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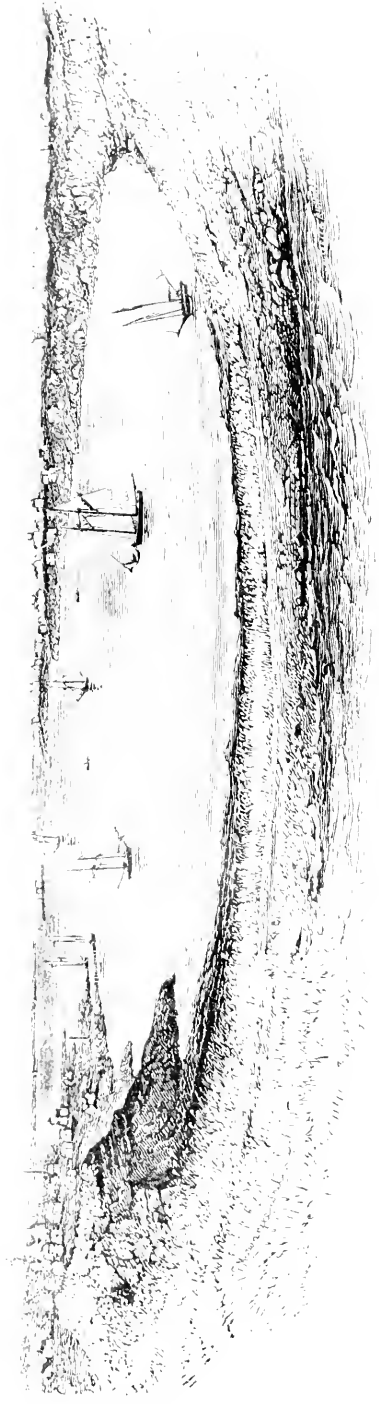
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MARBLEHEAD HARBOR AND THE GREAT NECK

THE  
HISTORY AND TRADITIONS  
OF  
MARBLEHEAD.

BY  
SAMUEL ROADS, JR.

A queer old place; but every stone that trips you in her streets  
Is instinct with the loyal pulse that in its bosom beats.  
This may be metaphor, it is but true as gospel still;  
For Marblehead is Marblehead, has been, and always will.

Mrs. MASON



BOSTON:  
HOUGHTON, OSGOOD AND COMPANY.  
*The Riverside Press, Cambridge.*

1880.

Copyright, 1880,  
By SAMUEL ROADS, JR.

RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:  
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY  
H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.



To  
FRANK H. BROWN.

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MY DEAR FRANK:

To you, as in our boyhood days, I bring the work that I have finished for approval.

Since the time, now years ago, when the friendship of our lives began, yours has been to me the voice of loving kindness and encouragement. At your suggestion this memorial of our native town was undertaken; and through the many difficulties obstructing my progress your sympathy has sustained me, and enabled me at length to bring the work to a successful completion.

To you, therefore, as a pledge of a friendship sanctified by holy memories of a happy past, this volume is affectionately dedicated.

SAMUEL ROADS, JR.

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

November 20, 1879.



## PREFACE.

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I HAVE written the "History and Traditions of Marblehead." That the work could have been rendered more interesting, had it been undertaken by an abler and more experienced hand, I have no doubt. I have done the best I could, however, with the materials at my command, and though there are, doubtless, errors and omissions in the work, I trust that they are not such as to detract materially from its value as an accurate history of the town of Marblehead.

There are, of course, incidents related in these chapters which I would gladly obliterate from the fair pages of our history; but a due regard for the completeness of the work demanded that they should receive attention, as well as the many deeds of heroism of which we are justly proud.

In presenting this book to the public, I desire to acknowledge with sincere thanks, the assistance I have received from my friends and fellow-citizens. Many have placed the choicest stores of their family archives at my disposal; while those who had nothing else to offer, have sustained me in my labors with encouraging words and kindly interest.

Where all have been so kind, it is hard to discriminate in the selection of those who have rendered most efficient service. I would say, however, that perhaps more than to any others, I am especially indebted to my friends William D. Trefry, and Daniel D. Gile. One rendered valuable and much needed assistance in the preparation of the index, and the other, by patient attention to my necessities rendered it

possible for me to have access to the library of the Boston Athenæum.

I am also indebted, among many others, to Dr. Henry Wheatland, president of the Essex Institute, for permission to examine the collections of that important society; to William Gilley, Esq., the town clerk of Marblehead, for valuable assistance in the examination of records; to William B. Brown, Esq., for the loan of important documents; to Mr. John Prince; Hon. Isaac Story, of Somerville; Mr. William Pratt, of Boston; the Rev. John Lee Watson, of Orange, N. J.; Isaac C. Wyman, Esq., and Hon. William D. Northend, of Salem; and to the clerks of the various churches in Marblehead for similar favors.

And last, but not least, I am indebted to my beloved grandmother, Mrs. Eliza A. Roads, from whom I obtained many of the traditions related in this work, and at whose knees I learned to love and reverence the characters of the men of other days, whose noble deeds and earnest lives reflect honor on the town.

With these words in grateful recognition of assistance, I submit my work to the people of Marblehead. If it shall awaken an interest, in any degree proportionate to that which I have felt during the many weary months of preparation, it will not have been in vain.

SAMUEL ROADS, JR.

MARBLEHEAD, *November 20, 1879.*

# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Indian History. — The Naumkeags. — Nanepashemet, the King. — The Squaw Sachem. — Indian Name of Marblehead. — Customs of the Naumkeags. — Indian Relics found in Marblehead. — Indian Stockade, etc. . . . .	1

## CHAPTER II.

The First Settlers. — Their Probable Origin. — Date of the Settlement of the Town. — Origin of the Name "Marble Harbor." — Thomas Gray. — Isaac Allerton. — Moses Maverick. — The Fishery Business established. — First Mention of the Name "Marblehead." — Mr. Craddock's House burned. — Death of the Rev. John Avery and his Family. — Allerton's Misfortunes. — A "Plantation" established at Marblehead. — Grants of Land by the General Court and the Town of Salem. — Proposed Site of a College. — The Ship "Desire" built. — First Negro Slaves imported into the Colony. — Grants of Land to Fishermen. — John Gatchell ordered to cut his Hair. — A Rate ordered. — Names of Inhabitants of Marblehead assessed. — William Walton. — The First Meeting-house. — First Public House. — Orders concerning Trees. — The Last Record of Grants. — State of Affairs in 1644. — The First Constable. — Order concerning the Erection of a Breastwork. — The Inhabitants ordered to exercise in Military Movements . . . . .

## CHAPTER III.

Incorporation of the Town. — First Selectmen. — Town Action. — Division of the Common Lands. — Mr. Walton's Salary. — Ferry to Salem. — The Meeting-house "sealed." — Hugh Peters. — First Highway to Salem. — A Magistrate for Marblehead. — Military Company organized. — Death of Mr. Walton. — Samuel Cheever. — New Gallery at the Meeting-house. — Neck Road laid out. — The Leanto. — Customs of the Fishermen. — Increase in the Number of Inhabitants. — King Philip's War. — Sudden Death of Two Eastern Indians. — First School in Town. — A Watch-house built. — Robert Knight. — Benevolent Action.

— Ordination of Mr. Cheever. — First Church gathered. — Township purchased of the Indians. — Trial of "Mammy Red" for Witchcraft .	17
--	----

## CHAPTER IV.

Superstitious Beliefs. — The Story of the "Screeching Woman." — Customs of the Young Women. — Mr. Maverick. — Curious Customs at Weddings. — Customs at Funerals. — School taught by Josiah Cotton. — His Views of Marblehead. — Old Dimond. — Belief of the Inhabitants concerning Him. — Superstitious Stories. — St. Michael's Church. — Controversy in First Church. — New Meeting-house built. — Second Congregational Society organized. — Mr. Holyoke and Mr. Barnard settled. — Condition of the Town in 1714, as described by Mr. Barnard. — The Marblehead Dialect. — Names by which certain Families were known. — Some of the Idioms. — Marblehead Seamen captured by Pirates. — Phillip Ashton's Experience. — His Escape to a Desert Island. — Sufferings while there. — The Rescue. — Text of Parson Barnard's Sermon on his Delivery. — Nicholas Merritt. — His Capture and Escape . . . . .	35
--	----

## CHAPTER V.

Old Meeting-house enlarged. — School opened by Nathan Bowen. — Selectmen authorized to hire a School-master. — Town Hall built. — River-head Beach. — First Meeting held in Town Hall — Terrible Ravages of Small-pox. — Excitement of the People. — Action of the Town. — The Sixpenny Tax. — Opposition of the Fishermen. — Benjamin Boden. — Action of the Town concerning the Tax. — Mr. Holyoke elected President of Harvard College. — Province Appropriation for Erection of the Fort. — Controversy concerning the Fund. — The Fountain Inn. — Traditions concerning it. — Pirates arrested in Marblehead. — The Story of Agnes Surriage. — Frankland's Visits to Marblehead. — The Fisherman's Daughter. — The Manor-house at Hopkinton. — Reception in England. — Earthquake at Lisbon. — Heroic Conduct of Agnes. — The Marriage. — Life in Boston and Hopkinton. — Death of Frankland. — Departure of Lady Agnes for England. — Her Second Marriage. — Her Death. — The Great Awakening. — Whitefield's Visit to Marblehead. — Religious Controversy. — Rev. Mr. Malcolm. — King George's War. — Siege of Louisburg. — Action of the Town. — Fortifications erected. — School for Poor Children. — Old School-house. — Customs of the Fishermen. — A Boy's Apprenticeship. — Voyages to the "Banks." — The First Fire Engine. — Organization of the Fire Department. — An Early Engine Company. — Names of first Engines. — Small-pox. — By-laws against Gambling — Excise Bill. — Protest of the Town. — French and Indian War. — Powder-house built. — Marblehead Vessels captured. — Petition for Protection. — Capture of Schooner "Swallow." — Imprisonment of the Crew. — Escape of the Officers. — Marblehead Seamen at	
--	--

	PAGE
the Siege of Quebec. — Capture of the Schooner "Prince of Orange."	
— Imprisonment of the Crew. — Attempt to seize the Schooner "Rambler."	
— Work-house erected. — Streets named. — Town Pump. —	
Small-pox. — Hospital erected . . . . .	48

## CHAPTER VI.

Contests with the Crown. — Duties levied by Parliament. — The Stamp Act. — Excitement in Boston. — Action of Marblehead. — Instructions to Representatives. — Duty on Glass, Paper, and Tea. — Excitement in Massachusetts. — British Troops in Boston. — Action of the Governor. — Rebuke of the Legislature. — Its Dissolution. — Action of Marblehead. — Disasters to Fishermen. — Condition of the Town in 1768. — Slavery in Marblehead. — Tradition of the Rev. Peter Bours. — Trustees of Schools. — Appropriations. — School-masters. — Public Primary Schools. — Impressment of American Seamen. — Heroic Resistance of Marblehead Seamen to Impressment. — Patriotic Instructions. — Meetings of Merchants of Boston. — Action of Merchants of Marblehead. — "Non-importation" Agreement. — Reception of a Chest of Tea. — The Boston Massacre. — Action of Marblehead. — Agreement not to use Tea. — Names of those who refused to sign the Agreement. — Distress caused by Disasters at Sea. — Governor Hutchinson. — "The State of Rights." — Circular Letter to Towns. — Response of Marblehead. — Committee of Grievance elected. — Patriotic Letter adopted by the Town. — Action of a few of the Merchants. — The Small-pox War. — Excitement in Marblehead. — Measures of Precaution. — Hospital erected. — Tarred and feathered for stealing Clothing. — Colonel Glover's Way of receiving a Mob. — Arrest of Incendiaries. — Prisoners rescued from Jail. — A Battle threatened between Citizens of Salem and Marblehead. — Punished at the Whipping-post. — Opposition to Importation of Tea. — The Boston Tea Party. — Governor Gage. — The Longest Town Meeting ever held. — Address to Ex-governor Hutchinson. — Addressers in Marblehead. — Recantations demanded. — Instructions to John Gallison. — Storehouses offered to Merchants of Boston. — Delegates elected to Continental Congress. — Action on the Use of Tea. — British Soldiers on Marblehead Neck. — County Meetings. — Military Discipline. — A Citizen wounded by British Soldiers. — Continental Congress. — Provincial Congress. — The Marblehead Regiment. — Officers holding King's Commission resign. — Officers commissioned by the Town. — Action of the Loyalists. — Votes of the Town concerning Loyalists. — Vessels expected with Tea . . . . .	72
--	----

## CHAPTER VII.

The Minnte Men. — Payment of Soldiers. — British Frigate in Marblehead Harbor. — Vessels searched. — Arms retaken. — Colonel Leslie's Expedition. — British Troops land on Homan's Beach. — The March	
---	--

to Salem. — Marblehead Men at the North Bridge. — Fishermen requested not to venture out to Sea. — Battle of Lexington. — Escape of Messrs. Gerry, Orne, and Lee. — Death of Jeremiah Lee. — His Character. — Action of the Provincial Congress. — Orders to Colonel Glover. — Press-gangs in Streets of Marblehead. — Captain Trevett's Artillery Company. — Recruiting for the Continental Army. — False Alarms. — Sloop-of-war Merlin. — Arrival of a Merchant Vessel. — Delegates to Provincial Congress. — Providing for the Comfort of Soldiers. — Glover's Regiment. — Colonel Glover commissioned. — Captain Trevett's Company at Bunker Hill. — Marblehead Men killed and wounded. — Glover's Regiment marches to Cambridge. — List of Officers. — Uniform of the Regiment. — The Town fortified. — Arrival of a Vessel from New Providence. — Expedition to the River St. Lawrence. — Captains Broughton and Selman. — Prizes captured. — The Governor of St. John's Island a Prisoner. — Washington's Displeasure. — The First American Privateer. — Capt. John Manly in the Schooner Lee. — First Naval Victory of the War. — Capture of the Brig Nancy. — Her Cargo. — Two other Vessels captured. — A Desperate Engagement. — Escape of Manly. — Sufferings of the People. — Representatives elected. — Captain Mugford's Exploit. — His Impressment and Release. — Capture of the Brig Hope. — Her Cargo. — The Franklin attacked by Boats of the British Fleet. — Heroic Resistance of the Crew. — Death of Mugford. — The Funeral. — Mr. Gerry's Wish for American Independence. — Declaration of the Citizens of Marblehead. — Independence declared. — Reception of the News. — Measures adopted for raising Recruits. — Punishment of Loyalists. — The Robie Family. — Their Departure from Town. — Dreadful Wish uttered by Mrs. Robie. — Benjamin Marston. — His Books and Papers seized. — His Escape from the Town. — Ashley Bowen. — His Sufferings. — Courage of the Loyalists of Marblehead. — Small-pox. — Distress of Families of Soldiers. — Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. — The New State Constitution. — Recruits for Continental Army. — Patriotism of Jonathan Glover. — Regulation of Prices. — Fortifications on the Headlands. — Delegates to State Constitutional Convention. — State Constitution ratified. — The Letter-of-marque Thorn. — Daring Attempt of the British to seize the Thorn in Marblehead Harbor. — The Discovery. — Hiding-place of the British Soldiers. — Their Escape. — The "Dark Day." — Appropriation to hire Men for the Army. — First State Election. — Vote of Marblehead. — Sufferings of the Soldiers in the Army. — Subscriptions for their Relief. — Distress in Marblehead. — Condition of the Town in 1780. — Budier's Plains sold to raise Money for Recruits. — The Public Schools. — Peter Jayne. — Trustees elected. — Success of American Arms. — The Town's Indebtedness to Jonathan Glover. — Town Dock and Wharf sold. — Opposition to the Warden Act. — A Large Fire. — Return of the Refugees. — Excitement in Marblehead.



	PAGE
— Vengeance threatened on the Robie Family. — Demonstrations on the Declaration of Peace . . . . .	110

## CHAPTER VIII.

Departure of the Marblehead Regiment for Cambridge. — General Washington takes Command of the Army. — First Order to Glover's Regiment. — Glover appointed to superintend Equipment of Armed Vessels. — Reception of Cargo of Manly's Prize. — The Mortar christened. — A Skirmish in Camp. — Glover's Regiment and Trevett's Artillery ordered to Marblehead. — The Regiment stationed at Beverly. — Reorganized as the Fourteenth Continental Regiment. — Ordered to New York. — Fire-ships on the Hudson River. — Retreat from Long Island. — The Boats manned by Glover's Regiment. — Glover in Command of Clinton's Brigade. — The Evacuation of New York. — Important Service rendered. — The Regiment at Harlem Plains. — Attack by the British. — Disorder of American Militia. — Washington reinforced by Glover's Regiment. — Extract from a Letter of Colonel Glover to his Mother. — The Army on New York Island. — The Battle at East Chester. — Gallant Behavior of Glover's Brigade. — Thanks of Generals Washington and Lee. — Statement of an Eye-witness. — Movements of Glover's Brigade. — The Battle of White Plains. — Flight of American Militia. — British repulsed by Glover's Brigade. — A Gloomy Period. — Washington's Army crosses the Delaware. — The Marblehead Regiment in the Advance. — The Victory at Trenton. — Testimony of General Knox. — Washington given Additional Powers. — Col. William R. Lee. — Officers of his Regiment. — Colonel Lee appointed Adjutant-general of the Army. — Colonel Glover appointed Brigadier-general. — His Brigade at Saratoga. — Battle of Bemis's Heights. — The British amoyed after the Battle. — Statement of General Burgoyne. — Second Battle of Bemis's Heights. — Gallant Charge of the Marblehead Men. — Retreat of the British. — The Attack at Saratoga. — Fortunate Discovery by General Glover. — Surrender of Burgoyne. — Glover conducts the British Army to Cambridge. — Arrival of the British. — Received by Col. William R. Lee. — Treatment of Prisoners by General Heath. — Disgraceful Conduct of the British. — Trial of Colonel Henly by Court-martial. — General Burgoyne's Estimate of General Glover and Colonel Lee. — Colonel Lee in Command at Cambridge. — A British Officer's Tribute to the Character of Colonel Lee. — Colonel Lee resigns his Commission. — Glover's Brigade at Valley Forge. — Erection of Forts at West Point. — Expedition against Rhode Island. — Volunteers from Marblehead. — Glover on Staff of General Sullivan. — Thanks to Men of Marblehead and Salem. — Departure of the French Fleet. — Protest of American Generals. — The Retreat from Rhode Island. — Skirmish at Quaker Hill. — Route of the British. — Evacuation of Rhode Island. — Volunteers from Marblehead man the

Boats. — Glover's Brigade at Norwalk, Ridgefield, and Peekskill. — Sufferings of the Soldiers. — The Brigade at West Point. — Capture of Major André. — The Execution. — The Army at Peekskill. — Surrender of Cornwallis . . . . .	139
---	-----

## CHAPTER IX.

Commodore Manly in Schooner Hancock. — Capt. Samuel Tucker in Schooner Franklin. — Anecdote of the Express with Commission. — Cruise of the Franklin. — Capture of Two British Transports. — Commodore Manly transferred to Frigate Hancock. — Tucker in Command of Schooner Hancock. — Two Brigs captured in the Bay. — Cruise of Capt. John Lee in Privateer Nancy. — Brilliant Exploit of Captain Lee. — His Capture in the British Channel. — Prizes taken by Privateers Hancock and Peggy. — Capture of the British Frigate Lively. — Cruise of the Frigates Hancock and Boston. — Captain Manly captures the Frigate Fox. — Desperate Engagement with Three British Frigates. — Capture of the Hancock. — Cowardly Conduct of Captain McNeil. — Commodore Tucker in the Frigate Boston. — A Large Ship captured. — Death of Lieutenant Magee. — Gallant Conduct of Tucker. — Capt. John Harris in the Brigantine Penet. — Takes Mr. Austin to France. — Murder of Captain Harris by a British Officer. — Commodore Tucker conveys John Adams as Envoy to France. — The Story of Adams in the Battle. — Successful Cruise of the Frigate Boston. — Escape of Capt. John Lee from Forton Prison. — Captures by Commodore Tucker in the Boston. — Commodore Manly in the Privateer Cumberland. — Captured by a British Frigate. — His Escape from Prison. — Engagement with Two British Privateers. — Commodore Tucker captures Thirteen Prizes. — Other Prizes. — The Letter-of-marque Freeman. — Her Capture. — Successful Exploit of Robert Wormsted and the Crew. — Commodore Tucker at the Siege of Charleston, S. C. — He demolishes a Light-house and a Fort. — Surrender of the American Squadron. — Spirited Reply of Tucker to the British. — Cruise of Capt. Richard Cowell in Sloop-of-war Thorn. — A Large Number of Prizes captured. — Spirited Engagement with the Letter-of-marque St. David. — Her Capture. — Cruise of Commodore Tucker in the Thorn. — Engagement with the British Packet Lord Hyde. — Cruise of Captain Cowell in the Ship Marquis. — Engagement with a British Letter-of-marque. — Glorious Victory for Captain Cowell. — Important Prizes captured by Tucker. — Desperate Engagement with the English Ship Elizabeth. — Capture of the Thorn. — Escape of Tucker and his Officers. — Capt. Robert Wormsted. — Capture of a British Vessel. — The Pursuit and Escape. — Capture of the Ship St. Helena by the British Brig Lively. — Seizure of the Lively by the American Prisoners. — Value of the Prize. — The Last Naval Battle of the Revolution. — Brilliant Achievement of Commodore Manly in the Frigate Hague. —	
---	--

Capture of Capt. Ambrose James by an English Cruiser. — Veterans of the Revolution alive in 1830. — Brief Sketches of their Experience . . . 174

## CHAPTER X.

Attempts to restore Prosperity. — Visit of General de Lafayette. — Address of Welcome. — Reply of Lafayette. — Shays' Rebellion. — Action of Marblehead. — The Federal Constitution. — Mr. Gerry's Views concerning it. — Delegates from Marblehead to State Convention. — First President of the United States. — Gift and Address of Marblehead to Vice-president Adams. — Marblehead Academy established. — Names of Benefactors. — First Exhibition. — Naval Officer of Marblehead. — Controversy over an Appointment. — First Collector. — Licenses granted. — Reception of President Washington. — Address of the Selectmen. — Washington's Letter in Reply. — Condition of the Town in 1790. — Wretchedness of Inhabitants. — Benevolence of Academy Scholars. — The Grand Lottery for Relief of the Town. — Names of Managers. — Drawing of Prizes. — Beneficial Results. — Methodist Church organized. — A Seribus Fire. — Incorporation of Marblehead Academy. — Township of Land granted. — Joseph Story's Reminiscences of his School Days. — Progress of Scholars. — The Mails. — First Postmaster. — War between France and England. — A Marblehead Schooner seized. — Embassy to the French Court. — Mr. Gerry's Action. — Preparations for War. — Veterans of the Revolution. — A Light Infantry and other Companies organized. — Death of Col. Azor Orne. — Hon. Samuel Sewall. — Tribute to the Memory of Judge Sewall. — First Bequest to the Town. — Death of George Washington. — Impressive Ceremonies at Marblehead. — Oration by Joseph Story. — Small-pox Excitement. — Poverty of the Town. — Relief from other Towns. — The Federal and Democratic Parties. — Their Origin and Principles. — Party Spirit. — Vote of Marblehead in 1801. — Marblehead Bank incorporated. — Business of the Town. — First Directors, President, and Cashier. — Heroism of Capt. William Powers. — Marblehead Seamen impressed by a British Cruiser. — Political Excitement. — A Newspaper Controversy. — The "Lying Pamphlet." — A Marblehead Town Meeting. — The Pamphlet burned. — Citizens examined by the Grand Jury. — Action of the Town . . . . . 200

## CHAPTER XI.

Depredations of British Cruisers. — Attack upon the Frigate Chesapeake. — Resolutions of Marblehead. — The Embargo Law. — Marblehead Vessels captured. — Distress caused by the Embargo. — Appropriation for Relief of the Poor. — Land ceded to the United States. — Gunhouse erected. — The True Story of Skipper Ireson. — Story told by his Crew. — Statement of the Captain of the Wrecked Vessel. — Vessels sent to find the Wreck. — An Innocent Man punished. — A Cowardly

Crew. — Opposition to the Embargo in Massachusetts. — Resolutions of Marblehead indorsing the Administration. — Letter to Congressman Story. — Vessels offered to the Government. — Reception of Marblehead Resolutions in Congress. — Delight of President Jefferson and Prominent Democrats. — Secession advocated in Massachusetts. — Patriotic Resolutions. — The Administration indorsed. — Ready for War. — Impressment of Seamen. — The Constitution to be maintained. — Rights to be defended. — Repeal of the Embargo. — Marblehead Light Infantry organized. — Schooners captured. — Elbridge Gerry elected Governor. — Vote of the Town in 1810. — Baptist Church organized. — War declared against Great Britain. — Action of the Legislature. — Antagonistic Addresses. — Boston and other Towns opposed to War. — Marblehead Resolutions. — Pledge to support the Government. — Privateers fitted out. — Marblehead Men on Board other Privateers. — Crew of the Constitution. — Enthusiasm of the People. — Celebration of the Fourth of July. — Capture of the Ship Orient. — Release of the Crew. — Prizes captured by Privateers. — Impressment of Joseph Furness. — Battle between the Constitution and Guerriere. — Statement of a Prisoner from Marblehead. — Prizes sent into Marblehead. — Elbridge Gerry elected Vice-president. — Battle between the Constitution and the Java. — Marblehead Seamen killed. — Battle off Marblehead Neck between the Shannon and the Chesapeake. — Death of Captain Lawrence. — Marblehead Men on Board the Shannon. — An Attack feared. — Preparations for Defense. — The Marblehead Light Infantry. — The Home Guards. — Company at Fort Sewall. — Two Men shot in the Streets. — British Prisoners at Fort Sewall. — The Constitution chased into Marblehead Harbor. — A Dutch Sloop of War in the Harbor. — Heroic Conduct of Lieut. John G. Cowell. — His Death and Burial. — An Imposing Funeral. — Close of the War. — Marblehead Seamen in British Prisons. — The Massacre at Dartmoor. — Marblehead Men wounded. — Impatient to get Home. — A Ship seized. — Marblehead Men in the War . . . . .	230
--	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

Sacrifices made by the Town. — Visit of President Monroe. — Organization of Sabbath-schools. — Delegates to Constitutional Convention. — Second Visit of General de Lafayette. — Lafayette Guards. — The Marblehead Artillery Companies. — Curious Scenes on Training Days. — Origin of "Marblehead never retreats." — The Columbian Society. — Streets named. — Earliest Shoe Manufacturers. — Reform at the Almshouse. — First Local Newspaper. — Grand Bank incorporated. — Its First President and Directors. — Light-house erected. — Female Humane Society. — Seamen's Charitable Society. — Visit of President Jackson. — The Whig Party. — Rival Celebrations on the Fourth of July. — Fire Department reorganized. — Universalist Church. — The

Panic of 1837. — High School established. — The Surplus Revenue Controversy. — Stage-coach Communication. — Opening of the Eastern Railroad. — Condition of the Town in 1839. — Bequest of Mr. A. S. Courts. — Presidential Campaign of 1840. — The Liberty Party. — First Anti-slavery Men in Marblehead. — Lyceum Hall erected. — The Rechabites and Odd Fellows. — Gerry Fire Engine. — Great Gale on the Banks of Newfoundland. — A Terrible Calamity. — Monument erected on the Old Burying Hill. — The Railroad Accident of 1848. — Ship-building in Marblehead. — Washington Hook and Ladder Carriage. — The New Almshouse. — The Spiritualists. — The Glover Light Guards. — Bequest of Moses A. Pickett. — His Life and Character. — Three Great Military Festivals. — Fourth of July Celebration of 1856. — The Sons of Temperance and the Musical Association. — South Church organized. — The "Mugford" and "General Glover" Fire Engines. — Waterside Cemetery. — Fire on State Street. — The Roman Catholic Church. — The Good Templars and the Christian Association. — Fire on Essex Street. — The Great Strike of the Shoemakers. — Presidential Campaign of 1860 . . . . .	256
--	-----

## CHAPTER XIII.

Industrial Development. — Extension of Pleasant Street. — Opening of the Railroad to Salem. — Joseph R. Bassett. — School Street opened. — Sewall Street. — Streets across "Reed's Hill." — Houses erected. — How Workingmen obtained Homes. — The First Sewing-machine in Marblehead. — First Operator. — The Binder. — Steam Saw-mill erected. — Commercial and Prospect Streets. — New Settlements. — Panic of 1857. — William T. Haskell & Co. — Joseph Harris & Sons. — Method of manufacturing Shoes. — Industry of the People. — Introduction of McKey Machines. — Compo Work . . . . .	276
--	-----

## CHAPTER XIV.

Election of Abraham Lincoln. — Secession of the Southern States. — Bombardment of Fort Sumpter. — President Lincoln's Call for Troops. — The Marblehead Companies the first to reach Boston. — How Captain Martin rallied his Company. — Prompt Action of the Citizens. — The Work of the Ladies. — Generosity of the School Teachers. — Marblehead Soldiers in Maryland. — "The Constitution" saved. — Patriotic Letter from Captain Martin. — The Mugford Guards. — Address of William B. Brown, Esq., on their Departure. — Return of the Three Months' Men. — Reception by the Citizens. — Company B, Twenty-third Regiment. — The first Marblehead Men killed in Battle. — Heroic Conduct of William B. Hubbard. — Funeral of Lieutenant Goodwin and Sergeant Morse. — Bounties offered by the Town. — The Work of Recruiting. — Recruiting Agent appointed by Governor Andrew. — Enrollment of Volunteers. — The Nine Months' Men. — Relief for Fami-
---

lies of Soldiers. — The Draft. — Fort Sewall enlarged. — New Forts erected. — The Lafayette Guards. — The Ladies of the Unitarian Society. — Work and Money for the Soldiers. — The Twenty-seventh Unattached Company. — Bravery of William Goss. — Demonstrations in Honor of Lee's Surrender. — Assassination of President Lincoln. — Number of Men from Marblehead in the Army and Navy. — The Killed and Wounded. — Amount of Money raised by the Town for War Purposes . . . . .	283
---	-----

## CHAPTER XV.

Marblehead Sailors in the Navy. — Capt. Michael B. Gregory. — Cruise of Capt. Josiah P. Cressey in the <i>Inv.</i> — Marblehead Officers unjustly accused of Disloyalty. — Meeting of the Citizens. — Capt. William D. Gregory in the Ship <i>Bohio</i> . — Prizes captured. — A Successful Stratagem. — Daring Exploit of Marblehead Sailors. — Capt. Samuel B. Gregory in United States Steamer <i>Western World</i> . — Engagement with the Enemy. — Fort Pulaski. — A Skirmish in the South Santee River. — Cruising in Doboy Sound. — A Mutinous Crew. — Blockade Runners captured off the Coast of Virginia. — Jefferson Davis offers a Reward for the Capture of Capt. S. B. Gregory. — The United States Steamer <i>Perry</i> . — Sailors captured by the Rebels. — Captain Gregory on the <i>Potomac</i> , etc. . . . .	304
--	-----

## CHAPTER XVI.

Improvements in the Shoe Business. — Division of Labor. — Increase of Business. — New Buildings erected. — Marblehead and Lynn Railroad Company. — Railroad and Avenue Controversy. — Atlantic Avenue. — New Streets. — M. A. Pickett Fire Association. — Fires in 1866. — Fire on Pleasant Street in 1867. — Accident at Baptist Church. — First Observance of "Memorial Day." — Liberty Hose Company. — Streets lighted. — Controversy in the Fire Department. — Marblehead Steamer No. 1. — Marblehead Savings Bank. — "Marblehead Messenger" established. — Torch-light Parade of Fire Department. — Church "Star of the Sea" burned. — Improved Order of Red Men. — Small-pox Excitement. — Great Fire on Washington Street. — Opening of Swampscott Branch Railroad. — Financial Panic of 1873. — Suffering in Marblehead. — Resolution of Thanks to William B. Brown. — Fire on Reed's Hill. — First Loss of Life at a Fire. — Columbian Building destroyed by Fire. — The "Gregory Fund." — First Annual Parade of Fire Department. — Benjamin Abbot's Legacy to the Town. — Town votes to erect Abbot Hall. — Controversy over Selection of a Site. — Building Committee elected. — Temporary Injunction restraining the Town from erecting Abbot Hall. — Decision of Justice Ames, of Supreme Judicial Court. — Corner Stone of Abbot Hall laid. — Great Temperance Revival of 1876. — Marblehead Reform Club. — Celebration of One Hun-
--

	PAGE
dredth Anniversary of Mugford's Victory. — The Mugford Monument.	
— Dedication of Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. — Political Campaign of 1876. — Abbot Library. — Red's Pond Reservoir. — Destructive Conflagration of 1877. — Donations for Relief of Sufferers. — Rebuilding the Burnt District. — Gifts for Abbot Hall. — Dedication of Abbot Hall. — Abbot Library opened. — Political Campaign of 1878. — Growth of the Town as a Summer Resort. — Condition of the Town in 1879 . . . . .	312

## CHAPTER XVII.

History of Marblehead Great Neck. — Division of Common Lands. — The Fish-flakes. — Early Residents. — Stratton's Spring Well. — John Pedrick. — Coombes the Loyalist. — British Soldiers on the Neck. — Other Residents. — The Salt-works. — John Andrews. — The Brown Estate. — First Summer Residents. — "The Tent on the Beach." — Nashua Village. — The Sparhawk Lot. — Sale of Brown Estate. — The Land Company. — Improvements. — New Houses. — The Hall. — Natural Advantages. — Half-way Rock. — Customs of Fishermen. — Views from the Neck . . . . .	333
--	-----

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Old Houses and Landmarks. — Tucker House. — Warehouses. — Old Tavern. — General Glover's House. — Eagle House. — Old Custom House. — Capt. John Selman. — Parson Barnard's House. — Pickett House. — Home of Col. Azor Orne. — Washington Street. — Old Meeting-house. — Birth-place of Elbridge Gerry. — Major John Pedrick. — Parson Story's House. — Old Town House. — Bowen House. — Nathan Bowen. — Extracts from Criminal Records. — Birth-place of Judge Story. — Dr. Elisha Story. — Edward Augustus Holyoke. — Robie House. — Major Joseph W. Green. — "King" Hooper. — Lee Mansion. — John Hooper, Esq. — Hon. Samuel Hooper. — Bowden House. — Sewall Mansion. — Joseph Hooper. — Hon. William Reed. — Watson House. — Benjamin Marston. — Marston Watson. — Prentiss House. — Mugford House. — Grist House. — Wormstead's Shop. — Capt. Josiah P. Cressey	340
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIX.

