was love and friendship's sun, which has set on this transitory world, to rise with radiant splendor beyond the grave."

By the side of this grave, is that of his second wife, Maria Brandon Osgood, who died Jan. 24, 1853, aged 67 years.

Prospect Hill is on the brow of the hill overlooking the Hudson, about three and a half miles below Albany, near where the railroad to Boston leaves the valley and turns eastward, and a mile and a half from the church at East Greenbush.

Citizen Genet was many years a zealous member of the Albany Institute, and a steady attendant upon its meetings. He proposed, in 1818, a canal around the shallows that from the earliest period have embarrassed the navigation of the Hudson for a few miles below Albany, and in 1825, pub-

lished, as the result of his philosophical speculations, a small volume under the following title:

"Memorial on the Upward Forces of Fluids, and their applicability to several arts, sciences, and public improvements, for which a patent has been granted by the government of the United States, to the author, Edmond Charles Genet, a citizen of the United States, Member of the Institute of France, of the Royal Antiquarian Society of London, of the Philosophical Society of New York, &c., &c." 8vo, 112 pp.

He had observed the experiments made by Joseph and Etienne Montgolfier upon balloons, in 1783, and the subject of aeronautics appears to have been a favorite theme of meditation and conversation through life. He gives in this little volume, detailed descriptions, engravings, and tables, illustrating his proposed method, in raising canal-boats and cars from a lower to a higher level vertically or on an inclined plane, and in raising sunken vessels or other weights from under water by aerostatic power, and explains the application of hydrostatic and aerostatic powers to aquatic and aerial navigation by the power of horses and steam.

F. B. H.

LOWVILLE, N. Y.

#### QUERIES.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—"The Dissuasion to Great Britain and her Colonies from the SLAVE TRADE to Africa, will be put to press in a fortnight. Those who incline to encourage the printing this pamphlet are desired to send in their names to the Printer hereof, in order that the number to be published may be ascertained by that time."—*Massachusetts Spy, Boston, Ap. 9, 1772.*

Can any of your readers inform us if the above work was ever published; and if so, give the author's name, and where a copy is to be found?

J. C.—N.

Boston, Nov. 12, 1861.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.—In casually glancing over Dunlap's *American Advertiser* for May 23d, 1793, I find the following notice:

"MARRIED—By the Rev. Dr. Magaw, Mr. GEORGE WASHINGTON to Miss LUCY PAYNE, of this city."

Who was this namesake of the Father of his Country?

VERSES ON THE LAND BANK, THE SILVER SCHEME, &c.—I saw a few years ago, either in print or manuscript, some verses written over a

century ago on matters of that day in Massachusetts. I remember one couplet only, and am in doubt about some of the words in the last line of that. As near as I can recollect, however, it was:

"The Land Bank and the Silver Scheme  
Were all last year the constant theme."

I wish to refer again to these lines, and would thank any correspondent of the *Historical Magazine* who is able, if he would inform me where I can find a copy. \_\_\_\_\_ J. D.

WASHINGTON'S INDIAN NAME.—What is the meaning of the name Conotocarions, given to General Washington by the Indians, and when and by what tribe was it given? \_\_\_\_\_ E. T. E.

ANDREW BELCHER—NATHANIEL\* BYFIELD.—Were they ever members of the Council of Massachusetts Bay; and if so, at what time? \_\_\_\_\_ WORCESTER.

EARLY PRINTING IN NEW YORK.—Is there any copy extant of the first edition of the City Charter, Laws, and Ordinances printed by Bradford in 1694? I have reason to believe that there was such a publication, but have never seen it noticed in any catalogue or bibliographical work. \_\_\_\_\_ G. H. M.

#### REPLIES.

BURIED INDIAN VILLAGE (vol. v., p. 349).—Accounts of certain log-huts, discovered at various depths below the surface, while digging for gold in the vicinity of Dahlonega, and in the Nacooche valley, as well as south of this, "near the Ocmulgee, and in Stewart county, Georgia," were published from time to time in the public papers of those localities, and have been described by various travellers on the authority of resident eye-witnesses. See Lanman, "Letters from the Alleghany Mountains," pp. 9, 26, 27; White, "Hist. Collections of Georgia," pp. 487-8; Featherstonaugh, "Voyage up the Minay Sotor," vol. ii., p. 259. Thirty-six of these were found at the Eaton diggings alone. In connection with them, what are called "crucibles" and "furnaces" were disinterred, as well as rude metallurgical instruments and stone utensils. They have generally been attributed to De Soto, who in the Gulf States, in respect to all ancient and puzzling constructions, plays the same *role* that Queen Bertha does in Sweden, and Julius Caesar in France. It seems to me superfluous to show the entire gratuity of such a supposition. They are, unquestion-

ably, the works of the early Indian tribes of this locality, who had made far greater progress in civilization than is usually conceded. The first explorers found gold, silver, and copper ornaments among the natives of Georgia and Florida, which, by their own showing, came from the metaliferous deposits of Northern Georgia. (See La Vega, *Conq. Florid.*, Lib. iv., cap. xvi., Lib. vi., cap. x.; L'Hist. *Not. de la Floride*, pp. 30, 52, 113, 139, et al.; De Bry, *Col. Peregrinationum*, Pars II., Tab. XI.) Ornaments of gold, worked with tolerable skill, are still occasionally found in the mounds and forts of that region (Jones, *Monumental Remains of Georgia*, p. 79). The depth below the surface at which the huts are found is not so difficult of explanation, when we recollect that they probably belonged to the miners, and moreover, that the natives of those spots were accustomed to construct their habitations underground, "so that," says Biedma, "they resemble caves rather than houses" (*Relation*, pp. 60, 61). \_\_\_\_\_ D. G. B.

WEST CHESTER, Pa.

THE MOTT (N. Y.) TOKEN (vol. v., p. 350).—I have examined the piece in many collections, and do not believe that any were struck as "Buckeye's" now stands. A most criminal system prevails, to some extent, of making varieties by the use of a graver. In the present case it needs the removal of very little from an E to make an L; and we think that on close scrutiny his will prove to have been so altered. \_\_\_\_\_ A VICTIM.

AMELIA ISLAND AFFAIR (vol. v., p. 349).—That there were "many ships with valuable cargoes" at Amelia Island, at the moment of its cession to the United States, is a fact I had not seen stated before. The palmy days of Fernandina were during the embargo of 1808, and our second war with England, when as a neutral port, only a few miles from St. Mary's in Georgia, and having one of the very finest harbors on our Atlantic coast, it offered most delectable advantages for smuggling, which were by no means neglected. One of the oldest inhabitants of Fernandina, Old Tom, told me, during my visit there in 1856, that he had counted sixty sail of various kind of craft in the harbor at one time during that period. I give the statement for what it may be worth. If this port had again attracted a number of vessels at the time of the cession, one might have supposed that it would have been mentioned by Williams or Vignolles; but I remember nothing of it in the former (though I have not his work at hand at present), while the latter, writing in 1822, says expressly, that it had been doing little or no business after the close of the war with England



(Obs. on the Floridas, p. 35). If, however, such was the case, I see no necessity that the merchants should have been "privately informed," as W. Y. M. supposes, as will be obvious by an examination of the following dates:

- Feb. 22, 1819. Treaty signed at Washington by the plenipotentiaries of both powers.  
 Feb. 27, 1819. Copies of the treaty transmitted to Congress and read in the *House of Representatives with open doors*.  
 Oct. 24, 1820. Treaty ratified by His Catholic Majesty.  
 Feb. 22, 1821. Treaty ratified by President Monroe, the ratifications exchanged, and *the treaty made public*.  
 May 23, 1821. Treaty promulgated in Spain by the action of the Cortes.  
 July 10, 1821, at 4 P. M. Formal delivery of East Florida to the United States, by the Spanish commissioner, Don José Coppinger, at St. Augustine.

According to an act of Congress, approved March 20, 1823, all ships sailing under Spanish registers belonging to inhabitants of the ceded territory at the date of the formal delivery, were allowed to be "registered, enrolled, and licensed" to be vessels of the United States, after the owner had taken the oath of allegiance and gone through the usual formalities. The list of these vessels, which would partially answer W. Y. M.'s query, is probably still preserved at Washington.

D. G. B.

WEST CHESTER, Pa.

CARIBS IN OUR PRESENT TERRITORY (vol. v., p. 349).—That the Caribs did not come originally from North America, as was asserted by nearly all the early writers, and as has been maintained in our own days, by even such authorities as Humboldt, Meyen, and Braunschweig, has been conclusively shown by Alphonse D'Orbigny. But that they had a knowledge of, and frequent communication with the shores of Florida, that they planted colonies there, and in some instances grafted their own customs and language on those of the earlier possessors of the soil, may be shown by such an array of arguments as to place the matter beyond doubt. These arguments, too numerous to be inserted here, may be found in Brinton's "Notes on the Floridian Peninsula," pp. 98-103, and in the authors there referred to. D.

ANOTHER REPLY (vol. v., p. 349).—The question of M. D. may thus perhaps be safely answered. The language of no original authority has been yet adduced to show that the Caribs have had any connection with the Indians of the Southern coast of the United States; nor is there any fact to

raise the presumption that they have ever done so. That there is such an opinion to be found "in the books" that some of the people of Florida were Caribs, or the Caribs they, is true enough; but it appears not to have been of an early date, or at least not earlier than about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Should any thing be found materially inconsistent with any part of this statement, many curious in such early history will be pleased to see the authority distinctly quoted, or the fact, if there be one, concisely and clearly. J. G. S.

JAYHAWKERS (vol. v., p. 349).—In answer to O.C., whose query in reference to "Jayhawkers," appears in your periodical of the present month, let me say that the word is not by any means new. During the war of the Revolution, it was used not precisely in contradistinction to the expression Cowboys; but "Jayhawkers," were a body of men, who being true patriots and followers of the well-known patriot and statesman, John Jay, were sworn, like masons, to maintain an apparent neutrality, while they never lost an occasion to aid the cause of the United Colonies. In a small volume of "Reminiscences," prepared by Nathaniel Niles, in 1828, a mention of "Jayhawkers" is made. A. H.

ANOTHER REPLY.—In reply to the inquiry of "O.C." in your *Magazine* for the last month, I beg to offer the following from the *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 11, 1861: CHICAGO.

"The term 'Jayhawkers' has become so generally applied in Kansas, that some interest may be felt outside, to know its meaning. The people here are more than likely to be christened by that term, as the Illinoisans are called 'Suckers,' etc. It first became general in the fall of 1857, when the troubles of Southeastern Kansas having commenced, the free-state people established a squatter court, before which they tried the men who were accused of fomenting disturbances. Their method of punishment gave rise to the name of 'Jayhawking.' Men were fined for the offences of which Judge Lynch found them guilty. On refusal to meet the fine, they were visited by armed parties, who, perhaps, frightened them by firing, or took that which they considered necessary to pay the claim. If offences were again committed, the pro-slaveryites were ordered to leave; that failing, the order was enforced. It was emphatically a system of 'worrying.' The Missourians say there's a variety of hawk which does not at once sweep on its prey, but, like a cat, torments it awhile. This is known as the 'Jayhawk.' The similarity of proceedings caused

the name to be applied to the guerrillas of Southern Kansas. I do not know that there is a bird of these habits, and as the books are silent thereon, am inclined to doubt it; but the word, as now in use, in relation to Kansas, had this origin.

While I am engaged in this philological (?) inquiry, let me correct a statement I see going the rounds, that the word "skadaddle" used in the army generally to signify a sudden leaving, was invented at Washington, or had its origin in the present war. As early as the spring of 1859 it was in common use among the miners of Colorado. What its origin was I do not know. I give this statement for the benefit of the learned pundits of the *New York Evening Post*, whose columns set the first statement afloat.

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### Notes on Books.

*History of the Town of Shoreham, Vermont;* from the date of its Charter, October 8, 1761, to the present time. By Rev. Josiah F. Goodhue. Middlebury: A. H. Copeland, 1861. 8vo, 198 pp.