First Congregational Church . . . . .	358
---------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XX.

St. Michael's Church . . . . .	362
--------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XXI.

Second Congregational Church. — Methodist Episcopal Church . . . . .	379
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXII.

	PAGE
Baptist Church. — Universalist Church . . . . .	384

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Church Star of the Sea. — Advent Church . . . . .	388
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THE  
HISTORY AND TRADITIONS  
OF  
MARBLEHEAD.

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CHAPTER I.

MARBLEHEAD is a peninsula situated at the southeastern corner of Essex County, Massachusetts, sixteen miles northeast of Boston. The township comprises three thousand seven hundred acres, and is about four miles in length from northeast to southeast, being from one and one half to two miles in breadth. The surface is to a great extent irregular and rocky, and considerably elevated above the land of the surrounding country. Connected by a narrow isthmus with the main-land is a small peninsula, rather more than a mile in length and about half a mile wide, containing about three hundred acres. This peninsula, from the earliest settlement of the town, has been known as the "Great Neck."

Between the "Neck," jutting out so boldly into the Atlantic Ocean, and the rocky coast of the main-land, is a beautiful sheet of water, a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, forming one of the most excellent harbors on the New England coast.

At the time of the landing of our fathers upon a coast so barren and uninviting, as it must have appeared to them, they found the entire section of eastern Massachusetts inhabited by a race of men, the remnants of what but a few years before the coming of the white men had been a large

and powerful tribe of Indians. They were of the tribe of the Naumkeags, then under the jurisdiction of the Squaw Sachem of Saugus, the widow of the great Nanepashemet, who, in his lifetime, had been a chief whose power and authority no neighboring tribe dared question. But war and pestilence, those two dread enemies of the human race, had made sad havoc among the Naumkeags; and however desirous they might have been to resist the encroachments of the white men upon their domain they were but little prepared to do so. The great war in which they had engaged with the Tarrantines in 1615 had proved disastrous to them, and Nanepashemet, their chief, had been obliged to retreat from his settlement at Saugus to a hill on the borders of the Mystic River, where he resided till the time of his death. The plague which broke out among the Indians in 1617 raged with especial severity among the Naumkeags. Hundreds of them were destroyed, and those who survived were rendered an easy prey to their enemies. The Tarrantines, well aware of the weakness of their great opponent, seized the earliest opportunity to attack him. In 1619 they besieged his fortifications at Mystic, where, after a most heroic resistance, Nanepashemet was killed. Two years later a party from the Plymouth colony, while ranging about the country, came across some of his forts, one of which was undoubtedly in Marblehead, near Forest River, the remains of which may still be seen.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Winslow, in his account of this journey, writes: "Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence Nanepashemet, their king, in his life-time had lived. His house was not like others; but a scaffold was largely built with poles and planks, some six foot from the ground and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill. Not far from hence, in a bottom, we came to a fort built by the deceased king, the manner, thus: There were poles,

<sup>1</sup> See Lewis's *Lynn*, and Felt's *Salem*.

some thirty or forty feet long, stuck in the ground as thick as they could be set one by another, and with them they enclosed a ring some thirty or forty feet over. A trench, breast high, was digged on each side; one way there was to get to it with a bridge. In the midst of this palisade stood the frame of a house wherein, being dead, he lay buried.

“About a mile from hence we came to such another, but seated on the top of a hill. Here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since his death.”

After the death of Nanepashemet the general government of the Naumkeags was continued by his widow, who became the squaw sachem. She was assisted by the three sons, Wonohaquaham, Montowampate, and Winepoyken, or Winnepeweeken, all of whom became sagamores. The squaw sachem lived on terms of friendliness with the whites, and finally submitted to their government.

The three sons of Nanepashemet, after the death of their father, had each his separate jurisdiction as sagamore. Wonohaquaham, called by the English John, was located on the Mystic River; Montowampate, called by the white people James, had jurisdiction of the territory now comprised in Lynn, Salem, and Marblehead, or, as Mr. Lewis in his “History of Lynn” says: “Saugus, Naumkeag, and Massabequash.” The last was the Indian name for “Forest River,” but whether it was applied to the territory comprised in the township of Marblehead there appears to be no means of ascertaining, except on the authority of Mr. Lewis. Winepoykin, called by the English George, was the youngest son of Nanepashemet. He was born in 1616, and was a boy when the white men made their settlement on his territory. The Rev. John Higginson, in writing of this sagamore, says, “To ye best of my remembrance, when I came over with my father to this place, being then about thirteen years old, there was a widow woman called Squaw Sachem who had three sons. Sagamore John kept at Mystic, Sagamore James at Saugust, and Sagamore George here at Naum-

keake. Whether he was actual sachem here I cannot say, for he was about my age, and I think there was an older man, yt was at least his guardian. But ye Indian town of wigwams was on ye north side of ye North River, not farre from Simondes, and ye both ye north and south side of that river was together called Naumkeke."

In 1633 both Sagamore John and Sagamore James, with many of their people, died of the small-pox, which broke out among them and raged to such an extent as to nearly exterminate the entire tribe. So disastrous were the effects of the disease among them that it is stated "that Mr. Maverick gave Christian burial to thirty of them in one day."

After the death of his brothers, Winepoykin became sagamore of Lynn and Chelsea, as well as Naumkeag; and after the death of his mother, which took place in 1667, he became sachem of all that part of Massachusetts which is north and east of the Charles River. Winepoykin married Ahawayet, a daughter of Poquamum, who lived at Nahant. He died in 1684, and on the sixteenth of September of that year the inhabitants of Marblehead procured a deed of their township from his heirs. It is signed by Ahawayet, who is called "Joane Ahawayet, squaw, relict, widow of George Saggamore, alias Wenepauweekin."

Of the manners, customs, and habits of life of these Indians little is known, except such as can be gathered in extracts from the writings of the early settlers. That they lived, generally, in peace with their white neighbors there can be little doubt. The great reduction in their numbers would seem to be of itself evidence that they were obliged to keep the peace; and the testimony of the white men proves this theory correct.

The Naumkeags are described as a tall, strong-limbed people, whose only article of wearing apparel was a beast skin thrown over one shoulder, and another about the waist. Their wigwams were small, and were constructed of poles

set in the ground and fastened at the top, being covered with mats made from the boughs of trees.

Like all the Indians of North America, the Naumkeags compelled their squaws to do the greater part of the manual labor, while they, the lords of the forest and the mighty waters, spent their time in fishing, hunting, and idleness. Their wants were few. With plenty of corn, raised by the women, the forests abounding in game, and the waters about their coast filled with fish of almost every variety, there was no reason why they should suffer hunger, save only from their own indolence and inactivity.

Kind and docile in their disposition, and generous in their treatment of the whites, they in time became the wards of the settlers; and forsaking the gods of good and evil whom their fathers had taught them to worship, many were baptized and embraced the Christian religion.

That Indians formerly occupied the land now comprised in the territory of Marblehead there can be no doubt.

Relics of villages, grave-yards, shell heaps, and an Indian fort have been found from time to time, which, were other evidence wanting, would be sufficient to prove the fact. Numerous arrow-heads, spears, clubs, and various utensils made of stone have also been found.

The largest shell heap is near the "Pine" Grove, on the line of the railroad to Salem. This contained by actual measurement thirty cords of shells, placed in layers of stone and ashes.

Excavations found in the "Small-pox Pasture," at the Harris Farm, and in fields on Atlantic Avenue, have been thought to indicate the former location of Indian wigwams. These cellars are always to be found near some reliable supply of water; they are from six to eight feet across, and were originally from two to four feet in depth.

The Bessom Pasture, near Salem Harbor, was probably the site of an Indian village. Excavations, supposed to have been the cellars of wigwams, are to be found everywhere in the vicinity.

In November, 1874, an examination of the hill in this pasture revealed a grave containing five skeletons, four being those of grown persons, and the other that of a child. They were all in a remarkable state of preservation, except that of the child, one being very large, evidently that of a man. The bodies were all buried on their backs, with their heads to the west except one, which lay with its head to the east; the legs being drawn up so that the knees nearly touched the chin. The grave contained, besides the skeletons, a lot of trinkets, an earthen cup, a small bell, two sea-shells, and a quantity of beads, proving conclusively that the bodies were buried after the white settlers came to America.

By reliable tradition we are informed that Indians dwelt in Marblehead as late as one hundred and sixty years ago. The location of an Indian "Stockade" in the Lower Division Pasture is still pointed out by some of the older inhabitants. They received their information many years ago from aged citizens, then about to depart for their final rest, whose memories fondly cherished the traditions transmitted to them by their fathers.





POWDER HOUSE.



OLD BURYING HILL.



## CHAPTER II.

MARBLEHEAD was settled about the year 1629. Authorities differ as to the exact part of England from whence these settlers emigrated, though all agree that they were English, and that they made their settlement in the north-eastern part of the town, near the headland now known as Peach's Point. From their manners and customs, but more especially from their peculiar dialect, it would seem that they were natives of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey in the British Channel. Their numbers were undoubtedly increased from time to time by people from the west of England, which would account for many of the idiomatic peculiarities which for more than two centuries characterized the speech of their descendants. They were fishermen, a rough, illiterate race, accustomed to a life of toil and hardship, probably from infancy, and they were therefore neither dismayed nor disheartened at the difficulties attending the founding of a settlement in the wilderness.

A few years before the coming of these settlers a settlement had been founded four miles north of their landing-place, and the village thus formed had been named Salem. This township included in its boundaries a large portion of the land now comprised in nine or ten towns of Essex County, one of which is Marblehead. Though a corporate port, and within the limits of Salem, the little peninsula seems to have been known even at that early day by a distinct name. The Rev. Mr. Higginson, writing of the place in 1629, speaks of the rocky headlands which line the shore as "Marble stone, that we have great rocks of it, and a harbor hard by. Our plantation is from thence called Marble-Harbor."

From the record of the Massachusetts Colony, under date of October 18, 1631, we learn that it was ordered: "that Thomas Grayes howse at Marble-Harbor shalbe puld downe, & that noe Englisheman shall hereafter give howse roome to him or intertaine him, under such penalty as the court shall thinke meete to inflict." It is evident, however, that the sentence was not executed, as the name of the offender is frequently mentioned in subsequent records.

In September, 1631, Isaac Allerton, one of the most prominent men of the Plymouth Colony, having had some difficulty with his associates, set sail in the *White Angel* for Marble-Harbor, where he established a Fishery Station. His son-in-law, Moses Maverick, accompanied him; and a short time after their arrival it is recorded that "this season Mr. Allerton fished with eight boats at Marble-Harbor."

It was probably with reference to the business thus established, that in April, 1633, the court ordered: "That if any swine shall in fishing time, come within a quarter of a myle of the stage at Marble-Harbor, they shalbe forfeited to the owners of sd stadge, & soe for all other stadges within their lymitts."

The name Marblehead is mentioned for the first time in the Colonial records of 1633 under circumstances not particularly flattering to the inhabitants, though it is by no means certain that the persons named were residents among them. "July 2d., 1633 James White is fined xxx s for drunkenness by him comitted att Marblehead, on the Sabbath day. John Bennet is fined x s for being drunke att Marblehead."

The early records of the colony abound with references to Allerton and his doings. Under date of September 1, 1633, Governor Winthrop makes the following entry in his journal: "Mr. Craddocks house at Marblehead was burnt down about midnight before, there being in it Mr. Allerton and many fishermen whom he employed that season, who all were pre-

served by a special providence of God, with most of his goods therein, by a tailor, who sat up that night at work in the house, and, hearing a noise looked out and saw the house on fire above the oven in the thatch."

The brief period of Allerton's residence in Marblehead were evidently years of misfortune to him and his family. During the same year in which his house was destroyed, a pinnace which he had sent on a trading voyage to France, was lost with its entire cargo. Two years later, in March, 1635, the court ordered that "he shall be sent for to the intent that he may understand the desire of the country for his removal from Marble-Harbor." Accordingly, in May of that year, he conveyed to his son-in-law, Moses Maverick, all his houses, buildings, and stages at Marblehead, and departed, it is presumed, for New Haven, Conn.

But his misfortunes were not to end with his removal. During the same year a shallop, which he had sent to Newbury to convey the Rev. John Avery and his family to Marblehead, was lost off Cape Ann, with nearly all on board. Shortly after his arrival in New England Mr. Avery had been invited to take up his residence at Marblehead, "but," as Mr. Mather says in his "Magnalia," "there being no church there, and the fishermen there being generally too remiss to form one," he had declined the invitation. It seems, however, that he had been induced to reconsider his determination and had embarked with two families, his own and that of his cousin, Mr. Anthony Thacher. On their passage a storm arose, and the vessel was lost; the only persons in the entire company who were saved being Mr. Thacher and his wife, who were cast ashore by the waves.

On the 6th of May, 1635, the court ordered: "That there shalbe a plantacion at Marble-Head, & that the inhabitants now there shall have liberty to plant and imp've such ground as they stand in neede of, & that as sd plantacion increaseth, the inhabitants of Salem shall p'te with

such ground as shalbe imp'ved by them thereabouts, being payed for their labor and costs." It was also ordered that Mr. John Humphrey should improve the land between the Clifte and Forest River, and dispose of it to the inhabitants of Marblehead as they stood in need; the only charge to the purchaser being enough to recompense him for the labor and costs bestowed upon it.

"June 3, 1635. It is ordered that Mr. Holgrave shall have power to presse men to help unlade the salt at Marblehead."

In March, 1636, the court agreed that Mr. Humphrey's land should begin at the Clifte, in the way to Marblehead, "which is the bound between Salem and Linn, and so along the line between the said townes to the rocks, one mile, by estimation, to a greate red oake, from wch the said marked tree, all under & over theis rocks vpon a streight line to the running brooke by Thomas Smyth's house, all the which said ground wee allow him for his owne, & soe from Thomas Smyth's to the sea."

The records of Salem, with the records of the colony, give the only authentic information concerning the town and its people, at this early stage of its history. The first mention of Marblehead, in the records of Salem, is as follows: "By vote of the towne representatives viz., the 13 Men Deputed — the 28th., of the first moneth, 1636. John Peach, ffisherman, and Nicholas Mariott having fenced about five acres of ground on Marble Neck<sup>1</sup> (though contrarie to the order of the towne). Yet its agreed that they may for the present improve the said place for building or planting, provided alwayes that the propriety thereof be reserved for the right of the towne of Salem, to dispose in the p'cesse of tyme to them or any other ffishermen or others, as shalbe

<sup>1</sup> In the early records the land between Forest River and the ocean, near the boundaries of what is now the town of Swampscott, was called the Plains, or Marblehead Neck. The peninsula now known by that name was then called "Greate Neck."

thought most meet, yet soe as they may have reasonable considération for any chardge they shalbe at."

In 1636 the building of a college was projected, and the site proposed for its erection was in Marblehead, evidently in the vicinity of Mr. Humphrey's farm. At a town meeting held at Salem, in May of that year, in an order for the division of Marblehead Neck, Mr. Humphrey made application for some land beyond Forest River. The request was referred to a committee of six gentlemen, who were authorized to view the land, and "to consider of the premises, least it should hinder the building of a College, which would be many mens' losse." In October following the court granted £400 towards the erection of a college, and the next year a committee was chosen to superintend its erection. Among the number of this committee were Mr. Humphrey, and the Rev. Hugh Peters. The court subsequently ordered the college to be built at Cambridge, then called Newtowne, and to be named "Harvard College," in honor of the Rev. John Harvard, who made a bequest of several hundred pounds towards its erection, and donated his library for the use of the students.

Not only did the General Court encourage education and learning by the establishment of schools, but every industry and enterprise having for its object the general welfare of the colony was fostered and aided by wise legislation. The year 1636 was an important epoch in the history of the little community at Marblehead. During that year a ship of one hundred and twenty tons burden, the third ship ever built in the colony, was constructed on the shore, probably on the harbor side of the plantation. This vessel was known as the *Desire*, and for more than two years was employed in the fishing business. A few years later she was sent to the West Indies on a commercial voyage, and returning brought a cargo of "salt, cotton, tobacco, and negroes." These are supposed to have been the first slaves brought into the colony.

On the 2d of the eleventh month (January), 1636, the town of Salem ordered, "for the better furthering of the fishing trading, and to avoid the inconvenience found by granting land for fishermen to plant, that none inhabiting at Marblehead shall have any other accommodation of land than is usually given by the town to fishermen, viz.: a howse lott and garden lott or grownd for the placing of their flakes according to the company belonging to their families; to the greatest family not above two acres, & the comon of the woods nere adjoining for their goats & their cattle." The same day Mr. Wm. Knight was received for an inhabitant, but no land was to be appropriated "unto him but a ten acre lott & comon for his cattle & hay." On the 27th of this month another meeting was held, at which it was ordered: "That all the land along the shore of Darby Fort<sup>1</sup> side, up to (Mr. Humphries land) the Hogsties and so to run along the shore towards Marblehead 20 pole into the land, shall be reserved for the comons of the towne to serve them for wood & timber."

The next year, 1637, Erasmus James, Nicholas Listen, Richard Granaway, and Philip Bere were allowed as inhabitants "with them at Marblehead, and were granted two acres of land each." John Hart and William Charles were granted five acres each, and a house lot of half an acre between them. "John Deverekxe," was also granted half an acre for a house lot.

At a town meeting held on the 21st of August, 1637, then the sixth month in the year, John Gatchell of Marblehead was fined ten shillings for building upon the town's land without permission. In case, however, that he should "cut of ye long har off hys head into a sevil frame," it was agreed that half his fine should be abated, and that he should have permission to go on with his building in the mean time.

The prejudice of the Puritans against the habit of wearing

<sup>1</sup> "Darby Fort" was a fortification at Naugus Head, built by the people of Salem as a place of refuge in case of attack by the Indians.

long hair is well known, and it seems that they were willing to enter into any compromise with Mr. Gatchell in order to remove the obnoxious habit. It appears, however, that he was not a man to submit to any such interference with his personal appearance, and, it is said, "continued the custom to his dying day, in spite of popular opinion and all the formal denunciation of Church and State."

On the first day of January, 1637, a meeting was held at Salem, and a vote of one hundred and twenty pounds was ordered, of which eight pounds were to be assessed upon the following inhabitants of Marblehead: —

140 Moses Mavericke,	20 Samuel Gatchell,
150 Wm. Steephens,	15 John Bennet,
40 Archibald Tomson,	15 John Wakefield,
20 Wm. Charles,	10 Erasmus James,
20 John Heart,	30 Thomas Gray,
50 John Peach,	50 John Devereux,
10 John Lyon,	30 Nicholas Mariott,
20 Anthonie Thatcher,	10 Abraham Whitehaire,
30 John Coite,	5 George Vickary,
20 Richard Seers,	5 John Russell,
10 Richard Greeneway,	5 Nicholas Listen,
20 John Gatchell,	5 Philip Beare.

Under date of September 6, 1638, the records of the colony have the following entry: "Moses Maverick is permitted to sell a tun of wine at Marblehead, and not to exceed this year."

As the number of inhabitants increased the records of grants made at the town meetings became more numerous. On the 14th of October, 1638, the following grants of land were made to inhabitants of Marblehead: —

"To Mr. Walton, eight acres on the Main; to Moses Maverick, at the same place ten acres; to John Coite on the Necke three acres; to Will. Keene and Nich. Listen on John Peach's Necke, three acres; More to them on the Greate Necke, five acres; to Richard Seers three acres

where he had planted formerly; to John Wakefield, four acres on the Necke; to John Gatchell and Samuel Gatchell, six acres on the Necke; to Tho. Sams three acres on the Necke; to John Lyon four acres near his house; to the Widow Blancher, six acres on the Necke; to Ralph Warrin two acres on the Necke; to George Ching three acres on the Necke; to Philip Beare three acres near the Widow Tomsons; to John Bennet four acres upon John Peaches Necke; to Rosamond James four acres on the Main.”<sup>1</sup>

The “Mr. Walton” to whom the first grant was made was Mr. William Walton, who was then preaching at Marblehead, though without ordination. This is the first mention of his name in the records, and it is therefore probable that he began his ministrations in Marblehead during the year 1638. Through his endeavors, seconded by Maverick and other influential inhabitants, a meeting-house was erected, and religious services were regularly held on the Sabbath. This edifice, which was a crude, barn-like structure, stood upon one of the most rocky hills of the town; and about it, after the manner of their forefathers, the simple fishermen made their burial-ground.

On the 23d of December Arthur Sanden and William Barber were granted two acres of land each, and Messrs. Maverick and Walton were appointed to lay out the lots.

In May, 1640, Arthur Sanden was allowed by the court to keep an Ordinary at Marblehead, and the following year was licensed to keep a victualing-house. This was probably the first public house established in the town.

Marblehead at this time has often been described as a place barren of trees and abounding in nothing but rocks and unproductive land. The records of the general town meetings and of the commoners prove conclusively that this is a mistake. The fact of its settlement is also of itself evi-

<sup>1</sup> The Main was the part of the town near the harbor; John Peach's Neck was from “Naugus Head” to what is now called “Peach's Point,” and from “Naugus Head” to the “Lead Mills,” was known as the “Forest Side.”



dence of the fallacy of this theory, for emigrants in those days could not have settled on a coast where there were no trees from which they could build their houses. At a town meeting held in Salem on the 11th of November, 1640, it was ordered that all who should cut timber trees within two miles of Salem, and one mile of Marblehead, and prepare them for shipping, should be paid for their labor. The last record of grants in the records of Salem concerning land in Marblehead is in 1640, when the inhabitants were granted "all such lands near adjoining them as have not been formerly granted to other men."

The state of affairs in Marblehead seems to have occupied much of the attention of the General Court at its session in May, 1644. The people were negligent of many of the laws of the colony, and treated others with contempt; and as laws which were readily obeyed by the Puritans in other towns could not be enforced among them special legislation was found necessary for their government. According to the Puritan law no one could become a freeman without first becoming a church member; and none but freemen could vote at elections or hold any office whatever in the colony. The inhabitants of Marblehead were far from being a religious people, and, though they supported a religious teacher, and "maintained the ordinances" on Sunday, no church had been formed, and there were few church members among them. As a consequence there were no magistrates or officers in their community, and, being some distance from the settlement at Salem, they knew no law save that of their own will.

This fact, and the necessity that there should be some officer in the place to enforce the laws of the colony, led the court to relax somewhat its accustomed strictness in such matters, and to order: "That in defect of freemen at Marblehead, the inhabitants of Salem shall have libertie to commend some honest and able man, though he be not a freeman, and the Deputy Governor shall have power (if he

think him fit) to give him the oath for constable of that place till this Court shall take further order." Accordingly, on the 25th of the same month the inhabitants of Salem elected David Curwithin, who was duly sworn as constable of Marblehead for one year from the date of his election.

On the same day that the order for the election of a constable was adopted the court also voted to grant leave to Marblehead to "fortify itself by a breast-worke or otherwise," and directed "two gums to be delivered unto them with convenient amunition thereto." It is uncertain whether this order was executed by the refractory Marbleheaders, but that they were not considered as sufficiently well instructed in the arts of war, in accordance with the laws of the colony, is evident, from the following order adopted on the 23d of May: "In consideration of the great default and neglect of the inhabitants of Marblehead in not exercising themselves in Martiall discipline, — It is ordered that the inhabitants of Marblehead shall make choyce of some one who shall exercise the rest, that they may not be to seeke when special occations call for their assistance."

## CHAPTER III.

THE year 1648 was one of the most momentous in the entire history of Marblehead. Early in March the town of Salem ordered: "That Marblehead with the allowance of the General Court shall be a town, and the bounds to be to the utmost extent of the land which was Mr. Humplries farme and soe all the land to the sea." On the 2d of May, 1649, the General Court granted the petition of the inhabitants, and the town was duly incorporated as follows: "Upon the petition of the Inhabitants of Marblehead for them to be a town of themselves, Salem having granted them to be a town of themselves, and appointed them the bounds of their town which the Court doth grant."

Shortly after the separation from Salem, a meeting of the inhabitants was held, and the following town officers were chosen, or, as the record quaintly expresses it, "these men were chosen for the towns business: —

"Seven men or selectmen. — Moses Maverick, Samuel Doliber, Francis Johnson, Nicholas Merritt, John Peach, Senior, John Deverox, John Bartoll."

"To gather Mr. Walton's Pay. — James Smith, Joseph Doliber."

This was probably the first meeting of the inhabitants after the action of the town of Salem, though there is no record of the date on which it was held except that of the year.

The earliest date in the records is that of a meeting held December 22, 1648, when it was "agreed by the Towne that all such as are strangers fishing or employed about fish, shall pay unto the Towne for their wood and flake stufe and

other conveniences, the sum of ten shillings a year for every man." By the records of this year, it appears that the inhabitants acted as an independent town before obtaining the act of incorporation, and that in anticipation of the event they were busy in settling and arranging their affairs, as befitted an orderly and law-abiding township. The swamp running from John Leggs' to Timothy Allen's was laid out into eight lots, and divided among the inhabitants. A rate was made for the meeting-house, and John Hart was authorized to collect it, and to "take what corse the law will afford against any such inhabitant as shall refuse to pay."

In order that there might be an equal way of "maintaining the ordinance by Mr. Walton," it was agreed "that a rate should be established according to requite." This rate was to include strangers "who have benefit by the plantation by fishing, and make use of wood and timber, and enjoy the benefit of the ordinance." Mr. Walton was to have forty pounds for his services this year, and the sum of eighteen pence was ordered to be added to every man's rate, for his wood.

The common lands were divided equally among the inhabitants, according to their former common shares, the record of the meeting concluding as follows:—

"That there might be an equal proceedinge had having respect to families according to their former common shares, finding the comons but littell as we conceive to paster not more than fifty head of cattell, or cows, accounting a horse or mare as two cows, two yearling cattell for one cowe, four goats or sheep to a cowe, a steer or bullock of two years ould as a cowe, the number of families in the plantation being 44, thus limited:—

James Smith and Rowland,	1	Henry Stacey,	$\frac{1}{2}$ cow,
cove,		Will. Chichesster and Sam. Carr-	
Samuel Doliber,	1 cove,	withen,	1 cow,
John Gatchell,	$1\frac{1}{2}$ cove,	David Carrwithen,	1 cow,

Edmund Nicholson, 1½ cows,	Tho. Gray, 1 cow.
William Barber, 1 cow,	Richard Norman, 1 cow,
David Thomas, ½ cow,	John Peach, junior, 1 cow,
John Legg, 1 cow,	Richard Curtice, 1 cow,
Peter Pittford, ½ cow,	John Hart, 2 cows,
Erasmus James, 1 cow,	William Charles, 2 cows,
Tho. Bowinge, ½ cow,	John Deverox, 2 cows,
John Stacie, 1 cow,	Abra. Whiteare, 1 cow,
George Chine, 1 cow,	John Peach, senior, 2 cows,
John Northey, 1 cow,	John Bartoll, 1 cow,
Nicolas Merrett, 2 cows,	Joseph Dolliber, 1 cow,
Tho. Pitman, 2 cows,	Robt. Knight, ½ cow,
Timothy Allen, 1 cow,	John Bennet, 1 cow,
Thomas Lane, 1 cow,	Francis Johnson Walsingham, ½
Arthur Sanden, 1½ cows,	cow,
Isaac Allerton, 2 cows,	John Norman, 1 cow,
Moses Maverick, 3 cows,	Chi Salmon for Jon. Goyt, 1
Mr. Walton, 2 cows,	cow."
John Lion, 2 cows.	

The earlier records of the town refer principally to the common lands, cow leases, land sales, etc., though occasionally there are very quaint entries to be found. In March, 1657, "It is ordered that all swine about the towne shall be sufficiently ringed by the first of Aprill next upon the penaltie of 2s. 6d. for every defect & Edward Pittsford is to see this order to be obsarved."

In 1658 the town had evidently increased in numbers, and had been blessed with prosperity to a greater degree than had ever been its fortune before. Mr. Walton's salary was increased to £70, and varied afterward from £60 to £80 yearly. This money was usually collected by persons chosen annually at the town meetings for the purpose, and those who had not the ready money to pay were allowed to make up the amount of their proportion of the rate in provisions. Mr. Walton rendered an account yearly of the amount received from each person, and these reports abound in such names as "Ould Harwood, Ould Sanden, Ould Ben-

nett," and others equally as curious. Occasionally in these reports we find such items as these: "By half a cow of Mr. Brown, £2. 2s. 6d., by  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton of mackrell, £5; by Richard Rowland in pork, £2; by Smith in cheese, 13 shillings; by Christo. Codner in liquor, 15 shillings."

At this time the only public conveyance to and from Salem was a ferry-boat which was rowed across Salem Harbor as often as there were passengers who desired to cross, the fare being regulated by a town meeting as "two pence for the inhabitants of Marblehead." Thomas Dixie was the ferryman, and he was required to keep a boat and an assistant.

The following year it was "voted to have the meeting house sealed," and Mr. Maverick, Mr. Lattimore, and Richard Norman were chosen a committee to see it done. The work was done by John Norman for nineteen pounds, and William Nick, John Legg, Thomas Pittman, Richard Rowland, and John Clemment agreed to "see that the seals were paid for."

The events which were daily transpiring in England during the year 1660 were of the utmost interest to the inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts, and of the little town of Marblehead in particular.<sup>1</sup> The Commonwealth established by Cromwell and his zealous adherents had been overthrown, and Charles the Second had been restored to the throne made vacant by the murder of his royal father. One of the first acts of the new king was to bring to trial and speedy punishment those who were most actively concerned in the overthrow and subsequent murder of his father. Among the regicides tried for this offense was one Hugh Peters, an eminent preacher and a man of great influence among the Puritans. Mr. Peters had been one of the most active of the Puritans who settled Massachusetts, and had resided in New England for fourteen years, holding many offices, and being generally esteemed for his zealous efforts in behalf of the colonists. In 1639 the court granted him

<sup>1</sup> There were at this time only sixteen houses in the entire township.

five hundred acres of land, a part of which is said to have been in Marblehead, now comprised in the section known as Devereux. Shortly after the great Puritan uprising in England he went to that country, and became an active participant in the stirring events of those times. He became the chaplain of Cromwell's army, with the rank of colonel, and in his sermons and public addresses advocated the most extreme measures for the overthrow of the king.<sup>1</sup> In 1648 he advocated the dethroning and beheading of the king, and in 1660, after the restoration of Charles II., he was tried for high treason, and sentenced to be drawn upon a hurdle. He was executed at Charing Cross, October 16, 1660.