This is another town history issued by the aid of the wise step taken by the State in authorizing each town to have its history drawn up. Mr. Goodhue here presents us with a well-compiled volume, written in clear, unpretending style; and with evident marks of careful investigation. The volume is illustrated with portraits and views. The Revolutionary history is quite interesting; and in its late annals more attention than is usual has been paid to the agricultural feature.

*The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts;* from its first Settlement, in 1640, to the year 1860. By George Wingate Chase. Haverhill: 1861. 8vo, 664, xx. pp.

This very handsome volume seems a most complete history of a town, known to all, from its sufferings by inroads of French and Indians from Canada. These and its local history in its various departments, are detailed with great interest by Mr. Chase. There are some States in the Union which cannot boast a history as extensive, well written, or well got up, as this of the ancient town of Haverhill.

*The Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to America;* reprinted from the Lower Canada Journal of Education. Montreal: E. Senecal, 1860. 8vo, 114, xxvi. pp.

*Relation du Voyage de son Altesse Royale le Prince de Galles en Amérique;* reproduite du Journal de l'Instruction Publique du Bas Canada. Montréal: E. Senecal, 1860. 8vo, 148, xvii. pp.

THESE neat volumes detail the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country and Canada; and are illustrated with a portrait of the prince on steel, and views of important points and buildings on wood. The volumes are very creditable to the publisher and author.

*The Little Drummer Boy, Clarence D. McKenzie,* the Child of the Thirteenth Regiment N. Y. S. M., and child of the Mission Sunday-school. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1861. 144 pp.

*Memoir of Scoville Haynes McCollum,* the Little Syracuse Boy. New York: Board of Publication of the R. P. D. Church, 1861. 324 pp.

THESE are two very neat little volumes of youthful biography; the former entering into the domain of general history, the little soldier having been accidentally killed by one of the regiment while the troops were on their way to Washington.

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### Miscellany.

WM. L. MACKENZIE, known from his connection with the Canadian troubles in 1837-8, and his political career here, died recently in Canada.

A "HISTORY of Poland, Connecticut," from the pen of Hon. Lorenzo P. Waldo, will soon appear.

A LIFE of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, by Dr. Ashabel Woodward, is in preparation.

THE New York Historical Society has added to its gallery a half-length, by Elliott, of Dr. Carnochan. A portrait of Dr. Richard Bayley, will soon add to its art treasures.

EARLY in the year will appear "Old Point; its Scenery, Monuments, and Historic Associations." It will be from the pen of a well-known writer and scholar, and will be published by Mr. S. L. Boardman, of Norridgewock, Maine.

A GRAMMAR of the Heve Language, translated by Mr. Buckingham Smith, has just appeared.

THE accompanying notice of the folio editions of the King James' Bible, is furnished to us by James Lenox, Esq.

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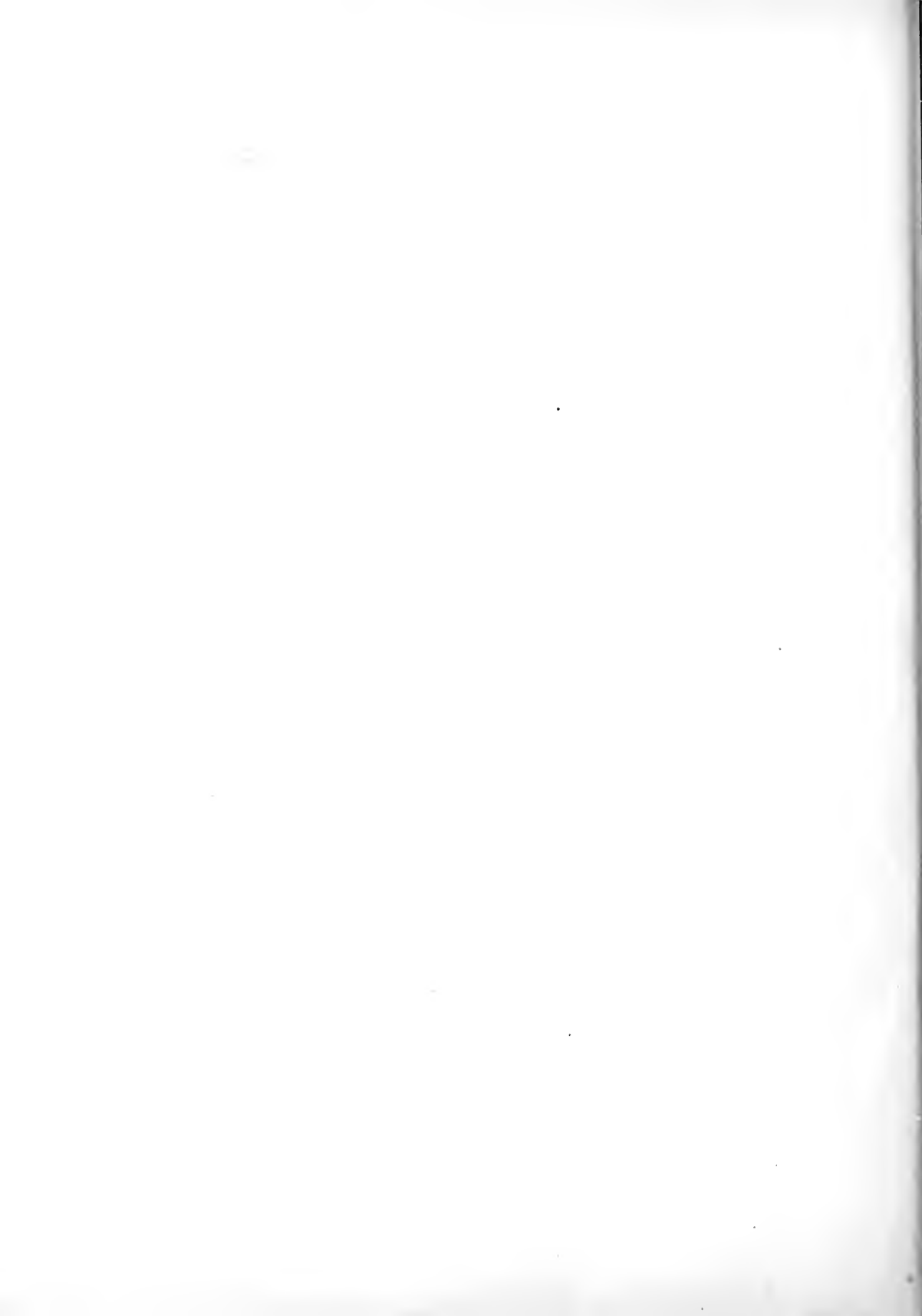
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 Wood, William B., Obituary, 352.  
 Woodhull, Gen., Discension on Death of, 140, 172, 204, 229; Diary of, 257.  
 Wyandots, Historical Sketch of, 262.  
 Yankee Doodle, 123.

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS,

IN FOLIO.





## SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS IN FOLIO.

I have in my possession a very remarkable set of the different editions of Shakespeare's plays in folio; of which I propose to give a description, so far as they vary from the collation in Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual, printed in 1824. Taking his account as a guide, I will note where any additions or corrections are to be made. In a few instances, when he is not sufficiently explicit, some further details will be given in order to distinguish one edition from another. My copies are of large size and in fine condition;—every leaf of them is genuine.

### FIRST EDITION, 1623.

Of this edition I have two copies. One of them belonged originally to John Lichfield, Esqr., and is mentioned by Dr. Dibdin in his Library Companion, page 811. It is also referred to by Lowndes as the Baker copy. He states that it has the title-page with the date 1622, and, in addition, two cancelled leaves in the play of "As you like it." It is 12½ inches tall, and 8½ inches wide. There are two copies of the leaf with Ben Jonson's verses; one is a perfect leaf without any watermark—the other has the verses perfect, and with the watermark of a crown, but the verses are inlaid.

1. The title reads as follows: Mr. William | Shakespeares | Comedies, | Histories, & | Tragedies. | Published according to the True Originall Copies. | (The Portrait) | London | Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1622.

2. The same in all respects except the date, which is 1623.

3. A fac-simile of the Portrait by Harris.

The versos of all the titles are blank.

Lowndes says, "The way to discover the genuine state (of the Portrait) is by observing the shading in the face to be expressed by single lines, without any crossing whatever." This remark is inaccurate; it should read thus: the genuine portrait is known by observing that the cross lines do not occur on the right side of the face. The copper-plate in this state served for the first three editions, but in the third it is much worn:—the cross lines were added for the fourth edition.

The title-page with the date 1622 is inlaid at the bottom, *below* the imprint: if by this means the last figure has been tampered with, the alteration is very successfully concealed.

There are seven preliminary leaves which fol-

low the title-page; the versos of five are blank, viz:

A<sup>3</sup> To the great variety of readers.

A<sup>5</sup> (not marked) Verses signed Hugh Holland.

A<sup>6</sup> do do L. Digges, and I. M.

A<sup>7</sup> do The Workes of William Shakespeare &c.

A<sup>8</sup> do The Catalogue of Comedies &c.

In "As you like it" pages 193, 194 are double. One correctly numbered 193 and the signature R correct.

Another marked 203 and the signature R<sup>2</sup> incorrect.

In the same play, pages 203, 204 are double.

One incorrectly numbered 194, and in the 1st column 10th line the words, "a ripe age" &c., are given to Orlando instead of the Clown, and William's speech immediately following is given to the Clown.

Another correctly marked 204, and the errors in the text corrected.

In the Taming of the Shrew, pages 213, 214 are double.

One has page 214 correctly numbered—in the other it is 212.

In the same play, pages 229, 230 are double. In the one 229 the signature V is correct—in the other Vv incorrect.

In "All's well that ends well," pages 237, 238 are double. In one, page 237 is correctly numbered—in the other it is 233.

In Richard the Second, pages 37, 38 (the second series of pagination) are double. In one, page 37 is correctly numbered—in the other it is 39.

In all the copies of this edition, the following errors occur:

Merchant of Venice, page 170. The last line of the 2d column, "How shall I know if I doe choose the right?" is repeated as the first line of page 171.

Richard the Second, page 26, second series of pagination, "The flye flow houres shall not determinate" for "flye slow." The fl and fl being joined together in the old printing, the one has been used for the other.

Henry the Eighth, page 229. Lowndes in his enumeration of the mistakes and omissions in the signatures, does not notice that x<sup>3</sup>, the signature of this leaf is omitted.

The reprint in 1807 of this edition corresponds generally with Lowndes' collation of the original. The pages are numbered a second time throughout in the centre at the bottom, and in 2<sup>s</sup> from 1 to 223, a blank leaf completing the last signature. The date occurs only in the watermark, and is best seen on the portrait and last leaf. This mark is Shakespeare | J. Whatman | 1806 | and sometimes 1807. The printer's name is on the verso of the title-page at the bottom—Printed by E. and J. Wright, St. John's Square. And at the bottom of the last page, J. Wright, Printer, No. 38, St. John's Square.

#### SECOND EDITION, 1632.

This edition also begins with a leaf, the recto blank, and Ben Jonson's verses on the verso. There are two mistakes in Lowndes' transcript of these verses:—the word "Brasse" in the 6th line should be spelt with a final e, and the word "Reader" is omitted in the 9th line. "But, since he cannot, Reader, looke"

I have six different copies of the title-page. They are as follows:

1. M<sup>r</sup> William | Shakespeares | Comedies, | Histories, and | Tragedies. | Published according to the true Originall Copies. | *The second Impression.* | (the Portrait—and below.) London. | Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Robert Allot*, and are to be sold at the signe | of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1632. |

In the 7th line the *I* is long, running below the line thus, *J*—the double *ss* not joined together.

2. The same in all respects as No. 1, except that the words "at his shop" are inserted in the second line of the imprint, which reads thus. | Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Robert Allot*, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe, | &c.

3. Another, probably cancelled, with these variations from No. 2—

In the 4th line, there is no comma after "Histories"

6th line, "according" is printed "accodring."

7th line, the word "*Impression*" begins with a short *I*, and the *ss* are joined together at the top, *ss*

1st line of the imprint, there is no period after "*Tho*"

Last line of the imprint, "blacke" with a small b—*Pauls* in italics—no hyphen between "Church" and "yard," and a comma after "yard," not a period.

4. Another title-page like No. 1, but the imprint below the portrait stands thus,—London, | Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *William Aspley*, and are to be sold at the signe | of the Parrat in Pauls Church-yard. 1632. |

The *s* in this name is long, and joined to the p.

5. Another, like No. 1, but the imprint reads —London, | Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Richard Hawkins*, and are to be sold at his shop | in Chancery Lane, neere Serjeants Inne. 1632. |

The *C* in *Cotes* is long, passing below the line.

6. Another, like No. 5, except the imprint, which reads thus—London, | Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *John Smethwicke*, and are to be sold at his shop | in Saint Dunstons Church-yard. 1632. | Size of my volume—13 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

There are eight preliminary leaves;—the versos of the following are blank: A<sup>3</sup> (marked A<sup>3</sup>) "To the great variety of Readers."

A<sup>4</sup> (not marked) "Upon the Effigies &c" and "an Epitaph." These verses are not in the first edition.

A<sup>5</sup> (not marked) Verses signed L. Digges, and I. M.

\* The Workes of — and the names of the principal actors, and the last leaf, sig. \*<sup>4</sup> (not marked) has on the recto, the Verses signed Hugh Holland, and on the verso, The Catalogue of Comedies &c., which in the first edition are on separate leaves.

In the Merry Wives of Windsor, pages 57, 58 are double—one correctly marked 57, the other is 79.

Much Adoe about Nothing, pages 119, 120 are double—

On page 119, 1st col. 10th line, 'Rightly reasoned' correct, and on page 119, 1st col. 10th line from the bottom, "I thanke you" correct Another reads in these places, 'Rightly' and 'It thanke you.'

Love's Labour's Lost, pages 143, 144 are double. On page 143, 2d col. lines 39, 40, one reads correctly—

Change not your offer made in heate of blood: If frosts, and fasts, hard lodging, and thin weedes

Another has, 'you offer' and 'thine weedes.'

Merchant of Venice, pages 173, 174 are double.

Page 174, 1st col. l. 40, one reads 'than thou' correctly, the other 'then thau.'

The same play, pages 175, 176 are double—one correctly numbered 176—the other is 276.

As you like it, pages 205, 206 are double—one correctly marked 205—the other is 208.

The Taming of the Shrew, pages 219, 220 are double. The running title of 219 is in one The Taming of the Shrew—in the other, Taming of the Shrew.

The same play, pages 223, 224 are double—one correct 223, the other marked 213.

The First Part of Henry the Fourth, pages 49, 50 are double—one page 49 correct—the other 45.

The Epilogue to the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, page 101 (not marked) is double—one has the signature i<sup>2</sup> correct—in the other i<sup>3</sup>.

Third Part of Henry the Sixth, pages 163, 164 are double—one correct 164—the other 194.

Henry the Eighth, pages 205, 206 are double.

In one the running title of page 206 is correct, 'The Life of Henry the Eight'—in the other it is, The Life and Death of Richard the Third.

Troilus and Cressida, pages 29, 30 are double—one page 29 has the signature bb<sup>2</sup>—in the other, the sig. is omitted.

Romeo and Juliet, pages 83, 84 are double. Page 83, 2d col. 7th line from the bottom, one reads 'Saint-seucing'—the other 'Saint-seuncing'—both a mistake for Saint-seducing.

Pages 85, 86 are also double—one correct, 85—the other 58.

Timon of Athens, pages 125, 126 are double—in one page 125, the signature ll<sup>3</sup> correct—in the other l<sup>3</sup>.

Macbeth, pages 269, 270 are double—in one 269 is correctly marked, in the other it is 209.

Measure for Measure, page 70, 2d col. l. 8 from the bottom, reads—

For thine owne bowels which doe call thee,  
fire.

This mistake of fire for sire is noticed in the Notes and Queries. A long f is joined to the i, instead of a long s. The same mistake occurs elsewhere, e. g. in the 1st col. of the same page, 25th line, the fi in eafie are joined in the same way. But I have two leaves, in one of which the word in the last mentioned line is correctly printed *eafie*, in the other it is *eafie*.

In the same play, page 171, 1st col. 1st line, the last line of page 170 is repeated, as in the first edition, but in this instance incorrectly, the second I being omitted—'do' is printed without the final e. The line stands thus, How shall I know if do choose the right.

As you like it, page 196, 1st col. 12 and 13 lines, the words, "have your parishioners with all, and never cri' de" are repeated: but in the first case, the two words are printed 'parishioners,' and 'eride.'

The Taming of the Shrew, the running title on pages 213 and 223 is The Taming of a the Shrew.

Richard the Second, page 26, 2d col. line 31 is said to read, in some copies, 'The flye flow hours shall not determinate,' as in the first edition—but the cross piece of the f in the word flye is in those instances either broken, or not very distinct.

Hamlet, page 294, the running title is, The Tragedy of King Lear, instead of The Tragedy of Hamlet. In the 2d col. 7th line, the question of the King, 'Will you know them then' wants the ? at the end. In the 8th line 'ope my armes' is 'hope.' In the 11th line, the phrase, 'what noyse is that?' is transferred

from Laertes' speech in the 19th line, and the words 'you speak' are omitted.

Cymbeline, page 416, 1st col. last line reads, 'My Daught' for 'My Daughter.'

The enumeration of errors of less importance might be greatly increased: and the same remark applies to all the editions. I have only noted those which are most remarkable, or which have been continued in the later editions.

#### THIRD EDITION, FIRST ISSUE, 1663.

My copy of this volume commences with a leaf entirely blank, followed by another, the recto of which is blank. On the verso are Ben Jonson's verses in type (commonly called double English) as large as that used for the same lines in the first and second editions, but of a thinner face, and more spaced out. The same words are in *italics* as those in Lowndes' description of the verses under the Portrait in the second issue of 1664. Some of the capital letters differ, especially the W in the fourth line, which is printed thus, VV. Similar characters, both italic and upright, are employed in the Dedication, and Address to the — readers of this edition.

There are two title-pages, one with a space left for the Portrait:—the other with the Portrait inserted in its place. At the top of both is this title,

M<sup>r</sup>. William | Shakespeares | Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. | Published according to the true Original Copies. | *The Third Impression.* | and at the bottom—London, | Printed for *Philip Chetwilde*, 1663. |

The four leaves described above have the same watermark, a large crowned escutcheon, with a scroll below, containing the letters DVD. The leaf of the second issue containing the Portrait with the verses below has a watermark, a crowned escutcheon, but it is much smaller, and has no letters at the bottom.

There are eight preliminary leaves, printed in the large italic, or the upright type of the verses before the title-page, and all the leaves are printed on both sides. Size of the volume 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches.

#### THIRD EDITION, SECOND ISSUE, 1664.

This volume has the portrait with the verses below, printed on the verso of the leaf which precedes the title-page. The title thus: M<sup>r</sup>. William | Shakespear's\* | Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. | Published according to the true Original Copies. | *The third Impression.* † | And unto this Impression is added seven Plays,

\* Without the final e and an apostrophe before the s.

† This line in larger type than in the previous issue, and a small t in third. The two ss are both long: in the first issue, one is long, and the other short.

never | before Printed in Folio. | viz. | *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. | *The London Prodigall*. | *The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell*. | *Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham*. | *The Puritan Widow*. | *A Yorkshire Tragedy*. | *The Tragedy of Locrine*. | Vignette—Two Snakes entwined around a circular band, on which are the words *Ad Ardua per Aspera Tendo*—in the centre, an eagle perched upon a small circle—London, Printed for P. C. 1664. |

The preliminary leaves correspond with those in the first issue—indeed, except the addition of the seven plays to the second, the two issues correspond. Lowndes remarks, “The same errors in the pagination do not occur in all copies, as it is evident several were corrected during the time the volume was passing through the press.” The following differ from his list in the two issues:

- In *Much Adoe About Nothing*, 1663, page 109 is correct; in 1664 it is 111.  
 In *Much Adoe About Nothing*, 1663, page 120 is correct; in 1664 it is 119.  
 2d part of *Henry the 6th*, 1663, page 478, is paged on the wrong side; in 1664 it is paged on the proper side.  
*Romeo and Juliet*, in 1663, pages 650, 651, are correct—in 1664 misprinted 649, 650.  
*Romeo and Juliet*, in 1663, pages 662, 663 are misprinted 660, 661; in 1664, pages 662, 663 are misprinted 646, 655.  
*Cymbeline*, page 877 is correctly numbered in both. Lowndes says that it is sometimes marked 881.  
 In the *London Prodigall*, pages 12, 13 are double—in one they are correctly numbered—in the other they are marked 4, 5.  
*Lord Cromwell*, pages 27, 28 are double—in one, 27 correct—in the other 30.  
*Lord Cromwell*, pages 29, 30 are double—in one, 30 correct—in the other 27.  
 Signatures. Lowndes says they run from A to Aaa in 6s—it should be to Aa in 6s—then Bb in 8s, &c. ¶B<sup>3</sup> is misprinted ¶B.  
 In the *Merchant of Venice*, pages 170, 171, the line is not repeated.  
 In *Hamlet*, page 752, the error “hope” for “ope” is corrected—the other mistakes remain.  
 The error in *Cymbeline*, page 874, Daught for Daughter, is corrected.  
 In *Richard the second*, page 330, 2d column, the mistake of the first edition is restored. “The flye flow hours shall not determinate.”

#### FOURTH EDITION, 1685.

This edition begins with a leaf, on the verso of which is the Portrait with cross lines on both sides of the face, and below, the verses as described by Lowndes.

There are two title-pages, varying in the size of the type, and in the imprint. The title in both is within double rules.

1. M<sup>r</sup> William Shakespear's | Comedies, | Histories, | And | Tragedies. | Published according to the true Original Copies. | Unto which is added, Seven | Plays, | Never before Printed in Folio: | VIZ. |

<i>Pericles Prince of Tyre</i> .	} {	<i>Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham</i> .
<i>The London Prodigal</i> .		<i>The Puritan Widow</i> .
<i>The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell</i> .		<i>A Yorkshire Tragedy</i> .
		<i>The Tragedy of Locrine</i> .

A black line across the page.—*The Fourth Edition*. | Another line across the page. Vignette—A Fleur de lis in an ornament. Another line across. London, | Printed for *H. Herringman*, *E. Breuster*, and *R. Bentley*, at the *Anchor* in the | *New Exchange*, the *Crane* in *St. Pauls Church-Yard*, and in | *Russel-Street Covent-Garden*. 1685.

The second title is similarly arranged, but the type differs, and there is no period after M<sup>r</sup>—The vignette is square, and appears to be made up of small printer's marks—the imprint is as follows:

London, | Printed for *H. Herringman*, and are to be sold by *Joseph Knight* | and *Francis Saunders*, at the *Anchor* in the Lower Walk | of the *New Exchange*. 1685. |

Size 14½ by 9 inches.

The introductory matter is in four leaves—the fourth to the seventh page inclusive printed in double columns—the eighth page is blank. The pagination agrees with Lowndes' collation.

The following pages are double:

- Henry the Fifth, page 88, second series, correctly marked, another misprinted 87.  
 Henry the Fifth, page 93, one correct—the other is 92.  
 In Henry the 8th, page 225 is correct—Lowndes says 224.

The signatures Aaa to Eee, in *Coriolanus* to *Romeo and Juliet*, should have a \* prefixed to them, except Eee and Eee<sup>2</sup>

The whole signature Oo, pages 145 to 156, in the second part of *Henry the Sixth*, has probably been reprinted—different capital letters are used, and words are differently spelt. The following variations are the most obvious:

- Page 145, in one the signature Oo is correct—in the other it is Pp.  
 On pages 147, 148, signature Oo<sup>2</sup>, and 153, 154, signature Oo<sup>5</sup> (not marked) the leaves are counterparts, and there is no discoverable difference.  
 On pages 149, 150, and 151, 152, in one copy, there are rules at the sides and the bottom as

upon all the other pages—in the other these rules are omitted, leaving those at the top and between the columns. The running titles on these pages vary in the following manner:

In one page 149, it is, The second part, &c., a long f.