During this year the inhabitants voted to lay out a highway between Marblehead and Salem, which is the first of which there is any record. Seven men were made choice of "for the placing and seating of the inhabitants of the towne both men and women in the meeting house;" and it was agreed that the townsmen have liberty "to consider what way is to be taken for the accommodation and entertainment of strangers, if it cannot be that one house is sufficient, then to consider of another, that strangers may be the better accommodated."

The following year the court invested three commissioners with "magistritticall power, refering to Salem and Marblehead, there being more than ordinary need thereof, that iniquity may not pass unpunished."

One of these commissioners was Major Wm. Hathorne, who for several years previous had been magistrate of Salem and several other towns, and who now appears to have assumed special charge of Marblehead. Before this august personage the selectmen summoned several of the

<sup>1</sup> A favorite text from which he frequently preached was as follows: "Let the high praises of God be in the mouths of his saints, and a twofold sword in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen and punishment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgments written: 'This honor have all his saints.'"

most prominent citizens, for refusing to keep their cattle in accordance with a vote of the town.

In March, 1662, a contract was made with Robert Knight and John Slater, carpenters, to build a gallery at the southwest of the meeting house, "sufficient for four seats, with columns, and a board at the bottom to keep the dust from coming down; and to be arched sufficient to strengthen the house, with stairs and other necessaries." For this labor the selectmen agreed to pay them twenty-one pounds "in such necessaries as they should have occasion of," and if, when the work was ended, they had any of their pay to take up, the balance was to be paid in fish or mackerel at the current price.

At a town meeting held October 21 the commoners agreed "that the Cove lying between John Codners and John Northies stage, shall be for a common landing-place for the use of the public good of the Towne forever." The agreement was signed by Moses Maverick, Joseph Dolliber, John Peach, senior, Christoph Lattimore, John Waldron, John Codner, John Bartoll, and five others, who were probably all of the commoners who could write, and signed in the name of the rest.

The records of this period abound in allusions to those who were appointed to keep the cows. In February, 1663, an agreement was made with John Stacie to "keep the cattell for the year ensuing, and to fetch the cattell of the lower end of the Towne at William Charles by the sunn half an hour hie and to deliver them their at night half an hour before sunn sett." If any were lost he was to use his best endeavors to find them the next day, and for his services he was to receive corn and provisions to the value of sixteen pounds.

The scarcity of money among the inhabitants cannot be more truly illustrated than in this and numerous other votes to pay the town's indebtedness to individuals in provisions, fish, and other articles. In their intercourse with the outside world they were obliged to barter to an almost unlimited



extent. Depending entirely upon the fishing trade for their sustenance they had little else to offer for commodities of which they were in need, and thus fish became almost their only medium of exchange.

In 1666 the court, considering the exposed condition of the harbor of Marblehead, voted that if the inhabitants would erect a suitable fort or breastwork, their country rate should be abated, and that two or three guns should be furnished as soon as the fortification was finished. That the fishermen might be drilled and disciplined in military movements and tactics the court ordered that a company should be organized, and Major Hathorne was appointed commander, with Samuel Ward as Sergeant. The fort was finished the following year, the cost to the town being about thirty-two pounds New England money.

The year 1667 proved disastrous to the people of Marblehead. Owing to the inclemency of the weather during most of the season when fish were plenty they were unable to venture out in their boats to any distance, and in several instances those who did so were lost. The court, therefore, with considerate sympathy, voted to abate their proportion of the country tax for one year.

In October, 1668, William Walton, the faithful and zealous missionary, died, after having served his Master and the poor people of Marblehead for a period of thirty years. Coming to them as a missionary to preach the gospel he became, without ordination as a clergyman, a loving pastor, a faithful friend, and a wise and prudent counselor. His advice was sought on all matters of public or private importance, and when obtained was usually followed without question. That his loss was felt as a public bereavement by the entire community there can be little doubt.

Mr. Walton was succeeded in his noble work by Mr. Samuel Cheever, a young man, who but a few years before had graduated at Harvard College with the highest honors. The meeting-house had recently been repaired, and the

young preacher was received with marked attention and every possible evidence of respect. The town voted to pay him the sum of forty pounds for his service during the first six months, and after that eighty pounds yearly.

In March, 1669, another gallery was built at the north-eastern end of the meeting-house, Robert Knight, Francis Collings, and Jeremiah Neal being the builders. The contract was that the gallery should be built with "five seats, stairs and other necessaries as the other gallerey was," and the carpenters were to receive for their services the sum of twenty-three pounds New England money. At the same meeting Francis Linsford was chosen to ring the bell and warn the town, and to look after the meeting-house.

The road leading to the Neck was evidently laid out during this year, as on the 18th of December it was voted that on "the next convenient day as many of the Commoners and proprietors as can shall see that a convenient way be laid out for drift of cattle to the Necke on the other side of the great harbor."

To the early settlers, and for many years, the harbor was known as the "Great Bay," or "Great Harbor," while the cove at the lower end of the town, known as "Little Harbor," was on account of its convenience, and because it was so much nearer the settlement, used almost exclusively as *the* harbor.

On the 6th of April, 1672, the town "ordered by general consent, that a 'Lentoo' be built adjoining to the back side of the meeting house twenty foot in breadth and forty foot in length, with three gable ends in the same, with timber work," etc. The building of this addition to their house of worship appears to have been the cause of great controversy and disagreement among the inhabitants. The town voted to instruct the selectmen to "seat the men and women in the Lentoo," but after vainly endeavoring to assign seats to the satisfaction of the fault-finding and jealous worshippers, they declined to have anything more to do with the

matter; and were with difficulty persuaded not to resign their offices as selectmen. The disagreement now assuming the phase of a downright quarrel, a town meeting was called and the matter was put into the hands of a committee consisting of Mr. Maverick, Mr. John Devereux, John Peach, Senior, and Nicholas Merritt. These men were fully empowered "to seat the Lentoo men and women in ye seats, cut an alley way through ye ould part, dispose of any persons who shall want seats, or lose their seats by means of ye alley, in ye most convenient places in ye ould or new part, and rectify any disorders with due care that such as have been formerly seated may keep their places as many as conveniently can." It was also ordered, for "ye regulating and preventing of disorders in seats," that Richard Norman should have power to "look after all persons, men and women, that they keep these seats upon penaltie of two shillings five pence for every single offense upon every Sabbath day." These fines were to be "destrained upon legal warning given to the parties offending," and one third of the amount was to be given to Mr. Norman, and the remainder to be appropriated for the poor of the town.

However sadly the inhabitants may have disagreed in regard to the seating of the "lentoo," as they termed the addition, it is evident that the day on which the former was raised was one of general rejoicing. Those who are familiar with New England customs in the olden time know that it was thought next to impossible to have a "house raising" without extending an invitation to the entire community to assist. These occasions were generally observed as holidays, and were devoted by the younger people to merry-making and the most joyous festivities. The wine and other liquors flowed freely, and, while many partook of the beverages temperately, an opportunity was given to the weak and thoughtless to indulge in a reckless round of dissipation and drunkenness. The raising of the Leanto was no exception to the general custom. In the report of the expenses incident to

the occasion we find the following item : "Paid for rum and charges about fish with wine at raising the 'Lentoo' at the Meeting House . . . . £4 2s. 6d."

The custom of using intoxicating liquors as a beverage, which prevailed throughout New England until a comparatively recent date, was one of the besetting sins of the people of Marblehead from its earliest settlement. Not a vessel went from its harbor, whether for a long trip to the "Banks" or for a few days' fishing in the bay, without a plentiful supply of liquor. Not a vessel arrived with a fare of fish without providing a good store of "something to take" for washing-out day. This custom was so universal that even at the town meetings liquor was provided as a matter of course. As a consequence many were disorderly, and the meetings were frequently disturbed.

In 1674 the town had increased to such an extent that there were then one hundred and fourteen householders, whose names, with their commonage, are recorded in the records.<sup>1</sup> At a town meeting held during this year it was

<sup>1</sup> The names are as follows: John Deverix, James Smith, Richard Rowland, John Waldern, John Gatchell, William Woods, Thomas Rose, David Thomas, John Legg, William Nick, Erasmus James, Thomas Bourne, John Stacey, Senior, John Codnar, John Northey, Nicholas Marriatt, Thomas Pitman, Elias Henly, Roger & Lott Conant, Mr. Christopher Latimore, Francis Johnson, Mr. Samuel Cheever, Moses Maverick, Mr. Walton, Henry Stacey, Wm. Chichester, Sam. Carwithey, Thomas Smith, Rich'd Norman, David Cartwithey, John Peach, Jr., Widow Bartoll, Joseph Dollaber, Robert Knight, Widow Bennett, Mark Pitman, Samuel Ward, Ambrose Gale, Richard Knott, Samuel Cundy, Matthew Clarke, Thos. Cowley, Wm. Waters, John Roads, Henry Trevett, William Beal, S. Griggs, Thomas Dixie, Benj. Parmeter, Edw'd Read, Saml. Morgan, Wm. Browne, Capt. Corwinge, Thaddeus Redden, Wm. Bartholemew, Wm. Pitt, John Legg, Jr., Rich'd Read, Thos. Read, John Brimblecome, Rich'd Hemeford, Henry Russell, Thos. Sanden, Dinson Stilson, Thomas Trevy, Rich'd Reith, Saml. Reed, Thomas Tainors, Edw'd Homan, Thos. Ellis, Edw'd Damon, Nicholas Fox, Thos. Ponsland, Thos. White, Thos. Dodd, Robert Hopper, John Hopper, John Pedricke, Sr., John Pedricke, Jr., Elias Fortune, John Martin, Francis Godler, John Tribby, George Picke, Roger Russell, Andrew Tucker, Robt. Bartlett, Saml. Sarding, Rich'd Crocker, George Bradfield, Wm. Pow, John Harris, George Godfry, Samuel Gatchell, Jeremiah Gatchell, John Hoyle, Alexander Gilligan, John

voted that "all these fifteen or sixteen houses built in Marblehead before ye year 1660, shall be allowed one cows common and a halfe."

In 1675 the war between the Massachusetts colonists and the Indians, known as King Philip's War, broke out. The fort was accordingly put in order and the three great guns which had been granted by the General Court were placed in a proper position for defense. The daring atrocities committed by the Indians during this terrible war were such as to send terror to the stoutest heart. The war began by an attack made by the Indians on the town of Swanzey, where, after slaughtering the cattle and plundering the houses, they fired on the inhabitants, killing and wounding several. The troops of the colony marched immediately to Swanzey, and upon their appearance the Indians fled, marking the course of their flight by burning the buildings, and fixing on poles by the way-side the hands, scalps, and heads of the whites.

"Most of the settlements were surrounded by thick forests, and as the Indians lived intermixed with the whites, the former were acquainted, of course, with the dwellings of the latter, and all the avenues to them; could watch their motions, and fall upon them in their defenseless and unguarded moments. Many were shot dead as they opened their doors in the morning; many while at work in their fields, and others while traveling to visit their neighbors, or to places of worship; their lives were in continual jeopardy; and no one could tell but that in the next moment he should receive his death shot from his barn, the thicket, or the way-side. Defenseless villages were suddenly attacked, the houses burned, and the men, women, and children killed or carried into captivity."<sup>1</sup>

Williams, Saml. Nicholson, John Bartlett, William Poat, George Darling, Josiah Codnar, John Roads, Jr., James Watts, Wm. Lightfoot, Philip Harding, Widow Boatson, Robt. Johnson, Saml. Walton, Josiah Gatchell, Wm. Brown, John Marriatt, Widow Stacie.

<sup>1</sup> Hinton's *United States*.

This terrible and bloody war lasted three years and ended only at the death of King Philip. The whites had so diminished before its close that they began seriously to apprehend total extinction. During the year 1677, while the war was at its height, two Indians were brought as captives to Marblehead. Their fate is thus portrayed by Mr. Increase Mather in a letter dated 23 of Fifth Month, 1677. "Sabbath night was sennight, the women at Marblehead, as they came out of the Meeting-house, fell upon two Indians that were brought in as captives, and in a tumultuous way, very barbarously murdered them. Doubtless if the Indians hear of it the captives among them will be served accordingly."

The first school in town, of which there is any record, was opened in 1675, Mr. Edward Humphries being the teacher and receiving the sum of forty pounds yearly for his services. The same year a watch house was built upon "the hill behind Thomas Dodds house."

In 1676 Ensign Norman and John Brimblecome were chosen "to look after the youth and boys on the Lords day that they behave themselves well and orderly."

In April, 1678, it was ordered "that there shall be a Training day warned the next Monday come seven night, that all persons Meeting at ye beat of ye drum at ye stocks, May forth with goe up and repair the outside fence for the keeping out of strange Cattle for this year."

In March, 1679, it was agreed at a town meeting "that Robert Knight shall be clearly requited and discharged from paying his Town Rates during his life for his workmanship done in the Meeting house in building the galleray." It was also voted at the same meeting "that Robert Knight hath libertie for to flow the ferry swamps as to the benefit of his Mill, and it is to Contenne during the townes pleasure." These votes illustrate the impulsive and generous dispositions of the people of Marblehead, traits which have characterized their descendants to a marked degree ever since.

But a few years before the passage of these votes Mr. Knight in building the Leanto had found it necessary to cut away a post under the gallery. For this he was severely censured, and ordered to replace it, under a heavy penalty. Naturally resenting the indignity he delayed his work somewhat, and the town voted that if it were not completed before a certain date "to sue him, and to prosecute him from court to court until the case was ended." Like many others who have since suffered from the temporary unpopularity which their actions have occasioned, Mr. Knight lived to see the excitement of his fellow citizens abate, and had the pleasure of witnessing the popular reaction in his favor, of which the votes were an evidence.

Sailors and fishermen are proverbial for their sympathy and disinterested benevolence in behalf of the distressed. The people of Marblehead have ever been a shining example of this class of men, and their generosity and good-heartedness is shown on nearly every page of their history. A vote passed by the commoners in 1682 gives an evidence of their kindness which should serve as an example worthy of emulation by their posterity. Richard Reed, a man advanced in years, having forfeited his lease of land for a fish fence, by being several years in arrears for rent, the town "voted, in consideration of his age and losses, that he might pay two pounds, and the rest should be abated; and that he should enjoy the privilege of using the land for a fish fence for the rest of his natural life."

The year 1684 was made memorable by the public ordination of Mr. Cheever, and the organization of a church in Marblehead. Mr. Cheever had been preaching for sixteen years, and the number of communicants had now increased to fifty-four, who were in the habit of going to Salem to have the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper administered. This having been found inconvenient, a vote was passed by the congregation, after the afternoon service on the 6th of July, to request Mr. Cheever to be ordained,

and to take measures for the organization of a church. On the 16th of July a solemn fast was observed for the blessing of God on the undertaking, the exercises being conducted by the Rev. Mr. Hale of Beverly. The ordination took place on the 13th of August, in the presence of "the Deputy Governor, five of the Assistants, twenty Elders," and a large concourse of people.

For some time previous to the period of which we are writing, certain Indians, heirs of the Squaw Sachem of Saugus, had presented claims of ownership of the lands comprised in the township of Marblehead, and after several years of controversy it was decided to hold a town meeting and take appropriate action in regard to the matter. Accordingly on the 14th of July, a meeting was held, and Moses Maverick, John Devereux, Captain Samuel Ward, Thadeons Riddan, William Beal, Thomas Pitman, Richard Read, and Nathaniel Waltown, with the Selectmen, were chosen a committee to investigate the matter and search after the pretended claims. Messrs. John Devereux and Samuel Ward, as a sub-committee, were authorized to purchase the land and take a deed of it in the name of the town in case the claim should be found valid. The committee reported that the claim was valid, and that they had purchased the land. The town therefore appointed a committee, one of whom was Rev. Samuel Cheever, to "proportion each Mans part according to his privilege in the township." The committee, after attending to the duty assigned them, reported that after "proportioning the amount by Cow leases, they found it to amount to nine pence per Cow in Money."

Passing over the events of the intervening years between 1684 and 1692, of which there is no record of any importance, we come to the period when the great witchcraft delusion spread with such terrible and deadly effect among the people of Essex County. The people of Marblehead, credulous and superstitious, as were the inhabitants of nearly



all maritime towns, listened with awe to the tales of distress which were brought from time to time from their neighbors in Salem; and, clustered about their firesides, or in the shops along the shore, whispered of ghosts and goblins, and told blood-curdling tales of the sea.

At this time there lived in Marblehead an old woman, the wife of a fisherman, of whose supernatural powers many weird and dreadful stories had been told. "Mammy Red" was considered a witch, and had been known to afflict those whom she disliked in various ways. To some she sent sickness and distress by wishing that a "bloody cleaver" might be found on the cradles of their infant children; and it was said that whenever the wish was uttered the "cleaver" was distinctly seen, and the children sickened and died. At other times, it was said, she caused the milk to curdle in the milkpail as soon as it had left the cow; and numerous instances were cited to prove that she had often caused the butter churned by her enemies to turn to "blue wool."

In spite of the grievous manner in which they believed themselves afflicted, the kind-hearted people of Marblehead had made no complaint to the authorities of the matter, and it was reserved for several deluded young women of Salem, who had already caused much suffering in that community by their ready accusations, to cause her arrest and imprisonment. Early in the month of May, 1692, a warrant was issued by John Hathorne and Jonathan Curwin, two of the Assistants, for the arrest of Wilmot Redd, wife of Samuel Redd, of Marblehead, who was charged with "having committed sundry acts of witch craft on the bodies of Mary Walcott and Marcy Lewis, and others of Salem Village, to their great hurt," etc. The examination took place on the 31st of May at the house of Lieutenant Nathaniel Ingersoll of Salem. After listening patiently to the evidence, the grand jury brought in two indictments against the woman. In one she was charged with "certain detestable arts called witchcraft and sorceries, wickedly, maliciously, and feloni-

ously used, practiced, and exercised at and in the town of Salem . . . . in, upon, and against one Eliza Booth of Salem, single woman, by which said wicked acts ye said Eliza Booth was tortured, afflicted, consumed, pined, wasted, and tormented." The other indictment charged her with practicing her "detestable arts" upon one Eliza Hubbard of Salem.

The following is the report of the examination as found in the manuscript records of the trials for witchcraft: —

"The examination of Willmot Redd, wife of Samuel Redd, of Marblehead, fisherman, 31st May, 1692.

"When this examinant was brought in Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcot, and Abigail Williams fell into fits.

"Mercy Lewis said this woman hath pinched me a great Many times.

"Mary Walcot said this woman brought the book to her.

"Ann Putnam Jun<sup>r</sup>, saith she never hurt her, but she hath seen her once upon Mercy Lewis and once upon Mary Walcot the last fast day.

"Eliza Hubbard said this examinant had brought the book to her and told her she would knock her in the head if she would not write.

"Ann Putnam said she brought the book to her just now.

"Eliz Booth fell into a fit and Mary Walcot and Ann Putnam said it was this woman afflicted her.

"Susan Sheldon was ordered to go to the examinant, but was knoet down before she came to her, and being so carryed to said Redd in a fit was made well after said Redd had graspt her arm.

"This examinant was bid by the magistrates to look upon Eliz. Hubbard and upon the examinants casting her eye upon said Hubbard, she, the said Hubbard was knoet down.

"Abigail Williams and John Indian being carried to the examinant in a greivous fit were made well by her grasping their arms.

"This examinant being often urged what she thought

these persons ailed, would say: 'I can not tell.' Then being askt if she did not think they were bewitched, she answered: 'I can not tell.' And being urged for her opinion in the case, all she would say was: "*My opinion is that they are in a sad condition.*"

The case was evidently laid over for trial until the 14th of September following, when a grand inquest was held. The following residents of Marblehead were summoned as witnesses, namely: the wife and daughter of Thomas Dodd, the wife and daughter of Thomas Ellis, John Calley, David Shapley, wife and daughter, John Chinn, Martha Beals, Elias Henley, Jr., and wife, Benjamin Gale, John Bubbee (Bubier), Charity Pitman and Jacob Wormwood; all of whom appeared except John Calley and Elias Henley, Jr., who were at sea, and Benjamin Gale, who was not well.

The testimony of the persons belonging in Salem was substantially the same as that given by them at the examination in May, except that every look and gesture of the poor woman on that occasion was now brought up as evidence against her, and each of the witnesses concluded by saying: "I believe in my heart that Willmot Redd is a witch."

"The testimony of Charity Pitman of Marblehead:—

"This deponent aged twenty-nine years affirms: That about five years ago, Mrs. Syms of ye towne, having lost some linnen which she suspected Martha Lawrence the girl who then lived with Willmot Redd had taken up, desired the deponent to goe with her to Willmot Redds and demanding the same, having many words about the same, Mrs. Syms told her that if she would not deliver them she would go to Salem to Major Hathorne and gitt special warrant for her servant girl. Upon which the said Redd told her in my hearing that she hoped she might never . . . if she did not goe. And some short time after, the deponent observed that Mrs. Syms was taken with the distemper of the dry belly ake, and so continued many months during her stay

in the towne, and was not cured whilst she tarried in the country.

“Sarah Dodd affirmed upon her oath to ye grand inquest that she heard Mrs. Synys threaten to have Willmot Redd before a magistrate for some of sd Redds mesdemeanors and sd Redd wisht Mrs. Synys might never any ways ease Nature before she did it. And soon after to this deponents knowledge, it fell out with Mrs. Synys according to said Redds wish.

“Mr. Ambrose Gale affirmed that Mrs. Synys was about that time or soon after so afflicted as was then reported.”

The testimony of the other witnesses from Marblehead is not recorded. The poor woman was condemned, however, and sentenced to be hanged. She was executed at Gallows Hill, Salem, on the 22d of September.

Let us not, with the light and intelligence of this nineteenth century, judge our ancestors too harshly for their fanaticism and ignorance. The belief in witchcraft at that time was almost universal throughout Europe, and was shared alike by the learned and the ignorant, the magistrates and the clergy, the nabob and the peasant.

Let us remember and be thankful that the intelligence and reason of our ancestors finally conquered in the struggle, thereby crushing out the delusion, and giving a blow to superstition from which it never recovered.

## CHAPTER IV.

IN the preceding chapter an evidence has been given of the superstition of the people of Essex County at the time of the ever memorable witchcraft delusion, but it would be almost impossible to relate half the superstitious traditions firmly believed by the inhabitants of Marblehead then, and for more than a century after.

Stories of phantom ships seen at sea before the loss of a vessel ; of the appearance on the water of loved ones who had died at home ; footsteps and voices heard mysteriously in the still hours of the night coming as warnings from another world. Signs and omens which foretold the approaching death of some member of a family, or prophecies whispered by the wind that those away on the mighty deep would find a watery grave.

These, and other stories of pirates met on the seas and smugglers who secreted their treasures along the shore, formed the burden of conversation through the long winter evenings. Of the many traditions of this nature, told with simple faith and sincere belief by our ancestors, few have come down to their descendants, and of these the story of the Screeching Woman is perhaps the most distinctly remembered.

It was said that during the latter part of the seventeenth century a Spanish ship laden with rich merchandise was captured by pirates and brought into the harbor of Marblehead. The crew and every person on board the ill-fated ship had been murdered at the time of the capture, except a beautiful English lady, whom the ruffians brought on shore near what is now called Oakum Bay, and there bar-

barously murdered her. The few fishermen who inhabited the place were absent, and the women and children who remained could do nothing to prevent the crime. The screams of the victim were loud and dreadful, and her cries of "Lord save me! Mercy! Oh! Lord Jesus, save me!" were distinctly heard. The body was buried where the crime was perpetrated, and for over one hundred and fifty years on the anniversary of that dreadful tragedy the screams of the poor woman were repeated in a voice so shrill and supernatural as to send an indescribable thrill of horror through all who heard them.

There were other beliefs as firmly held, which, though equally as superstitions, were much more agreeable and romantic. The young women, on the nights when a new moon was to appear, would congregate at one of the houses in the neighborhood, and putting a huge pot of tallow over the fire would drop "hob-nails" into the boiling fat, firmly believing that the young man who should appear while the nails were dropping would be the future husband of the fair damsel who dropped them. At other times the young women would go to an upper window and, reaching half way out, throw a ball of yarn into the street, believing that the lucky youth who picked it up would surely come forward with an offer of marriage.

Until the ordination of Mr. Cheever nearly all the marriages in town had been solemnized by Mr. Maverick, who had been appointed one of the magistrates, and was for many years the only justice of the peace in the place. Mr. Maverick was a selectman, town clerk, tything man, and a member of every important committee chosen by the town. Owing a considerable portion of the township, and being largely interested in the fishing trade, he was a man of great influence in the community, and his advice, when given, was followed with implicit confidence by the simple fishermen with whom he lived.

The customs of the people at this time, and for many years after, were, some of them, of the most curious nature.

A marriage was the scene of the most joyous festivities, and the occasion of a season of merry-making for an entire week in duration. Everybody in the community who chose attended the wedding, and when, at a late hour in the night, the guests were ready to depart for their own homes, the bride and groom were put to bed by their maids and grooms-men, and the entire company marched around their bed, throwing old shoes and stockings, and various other missiles, at them, for good luck, and by way of a parting salute.

As the town increased in importance and prosperity, the custom, so prevalent throughout New England, of presenting the pall-bearers at funerals with gloves and gold finger-rings, became very fashionable among the wealthier families. These rings were often of a very curious and unique design, and there are several of them held as heirlooms by some of the older inhabitants to-day.

For some years previous to the year 1698 it appears that no school had been kept in Marblehead for any length of time exceeding a few brief months. In November of that year a school was opened by Mr. Josiah Cotton, who came to Marblehead at the urgent request of several of the influential inhabitants. Mr. Cotton was a young man, not quite nineteen years of age, who had but a short time before graduated from Harvard College. He was a grandson of the Rev. John Cotton, and a nephew of the celebrated Dr. Cotton Mather. The town agreed to pay him fifteen pounds a year for his services, and he received "six pence and a groate a week" from each of the scholars who attended the school. As the inhabitants generally sent their children to the school it soon increased to seventy-five scholars, and the income of the teacher was increased to about fifty pounds per annum in silver money.

During his stay in Marblehead Mr. Cotton lived for the greater part of the time in the family of the minister, Mr. Cheever, though for a short time he boarded in the families of Captain Edward Brattle and Captain John Browne.

While here he studied theology, and preached his first sermon November 23, 1701. In 1704 Mr. Cotton took his final leave of Marblehead, and some years after wrote an account of his life while here, from which we are permitted to extract the following:—

“When I came to this place I was raw and young, not 19 years old, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if I gave way too much to that extravagance, Intemperance, Negligence in Religion, and Disorderliness, that is too rife in that place. I desire to thank God that it was no more, and to be humbled that it was so much, and to be thankful that after so much vanity God brought me to myself and did not suffer me to be utterly ruined. In the latter end of 1703 I had thoughts of removing from Marblehead, supposing the place (being then under decay) not likely to afford me a settlement, and accordingly I left it about two months. In that time I went to Sandwich and Dartmouth, in the county of Bristol, to which I had been directed by the Boston ministers. I tarried and preached at Dartmouth but one Sabbath.

“After my coming from thence I had several letters from my brother Cushing, and Samuel Penhallow, Esq., inviting me to keep school at Portsmouth, on the Piscataqua River, towards which I steered my course; but calling at Marblehead, and they remaining still destitute of a school master, I agreed with them again (upon the advancement of my salary from the Town, under the former regulation for particular scholars, for they would not make it a free school) and tarried half a year longer in ye school, and desire to acknowledge it as a favor that my service therein as well as before was acceptable and successful.

“The people there being generally if not universally inclined to give their children common learning, tho’ scholars rise but thin amongst them. There was but one that went from thence whilst I kept school to the college, and that was the minister’s son Mr. Amos Cheever, now minis-



ter at Manchester. There was another designed, viz : John Browne son of Capt. Browne, but death put an end to the design. He died February 17, 1702-3. Some of the verses composed on that sorrowful occasion, are as follows : —

‘Death is a tribute which by nature, we  
 Are bound to pay unto Mortality,  
 A lovely plant cropt in his tender years,  
 Lyes here, a subject not of prayers, but tears,  
 A youth who promis’t much, but awful death  
 Hath snatcht him from us and hath stopt his breath,  
 And now he’s gone you’ll scarce his equal find,  
 On all accounts few equals left behind.’

“ I have heretofore thought of writing a particular character and description of Marblehead, or rather history of my observations there, but upon the attempt, finding I could not do it without too much satyr and reflection (perhaps to some to whom I was obliged), I laid it aside and shall only say that the whole township is not much bigger than a large farm, and very rocky, and so they are forc’t to get their living out of the sea, not having room to con-found the fisherman with the husbandman, and so spoil both as they do in some places. It has a very good Harbour which they improve to the best advantage for Fishing both Summer and Winter. . . . And finally it is one of the best country places to keep school in, provided a man be firmly fix’t in principles of Virtue and religion, which I heartily wish were more abundant among them in the life and power of it.

“ My greatest intimacy whilst at Marblehead, was with the family of Col. Legg, whose Lady was a gentlewoman of great gravity, integrity and prudence, and with the families of Capt. John Browne, and Capt Edward Brattle, who married Col. Leggs two daughters. By which means I had some uncomfortable jarrs with Col. N. and his Lady, who held no great correspondence with other families. And I would from my own experience advise all men and especially young men, upon their first setting out in life, to avoid all

meddling too far and to carry it with an equal hand towards all."

The town records of this period are very incomplete, and furnish little information concerning the customs or habits of life of the inhabitants.

In April, 1709, the commoners leased all that great head of land on the northwest side of Charles Island in Little Harbor to Edward Dimond, "shoreman," for the sum of thirteen shillings yearly. This person was probably the famous "old Dimond" of whom such fabulous stories were told and believed. It was said that he was a wizard, and possessed the "black art" which enabled him to foretell coming events, to avert disasters from his friends, and bring distress upon his enemies. When the night was dark and stormy, and the wind gave evidence of blowing a gale, "old Dimond" would wend his way to the "burying hill," and there among the graves and tombstones "beat about," and give orders for the management of his vessels at sea. In a voice loud and clear, distinctly heard above the roar of the tempest, these orders would be given, and no one dared question their power to save from shipwreck. The advice of "old Dimond" was sought by people far and near, who believed in his great powers, but woe betide the evil-doer who came into his presence. Once when a guilty fellow who had stolen wood from a poor widow came to him for advice, the wizard "charmed" him, and caused him to walk all night with a heavy log of wood on his back. At another time, when a sum of money had been stolen from an aged couple, "old Dimond" told where it could be found, and gave the name of the thief. Let not the reader think that these stories illustrating the superstition of our ancestors are exaggerated in the least. They are told by aged people, living in Marblehead to-day, who remember with what faith and earnestness they were told by their mothers and grandmothers.

Of the same class are the stories told of the man who

was chased one night by a corpse in a coffin, and shortly after sickened and died; of the poor fellow who was chased by his Satanic majesty himself, seated in a carriage and drawn by four white horses; and of the young fisherman who arrived home in the night, and meeting the young woman to whom he was betrothed, gave her a few of the fish he had caught, only to see her fade away and vanish from his sight. The next morning the heart-broken lover learned that the girl he loved had died during his absence, and became convinced that he had seen an apparition. What the ghost did with the fish has never been satisfactorily explained.

Of the events of the intervening years between 1709 and 1714 little can be ascertained.<sup>1</sup> A few years previous an Episcopal church had been gathered, and a parish organized, and during the year 1714 a church edifice was erected. The funds for the erection of the building were subscribed by thirty-three gentlemen who pledged themselves in various sums to the amount of £175. The list was headed by Col. Francis Nicholson, who subscribed £25, and the remainder was made up by various captains of vessels in sums varying from £2 to £12 each. The frame and all the materials used in the construction of the building were brought from England. The first rector was the Rev. William Shaw, who arrived and took charge of the parish on the 20th of July, 1715.

In 1714, the Rev. Mr. Cheever having become very old and infirm, his church voted to settle a younger minister with him as an assistant. Accordingly, a meeting was held, and two candidates were presented for the choice of the church, one of whom was Mr. John Barnard, of Boston, and the other Mr. Edward Holyoke. Mr. Barnard was chosen by a small majority and at a town meeting convened for the purpose the choice of the church was ratified by the town. This action on the part of the town was far from

<sup>1</sup> The Town Records between 1710 and 1721 have been lost or stolen.

satisfactory to the adherents of Mr. Holyoke, and occasioned a controversy which resulted in a division of the church, and the withdrawal of the disaffected members. The town voted to grant permission for the organization of another church, and the erection of a new meeting-house, and a charter was obtained from the General Court. The members of the first church sent an earnest and solemn protest to the Governor and the Legislature against the formation of a new church, declaring that as there was already one "Church and one Meeting-house in the place" the erection of a third place of worship would disturb the peace of the town. They also charged their brethren who desired to form the new church with the grave offense of going about the town and "defaming and vilifying the character of Mr. Barnard." On the 9th of November, 1715, Mr. Barnard entered upon his duties as the assistant pastor of the First Church, and on the 25th of the following April, 1716, the new meeting-house having been erected, the Second Congregational Church was organized, and Mr. Holyoke was ordained as pastor. The ordination of Mr. Barnard took place on the 18th of July of the same year.