The other, it is, The Second part, &c., capital S. On pages 151 and 152, in one, The second Part, &c.

In the other, The Second part, &c.

On page 155, in one, The second part, &c.

In the other, The second Part, &c.

On page 156 in one, the catchword THE stands above the centre of the blank space at the lower part of the page, and between two

black lines which run across the page. In the other, the catchword is higher up—there are three black lines across the page, and THE is between the first and second of them.

In Richard the Second, page 23, column 2d, the mistake of the first and third editions is continued. “The flye flow Hours shall not determinate.” L.

NEW YORK, *April*, 1861.

Lowndes states that a copy of the edition of 1632 is in existence dated 1631, but I have never seen it.



THE  
EARLY EDITIONS  
OF  
KING JAMES' BIBLE  
IN FOLIO.





## EARLY EDITIONS OF KING JAMES' BIBLE IN FOLIO.

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WITHIN the past few years it has been generally conceded that two issues in folio of the authorized version of the Bible were printed in 1611. But even now when this point may be thought decided, it is almost impossible to say which of the two is the first. The difficulty of finding copies which might be considered genuine in all their parts, has rendered a collation of these issues very unreliable. This difficulty is augmented by the number of editions which correspond, with very few exceptions, in the contents of the columns and pages, and which have been used to complete imperfect copies of the earlier issues—a use which can rarely be detected but by a comparison of the volumes side by side.

It is a remarkable fact that *almost every leaf* of these Bibles, at first sight so nearly alike, differs in some particulars, and it is as remarkable that this observation applies to the two issues of 1611 as well as to the other editions. After a very close examination of these two issues, only five leaves have been found in which there were no variations;—and in these instances it is very probable that differences may yet be discovered, or at least that these leaves on a separation of the signatures would prove counterparts of others, in which the variations clearly shewed them to have been reprinted.

The discrepancies alluded to are not *different readings*, but in almost all cases mere variations in spelling, in the use of capitals and shape of the letters, or evident mistakes of the press. In the two issues of 1611, one or two different readings have been observed, which will be noted hereafter—and perhaps others may be discovered.

The principal object of the following remarks is to give additional evidence of the fact that two issues of the authorized version of 1611 appeared in that year, and that these are distinguishable from each other on every leaf, and likewise from all the other editions of the same size which are used to make up defects in the first edition. This assertion is based upon a thorough comparison of the different volumes, and a complete list of the variations which are deemed to be peculiar to each. I do not of course mean to affirm that a mistake may not have been made with respect to such and such a leaf; but as to the exactness of the statement in general, the observation is fully confirmed by the investigation of others.

It would be wearisome to enter fully into the enumeration of these variations. I will confine myself at present to the statement of the results to which the examination alluded to has led, and at the same time note some of the more remarkable variations which identify the different editions. The editions compared are the following.

1. The first issue of 1611, called so because the rarer of the two, and which will be distinguished by the mark. 1611 A.

2. The second issue of the same year, marked, 1611-B.

3. The edition frequently found with the date 1613 on the title-page of the Old Testament, and the date 1611 on that of the New Testament. It agrees almost throughout the New Testament with 1611 B and generally with it in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, but contains many leaves in the last mentioned divisions differing from both 1611 A and B—these leaves having probably been reprinted to complete copies of 1611 B.

4. The genuine edition of 1613, differing from all the others.

5. The genuine edition of 1617. In some copies of this edition a very few leaves are found differing from each other, and from the corresponding leaves of the other editions. It is difficult to decide whether these have been reprinted to complete imperfect copies, or whether they have been supplied from a copy of 1613-11.

6. The genuine edition of 1634, and

7. The genuine edition of 1640.

It should perhaps be added that the examination comprised two copies of 1611 A—two of 1611 B—two of 1613-11—two of 1613—three of 1617, and one well-established copy of 1634, and of 1640.

The preliminary leaves of all these editions resemble each other so closely that any one will supply the loss of the other. It is not so with the *text* of all of them. Except in a very few cases where a line is transferred from the bottom of the first column to the top of the second column on the same page, or from the bottom of the second column of one page to the top of the first column of the following page, the contents of each column and page are the same in all, except in the *genuine edition* of 1613. The black letter type of all is very similar, *except in the same edition*, and in that the type is so much

smaller than the contents of the leaves differ essentially from all the others, and the use of the leaves to supply defects in the text of the other editions is therefore impracticable.\* The same remark applies to the text of 1640, because though the contents of the leaves agree with all the other editions except 1613, the *marginal readings* are in it printed in small Roman type, while in all the other editions these readings are in *italics*. There are five leaves, in which there are no *marginal readings*, but in all these cases, the edition of 1640 may be identified by a variation in the text from all the others. In the other five editions all the leaves of the Old Testament and Apocrypha may be used interchangeably:—so likewise may all the leaves of the New Testament in 1611 A, 1611 B and 1613-11. For in these three a new series of signatures commences in the New Testament, while in 1617, 1634 and 1640 (and in the genuine 1613) the same series is continued from the Apocrypha throughout the New Testament, so that the substitution of the first three leaves of each signature of the three editions, for the corresponding leaves in the editions of 1611 A, 1611 B and 1613-11 can at once be detected. The signatures run in sixes in all the editions—they are in 1611 A, 1611 B, 1613-11, 1617, 1634 and 1640 as follows, Genesis to Malachi A to the verso of Iiii<sup>2</sup>—the Apocrypha, 1. Esdras to 2. Maccabees Iiii<sup>3</sup> to the verso Ceccc<sup>6</sup>. Then in 1611 A, 1611 B, and 1613-11, Matthew to Revelations, including the title to the New Testament A to the verso of Aa<sup>6</sup>. In 1617, 1634 and 1640, including the title to the New Testament Dddd to the verso Ddddd<sup>6</sup>. In the genuine 1613, the signatures run, Genesis to Revelations A to the recto of Nnnn<sup>4</sup>. It may be well to add that the Psalms in all but 1613 begin on the recto of Bbb<sup>4</sup>, while in 1613 they begin on the recto of Kk.

*Title pages.* All the title pages of the Old Testament, except one, are in letter-press within an ornamental woodcut border. This letter-press varies in all, but is principally to be distinguished by the date in 1613, 1617, 1634 and 1640. That in 1613-11 is the same as in 1613. The true title of 1611 A is to be recognized by the date 1611, by capitals at the beginning of the words "Translated" and "Excellent," and by the peculiar shape of the capitals in the words "Appointed" and "Churches":—the A being thus A, and the C thus C. In 1613 the t and e are small—the A and C of the common shape. I have never seen a woodcut title page with the date 1611 in any copies of 1611 B which did not agree with 1613, and upon examination I became satisfied that the date had


been changed from 1613 to 1611. I have seen many with this alteration, sometimes badly done,—and sometimes almost defying detection. Such falsified titles are sometimes found in 1613-11. I do not mean to aver that 1611 B may not have *its own* title page, but I have never seen, nor heard of it. I am informed that there is in the British Museum a copy of 1611 B with the title page described as belonging to 1611 A. The only title page forming an exception to all these remarks is *entirely engraved* on copper. The title with the date 1611 is within a beautiful design, with full length figures of Moses and Aaron at the sides and the four evangelists at the corners:—at the foot, C. Boel fecit, in Richmond. It is extremely difficult to appropriate this title page exclusively to any edition. It has been supposed that it was intended for both issues of 1611, but this point requires further investigation. This engraved title page is very rare, and in all the instances where it occurs to my knowledge, except three, it is found detached from the volume. There are two copies in the British Museum. I am told that one of them is bound in a copy of 1611 A—and the other bound in the genuine 1613, supplying the place of the Old Testament title page of that edition. I possess two copies—one is loose, and the other is attached to its counterpart or follower. When I discovered that this counterpart belonged to the genuine 1613, I concluded that the title had been attached to it, under the supposition that the leaf belonged to 1611 B, with which I then thought the leaf coincided: but no trace of such an attempt at deception could be discerned on the closest examination. Being now assured that the counterpart is that of 1613, and that the engraved title page is found in one copy of the edition of 1613 in the British Museum, I can only suggest that the woodcut title page with the date 1611 *may* belong to 1611 A, and the engraved title page to 1611 B and 1613-11, and that the woodcut title page of 1613 may have been used in 1613-11 to supply the want of the engraved title page. The great rarity of the latter is still unaccounted for—yet I think that the woodcut title page with the date 1611 is quite as rare. I may add here that the late Mr. William Pickering, of London, who, in the year 1850, first pointed out to me the variations of the two issues of 1611, was of the opinion that "it would hereafter be proved that there were three editions in large folio, black letter, all bearing date 1611, yet distinct editions." He was not aware at that time of the variations in the so-called edition of 1613-11.

All the New Testament titles are in letter-press within the same woodcut border as those of the Old Testament. This letter-press varies

\* 1612 has 72 lines in a full column, the others have only 59.

in the several editions, and the different editions are principally distinguishable by the dates. The titles of 1611 A and 1611 B are different. Both have capital letters to the words "Translated" and "Excellent"—but in 1611 A, the words "Appointed to be read in churches" are omitted. They are found in 1611 B, and the *A* and *C* are like those in the Old Testament title 1611. In 1611 A the letters a and b in the sentence "and with the former translations &c by his Maiesties," &c. are small—in 1611 B these letters are capitals. The title page of 1613–11 agrees with 1611 B. The New Testament title of 1613 agrees with those of 1611 B and 1613–11 except that "Churches" has a common capital C, and "excellent" a small *e*.

The *Preliminary leaves* differ in all the editions; and in one respect those in 1611 A vary from all the others—the signatures running in sixes, while in all the other editions they run in fours. These preliminary leaves consist of the dedication to King James in 3 pages, and the preface or address of the Translators in 11 pages, making 8 leaves counting the title page. There are variations in all the editions in each leaf. The dedication commences in all with a fine vignette the whole breadth of the page. In 1611 A, 1611 B, 1613–11 and 1613 this vignette is followed by the letter press. In 1617, 1634 and 1640 there is a cut of the royal arms—in 1617 without the supporters;—a rose and a thistle at the sides of the crown;—in 1634 and 1640 with the supporters, on one side of the crown the letter C, on the other the letter R, and a small crown over the letters. The first line of the heading is in

1611 A,	TO THE MOST
1611 B,	TO THE MOST
1613	 TO THE MOST
1617 and	} TO THE MOST
1634	
1640	TO THE MOST HIGH.

The 6th line in 1611 B has OE instead of OF.  
The 7th line in 1611 A, "with Grace, Mercie and Peace through IESUS" in italics. In all the others the 7th line is in roman type.

The 8th line in 1611 A. "CHRIST *our* LORD" *our* in italics.

1611 B. "CHKIST *our*" &c. K for R and *our* in roman type.

1613. "CHRIST *our*" &c. *our* in roman type.

In 1611 A and 1611 B, there are 27 lines of text below the heading,—the 24th line begins with the word "Eternall"—in 1613, 27 lines of text, the 24th begins "ternall"—in 1617, 1634 and 1640, there are 13 lines of text; but in 1617 the sig. A<sup>2</sup> is under the words "of the"—in 1634 under the word "*Sunne*," and in


1640 under the words "the *sun*." 1613–11 corresponds with 1611 B, except that the errors OE and CHKIST are corrected, probably by the hand.

3rd leaf, or 3rd page of Dedication.

1611 A contains 11 lines of text. In the 9th line, a comma after "felicitie,"—below the catchword 5 black lines across the page. On the verso, being the first page of the Preface, below the vignette, the heading, "The Translators | to the Reader. | in two lines, and the whole in capital letters. The last line of the first paragraph begins "without note of" &c.—1611 B and 1613–11 have 11 lines of text—in the 9th line, no comma after "felicitie"—the 9th and 10th lines are of different lengths—only 3 black lines below the catchword—verso. ¶ The Translators | in large capitals—to the Reader. | the R the only capital letter. The last line of 1st Paragraph agrees with 1611 A. 1613 has 11 lines of text—no comma after "felicitie"—the 9th and 10th lines of equal length—3 black lines across the page below the catchword.—Verso, resembles 1611 B, but the capitals in the 1st line more spaced out, and without the ¶ mark before the 1st line. The last line of the 1st Paragraph agrees with 1611 A and 1611 B.

1617 has 25 lines of text—the 18th reads, "vcharitable imputations"—one black line across near the bottom—verso, the last line of the 1st paragraph begins, "against them, or without note of" &c.

1634 has 24 lines of text—the 17th reads, "against bitter censurers, and vcharitable imputations" vcharitable begins with a v. The catchword thus, • T H E—a black line across—then a large woodcut with a black perpendicular line on each side—3 black lines across the page—verso, the last line of the 1st Paragraph begins, "can speak against them, or without note" &c.

1640 has 24 lines of text—the 17th line as in 1634, but uncharitable begins with a u—2 black lines across above, and then the woodcut—the catchword thus,  T H E—1 black line across—verso, the title in one line. "¶ The Translators to the Readers." The last line of the 1st Paragraph as in 1634.

In this leaf, as in all those afterwards described, all the variations are not given; but such only are mentioned as serve to distinguish the one edition from the others most conspicuously.\*

4th leaf, or 2nd page of the preface.

1611 A. The last line of the 2nd Paragraph contains only the word "enemies." The 8th marginal note on the Right Hand reads Zo-

\* There is no attempt at fac simile in the Paragraph and leaf marks used: they indicate the variation without affecting an exact representation.

imus":—the space between the 11th and 12th of these notes is the same as that between the 10th and 11th. Verso, the 10th line of the 4th marginal note on the Left Hand reads, "vpon did hang"—the last line of the 1st Par. begins "happie."

1611 B and 1613-11. The last line of the 2nd Par. reads "of his enemies." The 8th marginal note reads "Iofimus." The space between the 11th and 12th notes is greater than between the 10th and 11th. Verso, the 10th line as indicated above, reads "vpō did hang," and the last line of the 1st Par. begins "happie."

1613 agrees with 1611 B and 1613-11, *except* that the 8th marginal note on the Right Hand reads "Zoimus." This resembles the leaf which forms the counterpart of my engraved title page as previously described.

1617. The last line of the 2nd Par. reads "son and auenged him of his enemies." The 8th marginal note reads "Zoimus." The 2nd marg. note on the R. H. from the bottom is in 2 lines, and the last line of the *last* marginal note reads "cap 6." Verso, the last line of the 1st Par. begins "ture and thri/e happie" &c.

1634. The last line of the 2nd Par., and the 8th marg. note agree with 1617. The 2nd marg. note on the R. H. from the bottom is in 3 lines, and the last line of the *last* marg. note reads "di, cap 6." Verso, the last line of the 1st Par. begins "ture, and thrice happie" &c.

1640 agrees with 1634 in the places indicated, except that the last line of the last marg. note on the R. H. reads "cap 6," and on the verso, the last line of the 1st Par. begins, "the Scripture" &c.

5th leaf, or 4th page of the Preface.

1611 A. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "hee was faine" &c., and that of the 2nd Par. begins "Greek" &c. The leaf has *no* signature.

1611 B and 1613-11. The last lines of the 1st and 2nd Paragraphs agree with 1611 A: but the leaf has a signature B under the word "not."

1613 agrees with the above, but the signature B is under the syllable *to* of the word "altogether."

1617. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "thee, he" &c.—of the 2nd Par. "the Greek" &c. the signature B under the letters *ot* of "not."

1634 agrees with 1617, except the signature B which is under the final *e* of "*Greeke*," and the *b* of "being." The last line of the upper marginal note on the L. H. reads "Greeke."

1640. The last lines of the 1st and 2nd Paragraphs as in 1634, and the position of the signature almost the same, but the last line of the marginal note mentioned reads "into Greeke."

6th leaf, or 6th page of the Preface.

1611 A has no signature. Parts of the last line of the page read, "hee offended"—"*Aquila*, of whom wee spake" &c. The last line of the 2nd marginal note on the L. H. reads "*worke*," and of the 3rd marg. note "*thren*."

1611 B and 1613-11 have the signature B<sup>2</sup> under "ouer." In the last line it reads "hee offended" and "*Aquila*, of whom we spake" &c. The marg. notes agree with 1611 A.

1613 has the signature B<sup>2</sup> under "whom." In the last line, "he offended" and "*Aquila*, of whom we spake" &c. The last line of the 2nd marg. note reads "this worke"—of the 3rd, "thren."

1617 has the sig. B<sup>2</sup> under "then. A." It reads in the last line like 1613. The marginal notes read in the last lines, "worke" and "thren."

1634. The signature B<sup>2</sup> is under "then." The last lines of the notes are "worke" and "brethren."

1640. The signature B<sup>2</sup> is under "then. A." The last lines of the notes are, "this worke," and "our brethren."

7th leaf, or 8th page of the Preface.

1611 A. In the 13th line are the words, "*De Doctrina Christiana*"—the last line of the Par. begins "need not" &c. The signature B is under the *e* in "same."

1611 B and 1613-11, have the words "*De Doctrina Christiana*," with the capital *C* long, passing below the line. The last line of the Par. as in 1611 A: but there is no signature.

1613 is exactly like 1611 A, except that there is no signature.

1617 has the words in the 13th line like 1611 A. The last line of the Par. begins "ued, who need not" &c. There is no signature. The 3rd marg. note on the R. H. is in 6 lines spaced out, the last line reads "*Aug. Epist 8.*"

1634. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "ued, who neede not" &c.—no signature. The 3rd marg. note on the R. H. is in 8 lines.

1640. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "ed, who need not know" &c.—no signature. The 3rd marg. note in 6 lines, in small italics:—the last line reads *S. Aug. ep. 8.*

8th leaf, or 10th page of the Preface.

1611 A. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "passe that" &c. The last line of the page begins "fore so much" &c. Verso, being the 11th page of the Preface. The head line reads "The Translators." The last line of 1st Par. begins "vnderstood." At the bottom, a long ornamented line extending nearly across the page.

1611 B and 1613-11. The head line of the 11th page thus: "The Translators to the Reader"—The ornamental line at the bottom,

thicker and shorter than in 1611 A, and of a different design.



1613. The last line of the 10th page begins "trable, and therefore" &c. The head line on the 11th page as in 1611 B—the last line of the 1st Par. begins "stood" &c. The ornamented line at the bottom is of the same pattern as in 1611 A, and not quite so long as that in 1611 B.

1617. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "the worke to that passe" &c. the last line of the page begins "he claimeth." Verso, the 11th page, the head line as in 1611 B. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "naan, that it may be." No ornamented line at the bottom.

1634. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "the worke" &c. The last line of the page, "much as he" &c. Verso, the head line as in 1611 B. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "that it may be vnderstood." No ornamented line at the bottom.

1640. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "The Lord upon us &c." The last line of the page "and embrace." Verso, the head line as in 1611 B. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "like itself" &c. No ornamented line at the bottom.

Ten leaves follow, the first six of which contain the Kalender, and the others the Almanac, Tables and Contents. These leaves need not be described as particularly as those which precede them, but they may be distinguished in the following manner.

In 1611 A, the line in the 12 pages of the Kalender, indicating the age of the moon is printed in red ink, and preceded by a Paragraph mark in black, thus ¶ The Moone xxx. In 1640, this line has the same mark, but Moon is spelt without the final e, thus ¶ The Moon xxx. In all the others the line is also printed in red, but it is preceded by a leaf in black— The Moone xxx. In January, 1634, however, the line reads thus,  The Moone hath xxx dayes—the word *dayes* being omitted in the other months. The woodcut ornaments at the top of each page in 1611 A, 1611 B, 1613–11 and 1613 are fully an inch and a quarter wide with an ornamented line at the bottom of the ornament, the pattern of which is the same as that at the bottom of the 11th page of the Preface in 1611 A, and the upper ornament is not divided by lines. In 1617 this ornament is deeper, and divided in the centre by a black line. In 1634 and 1640, the wood cut is of an entirely different pattern—the design consists of architectural scrolls and clusters of fruits grouped together. These 6 leaves form signature C.

The recto of signature D contains "an Almanacke for xxxix yeares" &c.—this head line is printed in red. In all the editions, except

1634 and 1640, this almanac begins with the year 1603—in 1634 and 1640 it begins with the year 1632. In 1611 A the head line given above is preceded by a large paragraph mark in black—in all the others except 1634, the line is preceded by a leaf in black. In 1634, it is preceded by a paragraph mark, but very small. The following are the distinctive differences of this leaf in 1611 B, 1613–11, 1613, and 1617. In 1611 B and 1613–11, the signature D is under the *ue* of conceiued—in 1613 under the *d*, and in 1617 under *ou* of the same word.

Folio D<sup>2</sup> 1611 A. The line, The Table &c is preceded by a leaf in black. The line, The order how the Psalter &c is in italics, and without any mark preceding it.

1611 B and 1613–11. The line, The Table &c is preceded by a large Paragraph mark, and the line The order &c is in roman type preceded by a small Paragraph mark.

In 1613, the line, The Table &c is preceded by a large Paragraph mark, and the line, The order &c is in italics preceded by a small Par. mark. In 1617 these are most like 1611 B: but in 1611 B the woodcut at the top, has a closed ground, with a rose, thistle, fleur de lis and harp divided from each other. In 1617, the ground of the ornament is open with thistles and roses intertwined. In 1634 the two lines are most like those in 1613, but 1613 has the open ornament of 1617, and 1634 the closed cut of 1611 B. In 1640 the line, The Table is preceded by a leaf, and the line, The order &c is in large roman type.

Folio D<sup>3</sup>—but the signature is not marked. The verso of this leaf will be described.

1611 A. The line, Proper Psalms on certaine days, is preceded by a large Paragraph mark, and the ornament above is composed of printer's marks, being a portion of that used in the Kalender. In 1611 B and 1613–11, the line is preceded by a leaf, and the ornament is that with the open ground described above with thistles and roses intertwined. In 1613, the line is preceded by a Par. mark, and above, the closed woodcut before described with roses, thistles, fleur de lis and harp. In 1617, the line is preceded by a leaf with the closed ornament last described. In 1634, the line is preceded by a Par. mark, and a waving scroll woodcut different from all the others. In 1640, the line is preceded by a leaf with a very small ornament above, composed of a rose at the ends and small fleur de lis between.

Folio D<sup>4</sup>, not marked—the verso described.

1611 A. The title, The names and order &c. is in 3 lines, all of which are printed in black ink—in all the others, the first line is printed in red ink, and the title in all but 1640 is in 3 lines.

In 1611 B and 1613–11 the 2nd line is printed

thus "the Old and New Testament with the" and in the list of the books of the Old Testament "1. Chronicles" and "2. Chronicles" are misprinted "1. Corinthians" and "2 Corinthians." In 1613 the 2d line is printed thus "the Olde and new Testament with the" a final e to Olde and a small n in new. In 1617 the 2d line is thus "of the Old and New Testament with the". In 1634, the 2nd line is most like 1611 B, but in 1611 B the 3rd line begins "Number" with a capital N—while in 1634 "number" is with a small n. The edition of 1634 also is the only one which has the Table to find Easter on the recto of this leaf D'. In 1640 the title is in 2 lines. The 1st in red runs thus. ¶ The names and order of all the Books of the Old and New" and the 2nd line is in black and in italics.