The condition of the town at this time is described by Mr. Barnard in his autobiography as miserable in the extreme. He says: "When I first came [in 1714] there were two companies of poor, smoke-dried, rude, ill-clothed men, trained to no military discipline but that of 'Whipping the Snake,' as it was called. There was not so much as one proper carpenter, nor mason, nor tailor, nor butcher in the town, nor any market worth naming; but they had their houses built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and supplied themselves with beef and pork from Boston, which drained the town of its money. And what above all I would remark, there was not so much as one foreign trading vessel belonging to the town, nor for several years after I came into it; though no town had really greater advantages in their hands. The people con-

tented themselves to be the slaves that digged in the mines, and left the merchants of Boston, Salem, and Europe, to carry away the gains ; by which means the town was always dismally poor in circumstances, involved in debt to the merchants more than they were worth ; nor could I find twenty families in it that, upon the best examination, could stand upon their own legs, and they were generally as rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting a crew as they were poor."

Through the influence of Mr. Barnard the people were finally induced to send their own fish to market, Mr. Joseph Swett being the first man to engage in the enterprise. He fitted out a small schooner which he sent to Barbadoes with a cargo of fish, and, being successful, was in a few years enabled to build vessels and send his fish to European markets. In a short time others, encouraged by his success, engaged in the business, and the town enjoyed an era of prosperity such as it had never known before. Good workmen of every description now abounded in the place, and from their more frequent intercourse with the outside world, the air of isolation which had so long characterized the inhabitants began to wear off to a certain extent, and though their manners were somewhat rude, they became noted for their kindness and hospitality to strangers.

Elsewhere in this work mention has been made of the peculiar dialect of the people of Marblehead. So broad and quick was their pronunciation, and so strange were the idioms characterizing their speech, that a native of the town was known wherever he went. Nor was this peculiarity confined to any class or condition of men residing in the town. All shared it alike, of whatever rank or condition in life. The words were clipped off very shortly, and in some sections there was a slight difference in the dialect noticeable. The "Cunny Lane" people always dropped the "h" in speaking, and their vernacular was much like that of a cockney Englishman, in addition to that which betrayed them "to the manner born."

Hardly a family in the olden time escaped with a correct pronunciation of its name. The name of Crowninshield became "Grounzel;" Orne was transformed to "Horne;" Trefry was variously pronounced, "Davy," "Tewy," "Trevye," and "Trefroy;" Quiner became "Coonier;" Florence was clipped to "Flurry;" and Trasher was abbreviated to "Trash."

So accustomed were many of the inhabitants to the cognomen by which they were known, that in some instances they did not recognize their own names when called by them. An instance of this kind is related in the "Life and Letters of Judge Story," who was a native of the town. "Once while he was trying a case in the Circuit Court, in Boston, the clerk called out the name of one of the jury as Michael Treffery (it being so spelt). No answer was given. Again he was called, and still there was silence. 'It is very strange,' said the clerk, 'I saw that man here not two minutes ago.' 'Where does he come from?' asked the judge. 'Marblehead, may it please your Honor,' said the clerk. 'If that's the case,' said the judge, 'let me see the list.' The clerk handed it up to him. He looked at the name a minute, and handing back the list, said, 'Call Mike *Trevye*' (throwing the accent on the last syllable). 'Mike *Trevye*,' called the clerk. 'Here,' answered a gruff voice. 'Why did you not answer before?' said the clerk. 'Treffery is no way to pronounce my name,' said the jurymen, 'My name is Mike *Trevye*, as the Judge knows.'"

Another anecdote to the same purpose is related in the work: "On one occasion when some of our fishermen were in court to settle a mutiny which had taken place on the Grand Banks (of Newfoundland), one, on being called upon to state what he knew, said, that the skipper and one of his shipmates had what he called a 'jor of ile.' The presiding judge in vain endeavored to get a more intelligible answer, and finally Judge Story was called upon, as usual, to

act as interpreter to his townsman, which he did, telling the court, that a 'jor of ile,' in the Marblehead dialect, was 'a jaw awhile,' which, being interpreted, meant that the two men abused each other grossly for some time."

Though the dialect once so general among the people is now almost extinct, there are many words used occasionally to know the meaning of which would puzzle a stranger. Often, when any of the natives feel slightly cold or chilly they will say that they are "*crimmy*." If they lose their way in the dark and become confused or bewildered, they will say that they were "*pixilated*." In speaking of the ceiling of a room many of the older people still call it the "*planchment*." When a lady, on examining a piece of sewing, finds that it is carelessly or improperly done, it is not unusual to hear her pronounce the work "*a froach*." When food has been improperly prepared, or is not sufficiently cooked, it is spoken of as "*cautch*."

When very angry for any reason, it is a common occurrence to hear some one exclaim "Squael 'im up!" "Squael something at him!" or "He ought to be squaeled up!" which, being interpreted, means "Throw something at him!" "Stone him!" or "He ought to be stoned!"

A crumb or a small piece of anything to eat is called a "*grummet*," and a sulky or ill-natured person is said to be "*grouty*."

There were other words and phrases commonly used by our ancestors, equally as curious as those above mentioned. These will suffice, however, as an evidence of a dialect now almost extinct, and which in a few years is doomed to share the fate of all obsolete words, and to live only in tradition or on the pages of history.

The difficulties against which the sailors on board the merchant vessels of the colony were obliged to contend were for many years greatly augmented by pirates, who infested the waters on the coast of North America. In June, 1722, Philip Ashton, Jr., a young man belonging in Marblehead,

was taken from the harbor of Port Roseway by the crew of Edward Low, a noted pirate. Confined on board the pirate ship, narrowly watched, and continually in fear that his life would be taken, Ashton was obliged to perform the most menial services. His sufferings from hardship and the cruelty of the crew at length became so unendurable that he resolved to make his escape, even at the risk of his life. For months no opportunity presented itself; but in March, 1723, the ship stopped at a small and desolate island off the West Indies to obtain fresh water. Here Ashton was sent on shore to assist in rolling the hogsheads to the watering place. Watching his opportunity, he at length succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his captors, and running to the woods concealed himself in the thick brush with which the island abounded. Supposing at first that he had gone to gather cocoa-nuts, the pirates made no search for him, but finding that he did not return they made a diligent search, coming several times so near his place of concealment that he could distinctly hear their conversation. At length, getting out of patience, they decided to leave without him, and, to his great joy Ashton saw the ship sail away from the island.

But though liberated from the pirates his hardships were not at an end. Alone on a desert island, with no shelter from the weather, and with very scanty means of subsistence, his sufferings at length became very intense. His feet became sore and blistered from exposure, and at length, to add to his misfortunes, he was nearly prostrated by sickness. While in this condition, he was attacked by a company of Spaniards who visited the island, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Finally, in March, 1725, nearly three years after he fell into the hands of the pirates, he was taken from the island by Captain Dove of Salem, who had put in there for water. When released from his perilous situation the poor fellow had scarcely a rag of clothing left, and the kind-hearted



sailors who rescued him were obliged to clothe him from their own scanty wardrobes.

On his arrival in Marblehead Ashton was received as one from the dead. On the following Sunday the Rev. John Barnard preached a sermon concerning his miraculous escape, the text being: Daniel iii. 17, "If it be so our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O King."

At about the same time that Ashton was captured by the pirates, his cousin Nicholas Merritt met with a similar misfortune. After being with the banditti several months Merritt found means to escape, though he did not return to Marblehead for more than a year after.

## CHAPTER V.

IN 1724, the town having developed into a comparatively prosperous and enterprising community, various measures of public utility and improvement were adopted. The old meeting-house was enlarged by an addition twenty feet long built at the southeast end. Permission was granted to Nathan Bowen to open a public school, and it was voted to increase the salary of the school-master, and to adopt some "proper method of paying Mr. Cheever his salary." The town seems to have experienced great difficulty in obtaining school-teachers, and finally, at a town meeting held March 4, 1727, it was voted to authorize the selectmen to hire a school-master at a salary of not more than eighty pounds for the first year. At the same meeting it was voted to build a town house, and the selectmen were chosen a committee to "treat with some workmen in order for the building said house and make return to ye next town meeting." It was also voted that "the Town House shall be built on ye land where the Gale and Cagge<sup>1</sup> now stands on." At a subsequent meeting, on the 17th of the following April, the town voted, in accordance with the report of the selectmen, to build "the Town House fifty feet long, thirty feet wide and twenty-three feet stud." The selectmen were chosen to superintend the erection of the building, and the following year, 1728, the work was completed.

In October, 1727, a severe storm washed away and greatly damaged River Head Beach. The damage was so great that the town could not afford the expense of repairing it, and at a town meeting held shortly after it was voted to petition

<sup>1</sup> Jail and Cage.



ABBOT HALL.



OLD TOWN HOUSE.



the General Court, "praying the care of the Province therein."

The first town meeting held in the town house after its completion, was probably held on the 17th of March, 1728, as that is the date of the first meeting called to meet there of which there is any record.

During the month of May, 1730, intelligence was received in Marblehead that the small-pox was raging in the town of Boston. As rumors of the fatal effects of this dread and loathsome disease became more prevalent the excitement of the people approached almost to frenzy. A town meeting was called and it was voted to build a fence across the road near the entrance to the town. This fence was provided with a gate which was kept locked, and a guard of four men were stationed, with instructions to "restrain all strangers from Boston entering the town." The guard was kept on day and night for over two months, being relieved every twenty-four hours. Negroes, Indians, and mulatto slaves were forbidden to walk the streets after nine o'clock at night, and every possible precaution was taken to prevent the disease from making its appearance. But all in vain. In October a young woman named Hannah Waters was taken sick, and the disease, to the consternation of the inhabitants, proved to be the small-pox in its most contagious form. The pestilence, having obtained a foothold, spread from house to house in defiance of the almost superhuman efforts of the panic-stricken inhabitants, and ere long nearly every family was afflicted by sickness or death. Many of the people in their terror fled from the town. Business of all kinds was suspended, and quarantine was declared against Marblehead by all the neighboring towns. Nurses in attendance upon the sick were forbidden to appear in the streets, and "all dogs running at large" were ordered to be killed. The disease continued its fearful ravages till late in the summer of 1731, and gathered its victims with an unsparing hand. Rich and poor, old and young, the learned

and the unlettered were alike afflicted by this impartial agent of death, and finally only two members of the Board of Selectmen remained to discharge the duties of their office. A meeting was called by a Justice of the Peace, for the first time in the history of the town, and others were elected to fill the vacancies. The town was not declared free from the disease till nearly a year after its appearance. The number of deaths caused by the pestilence is not recorded, but it is certain that few towns in the country have ever been visited by a calamity more fatal or disastrous in its effect.

The people had not recovered from the blighting effects of the terrible visitation to which they had been subjected when another burden was laid upon them. As soon as the fishing business began to resume its accustomed activity a law was passed by the legislature requiring a tax of six-pence per month from every fisherman in the province. The penalty for the non-payment of this tax was a fine of twenty pounds sterling. The passage of this act was regarded as a great hardship by the fishermen of Marblehead, who complained that they could barely obtain a livelihood, and could ill afford to pay the tax. Finally one Benjamin Boden, a man more daring than his associates, determined to resist what he termed "the imposition," and flatly refused to comply with the requirements of the law. The collector, William Fairchild, Esq., after vainly demanding the tax, brought a suit against the delinquent for the amount. This action on the part of the collector caused great excitement throughout the town, and finally a town meeting was called to consider the matter. At this meeting the tax was denounced as unjust and oppressive, and the town voted to pay the penalty and the costs of any suit or suits arising from a resistance to the six-penny act.

On the 30th of May, 1737, the Rev. Edward Holyoke, pastor of the Second Congregationalist Church, was unanimously chosen by the Board of Overseers of Harvard College to fill the office made vacant by the death of Presi-

dent Wadsworth. At first his people strenuously objected to his acceptance of the office, but after several meetings for prayer and conference had been held they gave their consent and Mr. Holyoke departed for Cambridge. At the last of these meetings prayer was offered by the Rev. John Barnard, who prayed long and earnestly that the people might be reconciled to part with their pastor. The prayer had the desired effect, and when some of the people were asked why they consented to part with so valuable a man and so excellent a pastor, the quaint reply was: "Old Barnard prayed him away."<sup>1</sup>

In April, 1742, the General Court granted the sum of five hundred and fifty pounds for the purpose of erecting a fortification for the defense of the harbor against the French cruisers. This action, though in accordance with a petition from the town presented a few years before, was the cause of a great deal of contention, and not a little ill feeling, among the inhabitants. Three gentlemen were chosen treasurers of the fund, and a committee of five were elected to call upon the captain-general and receive the money, with instructions to pay it over to the treasurers. The most careful preparations were made for the security of the money when it should be received. An iron-bound chest was provided, fastened with two locks, and the town voted that it should not be opened except in the presence of all three of the treasurers. A few days after the passage of this vote, two of the treasurers announced their refusal to serve, and Messrs. Thomas Gerry, and Nathan Bowen were chosen to fill the vacancies, the other gentleman being Capt. Joseph Swett. The committee chosen to receive the money did not pay it over to the treasurers as soon as was thought proper, and finally, at a meeting held in November, the treasurers were authorized to sue them in the name of the town. This vote does not appear to have been carried into effect, however, and at a meeting held in January, 1743, the

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, vol. v.

selectmen were authorized to call upon the committee and demand a report of what had been done with the money. It is probable that the committee held the money in their hands upon some legal technicality, for at another meeting the town treasurer is authorized to receive it, and no more is said of the matter in the records. Another grant of one hundred and sixty-six pounds had been made by the General Court in November, and the fort was probably completed during the latter part of the year 1742. This fort, which is still standing, was afterwards ceded to the United States, and for many years has been known as Fort Sewall, having been named in honor of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, a distinguished citizen of Marblehead.

At the time of which we write Marblehead boasted a public house or tavern known as the "Fountain Inn." To this house the captains of vessels and the gentry of the colony resorted when they visited the town, and there the fishermen, many of them, spent their evenings and their money when they returned from successful voyages. It was whispered that certain pirates and smugglers who were known to have visited the town had found a friendly shelter beneath its roof. These stories may or may not have been true, but there were those living who remembered when a gang of pirates had been apprehended and arrested in the streets of Marblehead.<sup>1</sup> They remembered, also, with what a lavish hand these pirates expended their money, and the excitement caused in the town when several of the inhabitants were arrested for receiving it. The Fountain Inn, however, was to be made famous by a more romantic tale than any yet related by the gossiping girls and women of the village. One day in the autumn of 1742 a coach and four drove up to the door of the Inn, and a young and handsome gentleman alighted and entered. The guest was Sir Harry Fraukland, then collector of the Port of Boston, who had come to Marblehead to superintend the

<sup>1</sup> Quelch, the pirate, is said to have been arrested here, in 1704.



building of the fort, which was then in process of erection. As he entered the house he was struck by the surpassing beauty of a young girl, apparently about sixteen years of age, who on her bended knees was scrubbing the stairs. Noticing that her dress was poor and scanty, and that her feet were destitute of shoes and stockings, he called her to his side and presenting her with money, told her to purchase a pair of shoes. The artless simplicity, the beauty, and the exceedingly musical voice of the young girl interested Frankland, and he at once made inquiries concerning her history. Her name, he learned, was Agnes Surriage, and that she was the daughter of Edward Surriage, a poor but honest fisherman.

A short time after, when Frankland again visited the town, he was surprised to find the little maid still working without shoes and stockings, and to his inquiry why she had not purchased them she replied: "I have indeed, sir, with the crown you gave me; but I keep them to wear to meeting."<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry's heart was touched. Taking the blushing girl by the hand, he said: "Would you like to go to school? Will you go with me if I will take you from this life of toil and drudgery? I will educate you, and you shall be a lady." Then, seeking her parents, he obtained their permission to remove her to Boston, where she was permitted to enjoy the best educational advantages which the place then afforded. For several years she pursued her studies at school, and acquired a knowledge of all the graces and accomplishments then thought necessary for a well-bred and fashionable lady. The beauty of Sir Harry Frankland's ward was for some time the theme of conversation in the aristocratic circles of Boston. A few years and their relationship was discussed in a far different manner. Charges of improper intimacy were freely made, and with Puritanic firmness the polite society of the town refused to recognize one whom they believed to be guilty of transgressing the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Sir Charles Henry Frankland*, by Elias Nason, M. A.

most holy laws of God and man. Poor Agnes. Her benefactor had, indeed, succeeded in gaining her affections, but the pride of race and position prevented him from wedding one whom he considered of ignoble birth. The indignation of the people against "an alliance unsanctioned by the holy rite of matrimony" at length became so great that "the young collector resolved to seek a residence for himself, Agnes, and his retainers, in the seclusion of the country."

Accordingly he purchased a tract of land in the village of Hopkinton, where, on a hill commanding a full view of the surrounding country, he erected a commodious manor house. The grounds were laid out in a beautiful and artistic manner. Trees and shrubs, and choice plants of almost every description were set out to adorn the estate, which soon became one of the finest country seats in the province.

For several years Frankland and Agnes Surriage resided at Hopkinton, surrounded with every comfort which wealth could command, and devoting themselves wholly to the pleasures of a life of ease. The labor of the plantation was performed by slaves, upon whom the entire care of the vast estate devolved, while their master was hunting, riding, or fishing with his lady.

During the year 1754 Frankland was unexpectedly called to England to transact business of importance, and embarked with Agnes Surriage for London. On his arrival he attempted to introduce his fair ward into the circle of his family, but in spite of his most earnest solicitations in her behalf she was treated with the utmost disdain.

Having settled the business upon which he had been called to London, the young baronet spent a few months in making a tour of Europe, and then, with his ward, proceeded to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, where he hired a house and entered at once into the gay round of fashionable life. It was during their residence at Lisbon that the great earthquake of November, 1755, occurred, which brought Frankland to a realization of the wicked and dissolute life he was

leading, and caused him to do all in his power to right the wrongs he had done poor Agnes Surriage. The day was All-saints-day, one of the greatest festivals of the Romish and Anglican churches, and almost the entire population of the great city had assembled in the churches, when the shock of the earthquake burst upon them, burying thousands in the ruins of the falling temples. Frankland was riding with a lady to attend the services at one of the churches, when the walls of a building tottered, and fell over them, enveloping horses, carriage, and its occupants in the ruins. The death agony of the unfortunate lady was so great that she bit entirely through the sleeve of the scarlet coat of her companion, and tore a piece of flesh from his arm. The horses were instantly killed, and only Frankland was spared alive. Buried beneath the ruins he made a solemn vow that if it pleased God to deliver him from death he would thenceforth lead a better life. Meanwhile, where was Agnes Surriage? Left alone in the house of her lover, she ran into the street upon the first intimation of the impending danger, and so, miraculously, her life had been spared. Wandering almost frantic with grief among the ruins, the sounds of a well-known voice arrested her attention, and recognizing it as Frankland's, she worked with almost superhuman strength to secure his release. In the course of an hour her efforts were successful, and the baronet was rescued from the horrors of a living tomb. He was carried to a house near by, his wounds were dressed, and then, faithful to his vow, a priest was sent for, and Agnes Surriage received the reward of her love and self-sacrificing devotion, and became the Lady Agnes Frankland.

"No more her faithful heart shall bear  
 These griefs so meekly borne, —  
 The passing sneer, the freezing stare,  
 The icy look of scorn."

Sir Harry and his wife set out for England shortly after their marriage, and then, to make the solemn rite doubly

sure, they were again married on board the boat during their passage, by a clergyman of the Church of England. On their arrival in London the Lady Agnes was received with every mark of esteem by the family of her husband, and her beauty and charming manners readily gained her access to the most cultivated and aristocratic circles of the city. After a brief residence in London and Lisbon, Sir Harry and Lady Frankland returned to Boston, where they purchased an elegant mansion in the most aristocratic portion of the town for a winter residence, spending their summers on the beautiful estate at Hopkinton. "Though Lady Frankland had thus risen from obscurity to this commanding social position, she did not allow herself to forget her humble origin, or cease to cherish a sister's kind regard for the other members of her family. She received and supported Sarah and John McClester, her sister Mary's children: and her brother, Isaac Surriage, seaman, always found a hearty welcome to her hospitable mansion."<sup>1</sup> A few years before, through her influence, Sir Harry had purchased a claim to a tract of land in Maine, held by Mrs. Surriage, who was then a widow, for which he paid her several hundred pounds, thus enabling her to live comfortably during the remainder of her days.

Frankland was appointed Consul-general of Portugal in 1757, and in that capacity resided at Lisbon for several years. In 1763 he, with Lady Frankland, returned to America, and resided at Hopkinton until his declining health caused them to leave the country and take up a residence at Bath, England, where he died in 1768, at the age of fifty-two years. After the death of her husband Lady Agnes returned to her estate at Hopkinton, where she continued to reside, respected and beloved by all who knew her, till the summer of 1775, when the breaking out of the Revolution caused her to return to England. As her carriage was on the way to Boston it was stopped by a com-

<sup>1</sup> Nason's *Life of Frankland*.

pany of Continental soldiers, under command of Abner Croft, a zealous patriot, and Lady Frankland and her goods were held in custody until released by order of the Committee of Safety. Defended by a guard of soldiers her carriage was finally permitted to enter Boston, and while there she witnessed from the windows of her residence the terrible conflict at Bunker Hill. Shortly after she sailed for England, and after residing in the Frankland family for several years "was married to John Drew, Esq., a wealthy banker of Chichester." She died April 23, 1783, at the age of fifty-seven years. The estate at Hopkinton was bequeathed at her death to her sister, Mrs. Swain, and finally passed into the hands of her brother, Isaac Surriage, the last member of her family who owned it.

Such is the story of Agnes Surriage, the daughter of a poor fisherman of Marblehead. Our readers will pardon the digression necessary to relate it, and, with their permission, we will now return to the events of the year 1742.

The controversies which agitated the colony during the administration of Governor Belcher, regarding a fixed salary for the governor, and the right of the province to issue bills of credit, seem to have produced no excitement in Marblehead. Though the inhabitants were, doubtless, deeply interested in the result of the controversy, they do not appear to have espoused the cause of either party very ardently, and the town was free from the tumults which then, and a few years later, threatened to disturb the peace of the colony.

During the year 1743 the religious movement known as the "great awakening" swept like a whirlwind through every town in the province. Jonathan Edwards had, through his preaching, aroused the minds of the people on religious subjects, and when, a short time after, the celebrated Whitefield made his appearance on the scene, he was welcomed with enthusiasm everywhere. Through his eloquence and psychological power as an agitator, hundreds

were brought into the churches, and the result was a controversy which long agitated the colony. The Calvinists welcomed and encouraged the enthusiast wherever he went, and the Arminians were correspondingly as strong and bitter in their opposition to his teachings and practices. In 1744 he visited Marblehead, and here, as elsewhere, his labors resulted in producing the most violent and intense excitement. The Rev. Mr. Maleom, rector of St. Michael's Church, engaged in an exciting discussion with him relative to some of his teachings, and the cause of Whitefield was warmly espoused by the pastors of the Congregational churches.

The controversy incident to the advent of Whitefield had not ceased when the difficulties which had long been threatening with France developed into a declaration of war. An English garrison on the border between the French and English colonies had been attacked, and four companies of sixty men each were raised in Massachusetts and sent to Nova Scotia, for the protection of Annapolis. An expedition was planned for the conquest of Louisburg, an important French stronghold, and the plans were rejected by the legislature. Upon the petition of the merchants of Boston and Salem, and the fishermen of Marblehead, the vote was reconsidered, and the plans were adopted by a majority of a single vote. The expedition, consisting of three thousand men and several frigates and gun-boats, was at length fitted out, and the command was given to Sir William Pepperell. Though there is, unfortunately, no record of the part taken by the men of Marblehead in this expedition, there can be little doubt that many of the sailors who manned the gun-boats were fishermen from this port. The town records bear testimony to the interest manifested by the inhabitants in the result of the contest. The fort was put in readiness to repel an attack at any moment. Breastworks were erected along the coves and beaches of the town. Parapets to "cover our men" and to "oppose and annoy

the enemy should they attempt to land" were constructed at every vulnerable point. For days the men were summoned at the beat of the drum early in the morning to assist in erecting these fortifications, and it was determined to give the enemy a deadly reception.

But for once the heroic fishermen did not have a chance to display their bravery. Their warlike preparations were hardly completed before the news was received of the success of the expedition, and the surrender of Louisburg. This ended the war, and the people of Marblehead returned to their usual and more peaceful avocations.

In May, 1747, a school for poor children was established through the generosity of Mr. Robert Hooper, Jr., who agreed to pay the necessary expenses and the salary of the teacher, if the town would fit up and furnish a school-house. The proposal was accepted and the selectmen were instructed to "fit up the school-house and grant a lease" of it for the purpose.

During the same year several of the inhabitants petitioned for a town meeting to take action in regard to the "old school-house," which was represented as being "much out of repair, and at present unfit for public use." The petition, which is signed by Nathan Bowen, Samuel Graves, Robert Harris, John Stacey, and other well-known citizens, gives the following additional reason why the dilapidated building should be closed. "And forasmuch as John Pickett and Ann his wife have Illegally entered into said House, and by means of their being frequently in drink and making large fires in said House where there is no proper hearth, the sd house (and the contiguous neighbourhood) are in continual danger of being consumed." The meeting was called according to the request of the petitioners, and it was voted "to remove the persons and goods" of the offenders and to nail up the school-house in order to guard against further depredations of a similar nature.

The town at this time is estimated to have contained

about four hundred and fifty houses. The fishery had increased to such an extent that over eighty schooners sailed from the harbor, and six hundred men and boys were employed in the industry. This comprised, probably, nearly the entire male population of the town. When a boy had attained the age of eleven or twelve years he was sent to sea, and there were many instances where children of not more than nine years of age were taken to "the banks," to assist in the support of a large family. During the first four years of a boy's life at sea he was termed a "cut-tail," from the fact that he received pay only for the fish actually caught by himself, and was obliged to cut a small piece from the tail of every fish he caught to distinguish them from the others when the fare was weighed and sold. A full crew consisted of eight persons, four of whom were "sharesmen," the others being boys in the various stages of apprenticeship. When, after an experience of four years, a boy was considered competent to catch a full share of fish, he was promoted to the important post of "header," and was admitted to the rights and privileges of a "sharesman." As he became qualified he could then assume the duties of "splitter" or "salter" if he chose; but it was necessary for him to pass through all the various grades of labor in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the business before he could be permitted to take command of a vessel, and become a "skipper."

The fishermen lived on equal terms on board their vessels. Every man was personally interested in the result of the voyage, and all worked with untiring energy for a successful "trip" and as large a "fare" as possible. Dory and trawl fishing were then unknown. The fishing was done entirely from the vessels, and every man had his appointed station and was expected to occupy it when at the lines during the entire trip.

The boats usually went to the "banks" twice a year, in the spring and in the fall, and remained from three to five



months, or until a full fare was obtained. On their return the salt was washed from the fish, and they were then cured, as at present, on flakes in the open air.

The year 1751 marks an important era in the annals of Marblehead. During that year, the fire department was organized. As the township was composed almost entirely of wooden buildings, the necessity of procuring a fire engine was considered of the utmost importance, and in November, 1750, a vote was passed authorizing the selectmen to purchase an "engine, of the third size, with the necessary pipes and a dozen of leather buckets." This vote does not appear to have been carried into effect, however, nor was there any necessity for so doing. Robert Hooper, Esq., a wealthy and generous merchant, anticipating the needs of the community in which he resided, ordered an engine at his own expense, and on its arrival, during the month of March in the following year, presented it to the town. The simple record of the fact as entered on the books of the town speaks volumes for the unostentatious manner of its presentation, and the gratitude with which it was received. "March 19, 1751, voted the thanks of the town to Robert Hooper, Esq., for his donation of a Fire Engine this day made to the town."

At the same meeting the fire department was organized by the election of a "Board of Firewards" as follows: "Voted: That Capt. Nathan Bowen, Capt. George Newmarsh, Robert Hooper, Esq., Capt. Richard Reed, and Mr. Jeremiah Lee, be Firewards for the year ensuing." The firewards were authorized to appoint a suitable company for the engine, or any other engine which should belong to the town, "and to covenant with these appointed to work and govern them that they shall be exempt from military duty and from serving as fence viewers, hog-reeves or tything men so long as they shall serve in said company."

There appears to be no record of the names of those assigned to the engine, but a few years later (1755) the firewards appointed Robert Harris, captain of the "Great Fire

Engine" with the following company: Will Bowden, John Bowden, Henry Trevett, John Pearce, Richard Wood, William Bassett, John Andrews, Robert Harris, John Neal, Joseph Bubier, Benjamin Darling, 3d, Benjamin Doe, 1st.

The engine presented by Mr. Hooper was undoubtedly the "Friend," which was located on Front Street near Goodwin's Court. The next engine, which was purchased for the town in London, was probably the one named the "Endeavor." It was located for many years near "Newtown Bridge," on the corner of Washington and School Streets.

During the year 1752 the small-pox again broke out in Boston, and the usual precautions were adopted to prevent the disease from making its appearance in Marblehead. A fence and guard were placed at the entrance to the town, strangers were forbidden to enter, and it was voted to send no "Representative to the General Court that year." In spite of every precaution, including a general inoculation of the inhabitants, the disease again made its appearance and raged for several months with great severity, though not with the fatal effect of the pestilence of 1730.

The practice of many of the fishermen who spent their time in the winter in a reckless round of dissipation, gambling, and drunkenness met with a decided rebuke at the annual March meeting of this year. Gathering at the street corners or in crowds about the wharves, it had long been their custom to "pitch pennies," a mode of gambling quite prevalent in nearly every seaport in the colony at the time. It was charged that by this practice "idleness and vice were encouraged to the great reproach and damage of the town," and a by-law was adopted that for every offense of this nature committed by any persons of the age of fourteen years and upwards, a fine of ten shillings should be imposed. In cases where the offenders were children or servants it was decided that their parents or masters should be held responsible.

For a time the enforcement of this wholesome regulation

put a decided check upon the practice, but the quick-witted sailors readily found means to evade the law and indulge in their favorite pastime, and the evil continued for many years, in defiance of every effort of the authorities to prevent it.

The bill imposing an excise duty on spirituous liquors, wines, lemons, oranges, etc., which became a law by act of the General Court in 1754, was strenuously opposed by the inhabitants of Marblehead. The town had now become one of the most important ports of entry in the province. The foreign trade was yearly assuming proportions which gave the most encouraging signs of a prosperous future. The wealth of the merchants was increasing rapidly, and the people were reaping a rich reward from their industry. The wharves teemed with shipping, and the merchant vessels of Marblehead were to be found in almost every port of importance in Europe.

Under these circumstances the granting of an excise to the king was considered as especially burdensome to the people of Marblehead, and several town meetings were held to consider the matter, and to protest against the passage of the act. The representative in the General Court was instructed "to use all proper means to prevent" it from becoming a law, and finally, at a town meeting held in January, 1755, six of the most prominent merchants were chosen a committee "to petition His Majesty to disallow the act." The members of this committee were Robert Hooper, Esq., Mr. Ebenezer Stacey, Col. Jacob Fowle, Col. Jeremiah Lee, and Capt. Isaac Freeman, who were authorized to employ an eminent London lawyer to act as the agent of the town, and petition the king in its behalf.

In 1755 the war known as the "French and Indian War" broke out between the French and English over the territory now comprised in the State of Ohio. As soon as hostilities were actually known to have commenced the town began to take measures for its defense. "A Powder House

or Magazine suitable for securing ammunition " was erected by vote of the town, Col. Jacob Fowle, Col. Jeremiah Lee, and Major Richard Reed being members of the building committee.<sup>1</sup> The depredations of the French on the sea against the commerce and fisheries of the English colonies during the following year were severely felt in Marblehead. Several vessels with their crews belonging here were captured while on the fishing banks, causing great distress among their families, and great excitement in the town. The exposed condition of the harbor caused serious apprehensions of an attack from the enemy when the people were least prepared to meet it, and it was finally voted to present a petition to the lieutenant-governor, praying for the protection of the province. The petition prayed also for the protection of the fishing interest, and stated that "In time of war the fishery is prosecuted with much greater difficulty and risk than any other branch of business, as will appear by the late capture of many of our vessels by the French, while on the fishing banks.