*Genealogies.* These are found in all the editions, but they are not alike in all the copies of the same edition. I do not know that it is possible to identify any one impression as belonging specially to one edition except that of 1611 A. The title page differs in some copies when the other leaves resemble each other so closely that they are to be distinguished only by the position of the signature on the first three of the six leaves which make up the signature. Sometimes also the recto of the title pages differs when the verso is alike, and vice versa. In the 13 copies of the different issues I have found 8 varieties of this leaf which I will endeavor to describe, omitting the description of the 17 leaves, which contain the Genealogies themselves.

1. In 1611 A, the recto of this 1st leaf is almost filled with a large woodcut of the Royal Arms with supporters and motto,—the whole enclosed in a double rule, the outside one thicker than that on the inside, but close together. Below in one line the words, "*Cum Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis*" in italics. Verso, at the top a woodcut (which will be called No. 1.) in the centre, a figure seated—at the sides, men with bows, rabbits and dogs. Then the title thus. "The Genealogies of" | in large capitals—"Holy Scriptures." | in small caps, and a black line across. "To the Christian Reader." | in round letters. The text below—the last lines of the several Paragraphs begin thus—of the 1st, "*as the Scripture*"—of the 2nd, "*very plaine*"—of the 3rd, "*or Tribe*"—of the 4th "*inserted*"—of the 5th, "*among them*" of the 6th, "*unto his wives.*" The 7th is at the bottom arranged in lines of different length, and the last contains the words "*more. Amen.*"

2. Another copy of 1611 A resembles the above, except that the recto of the leaf is *entirely blank*. The leaf in one of these forms, and usually *with* the royal arms on the recto is peculiar to this issue. I have never seen it in any other.

3. Bound in a copy of 1611 B. The title is enclosed within double thin rules. At the top is woodcut No. 1 described above—then. The | Genealogies | Recorded in the Sa- | cred Scrip- | tures accor- | ding to Every Familie | and Tribe. | With | The Line of Ovr | Saviovr Jesus Christ | obserued from Adam, to | the blessed Virgin | Marie. | By | J. S. | a line across. Woodcut (called No. 2) a head in the centre—half figures at the sides—peacocks, fruits, &c. Another line across. *Cum Privilegio* | Verso, at the top, woodcut No. 1. Then the title thus. The Genealogies | in large capitals—of *Holy Scriptures.* | in italics—a line across—To the Christian Reader. | in round letters. Text. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "*ueth them sap.*" Of the 2nd, "*verie plaine,*" of the 3rd, "*Tribe.*"—of the 4th, "*so inserted*"—of the 5th "*under them*" of the 6th, "*his wives.*" The 7th is arranged as before noted, the last line reads, "*for euermore. Amen.*"

4. Found in a copy of the genuine 1613. Title enclosed in double rules, with woodcut, and to the end of the line ending "Marie," exactly like No. 3. Then a small cut of the Royal Arms, with the motto, but no supporters:—the garter round the arms is open on each side with an ornament around on the outside. The letters [ ] and [ ] are on each side close to the shield within the garter and the ornament. (called Cut No. 3) The title continues thus. By | J. S. | a black line partly across. *Cum Privilegio.* | Verso, paged 26 at the top in the middle of the page. Then Cut No. 1—a black line across. *No title* at the head, but merely the line To the Christian Reader. | in round letters. The arrangement of the Paragraphs agrees with No. 3 except the last line of the 7th, which contains only the word, "Amen."

5. Found in another copy of the genuine 1613. The title is enclosed by a *single* line. At the top, Cut No. 1.—The arrangement of the lines agrees with No. 3, down to that ending "Tribe." | Then —VWith | The | Line of Ovr | Saviovr Iesus Christ | Obserued &c, to "Marie" as in No. 3. | followed by Cut No. 3. By | J. S. | a black line partly across. *Cum Privilegio.* | Verso. Cut No. 1. Title. The Genealogies | in capitals of *Holy Scriptures.* | in italics, but smaller than in No. 3.—a black line across.—To the Christian Reader. | in round letters, but smaller than in the others. Text. The last line of the 1st Par. begins "*ture giueth them sap.*"—of the 2nd Par. "*very plaine*"—of the 3rd, "*or Tribe.*"—of the 4th, "*so inserted*"—of the 5th, "*them*"—of the 6th, "*3. . unto his wives*"—of the 7th, "*euermore. Amen.*"

6. Found in a copy of 1617. Title within a narrow ornamental border, composed of several pieces put together. At the top, Cut No. 1.

Title—The | Genealogies | Recorded in the Sacred Scrip- | tures, according to every | Family | and Tribe. | the 3rd and 4th lines are in large letters, but the R. S. S. are the only capitals. With | The Line of Ovr | Saviour Iesus Christ | this line like the 3rd and 4th. Observed From Adam. | To the Blessed Virgin | Mary. | By | J. S. | a black line across—then a woodcut within two rules—in the centre, a three quarters winged figure with monkeys, &c., (called Cut No. 4) used only in this copy—another black line across. *Cum Privilegio.* | Verso, at the top Cut No. 1. No title. To the Christian Reader. | in large round letters. Text, the last line of the 1st Par. begins “*them say*”—of the 2nd, “*are very plaine.*”—of the 3rd, “*or Tribe.*”—of the 4th, “*they are so inserted.*”—of the 5th, “*Persons.*”—of the 6th, “*is from.*”—of the 7th, “*euermore. Amen.*”

7. Found in a copy of 1617. The recto agrees exactly with No. 3. Verso—at the top, a small narrow ornamental woodcut—a black line across. No title. To the Christian Reader. | in round letters. The last lines of all the Paragraphs agree with No. 6.

8. Bound in a copy of 1617. Title within a narrow ornamental border different from No. 6—the border is single at the top and bottom, but doubled at the sides—Woodcut at the top—in the centre a three quarters figure—a full length figure at each side of it, playing with the dogs at the ends. (Cut No. 5) Title,—the lines 1 to 4 as in No. 6—5th line, *Family and Tribe* | the italics are small—lines 6 to 8 as in No. 6, then *observed from Adam, to | the blessed Virgin | Mary.* | By | J. S. | a black line across. Woodcut—in the centre, the bust of a female—at the sides, full length winged figures with trumpets. (Cut No. 6) another black line across. *Cum Privilegio.* | Verso, at the top, cut No. 6.—no line across—no title—To the Christian Reader. | in round letters as in No. 7. Text—The last line of the 1st Par. begins “*these few directions*” of the 6th, “*pag. 3. into his viues*”—of the 7th, “*power and might for euermore. Amen.*” The other lines read as in No. 7.

*Map of Canaan.* The map itself is found in two conditions, the copper having evidently been retouched:—it is engraved by Renold Elstrack, on the verso and recto of two leaves. On the recto of the first, and verso of the second leaf is printed An alphabetical Table of all the names therein. The heading of this table is printed in two ways on the map in its first condition, and in two ways on the map in its second condition. It is impossible to designate to which edition, except perhaps 1611 A. the maps thus varying belong, as one has so frequently been taken to supply the want of the map in another edition. I am disposed to think that it

was not inserted in any edition after that of 1617, or perhaps the genuine 1613. I have never found it in 1634 or 1640, and but twice in 1617. All the maps have the same date, 1611.

1. In its first form. The sea is *Jottel*. Near the middle of the sea at the left, just above the mouths of the Nile, is the name THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA. A y in Ægyptian. The title, Canaan, on the right hand page is thus, CANAĀ. High up on the left hand page is an ornament, representing Jonah cast into the sea—the whale is at the left of the vessel, above are the words MIDDLE NORTH and underneath, the word SEA only. On the right hand page is an engraved description—of which the 6th line reads “gave him sueke” and the 9th line “by the fall of a wall.” The title of the Alphabetical Table on the recto of the first leaf is in two lines, of which the first is printed in italics, and the second in roman letters. Of the map in this state I have four copies; one was found in a copy of 1611 A in its original binding—another in a copy of 1611 B in its original binding—a third inserted in a copy of 1611 A, and a fourth inserted in a copy of 1613–11. I am informed that it is in a copy of the genuine 1613 in the British Museum, the same which has the *engraved* title page to the Old Testament.

2. The map resembles in all respects that previously described as No. 1. But the title to the Alphabetical Table, likewise in two lines, is printed differently—the first line being in roman, and the second in italics:—in this form I have it inserted in one copy of 1611 B. In the British Museum, it is said to be in the first issue of 1611, or 1611 A.

3. In its second condition, the map has been reengraved, or retouched. The sea is marked by waving lines. The title is spelt with an I, thus, THE ÆGIPTIAN SEA—Canaan is spelt with a final N, thus, CANAAN. The vessel is engraved higher up on the map—the whale is on the right hand, with an ornamented lozenge introduced below, and the quotation “as Jonah was three days” &c.—the word SEA is of course placed lower down, to make room for the lozenge. The lines of the description quoted vary thus—the 6th line reads “papps that gave” &c. and the 9th “more by the fall” &c. The first line of the Alphabetical Table is in italics, and the second in roman type. This was found in one of my copies of 1613, and inserted in the other. It is said to be in the British Museum copy of 1611 B.

4. The map is in all respects like No. 3, but the first line of the Alphabetical Table is in roman, and the second in italic type:—the copy is very much worn. It was found in one of my copies of 1617.

Besides the variations noticed in the prelimi-

nary leaves of 1611 A and 1611 B, the two following in the text have been mentioned by Archdeacon Cotton and others.

In the 10th ch. of Genesis, 16 v. verso 1611 A reads Emorite.—1611 B Amorite. 14th ch. of Exodus 10 v. 1611 A has two lines repeated, thus:

And when Pharoah drew nigh, | the children of Israel lift up their eyes, | and behold the Egyptians marched af | ter them, and they were sore afraid; and | the children of Israel lift up their eyes, | and behold the Egyptians marched | after them, and they were sore afraid; | and the children of Israel cried out un | to the Lord, | making 9 lines. In 1611 B there is no repetition, and the verse fills only 6 lines.

The following mistake has not been observed. In Matt. 26th ch. 36 v. 1611 A reads correctly, Then commeth Jesus, but

1611 B and 1613-11 read, Then commeth Judas—and in one of my copies of 1613-11, the word Jesus has been printed on a slip of paper in the type of the text, and pasted over “Judas.”

I have been able to discover only two *different readings* in these two issues, viz.

In Ruth 3 ch. 15 v. 1611 A reads “he went into the cite”—and 1611 B “she went into the cite”—all the other editions agree with 1611 B.

In Sol. Song 2 ch. 7 v. 1611 A reads “till she please”—1611 B and all the other editions “till he please.”

In another copy of 1611 A, this leaf has been reprinted. The reprint bears *all the peculiar marks* of 1611 A, but *she* is corrected to *he*. One of these peculiarities is that in the same chapter 1 v. 1611 A reads “lillie of the valleys,” while all the others read “lilly of the valleys.” As *he* is the correct reading, this variation might more properly be called an error than a different reading.

The only leaves of the Old Testament in which I have yet found no differences between 1611 A and 1611 B are the following,

Sig. Tttt<sup>5</sup> Ecclesiasticus 35 ch. in the two issues the leaf is to be distinguished only by the different position of the rules in the centre of the page.

Sig. Bbbbbb<sup>1</sup> 1. Maccabees 5th chapter and

Bbbbbb<sup>5</sup> “ 7th chapter—yet on

the counterparts of these three, variations are to be found.

In the New Testament, signature S and S<sup>2</sup> 2 Corinthians and Ephesians, and signatures U<sup>3</sup> and U<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. 4th & 5th chapters are alike in 1611 A and 1611 B; S and S<sup>6</sup> being counterparts of each other, and U<sup>3</sup> and U<sup>1</sup> also. Yet there are variations in these in 1613-11 from the others.

Some specimens of the variations in the sev-

eral editions will now be given.—Except where otherwise mentioned, the recto of the leaves is referred to; and only the most obvious differences are pointed out—there are generally several others on the same pages.

Sig. E<sup>3</sup> Genesis 46 ch. 34 v. 1611 A, last line begins “is an abomination vnto the Egyptians”

1611 B & 1613-11 last line begins “is abomination vnto” &c.

1617 & 1634 last line begins “an abomination” &c.

Sig. E<sup>3</sup> Genesis 47 ch. 3 v. last line 1611 B reads “fathers”—1613-11 “our fathers.”

Sig. E<sup>3</sup> Genesis 46 ch. 32 v. last line 1617 reads “their herds” &c. 1634—“herds” &c.

There are similar variations in the counterpart leaf, sig. E<sup>1</sup>.

Sig. T<sup>3</sup> Deut. 26 ch. 13 v. the last line in

1611 A, 1617 & 1634 reads “ther have I forgotten.”

in 1611 B & 1613-11 reads “neither have I forgotten.”

but 1611 A in the 15 v. l. l. reads, “and hony.”

1617 “ “ “ “ “ “ and honic.”

1634 in the 14 v. l. l. reads “ded mee,” and all the others “ded me.”

1611 B, in the 27th ch. 14 v. last line reads “a loud voyce.”

1613-11 in the 27th ch. 14 v. last line reads “a loude voice.”

1613-11 same chapter, 1 v. reads “Com-mandement,” a mistake for “Com-mandement.”

The counterpart T<sup>1</sup> contains similar variations. The leaf here called 1613-11 was found in a mixed copy of 1617; it is so much more like 1611 B than the true 1617, that I have set it down as a reprint from that edition.

Signature X<sup>2</sup> Joshua 10 ch. 30 v. last line

1611 A, 1613-11 and 1617 read “the king of Jericho.”

1611 B—“to the king of Jericho,” and 1634 “king of Jericho.”

but 1611 A 28 v. last line reads “Jericho,” and 1617 “richo.”

and verso 11 ch. 2 v. last line 1611 A reads “on the West.”

and 1613-11 reads “the West.”

The counterpart X<sup>3</sup> has similar variations.

Sig. Bb. Ruth 2 ch. 3 v.

1611 A and 1613-11 read “was of the kinred of” &c.

1611 B, 1617 and 1634 read “the kinred of” &c.

but 1611 B 1 ch 20 v. last line reads “with mee”—1617 and 1634 “mee.”

1617 1 ch 18 v. last line reads “she left speaking.”



- 1634 1 ch. 18 v. last line reads "left speaking."  
 1611 A verso head line Left Hand "Boaz his kindnes."  
 1613-11 " " " " "Boaz his kindnesse."
- Sig. Bb<sup>2</sup> Ruth 3rd ch. 15 v. last line.  
 1611 A reads "he went into the cite"—  
 1611 B and 1613-11—"she went into the cite" in one line.  
 1617 and 1634 "she | went into the cite" in two different lines.  
 but in 18 v. last line 1611 B reads "vntil he have finished the thing."  
 1617 reads "vntill he have finished the thing."  
 1613-11 and 1634 "vntill he have finished y<sup>e</sup> thing."  
 while in 4 ch. 1 v.—1613-11 reads "aside and sat downe."  
 1634 reads "and sat downe."
- Sig. Bb<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. 1 ch. verso head line Left Hand  
 1611 A reads "Elis sonnes wicked"—all the others "Eli his sons wicked."  
 but in 2nd ch. 29 v. 1611 B reads "offerings of Israel."  
 1617 "offerings of Israel" and 1634 "the offerings of" &c.  
 in 11 v. last line 1613-11 reads "come vpon his head."  
 and all the others "no razor come vpon his head."
- The other three leaves of the signature have similar variations.
- Signature Ff<sup>2</sup> 2 Saml. 12 ch. 2 v. last line  
 1611 A and 1613-11 read "my floekes" &c.—and all the others, "flockes" &c.  
 but in 13 v. 3rd line 1611 A has "Nathan saide"—1613-11 "Nathan said."  
 same chapter Contents, last line 1611 B & 1634 read "people thereof."  
 and 1617—"thereof."  
 12 v. last line 1611 B reads "before the Sunne"  
 1634 reads "and before the Sunne."
- The counterpart Ff<sup>4</sup> has similar variations. The leaves marked 1613-11 were found like sig. T<sup>2</sup> & T<sup>4</sup> before described, in a mixed copy of 1617.
- Signature Ih. 1 Kings 1 ch. 42 v. 1st line.  
 1611 B reads "he yet spake"—all the others "hee yet spake."  
 24 v. last line 1611 A reads "my throne"—1617 & 1634, "throne."  
 35 v. last line 1617 reads "ouer Israel" and 36 v. last line "king."  
 35 v. last line 1634 reads "uer Israel" and 36 v. last line "King."

- Head line Right Hand 1611 A & 1611 B have "Solomon anointed."  
 1613-11 reads "Solomon anoynted."  
 Sig. Ih<sup>2</sup> Head line Right hand 1611 A has "Joab slaine."  
 and all the others, "He is slaine."  
 in 2 ch. 17 v. last line 1611 B reads "Abishag"—1617 & 1634 "bishag."  
 11 v. last line 1617 reads "rusalem"—1634 "Jerusalem."  
 27 v. 3rd line 1611 B reads "that he might"—1613-11 "that hee" &c.
- Sig. Ih<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings 3rd ch. 29 v. 1st line 1611 A. 1617 & 1634 read "and shee arose." 1611 B "and she arose"—1613-11 "and she rose."  
 13 v. last line 1611 A has "all thy dayes"—1617 & 1634 "thy days."  
 20 v. 3rd line 1617 reads "layd her dead child."  
 1634 reads "laid her dead child."  
 The other three leaves of the signature contain similar variations.
- Signature Ii<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings 11 ch. 17 v. last line.  
 1611 A reads "yet a litle childe"—1611 B, 1613-11 & 1634 "yet a little child."  
 1617 reads "yet a little childe."  
 but in the 7 v. last line 1611 B reads "of the children of Ammon" & 1634 "the children" &c.  
 verso, 12 ch. Contents, last line 1611 B has "and by the idolatry" &c.  
 and 1613-11 has "and by the idolatrie" &c.  
 Variations of a similar kind are found on the counterpart Ii<sup>4</sup>.
- Signature Kk<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings 18 ch. 1 v. last line.  
 1611 A & 1613-11 (the latter found in a mixed 1617) read "on the earth."  
 1611 B reads "raine vpon the earth"—1617—"earth"—1634 "the earth."  
 same chapter 1 v. last line 1611 A reads "third yeare"—1613-11 "third yere."
- Sig. Kk<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings 19 ch. 1 v. last line 1611 A begins "with the sword,"  
 all the others begin "sword."  
 but 2 v. last line 1611 B reads "them by tomorrow about."  
 1617 & 1634 read "row about."  
 14 v. 1st line 1617 reads "beene" and 1634 "been."  
 and in 1 v. 4th line 1611 B has "he had slaine" and 1613-11 "hee had slaine."  
 There are variations also in the counterparts Kk<sup>4</sup> and Kk<sup>5</sup>.
- Sig. Ll<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings 4th ch. Contents, last line.  
 1611 A & 1634 read "twentie loaves" and the others "twenty loaves."  
 but in 4th ch. 6 v. last line 1611 A begins "and the oyle stayed."  
 and 1634 begins "the oyle stayed."

verso 4th ch. 13 v. 1st line 1611 B has "he said" and 1617 "he sayd."

recto 3rd ch. 17 v. 2nd line 1611 B reads "ye see" and 1613-11 "yee see."

The counterpart L<sup>6</sup> has variations also.

Signature Pp<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. 12 ch. 16 v. last line 1611 A begins "to David" and all the others "David."

same chap. 27 v. last line 1611 B begins "three thousand"—1617 & 1634 "thousand."

verso 13 ch. Contents, last line 1617 reads "ten the arke is" and 1634 reads "Obededom."

13 ch. 1 v. last line 1611 B begins "with euery leader" and 1613-11 "leader."

Signature Pp<sup>2</sup> 1 Chron. 15 chap. 12 v. last line.

1611 A, 1617 and 1634 read "for it"—1611 B & 1613-11, "it"

but same chap. 1 v. last line 1611 A has "ched for a tent."

1617 & 1634 "a tent"

2 v. last line 1617 reads "ster vnto him for euer"

1634 reads "nister vnto him" &c.

1 v. last line 1611 B has "ched for a tent"—1613-11 "a tent" and with different capital letters.

Signature Pp<sup>3</sup>. 1 Chron. 17 ch. 24 v. last line, verso.

1611 A begins "stablished before thee." 1611 B and 1613-11 "blished before thee."

1617 and 1634 "ed before thee."

1 v. last line 1611 B reads "taines" and 1613-11 "Curtaines."

8 v. 1st line 1617 reads "benc with thee."—1634 "beene with thee."

The counterparts Pp<sup>4</sup>, Pp<sup>5</sup> and Pp<sup>6</sup> have variations also.

Signature Xx Nehemiah 3 ch. 17 v. last line.

1611 A, 1617 and 1634 read "halfe part of Keilah" &c.

1611 B and 1613-11, "the halfe part," &c. but in 4th ch. 4th v. last line 1611 A begins "pray, in the land of captiuitie."

1617 begins "prey, in the land of captiuitie."

1634, begins "prey, in the land of captiuitie."

3 ch. 26 v. last line 1611 B reads "lieth" and 1613-11 "lyeth."

Signature Xx<sup>2</sup>. Neh. 5 ch. 8 v. last line.

1611 A reads "found nothing to answere."—and all the others "nothing to answere."

but 9 v. last line 1611 B begins "of the heathen our enemies."

1617 and 1634 "heathen our enemies."

the head line Left Hand in 1617 is "Vsurie reformed" and in 1634 "Vsurry reformd."

verso 7 ch. 1 v. last line 1611 B begins "were appointed" and 1613-11 "uites were" &c.

Signature Xx<sup>4</sup> Neh. 9 ch. 1 v. last line.

1611 A reads "and earth vpon them" all the others read "vpon them."

but 8 ch. 11 v. last line 1611 B and 1613-11 have "day is holy" 1617 and 1634 "is holy."

18 v. last line 1611 B reads "to the maner"—1613-11 "the maner."

9 ch. 4 v. last line 1617 reads "lowd voice" and 1634 "loud voyce."

The other three leaves of the Sig. Xx<sup>3</sup>, <sup>5</sup> and <sup>6</sup> have variations also.

Signature Yy, Neh. 13 ch. 5 v. last line.


1611 A begins "and the offerings of the Priests."


1611 B begins "and the offrings of the Priests."

1613-11 begins "and the offrings of the priests."

1617 begins "of the Priests" and 1634 "porters & the offerings," &c.

Signature Yy<sup>2</sup> Esther—The title to the Book.

1611 A The Booke of &c. 1611 B 1617 and 1634  The Booke of &c.

1613-11  The Booke of, &c.—(the leaf is reversed.)

1 ch. 1 v. last line 1611 B begins "and twenty prouinces."

1617 "and twenty prouinces"—1634 "and twentie prouinces."

Signature Yy<sup>4</sup> Esther 5 ch. 5 v. last line.

1611 A begins "had, prepared" all the others "prepared."

but in 8 v. last line, 1611 B and 1613-11 read "as the king hath said."

1617 and 1634 read "row, as the king," &c.

14 v. last line 1617 begins "to be made" and 1634 "be made."

1 v. 6 line 1611 B reads "shalbe" and 1613-11 "shall be."

Variations are also found on the counterparts Yy<sup>3</sup>, <sup>5</sup>, <sup>6</sup>.

Signature Bbb<sup>2</sup>. Job 39 ch. 8 v. last line.

1611 A and 1613-11 read "euery greene thing."

1611 B and 1634, "ry greene thing" and 1617 "greene thing."

but 40 ch. 1 v. last line 1611 A begins "swered Job and said."

1613-11 begins "answered Job and said."

1611 B do do do do  
and 1634 do "swered Job and said."

The counterpart Bbb<sup>5</sup> also differs.

Signature Ecc 65 Psalm 1 v. last line.