"That: By the small extent of our town (the whole extent being little more than two miles square and that rocky and barren,) the inhabitants can have no prospect of exchanging this for a more profitable employment, in time to come."

The petition concluded as follows: "Tho' our Harbour is well situate and commodious for Navigation and fishery yet the same is by nature open and easy of access, whereby the vessels of His Majesty's Subjects with their effects and estates lying in said Town and Harbour, are exposed to the ravages of the Meanest Invader, whom we are in no condition to oppose. Wherefore we the sd inhabitants Most Humbly pray that your Hon<sup>r</sup> will be pleased to take the prem<sup>ises</sup> under your wise Consideration, and act thereon as to your Honor shall seem meet."

The disadvantages to which the commercial and fishing

<sup>1</sup> This Powder House is still standing on Green Street.

interests of the colonies were subjected cannot be better illustrated than in the instances of seizures by the French of merchant and fishing vessels belonging in Marblehead.

In December, 1756, the schooner *Swallow*, owned by Robert Hooper, Esq., and commanded by Capt. Philip Lewis, sailed from Marblehead to the West Indies. On the 13th of the month, having been out but a few days, the schooner was captured by two French cruisers, and carried into Martinico. The crew were imprisoned, and the officers, Captain Lewis, Mr. Ashley Bowen, and Mr. George Crowninshield, the first and second mates, were confined in a public house and closely guarded. Watching their opportunity, they finally succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the guard, and escaped from the house. Seizing a small schooner which lay in the harbor, they sailed away under cover of night, and at length reached St. Eustatia, where they found friends and were kindly treated. Among others who were there was Mr. James Freeman, of Marblehead, who had purchased a sloop, and was looking for some competent person to take command and go to Marblehead in her with a cargo of molasses. As Captain Lewis did not wish to undertake the voyage, Mr. Bowen was appointed, and the vessel reached Marblehead in safety. The unfortunate crew of the *Swallow*, who were imprisoned at Martinico, were detained as prisoners until the close of the war. They were then released, and were obliged to work their way home on board vessels bound for the various ports in the colony.

Early in the month of April, 1759, messengers were sent to Marblehead to obtain recruits for the naval service. Active preparations were then in progress for the siege of Quebec, and the town's proportion of men needed for this service was forty-five able seamen. Mr. Ashley Bowen enlisted as a midshipman, and in a short time thirty-two others enlisted as common sailors. Each man received a bounty, and a certificate, signed by the governor, promising

that they should not be detained in the service longer than the time for which they enlisted; that they should be free from impressment, and be landed in Boston after their discharge. On the 12th of April they sailed from Marblehead for Halifax, where they arrived on the 16th, and the next day were assigned to their respective ships. Sixteen were placed on board the ship *Pembroke*, a frigate of sixty guns, under command of Captain Wheelock, and the others were assigned to the ship *Squirrel*. These ships, in company with a fleet under command of Rear Admiral Durrell, sailed for the St. Lawrence, and arrived before Quebec with the expedition commanded by General Wolfe during the latter part of June.

On the night of June 28th a raft of fire barges was sent down from Quebec for the purpose, if possible, of destroying the fleet. The raft was grappled by the sailors before it approached near enough to do any damage, and was towed near the shore and anchored, the sailors continually repeating, "All's well!"

From a remark in "Knox's Journal" concerning the affair, we are led to believe that some of the men detailed for this work were from Marblehead. "A remarkable expression from some of these intrepid souls to their comrades on this occasion I must not omit, from its singular uncouthness, 'Damn me, Jack, didst thee ever take hell in tow before?'"

For two months the army of General Wolfe was encamped upon the eastern bank of the Montmorenci, where strong intrenchments were thrown up, from which an almost incessant fire of guns and mortars was poured upon the city and the lines of the enemy. The fleet lay at anchor within full sight of the fortress, though out of the range of its guns, and arrangements for the siege were rapidly completed. On the 13th of September, in the darkness of the early morning, the boats of the fleet moved down the river, and when the sun rose the astonished French commander beheld the

army of Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham. Without a moment's hesitation Montcalm began preparations for the battle. At sunset the contest was over, Quebec was in possession of the English, and the gallant commanders of both armies were mortally wounded.

This victory was hailed with rejoicings throughout the colonies and in England, and the war was considered as virtually ended. It was a sad day for France, and was but the beginning of the end. With the fall of Quebec, Canada was lost to her forever, and with it the last hope of further possessions in America.

On the 20th of September the men of Marblehead were discharged from the service, and with others, to the number of one hundred and sixty, were put on board the ship *Thornton*, and transported to Boston. The entire company were placed under the care of Midshipman Ashley Bowen, of Marblehead. On the passage homeward many of the men were sick, and thirty-five of them died. Mr. Bowen was exposed to great difficulty and danger, as nearly the entire care of the sick devolved upon him, and he was obliged to personally superintend the burial of the dead. The *Thornton* sailed from Quebec on the 8th of October, and arrived in Boston November 9.

The following are the names of the Marblehead men engaged in the siege of Quebec, as copied from the manuscript journal of Mr. Bowen:—

## ON BOARD THE PEMBROKE.

Ashley Bowen, midshipman,	Robert Thompson, died,
William Horn (?), (Orne),	Thomas Woodfin,
Edward Akes,	Miles Dollan,
Jonathan Welch, deserted,	Edward Kindeley,
Robert Bartlett,	Benjamin Nichols,
Garret Farrell,	Arthur Lloyd,
John Bateman,	Edward Saverin,
Isaac Warren, died,	Zachary Paine,
	Frederick Swaburgs.

## ON BOARD THE SQUIRREL.

John Melzard,	Roper Linstead, did not return,
Thomas Dove,	William Corkering, did not return,
William Matthews,	Charles Jacobs,
John Stateman,	William Uncals,
John Goldsmith, died,	Walter Stevers, did not return,
Thomas Walpey (Valpey),	Samuel Linir, died.
Samuel Look, did not return.	Thomas Peach, died.
Francis Misalt, died,	

On the 2d of January, 1761, the schooner Prince of Orange, Nathan Bowen, master, sailed from Marblehead for some port in Spain or Portugal. While on the passage, February 10th, she was overtaken and captured by the French brig Gentile, of Bayonne. Mr. Bowen, in an account of the affair, written while in prison, says, "I was robbed of chest and clothes, and was in other respects ill-used. On Tuesday, 17th, we arrived at St. Andreas; on Monday, 23d, sailed from thence in company with my schooner bound for Passage, and on the next day arrived there. The next morning we were all sent to France, and on the next day were twenty in number confined in this castle, and when we shall get clear God only knows." The prison was Bayonne Castle, France. The only men of the crew whose names can be ascertained were, Samuel Lovis, William Hannover, Joseph Lye, Thomas Trefry, Amos Grandy, and Edward Hallowell.

In June, 1762, the schooner Rambler, owned by Mr. Gamalial Smethurst, Ashley Bowen, master, sailed from Marblehead for Quebec. While on the passage the vessel was boarded by a company of armed Frenchmen and Indians, who attempted to seize her. An English brig fortunately hove in sight before they accomplished their purpose, however, and they hastily left for the shore. The vessel was not molested again during the voyage, and at length reached her destination in safety.



It is a matter of sincere regret that no more can be learned concerning this war, of a local nature. But that the town of Marblehead suffered as much from its effects as any other town in the province, and that its people behaved with a heroism and bravery which shed lustre upon their annals, is sufficient for us to know.

Peace was declared in 1763, and though England rejoiced over the increase of her possessions in consequence of the war the colonists had been trained and disciplined in the very arts by which they were finally to achieve their independence.

Meanwhile, during the progress of the war, the inhabitants of the town at home had not been idle. At the annual town meeting, held in March, 1761, it was voted, on account of the increasing "poor idle, vagrant and disorderly persons," to erect a work-house on the back side of the piece of ground called "the negro burying place." The sum of five hundred pounds was appropriated to build it, and the selectmen were instructed to petition the legislature for permission to use a part of the new building as a house of correction. The building was erected on what is now known as Back Street, opposite the head of Pearl Street.

The following year the selectmen were instructed to name all the streets and alley-ways in the town, and to cause the names to be recorded in the records and published at the Town House. Previous to this, the streets had been known by the most curious names, some of them not suitable for ears polite. In many instances some prominent landmark gave the name to the street on which it stood, or which led to it. New Meeting-house Lane, Wharf Lane, Pond Lane, Frog Lane, Ferry Lane, and others of a similar nature made up the simple list, and answered every purpose as well as the more pretentious titles by which many of these very streets are known at present. They were properly denominated lanes, for they were nothing else. The laying out of a street was an action undreamed of in the

simple and unpretending community. The inhabitants built their houses anywhere, provided only that they owned the land, and there was no arbitrary custom to dictate which end should be the front, or which the back. The lanes were made afterwards for convenience, and to name the narrow paths would to them have seemed an absurdity.

As the town increased in population and various improvements were made, the old meeting-house was removed to a more convenient location. A house owned by one Richard Ireson was found to project so far into the street which led to the meeting-house that it was impossible for a carriage to pass it, and finally the town voted to remove the north-west end. Several feet were accordingly cut off, the house being sawed nearly in halves. The end towards the street was boarded up, and there it remains to this day,<sup>1</sup> with not a single window in it except a very small one near the roof.

During the year 1763 the town voted to open a market in the lower part of the town house, and eleven very stringent rules were adopted for its government, and a clerk was to be chosen annually to see that they were enforced. These rules provided that no putrid or impure meat should be offered for sale; and that the market should be opened every Tuesday and Thursday in the year till one o'clock in the afternoon, and till sunset on Saturdays. All persons were forbidden to buy provisions in the market with intent to sell the same at a greater price. All meat left in the market after the hour for closing, through the negligence of the seller, was to be forfeited, and the clerk was authorized to appropriate it to his own use, "without any account to the owner." No "hucksters" were to be allowed to sell provisions of any kind in the town before one o'clock in the afternoon on a market-day.

The penalties for violating these rules varied in amount from ten to twenty shillings, and all fines were to be given to the poor of the town.

<sup>1</sup> 1878.

The market was opened on the first Tuesday in August, 1763. Richard Reed was chosen clerk, and a salary of ten pounds per annum was voted for his services.

The well at the northeast end of the town house, in which the town pump has been placed for so many years, yielding such a plentiful supply of pure and cool water to the thirsty, was, in all probability, sunk during the month of May, 1763. At a meeting held on the 9th of that month it was voted, among other measures, "To sink a well at the North east end of the Town House for the public service, especially in the case of fires."

In February, 1764, the small-pox again broke out in Boston. The appearance of the disease in that city was regarded as a sure warning of a reign of the pestilence in Marblehead. The disease, in spite of every precaution taken to prevent it, broke out during the following May. A town meeting was immediately held, and it was voted to erect a small-pox hospital "in the pasture North westerly from the Alms house about eighty poles distant." This action on the part of the citizens was deemed a necessity, as the almshouse was considered too near the body of the town for use as a hospital. The vote was promptly carried into effect, and all patients taken with the loathsome disease were removed to the hospital as soon as it was in readiness.

## CHAPTER VI.

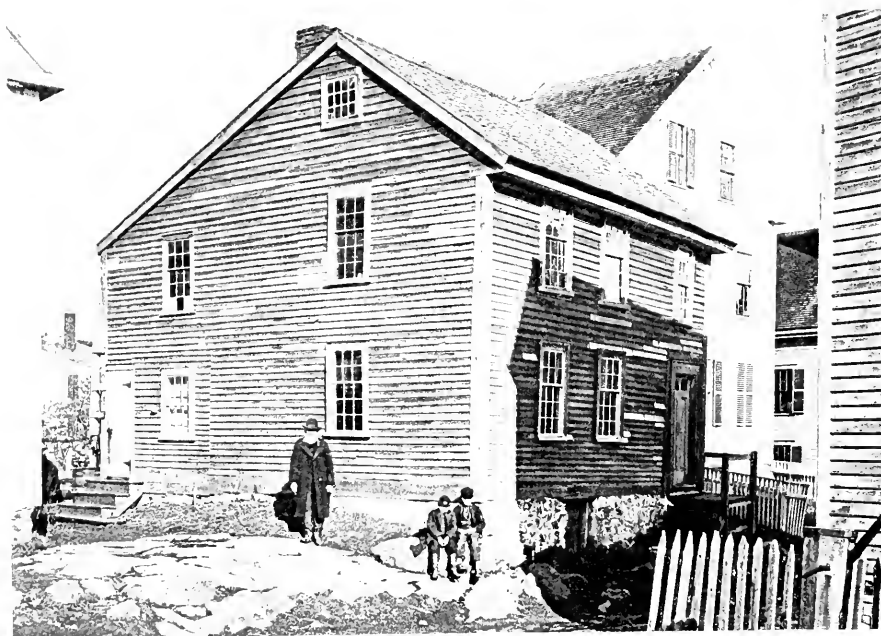
THE causes which led to the controversy between England and the American colonies during the important epoch upon which we are about to enter, and which resulted in the war for independence, are too well known by all readers of history to require review here.

“The contests with the crown over the right of Parliament to tax the colonies for a revenue had ceased for a time, under the wise administration of Pitt, and the loyalty of the American people had been fully demonstrated during the wars which had been waged for the conquest of Canada. On the accession of George III. to the throne, the controversy was renewed with redoubled energy on both sides. The king and his ministers were determined to compel America to yield a revenue at the disposition of the crown ;” and the people of the colonies were equally determined to resist every attempt to subject them to taxation by a Parliament in which they were not represented. For nearly thirty years a duty had been imposed by act of Parliament on all molasses imported into the colonies. This law had always been odious to the colonists ; and as the officers of the customs began to be more vigorous in its enforcement, the opposition became more fierce and determined. “Under color of the law the officers had been accustomed to enter warehouses or dwelling-houses” to search for contraband goods, and growing more zealous in their efforts by the countenance of the governor and the ministry, they applied to the Superior Court for writs of assistance. The opposition to this application at length compelled the court to grant a hearing in regard to the matter. Thomas Hutchinson, the





TUCKER'S WHARF.



OLD TUCKER HOUSE.

chief justice, presided, and the council chamber of the old town house in Boston was crowded with excited and interested spectators.

The case for the crown was ably argued by Gridley, the king's attorney, who learnedly maintained the authority of the court to issue the writs. The cause of the people was espoused by Oxenbridge Thacher and James Otis. Thacher's arguments evinced depth of thought, learning, and great research, and as one point after another was made the excitement of the people became intense. But it was reserved for the eloquence of Otis to fan the smoldering embers of discontent into a flame of opposition throughout the colony. For over four hours his audience listened spell-bound to his eloquence, and John Adams, who was one of his hearers, declared that "American independence was then and there born."

The events which followed in rapid succession soon after this famous speech were not such as to quiet the fears of the colonists, or allay the storm which was brewing throughout America. The resignation of Pitt and the organization of a new ministry known to be hostile to America were considered "ominous signs" of an approaching contest. One act after another was passed levying duties on foreign sugars and molasses landed in the colonies, and finally, in spite of the most strenuous remonstrances of the colonial legislatures, the obnoxious Stamp Act was passed. This act, which was to become a law on and after November 1, 1765, provided that all documents of an official character used in the American colonies should be written or printed on stamped paper, sold by the government. On the reception of the news in Boston, the most intense excitement prevailed. Andrew Oliver, a brother-in-law of Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, was appointed stamp distributor for Massachusetts. As soon as this was ascertained the "Sons of Liberty" resolved to make a demonstration to show their hostility to the obnoxious officer. Early one morning an

effigy of Oliver was found suspended from the limb of a majestic elm, and the people gathered in crowds to gaze at it and show their approval.

In vain did Hutchinson, as the chief justice, order its removal. The people were determined that it should remain, and the officers were powerless to enforce the order.

In the evening the effigy was taken down, a procession was formed, and the excited multitude marched to Oliver's house, where the figure was burned in front of his own doors. On their way the crowd demolished a building which had been erected for a stamp office.

The next day, Oliver, fearing that unless he did so his life would be taken, resigned his office.

Shortly after these demonstrations the crowd marched to the office of the deputy registrar, and burned the records of the Vice Admiralty Court. They then ransacked the house of the comptroller of customs; and then, proceeding to the house of Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, they "broke down the doors, destroyed his furniture, threw his books and manuscripts into the street, and at daybreak left his house a ruin."

Though the people of Marblehead sympathized fully with the spirit of resistance to the Stamp Act which these riotous demonstrations in Boston were intended to show, they were at that time unprepared to sanction such a violent method of proceeding. The people were loyal to the king, and though they bitterly denounced the act they laid the entire blame for its passage upon the shoulders of the ministry and the Parliament of Great Britain.

On the 18th of September, 1765, the inhabitants of Marblehead convened in town meeting to give instructions to their representatives concerning the Stamp Act. Col. Jeremiah Lee was moderator of the meeting, and Nathan Bowen, Joshua Orne, and John Chipman were chosen a committee to draw up instructions and report at an adjourned meeting. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, on



Tuesday, September 24, the meeting was again called to order, and the following instructions were unanimously adopted: —

“ To Jacob Fowle and William Bourne, Esqrs., the representatives of the Town of Marblehead: —

“ Gentlemen, — We, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the Town of Marblehead, in town meeting assembled, this 24 day of September Anno Domini 1765, professing the greatest Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign, and our sincere regard and profound reverence for the British Parliament as the most powerful and respectable Body of men on Earth, yet, at the same time, being deeply sensible of the Difficulties and Distress to which that august Body's late exertion of their power, in and by the Stamp Act, must necessarily expose us, think it proper, in the present critical conjuncture of affairs to give you the following Instructions, viz. :

“ That you promote and readily join in, such dutiful remonstrances and humble petitions to the King and Parliament, and other decent measures as may have a tendency to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act, or alleviation of the heavy burdens thereby imposed on the American British Colonies. And forasmuch as great Tumults tending to the Subversion of Government, and the great Reproach of the Inhabitants of this Province have lately happened, and several outrages committed by some evil minded persons in the Capital Town thereof, you are therefore directed to bear your Testimony against, and do all in your power to suppress and prevent all riotous assemblies and unlawful acts of violence upon the persons or substance of any of His Majesty's Subjects. And that you do not give your assent to any act of assembly that shall imply the willingness of your constituents to submit to any internal Taxes that are imposed otherwise than by the Great and General Court of this Province, according to the constitution of this Government.”

The first of November, the day on which the Stamp Act was to go into effect, was observed throughout the country by the tolling of bells, the firing of minute guns, and similar demonstrations. The vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half mast, and the cry of the people everywhere was "Liberty and no Stamps!"

The remonstrances of the colonial legislatures, together with the determination of the merchants not to import any English goods, at length had the desired effect and the following year the law was repealed. The news of the repeal of the obnoxious act was received by the Americans with every demonstration of joy. But their delight over this partial recognition of their rights was quickly turned to indignation upon the passage of an act by Parliament imposing duties on glass, paper, tea, and other articles imported into the colonies. A few days after the passage of this act another law was passed enabling the king to put the customs and other duties in America, and the execution of the laws relating to trade there, under the management of commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, and to reside in the colonies. "This, as the preamble declares, would tend to the encouragement of commerce, and to better securing the rates and duties, and the more speedy and effectual collection thereof."

The excitement produced in Massachusetts by these acts of Parliament was little less than that produced by the Stamp Act. The uneasiness of the people was still further increased by the arrival of a body of British troops in Boston, said to have been driven in by stress of weather. The legislature was not in session at the time, and the governor and council, on the plea of necessity, provided for their comfort by appropriations from the public treasury. When the legislature assembled, this action of the governor was severely rebuked as an assumption of authority and a usurpation of power.

During this session the house addressed a circular letter

to the other colonies, stating the dangers to be apprehended from the recent acts of Parliament, and requesting their coöperation in petitioning the king for a redress of grievances. This letter was strongly opposed by the British cabinet, and the secretary of state, Lord Hillsborough, addressed a letter to the governor of Massachusetts directing him, "to require of the House of Representatives in his Majesty's name to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter of the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to, that rash and hasty proceeding." The house, upon the reception of this communication, refused to rescind the action of their predecessors by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen. This being communicated to the governor, he immediately dissolved the legislature, in accordance with instructions previously received in case the House refused to comply with the demands of the cabinet.

This prompt and patriotic action on the part of the House of Representatives met with universal approbation throughout the province. At a town meeting held by the citizens of Marblehead in July, 1768, it was unanimously voted "to return the thanks of the Inhabitants of the Town of Marblehead to the Ninety-two members of the House of Representatives for their steady resolution in maintaining the rights and privileges of the Province."

For a time the attention of the people of Marblehead was diverted from public affairs by the disasters to their fishing fleet, at sea. During the year 1768 nine vessels, with their crews, were lost, and the following year fourteen others met a similar fate, making a total of twenty-three vessels and one hundred and twenty-two men and boys. Besides these, a large number were drowned by being washed overboard from vessels which returned. A large number of widows and orphans were thus left to the care of the town, and the grief and suffering caused by these terrible calamities was very great.

There were, at this time, about sixty merchants engaged in the foreign trade, besides a very large number of "shoremen" who prosecuted the fisheries. Some of the houses built by these merchants were among the finest in the province, and one, the palatial residence of Col. Jeremiah Lee, is said to have cost over ten thousand pounds. Nearly every family of sufficient wealth owned several negro slaves, and Colonel Lee is said to have owned a large number, whom he employed in the work of loading and unloading his ships as fast as they arrived from foreign ports. Slavery, so far from being considered an evil, was regarded as the only normal condition of the negro, and the institution was fostered and encouraged throughout the province. About five thousand slaves were owned in Massachusetts at this time. The church records of Marblehead bear evidence that even the clergymen of the town owned negro servants, not a few of whom were baptized and received into the church. Slave marriages are recorded, also, on the records of all three of the earlier churches.

A very interesting tradition is related concerning the Rev. Peter Bours, one of the earlier rectors of St. Michael's Church. It seems that among other servants the reverend gentleman owned a very ill-tempered and vicious woman. One night, in a fit of ugliness, she attempted to take the life of her master, and the next day, having some regard for the safety of his life, he sold her. With the money thus obtained, Mr. Bours procured a life-size portrait of himself, painted by one of the most celebrated artists in the country. This portrait is now in possession of one of the oldest families in Marblehead.<sup>1</sup>

The excitement incident to the passage of the Stamp Act did not cause the citizens of Marblehead to forget other matters of local importance. At the annual meeting in March, 1767, a board of trustees was chosen to direct and

<sup>1</sup> The portrait was painted by Blackburn, and is owned by Miss Eunice Hooper, a sister of the late Hon. Samuel Hooper.

manage the affairs of the schools. There were several public schools in the town, but they were in a deplorable condition, and the well-to-do families preferred to send their children to private teachers. The town appropriated the sum of £350 for the use of the schools, and the trustees were instructed to report annually as to their condition. At an adjourned meeting it was voted to establish three new schools for the purpose of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. Messrs. Jayne, Phippen, and Ashton, were selected as teachers and the trustees reported that about one hundred and sixty scholars attended each of these schools. A few years later the town voted to erect two new school-houses on account of the crowded condition of the schools. Children were expected to be qualified to read before entering these schools, and as a consequence the children of the poor, whose parents in many instances could not read themselves, were denied admission. The town elected a committee to investigate the matter, and it was found that one hundred and twenty-two boys were untaught. To remedy this evil it was voted that the children of the poor should be taught the necessary branches to qualify them for entrance into the schools at the expense of the town. This was the foundation of the primary schools, and the beginning of the present system of public instruction in Marblehead.

Governor Bernard having dissolved the legislature of Massachusetts, and refusing to call it together again, a convention was held in Boston in September, 1768, "to deliberate on constitutional measures to obtain redress of their grievances." On the day after the convention adjourned a body of British troops landed in Boston and marched to the common. The selectmen were requested to furnish quarters for the soldiers, and as they refused to do so, the State House was opened for their reception. The presence of British soldiers in the capital town, and the frequent impressment of American seamen by ships of the British

navy, excited the indignation of the inhabitants throughout the province. These attempts to bring the people into subjection to the will of the ministry of Great Britain were firmly resisted by the colonists, with a determination never to yield.

During the spring of 1769 a brig belonging in Marblehead was boarded off Cape Ann by a lieutenant and a party of seamen from the British sloop-of-war *Rose*, and an attempt was made to impress some of the crew into the British service. The brig was the *Pitt Packett*, commanded by Capt. Thomas Powers, returning from Cadiz to Marblehead. The crew at once determined to resist the transfer of any of their number to the British sloop, and a hand-to-hand encounter followed. A party of marines was sent to the assistance of the lieutenant, and for over three hours the heroic sons of Marblehead defended themselves against every attempt to compel them to surrender. During the struggle two of the Americans were severely wounded, and the British lieutenant was killed by a blow from a harpoon thrown by one Michael Corbitt. At length, being overpowered by force of numbers, the brave men surrendered, and Corbitt was taken to Boston to be tried for murder. He was imprisoned, but a jury of inquest finally "vindicated his conduct," and he was released.

This may be said to have been the first act of forcible resistance to British tyranny in defense of American liberty. It occurred several months before the people of Boston were fired upon by the British troops, and six years before the battle at Lexington.

On the 22d of May, 1769, the inhabitants of Marblehead again assembled in town meeting, for the purpose of electing representatives to the General Court, and passing suitable instructions. Joshua Orne and John Gallison were elected representatives, and their instructions were as follows:—

"1. That to the utmost of your power you endeavor to

have removed everything that has the least tendency to awe or control the freedom of debate in your assembly.

“2. That to the utmost of your ability you promote every measure which may heal the unhappy breach with our mother country, and endeavor to have things once more placed upon their ancient footing; to which end use your best endeavors to refute the misrepresentations which have been made of the province to the government at home, whereby the people have been treated as if in open rebellion, and endeavor by 'all legal methods to have the authors of such misrepresentations (if they can be discovered) brought to suffer deserved punishment.

“3. That you by no means comply with any requisition demanding a reimbursement for any part of the charges sustained by the bringing of troops into this province; as we cannot conceive to what purpose they were introduced; as the course of justice has never been impeded, nor the civil magistrate been deprived of the full and free exercise of his authority.

“4. Avoid every measure which may tend to weaken the union which at present subsists between the several British colonies in America, and promote those which may tend to strengthen and insure it.

“5. That you endeavor to have a provincial agent appointed, a man of integrity and honor, well acquainted with the interests of the British American colonies, and let care be taken that he have ample provision to support his dignity, and to put him above the want of court favors.

“6. That you promote all you can every rational scheme for employing the poor in every part of the province in manufactures or any other way which may be of public utility.

“7. That after the appointment of the salary for the support of his Majesty's government, you endeavor to obtain a vote that the said salary be paid monthly or quarterly, as shall seem best to the wisdom of your House.

“8. That as you are acquainted with the distressed condition of the trade of this town by means of the great losses it has sustained in the course of the year, both in men and interest, which will in consequence augment the burdens it before labored under, you use your best endeavor to obtain some abatement of our part of the province tax.

“9. That you oppose any attempts to lay an excise on spirituous liquors, as the general trade of the province will be thereby greatly burdened and hindered, but if that cannot be prevented, endeavor to have what is consumed in the fishery exempted therefrom, as that most valuable branch of trade already labors under most intolerable burdens; an excise would more materially affect the poor of this, than of almost any other town in the province.

“10. That you make strict inquiry into the conduct of the officers of the crown whether the impartial administration of justice has not been greatly obstructed, and the authority of the prince and the rights of the subject been, in many cases, trampled upon with impunity by high-handed officers through their venality and corruption.

“11. That you do not allow by any vote or resolution whatever, a right in any power on earth to levy taxes on the people of the province, for the sake of raising a revenue, saving in the General Assembly of the province.

“12. Finally, embrace every opportunity of manifesting our allegiance to our rightful sovereign, King George; acknowledge the supreme legislative authority of the British Parliament over the whole empire excepting the power of levying taxes on the province for the purpose of a revenue, and endeavor to wipe off that reproach for disloyalty and disobedience which has been so liberally cast upon us by malicious and malevolent persons, at the same time vindicating the just rights and privileges of your country from the insults and designs of wicked and arbitrary men.”

In August assurances were received from the British ministry that it was their intention at the next session of



Parliament to remove the duties upon glass, paper, and colors, "upon consideration of such duties being contrary to the true principles of commerce." These concessions, instead of pacifying the people, had a far different effect. The repeal of the duty on tea was demanded as an evidence that the government had abandoned the right to tax the colonies. A meeting had been held by the merchants of Boston a short time before, and an agreement had been signed not to import any British goods until the duties were repealed. As soon as the proposed action of Parliament was made known another meeting was held, and a committee was chosen to procure written pledges from the inhabitants not to purchase goods of any person who should import them contrary to the non-importation agreement.

The merchants of Marblehead were not long in following the example of their brethren in Boston, and in October all but four signed a "Non-importation" agreement. Those who refused to join in this agreement were bitterly denounced as "blindly preferring the chains of slavery to our most valuable inheritance, *English Liberty*." During the excitement occasioned by this controversy a chest of tea was brought into town, but so indignant were the people that the purchaser reluctantly consented to reship it the next day. The patriotic citizens assembled early on the following morning, and, forming a procession, paraded about town with the obnoxious merchandise, and it was then carried to Boston.

The events of the winter of 1770 produced the most intense excitement among the people of Marblehead. The presence of the troops in Boston, making the capital a garrisoned town, was regarded as an insult to the province, and when, on the 5th of March, the soldiers fired on the people, killing three and mortally wounding others, an uprising of the masses seemed inevitable.

On the 7th of May a town meeting was held to consider the agreement for the non-importation of British goods. John Gallison, Esq., was chosen moderator, and it was voted

that an agreement should be circulated among the inhabitants against the use of India tea. A committee was chosen to circulate the agreement, with instructions to report the names of all persons who should refuse to sign it. After electing a committee to draw up resolutions the meeting adjourned to meet again in three days.

On the 10th of May the meeting again assembled, and the following votes recommended by the committee were unanimously adopted:—

*“Voted.* That this Town has ever looked upon acts of the British Parliament imposing Taxes upon Americans whose local circumstances can never admit a Representation in any Parliament excepting their own, to be highly unconstitutional in their Nature and Dangerous in their Tendency.

*“Voted.* That with great Satisfaction and a Zealous Veneration, we have beheld the Honorable House of Representatives for this Province, in its Petitions to his Majesty, Remonstrances to Parliament, and Express Resolutions, exerting every constitutional Power with which it was invested for a Repeal of such acts, and a prevention of their fatal effects.

*“Voted.* That with equal approbation we have beheld the merchants of this place, except a few, uniting with those of our spirited metropolis, and the other maritime towns in this Province, in an agreement of non-importation, well calculated to add weight to the proceedings of that assembly, which has gloriously distinguished itself as the watchful guardian of Invaluable Rights and Liberties.

*“Voted.* That if these measures have not the desired effect in procuring a total repeal of the act imposing a duty on Tea, etc., we esteem it our duty and interest as Friends to our Country and as Freemen, to assist the merchants here in adherence to their agreement, and to prevent by every legal means the importation of English goods into this place (not excepted by this agreement) until a grand importation shall be admitted.

“Therefore, *Voted*. That after this time every person in this Town importing British goods contrary to the agreement above said, be waited upon by a committee to be chosen for that purpose and desired to reship said goods, and that said committee be hereby directed to apply to ye Town for money sufficient to pay ye freight of said goods back to Great Britain, if, from their being shipped in consequence of ye late partial repeal, or from any other consideration, it appears to them reasonable that ye person aforesaid should be excused from that damage.

“*Voted*. That every person in this town, who importing British goods aforesaid, shall refuse to reship them as aforesaid, likewise every person who shall continue to send orders for non-excepted British goods as aforesaid, after this time, until a general importation takes place, be published in the Essex Gazette, and looked upon as an enemy to his country, and we will not either ourselves or by any person for or under us, directly or indirectly, purchase of such person or persons any goods whatsoever, and so far as we can effect it, will withdraw our connection from any person who shall promote their trade.

“*Voted*. That if any person not an inhabitant of this town shall purchase of, or have connection in trade with any such importer, ye committee aforesaid finding ye name and place of abode of such person, is hereby desired and authorized to write in ye name of the town to ye committee of merchants, or Selectmen of such other town, acquainting them with ye proceedings of such purchaser, in opposition to the measures of this town, and desiring ye inhabitants to discountenance such a proceeding, and cause the goods to be returned to the seller.