1611 A and 1613-11 read "performed." 1611 B, 1617 and 1634 "vow be performed."

The last line of contents 1611 B reads "ne-fits." 1617 and 1634 "benefites."

7 v. last line 1617 reads "of the people"—1634 "mult of the people."

5 v. last line 1611 A, "that are afarre off"—1613-11 "afarre off."

In Ecc<sup>o</sup>, the counterpart, there are variations also.

Sig. Kkk<sup>2</sup>. Proverbs 23 ch. 23 v. last line.  
1611 A, 1617 and 1634 read "standing"  
1611 B and 1613-11, "derstanding."

5 v. last line 1611 A reads "as an Eagle toward heauen."  
1617 and 1634 read "eagle toward heauen."

1 v. last line 1617 reads "gently what is before thee"—1634, "what is before thee."

5 v. last line 1611 B "as an eagle," &c. 1613-11 "as an Eagle," &c.

Sig. Kkk<sup>3</sup>. Proverbs 25 ch. 19 v. last line.  
1611 A, 1613-11 and 1634 read "and a foot out of ioynt."  
1611 B and 1617 read "and a foote out of ioynt."

5 v. last line 1611 A reads "blished in righteounesnes."  
1613-11 reads "blished in righteounsnesse."  
1634 reads "stablished in righteounsnesse."

13 v. last line 1611 B begins "the soule of his maisters."  
1617 begins "the soule of his masters."

The counterparts Kkk<sup>4</sup> and <sup>5</sup> vary in a similar manner.

Signature Zzz. Ezekiel 12 ch. 2 v. last line  
1611 A reads "are a rebellious house,"  
1611 B, 1613-11 & 1617 read "bellious house"—1634 "house."  
but verso, head-title, Right Hand 1611 B has "the captiunity."  
1617 "the captiutie."  
verso, 6 v. last line 1617 reads "of Israel."  
1613-11 reads "Israel."

The counterpart Zzz<sup>6</sup> varies in a similar manner. The leaves marked 1613-11 were found in a made up copy of 1617.

The text of the New Testament in the editions 1611 B and 1613-11 are generally alike in all copies. I have discovered only four leaves with variations, and these are the same leaves in which my copies of 1611 A and 1611 B are alike, as already mentioned.

Signature S, 2 Cor. 11 ch. Contents, last line.  
1611 A and 1611 B begin "nistery far superior."  
1613-11 begins "his ministerie" &c.  
1617 begins "ministery, farre superior" &c. and sig. Xxxxx.  
1634 begins "for his ministery farre" &c. and sig. Xxxxx.


Sig. S<sup>6</sup>, the counterpart; Eph. 4 ch. Contents, last line.  
1611 A & 1611 B begin "ing, and 29. corrupt communication."  
1617 begins "od' lying, and 29. corrupt" &c.  
1634 begins "nication."

5 ch. 2 v. last line 1611 A and 1611 B begin "smelling savour."  
1613-11 begins "fice to God for a sweet smelling" &c.

Sig. U<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. 4 ch. Contents, last line.  
1611 A and 1611 B begin "cepts belonging thereto."  
1617 begins "uers precepts" &c. and sig. Zzzzz<sup>3</sup>  
1634 begins "diuers precepts" &c. and sig. Zzzzz<sup>3</sup>

26 ch. 5 v. last line 1611 A and 1611 B begin "man Christ Jesus."  
1613-11 begins "Christ Jesus."

Sig U<sup>1</sup>, the counterpart, 5 ch. 22 v. last line.  
1611 A and 1611 B begin "sinnes. Keepe thy selfe pure."  
1617 and 1634 begin "Keepe thy selfe pure."

verso 1617. ¶ The second Epistle—1634  
 The second Epistle.  
6 ch. Contents, last line 1611 A and 1611 B begins "prophane wranglings."  
1613-11 begins "doctrine, and to avoid prophane" &c.

In order to introduce the variations in 1613-11, the quotations are more intricate than they would be if reference were had merely to the other four editions. This is the case throughout the whole text, but a few will be given from the New Testament only.

Sig. C<sup>3</sup> Matt. 23 ch. Contents, last line.  
1611 A reads "of Hierusalem"—1611 B "on of Hierusalem"  
1617 and 1634 "the destruction of Hierusalem" & sig. Fffff<sup>3</sup>  
but in 37 v. last line 1617 reads "with all thy minde."  
1634 reads "all thy mind."

Sig. C<sup>6</sup> Matt. 26 ch. 36 v. 1st line.  
1611 A, 1617 & 1634 begin "Then commeth Jesus."  
1611 B "Then commeth Judas."  
but 24 v. last line 1611 A begins "not bene borne."  
1617 begins "had not bene borne."  
1634 begins "had not beene borne."

Sig. G<sup>1</sup>, Luke, 10 ch. Contents, last line.  
1611 A begins "Mary her sister"—1611 B "deth Mary her sister."  
1617 & 1634 begin "tha, and commendeth Mary" &c.  
but 1617, 1 v. last line begins "himselſe would come"

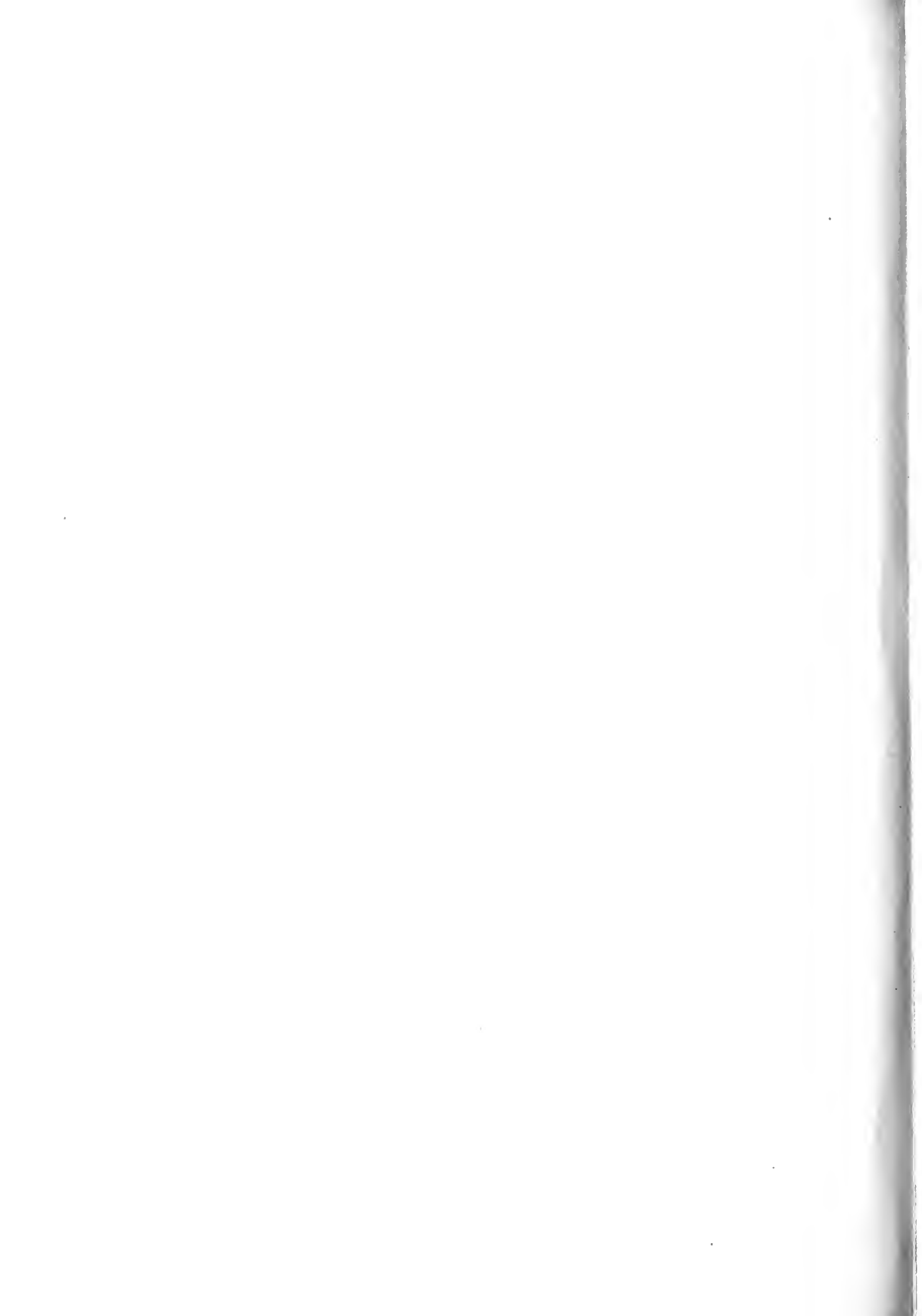
1634 "hee himselfe" &c.  
 Sig. K<sup>6</sup>, John, 10 ch. head line, Left Hand.  
 1611 A "The good Shepheard"—1611 B  
 "The good shepherd."  
 1617 & 1634 "The good Shepherd."  
 but 2 v. last line, 1634 begins "is the  
 shepherd" &c. 1617 "is the shepherd"  
 Sig. M<sup>3</sup>, Acts, 6 ch. Contents, last line.  
 1611 A begins "law and the temple"—  
 1611 B "gainst the law and the temple."  
 1617 & 1634 "mie against the law and the  
 Temple," and sig. Ppppp<sup>3</sup>  
 but 7 ch. Contents, last line 1617 begins  
 "and humbly prayeth" &c.  
 1634 begins "bly prayeth for them."  
 Sig. N<sup>3</sup>, Acts, 15 ch. Contents, last line.  
 1611 A begins "part asunder"—1611 B—  
 "and depart asunder"  
 1617 begins "at strife, and depart asunder."  
 1634 begins "and part asunder."  
 In 1617 and 1634 the signatures are Qqqqq<sup>3</sup>.  
 Sig. T<sup>1</sup>, Philip, 1 ch. Contents, last line.  
 1611 A and 1634 begin "fortitude in per-  
 secution."  
 1611 B "titude in persecution"—1617—  
 "persecution."  
 but 1611 A 1 v. last line begins "Deacons"  
 —1634 "cons."  
 and in 1617 & 1634, the signature is Yyyyy.<sup>2</sup>  
 Sig. Y<sup>2</sup>, James 4 ch. 1 v. last line.

1611 A and 1634 begin "in your members."  
 1611 B begins "warre in your members"—  
 1617 "your members."  
 but 2 v. last line 1611 A begins "cause ye  
 aske not."  
 1634 "because ye aske not"  
 in 1617 and 1634 the sig. is Bbbbbb<sup>2</sup>.  
 Sig. Aa<sup>6</sup>, Revelations, Contents, last line.  
 1611 A begins, "bring their riches vnto  
 her."  
 1611 B—1617 & 1634—"earth bring" &c.  
 but in 1 v. last line 1611 B begins "was no  
 more sea."  
 1617 begins "and there was no more sea."  
 1634 begins "& there was no more sea."  
 The variations in the two issues, each bearing  
 date 1611, may be accounted for by a suggestion  
 of Dr. Cotton, made, however, in reference to  
 the quarto Bibles of 1612. He writes, "I can  
 only attempt to account for these variations by  
 supposing that, as a large supply was wanted  
 at once, two or more printers were employed  
 by the person who had the contract for supply-  
 ing all, and that the same title-page was affixed  
 to *all*, though the body of the work had been  
 set up and printed at different houses." The  
 printer of a new version like that of 1611 would  
 naturally want a larger supply of the 1st edi-  
 tion than of any subsequent issue of the same  
 version. L.

New York, Nov., 1881.

NOTE.—The map in its second condition has certainly been re-engraved. It is not only shorter than in Nos. 1 and 2, but many variations which are not noted, prove that it could not have been *altered*. Elstrack's name does not appear upon it in its first condition.











E            The Historical magazine, and  
171           notes and queries  
H64           concerning the antiqui-  
v.5           ties, history, and  
              biography of America

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