“*Voted*. That the inhabitants of this town (altho unauthorized by the warrant for ye present meeting) cannot omit this opportunity of expressing their highest indignation and resentment, that a lawless, ignorant, and bloody soldiery should attempt of its own authority to fire upon and destroy

so many of our brethren of ye town of Boston, and *we hereby declare a readiness with our Lives and Interest*, at all times to support ye civil authority of this Province in bringing to justice all such high-handed offenders against ye wholesome laws of this Land.”

The committee chosen to circulate the agreement for the discouragement of the use of foreign teas reported that seven hundred and twelve heads of families had signed it, and only seventeen had refused, a list of whose names was reported for the action of the town. Of the seventeen who refused their signatures seven appear afterward to have repented, as their names are erased from the report. The names of the remaining ten were as follows: “William Gooden, Sr., William Peach, William Hammond, Thomas Dolliver’s widow, Samuel Gooden’s wife, Amos Hubbard’s wife, Benjamin Walpee, Abraham Mullett’s widow, Samuel Rogers, tailor, Mr. Jim Mason. “The punishment of these persons for their refractory disposition was both novel and amusing. The town voted that they should be recorded in the clerk’s office and published in the Essex Gazette as “unfriendly to the community,” and the selectmen were desired not to “approve any of them to the Sessions for license to sell spirituous liquors.”

The year 1771 is chiefly memorable in the annals of the town, on account of the suffering caused by the disasters at sea.<sup>1</sup> A large number of widows and fatherless children had been left in a helpless situation, and the town, unable to provide for so large a number, applied to the provincial government for assistance. By means of a “Brief,” issued by the authority of the legislature, the sum of one hundred and seventeen pounds was collected for their relief.

Early in the year Thomas Hutchinson, who had made himself exceedingly unpopular throughout the province, by

<sup>1</sup> Upwards of one thousand men and boys were employed in the fisheries, besides those who cured fish.

his duplicity and willing subserviency to the ministry of Great Britain, was appointed governor of Massachusetts. The measures proposed by Parliament to render the governor, judges, and other officials of the crown independent of the General Court served only to increase the indignation of the people of the province. The governor shortly after accepted a salary from the king and the British secretary of state announced "that the king had made provision for the support of his law servants in Massachusetts Bay."

On the 28th of October a town meeting was held in Boston, to consider what action should be taken in regard to these matters. At this meeting, which was the most important ever held in the province, John Hancock presided, and, as has been very aptly said, the "foundation was laid for the American Union." It was there, after an address to the governor had been prepared, that Samuel Adams made his famous motion that "a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men and Christians, and as subjects; and to communicate and publish the same to the several towns and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made." This motion was adopted, and the committee was appointed with James Otis as its chairman. A statement of the rights of the colonies was prepared by Samuel Adams, in which their "violations and infringements" were stated in the strongest and most forcible language.

The letter to the towns was prepared shortly after. After soliciting a "free communication of the sentiments of the towns" of "our common danger," it concluded: "Let us consider, brethren, we are struggling for our best birthrights and inheritance, which being infringed, render all our blessings precarious in their enjoyments, and, consequently, trifling in their value. Let us disappoint the men who are raising themselves on the ruin of this country. Let us con-

vince every invader of our freedom that we will be as free as the constitution our fathers recognized will justify."

These documents were received in Marblehead during the following month, and the response of the inhabitants was prompt, hearty, and characteristic. A petition was sent to the selectmen requesting them to call a town meeting on the 1st of December, which was couched in such patriotic and vigorous language that it was inserted entire in the warrant. "It has proved the wisdom of the best parliaments that ever Britain experienced"—such was its language—"in listening to the complaints of the people against any of their acts, and to suspend enforcing them contrary to the repeated remonstrances of a considerable part of the Empire; it being thoroughly known to these wise men, that the greatest advantage arising from mixt government consisted in this, the republic part of it. That which issues from the people is best able to direct the end of law, and the people by their experience of its operation to judge whether it is mild and salutary or oppressive and distressing."

"But such wisdom does not distinguish the present era. The complaints of so considerable a part of the Empire as is made up of North America are unattended to; their petitions, remonstrances, and resolves neglected and despised; acts of Parliament contrary to the apparent rights of mankind, and British subjects, *carried in execution and crammed down their throats*; acts assuming a power unknown before to Englishmen; a power to grant their moneys without their consent; a power which (if supported) leaves to Americans not the least appearance of property, and at best makes them only tenants of their real and personal estates."

On the day appointed the inhabitants assembled at the town house, and Thomas Gerry was chosen moderator. The circular letter from the town of Boston, and the pamphlet "State of Rights" were read by the town clerk, and it was then voted to choose a committee "to take the whole

warrant into consideration." Col. Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Thomas Gerry, Jr., Joshua Orne, and Capt. John Nutt were the members of this committee. The meeting then adjourned to meet again on the following Tuesday, when the committee reported several resolutions, which were read separately and unanimously adopted. These resolutions denounced in the strongest terms the "recent act of Parliament and the British Ministry in sending troops and ships to parade about the coast and in the streets of the towns of the Province;" characterized the granting of stipends to the provincial judges as an attempt to "bribe the present respectable gentlemen to become tools to their despotic administration," and to "turn the seats of justice into a deplorable and unmerciful inquisition." The dissolution of the provincial legislature was condemned in language equally as forcible, and the resolutions concluded by declaring "That this town is highly incensed at the unconstitutional, unrighteous, presumptuous, and notorious proceedings, detesting the name of a Hillsborough, Bernard, and every Minister who promoted them. And that it not only bears testimony against, but will oppose these, and all such measures until some way for a full redress shall be adopted and prove effectual." It was voted to elect a committee of grievances now, and from year to year as long as may be necessary, to correspond with like committees in Boston and other towns in the province. The committee consisted of Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Joshua Orne, Thomas Gerry, Thomas Gerry, Jr., Capt. John Nutt, Capt. John Glover, and Deacon William Dolliber. The circular letter of the town of Boston was referred to this committee with instructions to prepare a reply, and the meeting then adjourned to meet on the 15th of December.

The meeting was held according to adjournment, and Azor Orne, chairman of the committee, presented a letter which had been prepared according to the instructions of the town. This letter was prefaced by a report in which,

among other patriotic measures, it was recommended that one of the pamphlets of the town of Boston "containing the 'State of Rights' be lodged in the office of the Town Clerk, and read annually until our grievances are redressed, at the opening of every March Meeting, to inform posterity (should their rights and liberties be preserved) how much they are indebted to many eminent patriots of the present day, that the names of the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., Moderator of the meeting which originated the 'State of Rights,' the Hon. James Otis, Esq., Mr. Adams, Doctor Warren, and other members of the committee which reported them, be recorded in the books of this town as great supporters of the rights and liberties of the Province, and gentlemen who do much honor and service to their country."

Every patriotic sentiment contained in the "circular letter" of the town of Boston, was indorsed in the reply of the committee of grievance in Marblehead. It was worthy the patriots who composed it, and the town which adopted its language, as its own. "We beg leave," it concludes, "to bid adieu for the present by assuring you that a determined resolution to support the rights confirmed to us by the Great King of the Universe, engages the minds of this people, and we apprehend that all who attempt to infringe them are, in obedience to wicked dictates, violating the sacred statutes of Heaven. And for the honor of our Supreme Benefactor, for our own welfare, and the welfare of posterity, we desire to use these blessings of Liberty with thankfulness and prudence, and to defend them with intrepidity and steadiness."

There were those among the merchants of Marblehead who, though firm friends of their country, and sympathizing fully with every proper method taken to obtain a redress of grievances, were unprepared to indorse the language of the resolutions adopted at these meetings. To their conservative minds the action of the town appeared "rash and inconsiderate," and they accordingly protested against it.



The protest was signed by twenty-nine well known merchants, and published in the columns of the "Essex Gazette." It was claimed that but a small faction of the inhabitants voted in favor of the resolutions, and that they therefore "did not fairly represent the sentiments of the people of Marblehead." To this, a reply was made in the next issue of the paper, in which it was claimed that the resolves "were fully and fairly discussed for more than an hour, and that when the vote was taken there was but one person found in opposition." The writer also stated that the protest was faithfully circulated four days before the twenty-nine signatures were obtained.

During the year 1773 the attention of the inhabitants was for a time occupied in considering their danger from another source than the oppressive acts of the British Parliament. In June the wife of Mr. William Matthews was taken sick, and was treated for "poison." Her husband having recently arrived home from a fishing voyage to the Grand Banks it was supposed that she had been poisoned by washing his clothing with some soap which he had procured on board a French fishing vessel. In a short time other members of her family were afflicted, and in less than a month nearly all who had taken care of them were prostrate with the "poison." The kind-hearted neighbors of these unfortunates took their turn in watching with, and caring for them, when to their consternation and alarm the disease which had thus far baffled all their skill was pronounced to be the small-pox in its most malignant form. A very small number, comparatively, of the inhabitants had ever had the disease, and their excitement was increased when it was known that an old lady who had died with it had been visited by more than one hundred and fifty persons. The town — as an old gentleman expressed it in his journal, — was now in an "uproar." The selectmen ordered all houses where the disease had appeared to be closed and guarded, and "all the dogs in town to be killed

immediately." Many of those who were sick were removed to a house at the "Ferry," and in less than two months twenty-three persons died there. Eight others, who died during two weeks of July and August, were buried at the Neck in the plain just above what was then known as "Black Jack's Cove."

In August a town meeting was held, and Azor Orne, Jonathan Glover, John Glover, and Elbridge Gerry petitioned the town to build a hospital on Cat Island for the treatment of small-pox patients by inoculation, "or allow certain individuals to build it at their own expense." The town voted not to build the hospital, but gave the desired permission to the petitioners to undertake it as a private enterprise, provided "that the consent of the town of Salem could be obtained," and that the hospital should be so regulated that the inhabitants of Marblehead would "be in no danger of infection therefrom."

The consent of the selectmen of Salem was readily obtained, and early in September preparations were made for the erection of the building. The work had barely commenced, however, before the people of Marblehead began to manifest great uneasiness, through fear that by means of the hospital the dread disease might take the form of a pestilence among them. The opposition at length became so great that a town meeting was held on the 19th of September, and the vote whereby permission was granted for the erection of the building was rescinded. The report had been freely circulated that the proprietors desired to establish the hospital for their own personal gain, and "to make money by means of the dangerous experiment." To allay the indignation created by these rumors, and to show their own disinterestedness, the proprietors proposed to sell the materials for the building to the town, at their actual cost. The citizens, unreasonable now in their opposition, not only refused to purchase the materials, but demanded that the work be abandoned.

Indignant at the injustice of this action, the proprietors continued their work in spite of all opposition, and in a short time the hospital, a large two-story building, was completed. Dr. Hall Jackson, an eminent physician of Portsmouth, N. H., who had attained a distinguished reputation for his success in treating the small-pox, was appointed superintendent, and, on the 16th of October entered upon his duties, and began the work of inoculation.

A large number of patients, numbering several hundreds, were successfully treated; but, unfortunately, a few, who had taken the disease more severely than the others, died while at the hospital.

The opposition to the enterprise, which from the beginning had been very great, now took the form of the most bitter and angry hostility. The boatmen had landed patients at places nearer the town than those appointed by the selectmen, and for this the excited citizens demolished their boats. Four men, who were detected in the act of stealing clothing from the hospital, were tarred and feathered, and, after being placed in a cart and exhibited through all the principal streets of the town, were carried to Salem, accompanied by a procession of men and boys, marching to the music of five drums and a fife.

The fears of the inhabitants were still further increased when, a short time after this affair, it was announced that "twenty-two cases of small-pox" had broken out in the town. The storm of indignation which for months had been brewing, and manifesting itself at intervals, now burst upon the proprietors of the hospital in all its fury. Threats of lynching them were openly made, and the angry populace demanded that the doors of the detested "Castle Pox" — as the hospital was ironically called — should be closed forever. The proprietors momentarily expected to be mobbed, and it is said that one of them, Col. Jonathan Glover, placed two small artillery pieces in one of the rooms of his house, fronting the street, intending to give the crowd a warm re-

ception from the windows, should they attempt to molest him.

At length, unable longer to resist the importunate petitions of their fellow-citizens, the proprietors closed the hospital, and promised that no more patients should be received. For a time the excitement was somewhat allayed, but the injudicious remarks of one of the proprietors "excited the suspicion of the citizens that the promise would not be kept," and the opposition broke out afresh. On the night of January 26, 1774, a party of men closely disguised visited the island, and before they left it the hospital and a barn adjoining were in flames. The buildings and all their contents were completely destroyed.

Naturally indignant at this outrage, the proprietors determined to secure the speedy punishment of the incendiaries. John Watts and John Gulliard were arrested as being implicated in the affair, and were confined in Salem jail. As soon as the news of the arrest became generally known in Marblehead, the cause of the prisoners was earnestly espoused by the inhabitants, and measures were adopted to rescue them from the hands of the authorities. A large number of men at once marched to Salem, and in a short time the jail was completely surrounded. At a given signal the doors were broken open, the jailer and his assistants were overpowered, and the prisoners were rescued and conducted in triumph to their homes. A few days after, the sheriff organized a force of five hundred citizens, intending to march to Marblehead and recapture his prisoners. A mob equally as large at once organized in Marblehead to resist them. Fearing the disastrous consequences to life and property which a conflict would endanger, the proprietors decided to abandon the prosecution, and the sheriff abandoned his purpose.

Some time after this affair a man named Clark, one of the persons who had previously been tarred and feathered, went to Cat Island and brought a quantity of clothing into the town. He was at once ordered to take the bundle to

the ferry for examination. On his return to the town he was surrounded by an angry crowd, who threatened to inflict summary punishment upon him. The selectmen appeared upon the scene, however, and he was released. At about eleven o'clock that night his house was visited by a delegation of twenty citizens, and he was taken from his bed, conducted to the public whipping-post in front of the town-house, and was there unmercifully beaten. One of the perpetrators of the outrage was subsequently arrested, but the others were not detected. The town having been disinfected of the disease, and the hospital, the great cause of all the contention, having been removed, peace was once more restored to the community.

While these tumultuous proceedings were transpiring at Marblehead the people of the province were equally as excited over matters of a different nature. The British government, finding it impracticable to carry the duty on tea into execution by constraint, determined to effect it, if possible, by policy. To this end a compromise was adopted, by which the East India Company, who had been the heaviest losers by the diminution of exports from Great Britain, were authorized by law to "to export their tea, free of duties, to all places whatever." Though by this regulation tea became cheaper to Americans than before the duties were imposed, the colonists were not to be deceived by the new ministerial plan. As soon as the news was received that the East India Company had freighted several ships with tea consigned to their agents in the colonies, a town meeting was held in Boston "to devise measures to prevent its landing and sale within the province." A committee was chosen to wait upon the agents of the company, and request a promise from them that the tea should neither be unladed nor sold. The agents refused to give the promise as desired, and the citizens passed resolutions declaring them "enemies to their country," and that they "should be dealt with accordingly."

A few days after, on the arrival of the ships with the tea, the Boston Committee of Grievance issued a circular inviting all the neighboring towns to hold meetings, "to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive measure of administration."

In response to this invitation the citizens of Marblehead assembled at the town house on Tuesday, December 7, 1773. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. William Whitwell, pastor of the First Church. Deacon Stephen Phillips was chosen moderator, and a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted. These resolutions began by affirming "That Americans have a right to be as free as any inhabitants of the earth, and to enjoy at all times an uninterrupted possession of their property." "The late measure of the East India Company, in sending to the colonies their tea, loaded with a duty for raising revenue," was denounced as, "to all intents and purposes, so many attempts to tax Americans, and said company, as well as the freighters, for these daring attempts upon the liberties of America, have justly won the contempt, and severest marks of resentment from every American." The "brave citizens of Boston" were commended for "their noble firmness in support of American Liberty," and the people of Marblehead were declared ready with their "lives and interests to assist them in opposing these and all other measures tending to enslave our country." The determination was announced to oppose the landing of all tea, "whether shipped by the East India Company or imported by persons here." And, after denouncing the consignees for refusing to reship the tea lately brought to Boston, the resolutions concluded as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That it is the desire of the town to be free from the company of such unworthy miscreants, and it is our determination to treat them, wherever found, with the contempt they deserve, and to carry into execution our resolutions against all who may be concerned in landing tea from Great Britain, rendered hateful to us by its duty."

The events of the winter and spring of 1774 were full of exciting interest to the inhabitants of Marblehead. On the 16th of December the famous "Tea Party" occurred in Boston Harbor, when the sturdy patriots of that town emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the sea, rather than allow them to be landed contrary to the terms of the non-importation agreement. In March Governor Hutchinson resigned, and Thomas Gage was appointed in his stead. One bill after another was passed by Parliament and readily sanctioned by the king, having for their object the subjection of the people of Massachusetts. The quartering of troops in Boston was legalized; town meetings were abolished, except for the choice of officers, or by special permission of the governor. Finally, the infamous Port Bill was passed, which closed the port of Boston to commerce, and removed the seat of government to Salem.

On the 23d of May, 1774, a town meeting was held for the purpose, according to the warrant, "of taking into consideration the alarming situation to which we are all reduced (it being no less than this, *whether we shall hereafter be freemen or slaves*; to choose a Committee of Correspondence;" and to "adopt any other measures that may appear to be constitutional, and calculated to procure relief from the difficulties which are hastening in all the colonies of America by acts of Parliament taxing and unjustly depriving them of their interest."

The meeting was organized by the choice of Deacon Stephen Phillips as moderator, and, after prayer by the Rev. William Whitwell, adjourned to meet at two o'clock in the afternoon. At the hour appointed the citizens again assembled, and, having passed a vote of thanks to Rev. Mr. Whitwell for his services in the morning, elected the following Committee of Correspondence: Joshua Orne, Dea. William Dolliber, Dea. Stephen Phillips, Edward Fettyplace, Capt. John Nutt, and Ebenezer Foster. The meeting then adjourned to meet again May 31.

Under the last clause of the warrant for these meetings, the town could legally take action upon almost any political measure ; and, in order to avoid the necessity of calling new meetings to consider the various issues as they arose, they were held by adjournment from time to time under this warrant. Forty-six meetings, the largest number ever held in Marblehead under one warrant, were held pursuant to adjournment, the last taking place on the 3d of April, 1775, ten months and ten days from the time the first meeting was convened.

On the 31st of May, 1774, the very day that the adjourned meeting was to be held, an exceedingly complimentary address to the late Governor Hutchinson appeared in the columns of the "Essex Gazette." This address was signed by thirty-three citizens of Marblehead, and declared, among other things, "that the public good was the mark at which the Ex-governor had ever aimed in his administration, and that this judgment was sustained by the opinions of all dispassionate, thinking men." The publication of the address caused great indignation, and as soon as the citizens assembled in town meeting it was referred to a committee who were instructed to take it into consideration and report at an adjourned meeting.

On the 2d of June, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the citizens again assembled, and the committee presented a long report concerning the address, which was unanimously adopted. The report denounced the signers as enemies of the province, and declared that the address was "insulting to both branches of the Legislature and effrontive to the town : " "that it was designed to destroy the harmony of the town in its public affairs : " "that it was false as it was malicious, and that its signers should only be forgiven by a public recantation of the sentiments contained in the address." One of the signers publicly recanted at the meeting, and the town thereupon voted "that any of the subscribers who shall signify before the further adjournment of



this meeting, that they are desirous of detracting themselves from all enemies in ye address so effrontive and justly obnoxious to the inhabitants of this town, shall be viewed in the same light as if they had not signed the address."

Other "recantations" soon followed, and in a short time all but ten of the subscribers had publicly acknowledged their error, and expressed their sorrow for signing the address. Two of the signers, John Fowle, and John Prentiss, through the columns of the "Essex Gazette," expressed the wish "that the address had been to the devil before they had either seen it or signed it."

At the annual election in May, John Gallison, Esq., had been elected representative to the General Court, and a town meeting was held on the 6th of June to adopt instructions which had been prepared by the Committee of Grievance. "Some bills" then "pending in the British Parliament were ordered to be read at this meeting," and the following instructions were then adopted:—

"TO JOHN GALLISON, ESQ., OUR REPRESENTATIVE.

*Sir:* The wisdom, the Integrity and Firmness of the Honorable House of Commons of this Province, whereof you are a member, are so conspicuous, and the names of the gentlemen who compose it so well respected by this town, that your constituents feel not the least doubt of its undaunted resolution, even in this day of its greatest difficulty. The worthy patriot does not fully show himself when the State is secure and tranquil, but shines illustriously in the midst of attacks and dangers; and the honorable members of this house, fully convinced of the uprightness of their cause in ye present interesting disputes, are assured that they breathe the sentiments of the collective body of the province. *We dare aver, will assert and maintain* the invaded rights of a free people, however surrounded by a hostile band, pointing at their breasts glittering bayo-

nets and threatening sudden destruction. Nevertheless, sir, we feel it proper to suggest to you our sentiments at the present alarming crisis. The Parliament of Great Britain, as well as the British Administration, we will not only admit to be a powerful, but likewise an understanding and august body of men; but should their power be infinitely greater than it is, this town conceives that measures which are inconsistent with the eternal rules of *Reason and Justice* will never become just and right because executed by that power. Surely power is one thing, right another. The late act of Parliament called the *Port Bill*, with two others which hath undoubtedly passed since, hath struck this town with the greatest astonishment.

“The Parliament is a legislature in which no one member represents America in general, or any person in it, and yet it is making laws that not only affect the properties, but likewise the lives and liberties of His Majesty’s American Subjects. This distressing grievance is magnified in this province, and will undoubtedly be so in all the provinces, by the mode of government in which the laws are to be executed, in which neither the representative or the collective body of the province are to have any choice or control whatever, our judges and justices, sheriffs or jurors, either mediately or immediately, on whose judgments so much depends, *their all*. Americans thus situated and with no interests but what can be granted by the Commons of Great Britain, are in a state but little above that of abject slaves on farms or plantations. Surely no man on earth can think these measures right, and Heaven itself, that Grand Court to whose decree all earthly ones must be subservient, will, we confidently hope, forbid the execution of them. Do the minions of power tell us that not to submit to these measures is death? We coolly answer that to submit is infinitely worse than death! We therefore desire you as the Representative of this Town, to use every prudent method for avoiding the Miseries threatening the province, by the foregoing Measures.

“First. We would have you employ your best abilities in assisting the metropolis of this province under the operation of the detestable *Port Bill*. Our hearts bleed for the distressed but truly respectable Bostonians. The sacrifice now making of their liberties is a sacrifice of the liberties of this province, and of all America. Therefore let it be borne, if not by the provinces in general, by this in particular; and should one plan for this purpose be defeated, we strongly recommend you to use your influence for adopting another and another until it shall be accomplished. It is the opinion of this town that nothing could more deface the history of America than its permitting the magnanimous Bostonians to suffer more than an equal proportion of this unrighteous sacrifice now making of their interest. In supporting this, we prop the liberties of America.

“Second. We strongly recommend to your views a congress of Committees from the several Houses of Assemblies on the Continent. By this means the joint wisdom of the whole is promised, as well as that union by which alone each province can expect to preserve its freedom. Every one must now see the truth of that excellent maxim of the celebrated farmer, ‘United we stand, divided we fall.’

“Third. We desire you to aim at harmonizing in your councils, and should the honorable house be infested with any member whose general conduct shall appear to be influenced not by the public good but private views of sounding honor or sordid profits, you cannot render to this town more acceptable service than by contemning such a man; but we sincerely hope that such a man may not be found in the senate.

“Fourth. We desire that you agitate in the house the assumed right of Parliament to alter or disannul the charter of this Province. It is humbly conceived by this town, that while the province shall not consent to any alteration of its Charter, Cancellors, Justices, Sheriffs, or Jurors, not chosen according to it, have no more authority over the

province than a Nuncio or ambassador from the Pope of Rome.

“Fifth. That should the bills of Parliament relating to the province, (of which we have copies) have passed into acts, you likewise endeavor to obtain the sense of the honorable house upon them in their most material consequences. It appears to this town that abstracted from every other consideration the bills in themselves are as cruel as tyranny itself can devise.

“Sixth. We strongly recommend it to you, that if any important matter relating to this dispute shall be agitated in the house which our instructions do not relate to, that you make the earliest communication of them to your constituents and receive their advice thereon.

“Seventh. And, upon the whole, that the sense of the honorable house be obtained upon the absolute authority of legislature and government claimed by Great Britain over the colonies and its immediate consequences to ye latter.

“Nothing is more clearly conceived by this town than that a submission to this authority by the Colonies will inevitably be attended with such a dwindling state as will finally terminate in their *Total Ruin*.”

At another meeting, held shortly after, the Committee of Correspondence was enlarged by the addition of six members. In July subscriptions were solicited by order of the town, in aid of the poor of Boston, who were suffering from the operation of the Port Bill, and, among other contributions, eleven cart-loads of Jamaica fish and a cask of oil were donated. The town house and powder-house were placed at the disposal of the merchants for the storage of goods, and the citizens generally tendered the use of their wharves, store-houses, and other unoccupied buildings for this purpose.

As soon as the determination to hold a “Continental Congress” was made known, the town voted to send one representative, and appropriated the sum of nine pounds and

eight shillings for the use of the Congress. Jeremiah Lee, Azor Orne, and Elbridge Gerry were in turn elected to represent the town, but all three declined the honor, "as the condition of their private affairs was such as to prevent their acceptance." At a subsequent meeting, the town voted, that "inasmuch as all three of the gentlemen chosen had been unable to accept the choice," in case any *one* of them should find it convenient to set out for Philadelphia, "he was authorized to draw upon the Town Treasurer for the amount of his expenses." Elbridge Gerry, the youngest person of the three who had been chosen, then only thirty years of age, was finally induced to accept the position, and thus began that distinguished public career which did not close until he had attained the office of Vice-president of the United States. During the month of July the town voted to request the various ministers "to appoint a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the grievous situation of public affairs throughout America." At the same meeting the constables were instructed to notify the inhabitants personally to attend a meeting to be held on the 26th of July, as the "disuse of tea" was "to come under consideration."

On the day appointed, the meeting was held, and the town voted that "the use of tea at a time when our inveterate enemies are causing it to be enforced on the American Colonies in the most violent methods, even by armed bands, is no less an injury offered to the Colonies by all who vend or purchase it, than affording assistance to those enemies to raise revenues to pay the dragoons who are to enslave us." It was also voted, "that this town highly disapproves the vending or use of any India Tea, . . . and views all persons who shall offer it for sale as enemies to America and this town in particular." A tea committee of eleven persons was chosen to warn the inhabitants not to use or sell India teas, and it was voted that all who refused to discontinue the sale and use of the article after being warned by the

committee should have their names "posted at the Town House and at the several Churches that the town may know their enemies."

In defiance of the acts of Parliament for the suppression of town meetings, the people of Marblehead continued to assemble, and to express their sentiments concerning the great questions then agitating the country. Nor were they awed by the presence of a company of "British Regulars," which had been stationed on the Neck for the purpose of enforcing submission to this act, at the order of the governor.

On the eleventh of August a meeting was held, and a committee of four persons was chosen "to take into consideration the late acts of Parliament respecting the Constitution of the Province." At a subsequent meeting, held four days later, the committee brought in a report recommending the holding of county meetings, by delegates from each town, "to deliberate upon matters for the safety and defense of the Province, and to confer upon whatever may be for the public good." The report was promptly adopted, and the Committee of Correspondence was instructed to address a "circular letter" to the several towns in the county, appointing a place for the meeting, and requesting them to send delegates. The town voted to send five delegates, and the following named gentlemen were elected: Jeremiah Lee, Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Joshua Orne, and Deacon William Dolliber.

Meanwhile, throughout the province, great attention was being paid to military discipline, and the patriots everywhere were anxious to be properly armed and accoutered. The militia officers were requested, by vote of the town, to "have the law of the Province relative to the militia adhered to with respect to proper equipment, and to discipline such of the inhabitants as have regard for the welfare of their country at least four times a week, and two hours each time." The selectmen were "desired to deposit the town's stock of powder at such places as they may think

most secure for the benefit of the town." These and similar votes prove conclusively that the people, though hoping that a policy of conciliation might yet be adopted by the British ministry, were steadily preparing to rush to arms at a moment's notice, in defense of their rights and liberties. The signs of the approaching struggle were read aright, and Americans everywhere were determined to meet it with unyielding fortitude and bravery.

The presence of the British soldiers on the Neck was a source of constant irritation to the inhabitants, and several times a collision between them seemed imminent. The excitement and indignation which their insolence occasioned were fomented almost to fury, when Captain Merritt, a worthy citizen, was wounded by one of the guards. The citizens hastily assembled, intending to march to the Neck and "exterminate the entire body of soldiers," but wiser counsels prevailed, and the officers in command, in order to pacify the angry populace, promised that the offender should be punished with five hundred lashes.

On the 5th of September the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. One of the first acts of this assembly was to pass resolutions and sign an agreement, by the terms of which the colonies were bound not to import directly or indirectly any goods from Great Britain or Ireland, after the 1st of December, 1774; and in case the acts complained of should not be repealed by the 10th of September, 1775, they agreed not to *export* to Great Britain and Ireland, or the West Indies, any commodities or merchandise whatever.

In the mean time, Governor Gage issued a proclamation, dissolving the Massachusetts legislature, which had been called to meet at Salem on the 5th of October. Notwithstanding this order, the legislature convened on the day appointed, and immediately resolved itself into a Provincial Congress. As soon as this intention was made known, a town meeting was held, and Jeremiah Lee, Azor Orne, and Elbridge Gerry were chosen as delegates from Marblehead.

At the same meeting, a committee of "Observation and Prevention" was chosen, with instructions "to coöperate with other towns in the Province for preventing any of the inhabitants from supplying the troops with labor, lumber, spars, pickets, straws, bricks, or any other material whatever, except such as humanity requires."

The militia of Marblehead consisted at this time of a regiment of seven companies of well disciplined, active men. This regiment was under the command of officers, all of whom had been commissioned by Governor Gage or former governors, and the town voted that it was "not expedient for the people" to be led or influenced by any militia officers "who conceive themselves obliged to hold and execute" these commissions. On the 5th of December the regiment was ordered, by vote of the town, to assemble and "choose officers for each company," and every inhabitant was ordered to be "possessed of a firearm and bayonet in good order, and equipt with thirty rounds of cartridges and ball, a pouch and knapsack." In order the better to facilitate the work of reorganization, a "committee, consisting of three persons for each of the seven companies, was chosen, with instructions to give personal notice to all on the alarm list, at least four days before the time appointed. In the performance of their duty the committee met with great opposition from some of the officers and their friends, and the names of the offenders were reported to the town. Several were severely censured, and a committee was appointed to wait upon all the officers, and inform them that, in the opinion of the town, they could "not hold or execute their commissions without hostile designs against the liberties of America." The committee were also directed to inform them that it was the desire of the town that they should forthwith resign their commissions, and publish their resignations in the "Essex Gazette." Upon being notified of this action of the town, a majority of the officers complied with the request of their fellow-citizens, and resigned their commissions. There



were those, however, who looked upon the adoption of these measures as an assumption of authority, and an evidence of an arbitrary and coercive spirit, and they firmly refused to resign their commissions, or to accede to the wishes of the town. The excitement of the people at length became so great that the town house was too small to hold the crowds that assembled at the town meetings, and the citizens were several times obliged to adjourn to the "New Meeting House." At one of these meetings, the town voted to sustain all those inhabitants who should disregard the orders and commands of the officers who had not resigned their commissions, and the constables were instructed to warn the officers not to attempt to muster the militia, as such action would disturb the peace and order of the town.

By this vote, the offices of those who had not already resigned were virtually declared vacant, and the regiment was thus without officers. But it was not the intention of the citizens to allow the regiment to disband, and the various companies were ordered to assemble and choose officers to fill the vacancies. The officers elected were presented with commissions issued by the authority of the town, and the organization of the regiment was thereby preserved.

In the mean time, the loyalists, of whom there were a few among the wealthier citizens, were not inactive. It was not to be expected that they could view these revolutionary proceedings without deep concern, and doing all in their power to dissuade their fellow-citizens from the course they had taken. They protested that the entire policy of the colonies was suicidal, and that the town had been guilty of treason by its recent action.

In November a meeting had been held, and a "Committee of Inspection" had been chosen to carry into effect the resolve of the Continental Congress respecting the non-importation of British goods. This committee was composed of fifteen patriotic citizens, whose zeal for the cause of their country was a sufficient guaranty that the duty

would be faithfully performed, namely: Samuel Hooper, Capt. John Glover, Capt. Israel Foster, Capt. John Prince, Capt. Thomas Pedrick, Capt. John Russell, Capt. James Mugford, Capt. William Courtis, Mr. Nicholas Broughton, Capt. William Blackler, Thomas Grant, 3d, Edward Wild, Samuel Russell Trevett, Capt. John Grush, and Mr. Joel Smith. The loyalists were especially bitter in their opposition to the doings of this committee. The behavior of some of them at length became so offensive, that the town voted, that they were "deserving of a severe rebuke for their misconduct." Several of those who had made themselves obnoxious by their undisguised "tory" sentiments, were signers of the address to the late Governor Hutchinson. As they had never recanted, nor in any way given the least evidence of regret for their action, the indignation of the citizens was now rekindled against them. A town meeting was held at the "New Meeting House," on the 28th of December, to consider their conduct, and a committee, of which Col. Jeremiah Lee was chairman, was chosen to prepare appropriate resolutions. These resolutions, which were promptly adopted by the town, denounced the late governor as an "unparalleled hypocrite," and the address as "an indecent, absurd, and ridiculous instrument." The addressers were stigmatized as "enemies to their country," and their conduct as "ungenerous, unjustifiable, and opprobrious;" and it was therefore voted, to "break off all connection in commerce, and in every other way with the persons mentioned, until they manifest tokens of good disposition to join their country in its just cause." In addition to this severe censure of the town, it was voted that the names of the offenders should be published in the "Essex Gazette," "that a proper resentment from the Province may likewise fall upon them."

But the zealous loyalists were not to be silenced. With a sincere belief that these rebellious acts of the colonists must sooner or later bring disaster and ruin upon the

country, and death or imprisonment to the leaders, they entreated their friends and neighbors to recede from their position before it was too late. But in vain. The invariable answer of the sturdy patriots was, "Death rather than submission;" and their entreaties only rendered them the more unpopular. Finally, by their persistent opposition to the measures of the Committee of Inspection, they again provoked the anger and resentment of the town, and at a meeting held in January, 1775, it was voted that they "ought not to be indulged in their wickedness;" and a committee was chosen to "attend to the conduct of these ministerial Tools and Jacobites," with instructions to report their names from time to time, that effectual measures might be taken, "either for silencing them, or expelling them from the community."

Shortly after this meeting had been held, the public mind was again exercised by the report that three vessels were daily expected to arrive from Falmouth, England, and that the owner of one of them had expressed a determination to land his cargo and offer it for sale. The people were equally determined that if he did so, the goods should be immediately re-shipped, and the "Committee of Inspection" was instructed to take possession of them and carry the vote into effect, even at "the risk of life itself."

In the mean time the citizens had not been unmindful of their other duties, nor of the necessity of making active preparations for the struggle, which every patriot felt must now be imminent.

## CHAPTER VII.

ONE of the most important measures adopted by the Provincial Congress during the last days of its session, was to provide for the organization of an army; and the several towns were advised to enlist companies of minute men, and to cause them to be properly disciplined and equipped. In accordance with this recommendation, a town meeting was held at Marblehead on the 2d of January, 1775, "to make provisions to pay the persons who may enlist as minute men, and take other suitable steps for perfecting the militia in the arts of war." The subject was referred to a committee, of which Gerry, Orne, and Lee were members, and they reported that as a large proportion of the inhabitants would soon be called upon "to assist in defending the Charter and Constitution of the Province, as well as the Rights and Liberties of America, it was necessary that they should be properly disciplined and instructed; and as those who were first to take the field would be required to devote a large proportion of their time to this exercise, it was but just and reasonable that they should be remunerated for their extra services." The sum of eight hundred pounds was accordingly granted for the purpose, and Capt. James Mugford was appointed paymaster for the "detached Militia or Minute Men," with instructions to pay the money to those only who presented an order indorsed by a committee of the town. This committee consisted of Thomas Gerry, Richard Harris, and Joshua Orne, who were instructed to allow a compensation of two shillings a day to each private; to sergeants, clerks, drummers, and fifers, three shillings each; second lieutenants four shillings; first lieutenants four shil-





*Abbridge Gony*



*John Glover*

lings six-pence, and captains six shillings. A service of four hours a day was required, but compensation was allowed for but three days in each week.

During the month of January the British soldiers were withdrawn from the town, and on the 9th of February his Majesty's ship *Lively*, mounting twenty guns, arrived in the harbor, and anchored off the fort. All vessels arriving in the harbor were diligently searched by the officers of this ship, and arms, ammunition, and military stores of every description, found on board them were confiscated by order of the governor. A vessel containing a chest of arms was compelled to anchor near the *Lively*; but a few nights after her arrival the prize was boarded by a party of intrepid young men under the lead of Samuel R. Trevett, and the arms were removed and concealed on shore. Though a diligent search was made by the British officers, the muskets could not be found, and, as was supposed, were afterwards used in completing the armament of the Marblehead regiment.

On the afternoon of Sunday, February 26, while the people were at church, a transport sailed into the harbor. Soon after, a regiment of British soldiers, under command of Colonel Leslie, landed on Homan's Beach. After loading their guns, they marched through the town. An alarm drum was beaten at the door of each of the churches, and, as the people came into the streets, the Marblehead regiment was mustered, and active preparations were made for the defense of the town. Suspecting the object of the expedition to be the seizure of several pieces of artillery secreted at Salem, Major John Pedrick hastened on horseback to that town, and gave the alarm at the door of the North Church. He was soon joined by a party of young men from Marblehead, and together they proceeded to the North Bridge, over which the regulars were obliged to pass. On their arrival, the troops found the draw raised, and a large body of citizens determined to resist their passage. Colonel

Leslie demanded that "the draw be lowered in the King's name," but was told that it was "not the King's highway, but a private road." Several of the soldiers then attempted to cross in boats; but they were told that, should they do so, the boats would be immediately sunk.

While Colonel Leslie and his officers were debating with the citizens, Robert Wormsted, one of the young men from Marblehead, — who afterwards distinguished himself by his daring and bravery, — engaged in an encounter with some of the soldiers. He was a skillful fencer, and, with his cane for a weapon, succeeded in disarming six of the regulars. Finally, upon their agreement to march a short distance and then return, the draw was lowered, and the soldiers were allowed to proceed. Finding himself frustrated in his design, the disappointed Colonel returned with his regiment to Marblehead, and reëmbarked on board the transport. Their discomfiture was rendered the more complete, as they were obliged to pass the Marblehead regiment, and realized that, had their mission proved successful, it would have resulted only in bloodshed and utter defeat on their return.<sup>1</sup>

The British Parliament having prohibited the colonists from carrying on any fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, it was deemed imprudent for the fishing fleet to venture out. As nearly if not quite all the vessels belonging in town were ready for sea, a committee was chosen to wait upon the owners and "skippers," and request them not to proceed on their voyages until after the time of prohibition had expired. A circular letter was also addressed to the fishermen of other towns, requesting them to adopt a similar course, as the safety of their lives and the welfare of their families depended upon their prudence and forbearance.

The events which followed in rapid succession, during the months of March and April, were such as to cause the utmost excitement in Marblehead. On the 19th of April

<sup>1</sup> This account is substantially from private manuscripts belonging to the Pedrick family.



the battle of Lexington was fought, and the news of the disastrous rout of the British was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The war for freedom had commenced, and the patriots everywhere declared themselves ready for the struggle.

The day before the battle, the Province Committee of Safety and Supplies, of which Jeremiah Lee, Elbridge Gerry, and Azor Orne were members, held a meeting at Wetherby's Black Horse Tavern, on the road between Cambridge and Lexington. After the session was concluded, several members of the committee, including John Hancock and Samuel Adams, went over to Lexington to pass the night, while the gentlemen from Marblehead remained at the tavern. Towards nightfall, small parties of British officers and soldiers were observed to pass the tavern, and Gerry at once dispatched a messenger to Hancock and Adams, apprising them of the fact. Without the slightest thought of personal danger to themselves, Gerry and his associates retired to rest, and remained quietly in their beds until the British advance were within view of the house. "It was a fine moonlight night, and they quietly marked the glittering of its beams on the polished arms of the soldiers, as they moved with the silence and regularity of accomplished discipline. The front passed on. When the centre was opposite the house, an officer and file of men were detached by signal, and marched towards it. It was not until this moment that the gentlemen of the committee entertained any apprehension of danger. While the officer was posting the files, the gentlemen found means, by their better knowledge of the premises, to escape, half dressed as they were, into an adjoining cornfield, where they remained for more than an hour, until the troops were withdrawn. Every apartment of the house was searched for the "Members of the Rebel Congress; even the beds in which they had lain were examined; but their clothing and other property, in-

cluding a valuable watch of Mr. Gerry's, which was under his pillow, were not disturbed."<sup>1</sup>

The night being very cold, the gentlemen suffered very keenly from their exposure, and Colonel Lee was soon after attacked by a severe fever, from which he never recovered. He died on the tenth of May following, at Newburyport, but his body was brought to Marblehead for interment.

The death of this eminent patriot, at a time when his inestimable services were of more value than ever to the town and province, was universally lamented. In the various positions of trust and honor which he had held, as an enterprising and successful merchant, and as "an ardent, active, and able advocate for the Liberties and Independence of his Country," he inspired the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. In his private intercourse with his fellow-men, he was admired for the urbanity of his manners, and beloved for his generous disposition and benevolence to the poor.

After the sanguinary scenes at Lexington and Concord, there was no longer any question as to the determination of Great Britain to enforce "unconditional submission." The Provincial Congress, which had adjourned to meet on the 10th of May, was convened on the 22d of April, and it was voted to raise an army of thirteen thousand men for the service of the Province. On Sunday, the 23d of April, Mr. Gerry, one of the delegates from Marblehead, reported that the British man-of-war *Lively* was lying off the harbor of the town, and that the means of defense were inadequate to repel an attack. Four days later, the Committee of Safety —

"*Ordered*, That Col. John Glover take such effectual methods for the prevention of such intelligence being carried on board the *Lively* ship of war, Captain Bishop, commander, now lying in the harbor of Marblehead, or any other, as may have a tendency to injure the most important

<sup>1</sup> Austin's *Life of Gerry*.

cause we are engaged in ; and that he take such effectual methods for carrying this order into execution as shall appear best calculated to effect this purpose."

During the month of May, the disturbed condition of public affairs caused great commotion throughout the town. Press-gangs prowled about the streets, seeking to impress seamen for the royal navy. An attack from the gunboat in the harbor, whose officers and men were irritated almost beyond endurance by the successful resistance of the citizens to their arbitrary measures, was considered as not unlikely to occur. This, together with the unprotected position of the harbor, led many of the inhabitants to remove their families to places not so dangerously exposed. On the 21st, the artillery company, commanded by Capt. Samuel R. Trevett, marched to the "Old Meeting House," where a sermon was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Whitwell. The next day, recruiting officers marched about the town with drums and fifes, enlisting recruits for the Continental army.

On the 30th, the inhabitants were alarmed by a report that British soldiers were landing at the Ferry. The regiment, led by the intrepid Glover, "turned out" and promptly marched to the scene of action ; but the report proved to be false.

The next day the frigate *Lively* sailed for Boston, and her place was taken by the sloop of war *Merlin*. A few days after the arrival of this ship, a merchant vessel from the West Indies, belonging to Colonel Glover, arrived in the harbor. The commander of the *Merlin* sent an officer on board to order the captain to anchor his vessel near the ship ; but the vigilant owner had boarded her before him, and disregarding the imperative commands of the officer and the threatening guns of the ship, had his vessel brought "directly in to Gerry's Wharf." Crowds of people were gathered along the wharves and headlands, expecting that the schooner would be fired into by the *Merlin* ; but the angry commander, knowing that the citizens were deter-

mined to defend the owner at all hazards, wisely refrained from an act which must have resulted disastrously to himself and his men.

In the mean time, the term for which the delegates to the Provincial Congress had been elected having expired, a town meeting was held, and Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Jonathan Glover, and Joshua Orne, were chosen to attend the Congress soon to assemble at Watertown. Two days later, another meeting was held, and the citizens, anxious to provide for the comfort of those who were soon to go forth to fight the battles of their country, authorized the selectmen to provide blankets and such other articles as were needed by those who had enlisted in the Provincial service.

On the 10th of June, Colonel Glover received orders from the Provincial Committee of Safety, "to continue the Regiment under his command at Marblehead, until further orders: and to hold them in readiness to march at a moment's warning to any post where he may be directed."

At the same time, a report was made to the Congress by the committee on military affairs, that "Colonel Glover had levied ten companies, making in the whole four hundred and five men, inclusive of officers; and about three quarters of said number are armed with effective fire-locks, who are willing and choose to serve in the army under him, all now at Marblehead." The committee further reported that, in their "opinion, the safety of the country, and the promoting the public service, make it highly necessary and expedient that Colonels John Glover, David Brewer, Woodbridge Little, and Jonathan Brewer, be without any delay commissioned as Chief Colonels in the army, and that their field-officers, captains, and subalterns be also commissioned as soon as the list of them can be settled."

Accordingly, on the 16th of June, Colonel Glover appeared before Congress and was sworn and commissioned as commander of the Twenty-first Regiment.

Having been stationed at Marblehead "until further or-

ders," the brave seamen of the marine regiment were deprived of an opportunity to distinguish themselves at the Battle of Bunker Hill, which took place on the 17th of June. But there were other sons of Marblehead who participated in that memorable engagement and fought like heroes in defense of their country. The company of artillery under command of Capt. Samuel R. Trevett, forming a part of Colonel Gridley's regiment, arrived on the field in season to engage in the latter part of the action. Captain Trevett lost a small four-pound cannon in the action, but made up for his loss by capturing two of a larger size from the British, the only cannon captured by the Americans. Two men of the Marblehead company were killed, and three were wounded. Of the killed, one was William Nutting; and of the wounded, one was the intrepid Robert Wormstead, who was struck in the shoulder by the fragments of a bursting shell. He narrowly escaped having his head blown from his shoulders, the fate which befell a companion whom he was assisting from the battle-field.

On the 21st of June, Colonel Glover received orders to proceed with his regiment and report to General Ward at Cambridge. A general muster was held, and the regiment, fully armed and equipped, made an imposing appearance as it marched through the town. Every officer, soldier, and musician, in the entire regiment of ten companies, were citizens of Marblehead, except one captain and seven privates. The officers, chosen some months before, were as follows:—

*Colonel*, John Glover.

*Lieutenant-colonel*, John Gerry.

*Major*, Gabriel Johonnet.<sup>1</sup>

*Adjutant*, William Gibbs.

*Surgeon*, Nathaniel Bond.

*Surgeon's Mate*, Nathaniel Harrington.

*Quartermaster*, Joseph Stacey.

<sup>1</sup> William R. Lee afterwards became Major, and Gabriel Johonnet Lieutenant-colonel.

The uniform of the regiment consisted of a blue round jacket and trousers, trimmed with leather buttons; and Colonel Glover was said to be the most finely dressed officer of the army at Cambridge.

During the months of August and September the citizens of Marblehead busied themselves in fortifying and making preparations for the defense of the town. The fort was repaired, and one hundred men were employed for seven days, "Sundays not excepted," to complete the breastworks. The cost to the town for carriages, planks, and other materials, was thirty-two pounds, "exclusive of donations" from the citizens, which were very liberal.

The sloop of war Merlin remained in the harbor during the entire summer, stopping fishing-boats as they passed, and searching the merchant vessels as they arrived in the harbor. One schooner, however, which arrived from New Providence, was seized during the night and taken around into Salem Harbor, where she was anchored in safety near the "Ferry Shore."

As no arrangements had been made for fitting out a naval armament, and as the army at Cambridge was greatly embarrassed by the scarcity of ammunition, General Washington, who had assumed command, was instructed by Congress,<sup>1</sup> to intercept and capture two English transports which were bound to Quebec with ammunition and military stores for the British army. Accordingly, Nicholas Broughton and John Selman, both captains in Glover's regiment, were ordered to take command of a detachment of the army, and proceed at once on board the schooners Lynch and Franklin, then lying in Beverly Harbor. Their instructions were issued on the 16th of October. On the 21st, having fitted their vessels for sea, — the Lynch with six guns and the Franklin with four, — they sailed on the first naval expedition of the war. Each commander took his own company for a crew, and Broughton, as Commodore, hoisted his broad "pendant on board the Lynch."

<sup>1</sup> *Austin's Life of Gerry. Correspondence of John Adams.*

After a long passage, being detained by adverse winds and weather, they reached the river St. Lawrence, but found that the transport for which they were in search had escaped. They, however, captured ten other vessels as prizes, and hearing that the authorities on the Island of St. John's were raising recruits for the British army, the zealous commanders, thinking to do essential service to their country, landed their troops on the island, besieged a fort, and detained and brought off the Governor (Wright) and Judge Colbeck as prisoners of war. In December the expedition returned, when, much to their astonishment, the two naval officers were severely reprimanded by the commander-in-chief, for exceeding their instructions, and the prisoners and prizes were released. It was the desire of Congress to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Northern Provinces, and Washington feared that this hasty action of the brave but overzealous seamen would cause a rupture of the friendly relations existing between these colonies which might be fraught with serious consequences.

In the mean time the Legislature of Massachusetts had passed an act authorizing the fitting out of armed vessels "to protect the sea-coast," and to cut off the supplies intended for the British army. This act, which was adopted on the 15th of November, was due chiefly to the efforts of Elbridge Gerry, one of the representatives from Marblehead, by whom the preamble was drawn up. The first vessel to put to sea under this arrangement was the schooner Lee, commanded by Capt. John Manly, of Marblehead. On the 29th of November he fell in with the brig Nancy, a vessel of 250 tons burden, bound to Boston with military stores, which he captured, and sent in to Gloucester Harbor. Her cargo consisted of several brass field-pieces, 2,000 stand of arms, 100,000 flints, 32 tons of lead, a large quantity of ammunition, and a thirteen-inch brass mortar, besides a complete assortment of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for military operations. Manly's

schooner sailed under the Pine Tree Flag of Massachusetts, and this was the first naval victory in which the British flag was struck to American colors.<sup>1</sup> The prize was of inestimable value to Washington, and the ordnance stores and field-pieces were at once forwarded to the army at Cambridge.

On the 8th of December, Captain Manly captured two other vessels within full sight of the British fleet in Boston Harbor. After a brief engagement with an English armed schooner, he succeeded in taking his prizes into Plymouth. On leaving this port, he was chased into Scituate River by the British sloop of war Falcon, Captain Lendzee, which had been sent out to seize him. Manly ran his brig ashore. After a desperate engagement, during which the British vessel fired more than three hundred guns, an attempt was made to board the brig by men in barges. They were repulsed, however, and the British commander was at length obliged to retire from the contest, having lost more than half his men. Captain Manly succeeded in getting his vessel off without much damage, and in a short time she was again refitted for sea.

The opening of the year 1776 found the people of Marblehead suffering extreme hardship from the effects of the war. On the 8th of January a town meeting was held to consider the distressed and "truly miserable condition of the poor at the Work-house," and the selectmen were authorized to hire the sum of £200 for their relief. A few months before, the poor people of the town had been recommended to cut turf and dig roots of trees in the swamps, for fuel.

At the annual March meeting, the Committee of Safety was increased to nineteen persons, and, two months later,

<sup>1</sup> "Philadelphia is now boasting that Paul Jones has asserted in his journal that 'this hand hoisted the first American flag;' and Captain Barry has said that the first British flag was struck to him. *Now I assert that the first American flag was hoisted by John Manly, and the first British flag was struck to him.*" *Correspondence of John Adams. Austin's Life of Gerry*, p. 100.



Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Jonathan Glover, Thomas Gerry, and Joshua Orne were elected to represent the town in the General Court.

Early in the month of May, James Mugford, a young man who had previously sailed as the master of a merchant vessel, applied to General Ward for permission to fit out the Continental cruiser Franklin, then lying in ordinary at Beverly. During the previous year, Mugford had been impressed into the British service and confined on board a gunboat then lying in the harbor. He was soon released, however, through the interposition of his wife, who went on board the ship and represented to the captain that they had been recently married, and that she was dependent upon him for support. While a prisoner, the young sailor learned from the conversation of his captors that a "Powder Ship" was soon to sail from England, with ammunition and stores for the British army. Immediately upon his release, he communicated the important intelligence to the proper authorities, and requested permission to attempt the capture of the transport. After much importunity his request was granted. Without delay, the intrepid commander collected a crew, and, after fitting his vessel for sea, pushed into the Bay. On Friday, the 17th of May, the British ship Hope, of three hundred tons, six guns, and seventeen men, hove in sight. Notwithstanding the fact that a British fleet lay at anchor in Nantasket Roads, only a few miles off, and in full sight, Mugford at once bore down upon the ship, and carried her by boarding. While the crew of the Franklin were engaged in taking possession of their prize, the captain of the Hope ordered his men to cut the topsail halyard ties, with a view to impede the sailing of the ship, and thereby give the boats of the squadron time to come up. Mugford, sensible of the danger of his situation, threatened the captain and all on board with instant death, should the order be executed. His resolute manner terrified the crew, and they refused to obey the commands of their officers.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Clark's *Naval History*.

prize was taken through Pudding Point Gut, — a channel then but little known, — beyond the range of the guns of the British squadron, and arrived safely in Boston Harbor. This was the most valuable capture that had been made during the war. The cargo consisted of one thousand carbines with bayonets, several carriages for field-pieces, fifteen hundred barrels of powder, and a most complete assortment of artillery implements and pioneer tools.

Having seen his prize safe in port, the gallant commander of the Franklin took a supply of ammunition, and on the following Sunday again put to sea. In sailing through Pudding Point Gut, the same channel through which the prize was brought up, the vessel grounded. This being perceived by the officers on board the ships of the British fleet, fourteen boats, manned by two hundred sailors fully armed, were sent to capture the unprotected schooner. Mugford, however, was prepared to meet them. Waiting until they came within range of his guns, he fired, and with such deadly effect that two of the boats were immediately sunk. The men in the remaining boats now surrounded the schooner and attempted to board. Seizing pikes and cutlasses, and whatever implements they could obtain, the heroic crew of the Franklin fought with desperation in defense of their vessel. Many of the British were shot as soon as the boats came alongside, while others had their hands and fingers cut off with sabres, as they laid them on the gunwales of the schooner. The brave Mugford, who throughout the conflict had been fighting wherever his presence seemed most needed, encouraging and animating his men by voice and example, was shot through the breast by an officer in one of the boats. With the utmost composure, and with that presence of mind which ever distinguishes heroes, he called to his lieutenant, and exclaimed: "*I am a dead man ; don't give up the vessel ; you will be able to beat them off.*" In a few minutes he expired. The death of their gallant commander nerved the crew of the Franklin to still greater effort, and in a short

time the men in the boats were repulsed, and gave up the attack. The engagement lasted half an hour. The British lost seventy men, while the only person killed on board the schooner was its heroic captain.

With the advancing tide the Franklin floated from the soft ground where she had struck, and taking advantage of a fresh breeze that had sprung up, the crew brought her in safety into Marblehead Harbor. The news of the capture of the powder ship, and of the death of the captain in the contest with the boats, had preceded the arrival of the schooner, and the wharves and headlands were thronged with people, as the victorious seamen sailed up the harbor.

On the following Wednesday the funeral took place from the "New Meeting House," the Rev. Isaac Story officiating and conducting the services. Amid the tolling of bells and the firing of minute-guns, the body was conveyed to its resting-place on the "Old Burying Hill," where a volley was fired by the Marblehead Regiment, which did escort duty on the occasion.

During the previous winter Elbridge Gerry took his seat as a member of the Continental Congress. As each measure of public utility was adopted by Congress, Mr. Gerry advised his constituents of its import, and suggested the adoption of corresponding measures by the General Court of the province he represented. The idea of a complete separation from the mother country found in him a warm and able advocate. In March he wrote to a friend: "I hope nothing will satisfy you short of a determination of America to hold her rank in the creation, and give law to herself." . . . "I sincerely wish you would originate instructions, expressed with decency and firmness, and give your sentiments in favor of independency."<sup>1</sup>

Encouraged by such sentiments as these, openly advocated by men in whom they reposed the utmost confidence, the citizens of Marblehead assembled in town meeting on the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Gerry*, p. 174.

17th of June, the first anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, and declared: "That if the Continental Congress think it for the interest of these united colonies to declare them Independent of Great Britain, and should publish such declaration, the inhabitants of this town will support them in maintaining such Independence with lives and fortunes."

The patriotic citizens had not long to wait. Early one morning in July, — so runs the tradition, — a horseman rode into town, bringing the joyful tidings that independence had been declared. The joy of the people knew no bounds. The bells of the churches were rung for an entire week, and every evening fires were lighted on the hill-tops, in honor of the great event. During the excitement occasioned by these demonstrations, St. Michael's Church was entered, and the royal coat of arms was removed from its place above the chancel, while the bell was rung till it cracked, to punish some of the communicants for their loyalist sentiments.

In a few weeks printed copies of the Declaration of Independence were received, and Benjamin Boden, the town clerk, transcribed the entire document on the records of the town.

As an expedition to Canada was being formed for the capture of military stores at Quebec, a town meeting was held to adopt measures for raising money and recruits. A committee of seven persons was appointed to solicit subscriptions of money to be used as a bounty for volunteers, and on the days when the town was canvassed the church bells were rung, and the town crier was sent about to notify the inhabitants. The citizens responded generously to this patriotic appeal, and, after the necessary amount had been paid for bounties, a balance of over two hundred dollars remained in the hands of the committee. This, with the consent of the subscribers, was appropriated to the erection of "additional fortifications for the defense of the town."

The year 1777 opened with little encouragement for the success of the American army. True, a glorious success had

been achieved at Trenton and Princeton, but the disheartening failures of the various expeditions North and South, and the extreme sufferings to which the soldiers in the army had been subjected, were rapidly breeding discontent and discouragement among the people. On the first of January two thousand of the regular troops were entitled to a discharge, and a general apprehension prevailed that their places might not be readily filled. But the people of Marblehead were not despondent; and though a large proportion of the able-bodied citizens were already in the service of the colonies, either on land or water, a meeting was held early in February for the purpose of enlisting one seventh of the remaining male inhabitants "for the defense of the American States." An additional bounty was offered for volunteers, and in a short time the requisite number was obtained.

The treatment to which the loyalists should be subjected had been seriously discussed by Congress and by the State Legislature, and in May the latter body passed an act authorizing the towns to procure information against those who were known to be of an unfriendly disposition towards the colonies. A town meeting was accordingly held in Marblehead on the 26th of May, and Thomas Gerry, Esq., was chosen to report the names of all persons who were inimical to the American States. The names of seven persons were reported, among them those of the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, the rector of St. Michael's Church, and Mr. Woodward Abraham, who conducted the services as a lay reader for several years after the close of the war.

But the zealous inhabitants had taken it upon themselves to punish the "Tories" in their own effective manner, and a suggestion from the legislature was hardly necessary to induce them to establish "an inquisition," — the term applied by one of the sufferers to the measures of his fellow-citizens. Nearly two years before, Thomas Robie, one of the most defiant of the loyalists in Marblehead, had charged an exor-

bitant price for about twenty half-barrels of powder, purchased of him by the town, and the indignant citizens voted that no interest should be allowed him for the time of the town's indebtedness. The ill feeling this engendered continued to increase, until Robie and his wife rendered themselves so obnoxious that they were obliged to leave the town and take refuge in Nova Scotia. Crowds of people collected on the wharf to witness their departure, and many irritating remarks were addressed to them concerning their Tory principles, and their conduct towards the Whigs. Provoked beyond endurance by these insulting taunts, Mrs. Robie angrily retorted, as she seated herself in the boat that was to convey her to the ship: "I hope that I shall live to return, find this wicked rebellion crushed, and see the streets of Marblehead so deep with rebel blood that a long boat might be rowed through them." The effect of this remark was electrical, and only the sex of the speaker restrained the angry citizens from doing her personal injury.

But there were other loyalists in Marblehead, who if not so demonstrative, were not less sincere in their opinions. With fortitude and in silence they bore the taunts and insults to which they were subjected, honestly believing that their friends and neighbors were engaged in a treasonable rebellion against their lawful sovereign. One of those upon whom the wrath of the citizens fell with especial severity, was Mr. Benjamin Marston. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and had for many years been an influential citizen in the community, having represented the town in the legislature, and held many local offices. In 1774 he was one of the addressers of Governor Hutchinson, which awakened the distrust of his towns-people. "In the year 1775, his house was visited by a Marblehead committee, who, without any legal authority, entered his doors, broke open his desks, embezzled his money and notes, and carried off his books and accounts. He made his escape from the town with difficulty, and remained for some time con-

cealed among his friends in the neighborhood of Boston. He then went to Halifax, and there engaging in trade, and venturing to sea, he was taken prisoner and carried to Plymouth," where he remained until exchanged.<sup>1</sup>

Another of the loyalists who suffered keenly from the displeasure of his towns-people, during these exciting times, was Mr. Ashley Bowen. He had seen active service in the French and Indian War, and was a midshipman on board the frigate *Pembroke* at the siege of Quebec. So indignant were the citizens at his steady resolution in defending the king, and denouncing the acts of the colonists as treasonable, that at one time during the war it was with great difficulty that he obtained the necessaries of life. The store-keepers were afraid to sell their goods to him for fear of incurring the displeasure of their patrons, and he feared, with good reason, that the attempt would be made to starve him into submission. In 1778 he made the following entry in his journal, which tells its own story: "This is a year of trouble to me. I was drafted twice as a soldier, and taken by Nathian Brown before old Ward on ye 25 of March. Then they trained with me so much that they would have me to get bondsmen for me not to speak nor look, nor deny them my money when drafted. As I would not get bondsmen, it was determined to send me on board the *Guard Ship* at Boston." Fortunately for Mr. Bowen he met with an old friend, the captain of a merchant vessel, with whom he shipped as mate, and so, as the journal expresses it, "was taken out of their way."

Whatever else may be said of the loyalists of Marblehead, it cannot be said that they were cowardly. They were sincere in their convictions, and had the courage to declare them in defiance of an overwhelming public sentiment in opposition. To do this, required a strength of character such as is seldom exhibited except by heroes in times of public peril. They were actuated by no mercenary

<sup>1</sup> *Memoir of the Marston Family*, by John Lee Watson.

motives. Estranged from friends and kindred, liable at any moment to be imprisoned or to have their property confiscated, many were obliged to leave the home of their childhood, and seek a residence among strangers. Time has removed the prejudice, the last actor in the great drama has long since passed from earth, and to-day, though the impartial reader of history may not indorse the sentiments, nor applaud the acts of the zealous loyalists, he will find much to admire in their evident sincerity, and the fortitude with which they encountered danger and endured adversity.

During the spring of 1777 the small-pox again broke out in town. The usual precautionary measures were adopted, and the town crier was sent about to warn the inhabitants "not to attempt to inoculate themselves or their families." One of the citizens, however, inoculated his wife and child for the disease, contrary to the wishes of the town. A town meeting was called to consider the matter, and it was voted that "the whole town or the inhabitants now assembled, be a committee to wait upon" the gentleman, "and ascertain whether his wife and child have been inoculated or not." A building was erected in the "Middle Division" for the treatment of patients, and a general inoculation was ordered. The services of the celebrated Dr. Jackson were again obtained, and in a short time the town was reported cleansed from the disease.

The hardships and sufferings to which the people were subjected during the summer months were severe in the extreme. Many of the soldiers in the army had been paid for their services in depreciated Continental notes, which passed for less than half their face value, while others had not been paid at all. As a consequence, their families at home were deprived of many of the necessaries of life, and the town was obliged to adopt measures for their relief. The family of each soldier was allowed to draw provisions to the amount of half the wages due him, and for a time the distress was alleviated.



Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union having been proposed by the Continental Congress, a town meeting was held on the 26th of January, 1778, and the unanimous vote of the citizens was cast in favor of accepting them. During the winter the legislature framed a State Constitution, which was submitted to the people, and in June the citizens of Marblehead voted unanimously against it.

The term of enlistment of many of the soldiers in the army having expired, the legislature voted on the 1st of May to raise two thousand men for a service of eight or nine months, and apportioned the number upon the towns. Ardent and spirited appeals were made to the people, and, as usual, the reply of Marblehead was prompt and decisive. Three days after, a town meeting was held, and the sum of twenty-five hundred and fifty-two pounds was appropriated "to pay the bounty due the Guards at Winter Hill, and to raise thirty-four more men to serve in the Continental Army."

Though the citizens had assented willingly to the numerous assessments made upon them for war purposes, the collectors, in many instances, were unable to obtain the full amount of the tax levied by the town. The patriotic town treasurer, Jonathan Glover, supplied the deficiency from time to time with private funds of his own, rather than the town should be delinquent, and interest was allowed him for the use of the money.

The financial embarrassment of the country, and the depreciated state of the currency, led the people during the following year to adopt measures for the prevention of extortion, and for the regulation of the prices to be charged by dealers and mechanics. "Any person guilty of buying or selling silver or gold, or demanding gold for rent or otherwise," was to be deemed an enemy of the country, and treated accordingly. The price of wood was regulated at eighteen pounds per cord, and candles at eighteen shillings a pound. "Best made men's shoes were to be eight pounds

a pair," and other shoes in proportion. Farriers, for shoeing horses all round, were to receive six pounds, and for shifting a single shoe, fifteen shillings. A committee of forty persons was chosen to detect any violation of these regulations, with instructions to deal summarily with every offender.

As the ships of the British navy were cruising about the bay, the towns along the coast were in great danger of being attacked at any moment. Active preparations were accordingly made during the summer for the defense of the town. Fortifications were erected on Bartoll's Head, and on Twesden's Hill, and guards were stationed at various points along the shore.

The new State Constitution proposed by the legislature having been rejected by the people, a convention of delegates from each town was called to meet at Cambridge on the 28th of October, for the purpose of forming another. On the 30th of September, Azor Orne, Joshua Orne, Thomas Gerry, and Jonathan Glover, were elected delegates from Marblehead. The instrument framed by this convention was ratified by the people, and on the 22d of May, 1780, the vote of Marblehead was cast in favor of its adoption.

During the summer of 1779 the British letter of marque Thorn, a ship of five hundred tons, and mounting eighteen guns, was captured by Captain Tucker and sent into Boston. On her arrival she was purchased by a party of gentlemen, among them Col. William R. Lee, of Marblehead, by whom she was again fitted out as a letter of marque. Having returned late in the autumn from a remarkably successful voyage to France, it was decided not to fit out the Thorn for another voyage until the following spring.

Towards the close of the winter of 1780, information was received, by means of a letter which had fallen into the wrong hands by mis-direction, that an expedition was fitting out in Halifax, and would soon sail for Marblehead to capture the Thorn. If she could not be got out of the har-

bor, the intention was to burn her. The owners, thus placed on their guard, had the ship taken immediately into Salem Harbor, where she would be more secure and less liable to surprise. It was afterwards ascertained that two persons, each of whom had a fishing schooner captured and taken into Halifax, had been down there to obtain the release of their vessels, and that their request had been granted upon condition that one of them should be used for secretly transporting the men who were to take or destroy the Thorn. The letter was intended for the owner of one of these vessels. On the night of the very day that the ship was taken into Salem Harbor, the schooner arrived in Marblehead, having several officers, and sixty men secreted in her hold. Finding that their prize had escaped them, the Englishmen were landed late in the night at the extreme southern end of the town, and were conducted to the house of a Tory friend, where they were secreted for several days, until they could be privately returned to Halifax. But, though the landing was conducted in silence, and with the utmost precaution against discovery, it was not unobserved. A young fisherman was walking out with the girl to whom he was engaged, and having reached the upper end of the harbor, they saw a large number of armed men landing in boats from a schooner. Surprised at this unusual proceeding, the lovers had barely time to conceal themselves beneath some fish flakes on the rising ground near by, when the entire body of men passed by them. They were discovered, however, by one of the officers, and it was proposed to kill them at once, to prevent their giving information. Fearing that an outcry would be made, which would cause a search to be instituted, thereby rendering an escape impossible, the Englishmen abandoned the idea of murdering their prisoners, and released them, but not before a solemn promise had been exacted from them, under threats of instant death, that what they had seen and heard should not be revealed for at least three days. On the night of the second day the British were sent off by the aid of their Tory friends.

The owners of the Thorn, though possessing exact information as to the British sympathizers and Tories who were engaged in the nefarious scheme, refrained from making known their names or giving information to the authorities, as the guilty parties were respectably connected, and such action would only bring distress and sorrow upon their families.<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th of May occurred the famous "dark day," which caused great alarm throughout New England. At Marblehead the morning was cloudy, and as the day advanced the darkness increased in intensity. At noon the darkness was so great that artificial lights were used in the houses, and the birds and beasts of all kinds retired to their places of rest. In some families the noonday repast was omitted, and the time was piously devoted to prayer. Towards night, however, it grew lighter. Various causes were assigned for this startling phenomena by the terror-stricken inhabitants, and though there was a diversity of opinion, all agreed that it was an omen of ill. By some it was thought to be a warning that the end of the world was drawing near, while others saw in it the displeasure of Heaven with the cause for which the colonists were struggling. By the learned and more intelligent portion of the community, who investigated the matter, it was afterwards generally attributed to a "thick smoke which had been accumulating for several days, occasioned by the burning of large tracts of woodland in the northern part of New Hampshire, where the people were forming new settlements."

Though the condition of national affairs was far from encouraging, the patriotic citizens were determined that nothing should be left undone by which the war could be brought to a successful termination. On the 15th of June the sum of forty thousand pounds was appropriated to hire twenty-four men to reënforce the Continental army; and a few days later one hundred bushels of corn, one hundred hard dollars,

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript *Life of Colonel W. R. Lee.*

or the equivalent of either in provisions, were offered to every man who would enlist in the army for six months. At the same time a committee was chosen to solicit subscriptions of cash (in specie), or provisions, to be used as a bounty in raising recruits.

The first election after the adoption of the new Constitution was held on the 4th of September. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Isaac Story. Sixty-six votes were cast for governor, sixty-three of which were for the Hon. John Hancock, the remaining three being cast for the Hon. James Bowdoin. For lieutenant-governor sixty-two votes were cast, all of which were for the Hon. Benjamin Lincoln. For senators, Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, and Samuel Holton received fifty votes each, and Jonathan Jackson, Tristram Dalton, and John Pickering, forty-nine each.

The attention of the people having been called to the suffering and distress to which the soldiers in the army were subjected for the want of clothing and provisions, measures were at once adopted by the town for furnishing stockings, shoes, and blankets, and for forwarding supplies. Subscriptions were solicited for the purpose of purchasing beef and other provisions, and those who were unable to contribute money were requested to "loan their notes."

During the entire trying period of the war the people of Marblehead had submitted with becoming fortitude and resignation to the inevitable deprivations and distress incident to the struggle. "Houses, stores, and fish fences" were necessarily demolished and used for fuel; and in November, 1780, a committee was appointed "to estimate the value of those used since the beginning of the war. The whole number of men in town at this time was reported to be 831, of whom 477 were unemployed or out of business. There were 166 in captivity, and 121 were missing. The whole number of women was 1,069, of whom 378 were widows, and of 2,242 children, 672 were fatherless. Eight years before, the number of ratable polls was 1,202, while at this time there were

but 544. At the beginning of the war there were 12,313 tons of shipping "owned, employed, and manned" by the citizens of Marblehead, while at its close the entire amount owned in the town was but 1,509 tons.

In the autumn of 1780 a committee of the legislature visited the town, and upon their report of the great sacrifices already made by the inhabitants, two thirds of the tax levied upon them for beef, currency, and specie was abated. A similar reduction was made in the town's proportion of men required to reinforce the army.

With so large a proportion of the citizens already in the service, great difficulty was experienced in raising recruits, and in December the town voted to sell about four acres of land known as "Bubier's Plain," for the purpose of obtaining money to be used as a bounty for volunteers. This land, which is in the vicinity of the road to the Neck, was sold at public auction during the following month (January, 1781), and was purchased by Mr. John Sparhawk, the amount realized from the sale being £217 18 s. The money thus obtained was at once forwarded to General Glover, at West Point, with a request that it be used "in hiring men to serve on the quota of the town." It being impracticable to obtain the men at West Point, General Glover returned the money, and, as a last resort, the town voted to classify the male inhabitants, requiring each class to furnish an able-bodied man, or, as a penalty, to pay double the amount necessary for providing a substitute.

For several years the public school had been taught by Mr. Peter Jayne. The appropriations made by the town from time to time, for the payment of his salary, appear to have been insufficient for the support of his family, and he was finally granted the sum of £1,600 in paper money, for six months' service. Even this, he complained, was not enough to prevent him "from being troublesome to his friends for a living," and in March, 1781, he was allowed a salary of £70 hard money per annum.

Shortly after, during the same month, Joshua Orne, William R. Lee, the Rev. Wm. Whitwell, the Rev. Isaac Story, and Samuel Sewall, were elected trustees of the public schools. They were authorized to employ a school-master qualified to teach "the English, Latin, and Greek languages, writing, and arithmetic," at a salary not exceeding £80 in specie.

The signal success of American arms during the year 1781, culminating in the surrender of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown on the 19th of October, excited the utmost joy and exultation in Marblehead. Nowhere in the country had such sacrifices been made as those to which this people had uncomplainingly submitted. Nowhere was the dawn of peace more heartily welcomed. Their commerce was ruined; many who had been wealthy before the war were reduced to poverty, and the blood of their sons had been poured out like water. But there was no complaint. No sorrowing now, even for those who would not return. Only joy that the great struggle was ended, and the Independence for which they fought had been achieved.

One of the most important measures claiming the attention of the town during the years which followed before the formal declaration of peace, was the liquidation of the debt due Jonathan Glover, the public-spirited town-treasurer. The amount of the debt was over £1,153. An attempt was made to obtain a loan of the necessary amount from the citizens, but only £21 could be procured, fifteen from Samuel Sewall, Esq., and six from Mr. Seward Brimblecome, Jr. At length, despairing of obtaining money by any other method, the citizens voted to sell a wharf and store belonging to the town, which had been improved a few years before by Robert Hooper, Esq. The sum of £800 was realized by this transaction, and the purchaser was granted permission to widen or extend the wharf.

The measure known as the "Warden Act," which had been adopted by the legislature during the winter of 1783,

“for making more effectual provision for the due observance of the Lord’s Day” was strenuously opposed by the citizens of Marblehead. On the 17th of March a town meeting was held, and the act was denounced as containing “unnecessary restrictions of the liberties of the people, and opposed to the principles of the constitution.” A committee was chosen to draw up a vote of disapprobation; and the town voted to comply with the law, “as a non-observance may have a tendency to promote contempt of the laws of the State.” Notice was given, however, that the representatives would be instructed to remonstrate against it.

The exciting events of the month of April, 1783, will be forever memorable in the history of Marblehead. Though composed almost entirely of wooden buildings, the town had hitherto been remarkably fortunate in its exemption from fire and other destroying elements. On Tuesday, April 22, a fire broke out in a barn belonging to the estate of Capt. John Nutt, which, with a barn adjoining, was soon reduced to ashes. In a short time the flames were communicated to fifteen other buildings, and a general conflagration of the entire township seemed imminent. Fortunately the buildings were in the immediate vicinity of the harbor, and a supply of water was easily obtained. “To this,” says one of the newspapers of the day in its account of the affair, “together with the uncommon activity, zeal and forwardness of the inhabitants, in the face of the greatest danger, it is owing, under God, that the town is still entire and compact together, without awful wastes and breaches in the midst thereof. No town, perhaps, on the continent, equally populous, can boast of so large a share in the divine protection. None of the inhabitants, from its foundation to this day, have been turned out by the devouring flames to seek a shelter.”

Upon the publication of the preliminaries of peace, many of the refugees were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity to return to their former homes in America. During



the month of April, the town was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement by the return of Stephen Blaney, one of the most objectionable of the loyalists who had left Marblehead. Rumors were prevalent that other refugees were also about to return, and on the 24th of April a town meeting was held to consider the matter. Resolutions severely condemning the acts of the loyalists were adopted, and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen to take measures to prevent their return. All refugees who made their appearance in town were to be given six hours' notice to leave, and any who remained beyond that time were to be "taken into custody and shipped to the nearest port of Great Britain."

Late one afternoon, shortly after this action of the town, a vessel from the provinces arrived in the harbor. It was soon ascertained that the detested Robie family were on board, and, as the news spread through the town, the wharves were crowded with angry citizens threatening vengeance upon them should they attempt to land. The dreadful wish uttered by Mrs. Robie at her departure still rankled in the minds of the people, and as their thoughts reverted to the many sons of Marblehead whose blood had been shed in the struggle for liberty, they realized how nearly it had been fulfilled. Enraged by these reflections, the crowd determined to give the Robie's a "significant reception" on the following day. So great was the excitement, that it was feared by many of the influential citizens that the unfortunate exiles might be injured, and perhaps lose their lives at the hands of the infuriated populace. During the night, however, a party of gentlemen went on board the schooner and removed them to a place of safety. They were landed in a distant part of the town and secreted for several days in a house belonging to one of the gentlemen. In the mean time urgent appeals were made to the magnanimity of the people, and the excitement subsided.

The restoration of peace to the United States was hailed throughout the land with every demonstration of joy, and nowhere with more hearty enthusiasm than at Marblehead. On the 29th of April a grand celebration took place in honor of the great event. The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells, and a federal salute from the battery at the fort. At noon, the bells were accompanied by salutes from artillery on Training Field Hill. At two o'clock P. M., a large number of the most prominent citizens, together with invited guests from other towns, assembled "at the Coffee House, and partook of a genteel entertainment." After dinner, toasts were drunk, with a discharge of thirteen cannon after each toast. Nor were the people in general forgotten. An ox, which had been previously provided and cooked, was sent to the town house, where a sumptuous dinner was served. A large vessel filled with liquor, "rum punch," the tradition has it, was placed in front of the building, and the beverage was freely dispensed to all who chose to imbibe, the vessel being duly replenished throughout the day. In the evening many of the houses were brilliantly illuminated, and a beacon which had been erected at the beginning of hostilities was surrounded with combustibles and converted into a bonfire.

## CHAPTER VIII.

OUR narrative now returns to the Marblehead regiment. While the events related in the last chapter were transpiring in Marblehead and elsewhere, the brave men of this efficient corps were winning unfading laurels by their valorous achievements in the service of their country.

The regiment left Marblehead on the 22d of June, 1775, and at once reported to General Ward, then in command of the army at Cambridge. The American army at this time consisted of about seventeen thousand men, though but fourteen thousand were available for active service. Of these the regiments of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, with a part of the troops from Connecticut, were encamped at Mystic, and on Winter and Prospect Hills. The Massachusetts regiments, with a part of those from Connecticut, were stationed at Cambridge and on the high grounds of Roxbury.

At the same time the main body of the British army was encamped on Bunker Hill, and for days had been actively engaged in throwing up intrenchments. The remainder of the army, except the cavalry and a few other corps stationed in Boston, was on the neck of land between Boston and Roxbury, which had been strongly fortified.

The American army was so posted as to form a complete line of siege around Boston and Charlestown, extending nearly twelve miles, from Mystic River to Dorchester. Intrenchments and redoubts had been thrown up at different points along this line, and these works were still in progress.

Such was the state of affairs when on the 3d of July

General Washington assumed command of the army. On the afternoon of the same day, the first order issued by the Commander-in-chief assigned a special duty to Glover's<sup>1</sup> regiment, as follows: —

“It is ordered that Colonel Glover's regiment be ready this evening with all their accoutrements to march at a moment's warning to support General Folsom of the New Hampshire forces in case his lines should be attacked. It is also ordered that Colonel Prescott's regiment equip themselves to march this evening and take possession of the woods leading to Lechemere's Point, and in case of attack there, Colonel Glover's regiment is to march immediately to their support.”

During the summer, the regiment was engaged in the usual routine of camp duty, its officers being frequently stationed as commanders of the main guard, on the most important outposts. The colonel is frequently mentioned in the orderly books as the president of courts-martial held for the trial of petty offenders.

Early in October, Colonel Glover was appointed by General Washington to superintend the equipment and manning of armed vessels, for the service of the colonies. Through his agency, the expedition to the St. Lawrence River, under Captains Broughton and Selman, and the privateer Lee, under command of Captain Manly, had been fitted out. An account of the exploits of these cruisers has been given in the preceding chapter.

<sup>1</sup> John Glover was born in Salem, November 5, 1732. Early in life he removed with his three brothers to Marblehead. For some years his occupation was that of a shoemaker; but afterwards engaging in the fishing business and other mercantile pursuits, he became a successful merchant and amassed a fortune. In 1754 he married Hannah Gale, of Marblehead. His military experience previous to the breaking out of the Revolution was obtained by service in the militia of the province. In 1759 he was an ensign in a company commanded by Capt. Richard Reed, then, in 1762, a lieutenant in Capt. Azor Orne's company, and finally, in 1773, he became captain of a company in the regiment commanded by Col. Jacob Fowle, of Marblehead. His subsequent career can be easily followed in these pages.

On the 27th of November, "a long, lumbering train of wagons, laden with ordnance and military stores, and decorated with flags, came wheeling into the camp" at Cambridge, "escorted by Continental troops and country militia. They were part of the cargo of a large brigantine laden with munitions of war captured and sent into Cape Ann by the schooner *Lee*, Captain Manly, one of the cruisers sent out by Washington." "Such universal joy ran through the whole camp," writes an officer, "as if each one grasped a victory in his own hands." "Surely, nothing," writes Washington, "ever came more *apropos*."

"It was indeed a charming incident, and was eagerly turned to account. Among the ordnance was a huge brass mortar of a new construction, weighing near three thousand pounds. It was considered a glorious trophy, and there was a resolve to christen it. Mifflin, Washington's secretary, suggested the name. The mortar was fixed in a bed; old Putnam mounted it, dashed on it a bottle of rum, and gave it the name of Congress. The shouts which rent the air were heard in Boston. When the meaning of them was explained to the British, they observed that, 'should their expected reinforcements arrive in time, the rebels would pay dear in the spring for all their petty triumphs.'"<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after this event, an affair occurred in the camp in which the Marblehead regiment figured rather prominently. It seems that a "large party of Virginia riflemen, who had recently arrived in camp, were strolling about Cambridge and viewing the collegiate buildings, now turned into barracks. Their half-Indian equipments and fringed and ruffled hunting garbs provoked the merriment of the troops from Marblehead, chiefly fishermen and sailors, who thought nothing equal to the round jacket and trousers. A bantering ensued between them. There was snow upon the ground, and snow-balls began to fly when jokes were wanting. The parties waxed warm in the contest. They closed

<sup>1</sup> Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. ii., p. 109.

and came to blows; both sides were reënforced, and in a little while at least a thousand were at fisticuffs, and there was a tumult in the camp worthy of the days of Homer. 'At this juncture,' writes our informant, 'Washington made his appearance, whether by accident or design I never knew. I saw none of his aids with him; his black servant just behind him, mounted. He threw the bridle of his own horse into his servant's hands, sprang from his seat, rushed into the thickest of the melee, seized two tall, brawny riflemen by the throat, keeping them at arm's-length, talking to and shaking them.'"<sup>1</sup> This prompt and energetic action on the part of the general quickly put an end to the tumult, and in a few moments order was restored throughout the camp.

On the 19th of December an express arrived at General Washington's headquarters from Marblehead, with information that three British ships of war were standing into the harbor. Colonel Glover's regiment, with Captain Foster's company of artillery and a corps of riflemen, were ordered to march with all expedition for the defense of the town. As no attempt was made by the enemy to land troops, and the squadron having left the coast soon after, the artillery and rifle companies returned to camp, and the regiment was sent to Beverly for the defense of that town, which was considered in imminent danger of attack.

On the 1st of January, 1776, the regiment was reorganized as the Fourteenth Continental regiment, and the term of enlistment having expired, nearly every soldier reënlisted for the war.

The British army having evacuated Boston after the bombardment of that town by the Americans from the heights of Dorchester, General Washington at once turned his attention to the defense of New York. A large body of British troops, under command of General Howe, had landed on Staten Island during the latter part of June, and a fleet with reënforcements was daily expected. It being necessary

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of an eye-witness. Irving's *Washington*, vol. ii.

to concentrate as large a force as possible in the vicinity of these operations, Colonel Glover's regiment was ordered, with other Massachusetts troops, to proceed at once to New York. Glover and his regiment marched from Beverly on the 20th of July, and, having arrived at New York on the 9th of August, were ordered to join General Sullivan's brigade.

A few days after the arrival of the regiment on the scene of action, two of the captains were detailed to take command of fire-ships and proceed up the Hudson River for the purpose of destroying the British ships of war stationed at Tarrytown. The enterprise was but partially successful, however, for, though one of the ships was grappled, the hardy seamen failed to set fire to her. A tender belonging to another ship was finally burned, and the others soon retreated from the river. "The enterprise was conducted with spirit," writes a distinguished author, "and though it failed of its object, had an important effect. The commanders of the ships determined to abandon those waters, where their boats were fired upon by the very yeomanry whenever they attempted to land, and where their ships were in danger from midnight incendiaries while riding at anchor."

An account of the disastrous battle of Long Island, which occurred on the 27th of August, is not within the province of this work. Our history is of Marblehead, and Marblehead men alone; and during that ever memorable contest, Colonel Glover's regiment was stationed on New York Island. It was not until the battle was over that the brave men of that distinguished corps performed the difficult feat which saved the American army from total destruction.

Early on the morning of the 28th of August, the regiment crossed over to Long Island and was stationed at an important post on the left of the American army. "Every eye brightened as they marched briskly along the line with alert step and cheery aspect." On the morning of the 29th, being

convinced that the only safety of his army lay in a successful retreat, General Washington called a council of war. The ships of the British fleet were unusually active, and it was thought from their movements that they were about to enter East River and thereby cut off the only retreat of the American army. The Americans had lost nearly two thousand men, their arms and ammunition were greatly injured by the heavy rain which had fallen, and the soldiers were sick and dispirited. In view of these discouraging circumstances, the council decided upon a speedy withdrawal of the troops. The embarkation was to take place in the night, and the preparations were made with the utmost secrecy. During the day orders were issued for the impressment of all vessels, great and small, found on the Hudson, or on the Sound in the vicinity, "and although some of the vessels had to be brought a distance of fifteen miles they were all at Brooklyn at eight o'clock in the evening."

Colonel Glover was called upon with his entire regiment to take command of the vessels and flat-bottomed boats. The colonel went over to Brooklyn with his officers, to superintend the embarkation, and at about seven o'clock in the evening the officers and men went to work with a spirit and resolution peculiar to that brave corps. The militia were first sent over; but as they were not so alert and attentive to order as regular troops, the time was protracted till between ten and eleven o'clock, before all of them had been removed across the river. Meanwhile the ebb-tide made, and the wind blew strong from the northeast, which, adding to the rapidity of the tide, rendered it impossible to effect the retreat with the limited number of row-boats at command, and put it out of the power of Colonel Glover's men to make any use of the sail boats and small vessels. At this crisis General M'Dougal, under whose charge the embarkation was conducted, sent Colonel Greyson, one of the aids of the Commander-in-chief, to report to him their embarrassed situation; and that he considered it impracticable



to effect a retreat that night. The colonel returned soon after, not being able to find General Washington. General M'Dougal went on with the embarkation amid all the discouragements which were presented. But about eleven, the wind died away, and soon after sprung up at southwest and blew fresh, which rendered the sail-boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city direct, easy, and expeditious. Providence further interposed in favor of the retreating army by sending a thick fog about two o'clock in the morning, which hung over Long Island, while on New York side it was clear.

The fog and wind continued to favor the retreat till the whole army, 9,000 in number, with all the field artillery, such heavy ordnance as was of most value, ammunition, provision, cattle, horses, carts, etc., were safe over. The water was so remarkably smooth as to admit of the row boats being loaded to within a few inches of the gunnel. The enemy were so near that they were heard at work with their pick-axes and shovels. In about half an hour after the lines were finally abandoned, the fog cleared off and the British were seen taking possession of the American works. Four boats were on the river, three half way over, full of troops; the fourth, within reach of the enemy's fire upon the shore, was compelled to return; she had only three men in her, who had tarried behind for plunder. The river is a mile across, and yet the retreat was conducted in less than thirteen hours, a great part of which time it rained hard. Had not the wind shifted, not more than half of the army could possibly have crossed, and the remainder, with a number of general officers and all the heavy cannon, must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the British.<sup>1</sup>

The retreat was conducted in silence and with the utmost precaution against discovery. With muffled oars and steady strokes, the hardy seamen of the Marblehead regiment

<sup>1</sup> This is the account of the retreat substantially as related to Gordon, the historian, by General Glover himself. See Gordon, ii., 315.

rowed with such precision and regularity, that not a sound broke upon the stillness of the night. When the morning broke the whole embarkation had been happily effected.

“This extraordinary retreat,” writes Washington Irving, “which in its silence and celerity equaled the midnight fortifying of Bunker’s Hill, was one of the most signal achievements of the war, and redounded greatly to the reputation of Washington.” But without the aid of Glover and his heroic fishermen from Marblehead, by whose skill and activity the orders of the commander were successfully executed, the retreat would have been impossible. By their efforts alone the American army was saved from destruction.

On the 4th of September Colonel Glover was placed in command of General Clinton’s brigade, and by his recommendation Major Wm. R. Lee, of the Marblehead regiment, was appointed brigade major.

The British fleet having entered the harbor of New York, it was obvious that General Howe intended to attack the city. The American army not being of sufficient force to make a successful resistance, measures were immediately taken for evacuation. Accordingly, on the 13th of September, orders were issued for the transportation of the sick to hospitals on the Jersey shore, and for sending all the arms and military stores out of the city. This arduous duty was assigned to Colonel Glover’s brigade.

The work began at nine o’clock on the evening of the 13th, and by sunrise the next morning all the sick, numbering about five hundred men, were transported in safety across the Hudson. On the following day all the tents were struck, and these, with the light baggage, were carried beyond Kingsbridge in wagons, while most of the heavy baggage was removed to the bank of the river and sent across in boats. At about nine o’clock on the night of the 14th, before the whole of the baggage had been removed, an alarm took place, and Colonel Glover was ordered to march his brigade to Harlem to join General M’Dougal. They were

thus obliged to leave the baggage of two regiments behind, which afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy. Early on the morning of the 15th they were directed to advance to Kingsbridge, and had just unslung their knapsacks, on their arrival, when an express arrived with an account that the enemy were landing at Kip's Bay. Upon this they marched back without any kind of refreshment, joined five other brigades, about 7,000 men, and formed on Harlem Plains, having marched twenty-three miles, besides the labor of transporting the sick.

In the mean time three British ships of war ascended the Hudson River as high as Blooming Dale. The object of this expedition was to divert the attention of the Americans while General Clinton was landing troops at Kip's Bay, about three miles from the city of New York. The troops landed in two divisions, between Kip's Bay and Turtle Bay, the Hessians in one place and the British in another. The American batteries, which began a furious cannonade, were soon silenced by the guns of the British frigates. As soon as General Washington heard the firing of the men-of-war, he rode with all dispatch towards the lines, but, to his great mortification, found the troops posted there retreating with the utmost precipitation, and the two brigades ordered to support them flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion. His attempts to stop them were fruitless, though he drew his sword and threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols. He rode hastily towards the enemy till his own person was in danger, hoping to encourage the men by his example; but all his exertions were in vain, for, on the appearance of a small number of the enemy, the whole eight regiments fled without firing a single shot, leaving the general in a hazardous situation. At this juncture Glover's brigade, with the Marblehead and five other regiments, appeared upon the scene, having hastened down from Harlem Plain to the support of the flying troops. The forces were now joined, and the whole marched forward

and took post on some heights, when about eight thousand of the enemy, as was thought, hove in sight on the next height, and halted.<sup>1</sup> Though the troops were now desirous of being led forward against the British, General Washington would not consent. His confidence in the militia was gone, and he would place no dependence in them.

In the mean time, General Putnam, who was in command at New York, taking advantage of the temporary inactivity of the British, hastily withdrew with about thirty-five hundred men and a large number of women and children. The British officers were loitering at the house of a Quaker near by, refreshing themselves with cakes and wine. They remained there about two hours, and when their revel was over New York had been evacuated. The loss sustained by General Putnam during his perilous retreat was fifteen killed and about three hundred taken prisoners.

The skill and intrepidity of Glover and his regiment, in saving the ammunition and military stores, won for that officer and the brave men under his command the warmest encomiums of their superior officers. The interest in Glover with which the event inspired General Washington ripened into a firm friendship, which lasted until the day of his death.

Colonel Glover, in writing to his mother from Fort Constitution, under date of October 7, said of the evacuation: "Happy for us we began the retreat so timely as we did, otherwise the whole that were in the city must have been cut off; for the enemy had landed 18,000 men on that day on the east side, about four miles from the city, covered by ten sail of men of war, and opposite to them on the North River came up three large ships. The whole kept up a constant cannonading, with grape-shot and langrage, quite across the Island. I lost two men in the retreat, Wormsted Trefry, of Marblehead, and Benjamin Rowden of Lynn."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gordon, ii., 326, 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Coll. Essex Institute.*

The American army, after the retreat from the city, was encamped on New York Island. Occasional skirmishes took place between detachments of the two armies, and finally, on the 11th of October, General Howe, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the Americans, landed the larger portion of his troops on Frog's Neck, a portion of the main land in Westchester County. The American lines were now almost entirely surrounded by the British, and on the 16th of October a council of war was called to determine the course to be pursued. It was decided that the army should leave New York Island, and advance into the country so far as to outflank General Howe's columns, but that Fort Washington should be retained as long as possible. Two thousand men were accordingly left for that purpose.

The division under the command of Major-general Lincoln crossed Kingsbridge and threw up works at Valentine's Hill; the others followed and formed a line of detached corps, with intrenchments on the heights, and stretching along the west side of the river Bronx to White Plains.

Major-general Lee having been appointed to command the troops above Kingsbridge, repaired with his division to the scene of operations in that vicinity. Colonel Glover's brigade, which formed a portion of the division, was stationed on the East Chester road, towards Long Island, to watch the movements of the enemy.

On the 18th the British commander-in-chief, finding that General Washington had taken measures for guarding the position in the vicinity of Frog's Neck, reëmbarked several corps, and by landing at the mouth of Hutchinson's River, secured a passage for the main body which crossed and advanced immediately towards Rochelle. Colonel Glover, being apprised of the advance of the British army, posted his troops behind the stone walls which flanked the road, and awaited the approach of the advanced guard. A well directed and rapid discharge of musketry greeted the British upon their appearance, and though they faced the destruc-

tive fire with great bravery, they were twice repulsed. The third time, the enemy advanced in solid columns, when Colonel Glover's gallant soldiers fired three destructive volleys and then fell back upon General Lee's division in conformity to his orders. The British lost a large number of men, the Americans having a few killed and about sixty wounded.

By their daring, and the efficient manner in which they had executed their orders, the brave men of Glover's brigade had checked the advance of the British army, and time had thus been gained for the withdrawal of the army and military stores from New York Island.

On the following day Colonel Glover and his men were publicly thanked in the general orders by General Lee, for their soldier-like conduct during the battle, and a few days later they had the honor of a similar expression of gratitude from General Washington.

An eye-witness of the affair, in a letter dated Mile Square, October 23, writes: "The brigade under the command of Colonel Glover, consisting of about seven hundred men, one regiment being absent for guard, marched down towards the place where the enemy were advancing with a body of 16,000, and a very large artillery. The first attack was made by a small party on their advanced guard, which were utterly routed and forced to retreat to their main body, who, when they came up, were fired upon by two regiments, advantageously posted by Colonel Glover and Major Lee (who behaved gallantly), which brought many of them to the ground. Thus we continued fighting them and retreating the whole afternoon, until they came to a stand, where they now remain, stretching down along the South, towards Connecticut, we suppose for forage. Our men behaved like soldiers, conformed to the orders of the officers, and retreated in grand order, which is the life of discipline. Our loss is about nine or ten killed, and about thirty wounded. The enemy, a deserter says, lost two hundred killed on the

spot, and a great number wounded. People may think what they please of the regular and spirited behavior of the British troops, but I that day was an eye-witness to the contrary. I saw as great irregularity, almost, as in a militia; they would come out from their body and fire single guns. As to their courage, their whole body of 16,000 were forced to retreat by the fire of a single regiment, and many of them old troops. The fourth regiment was the one that had run; and had we been reënforced with half their number, we might have totally defeated them; the shot from their artillery flew very thick about our heads. . . . General Lee says we shall none of us leave the army, but all stay and be promoted; but how that will be is uncertain.”<sup>1</sup>

From a letter written by Colonel Glover, on the 22d of October, 1776, we learn that during the engagement the Marblehead regiment was under the command of Capt. William Courtis, Lieutenant-colonel Johonnet being sick, and Major Lee acting in the capacity of brigade major. The letter, after giving a graphic description of the skirmish, concludes with an account of the movements of the brigade after, and for a few days previous to the affair, from which we extract the following:—

“At dark we came off, and marched about three miles to Dobb’s Ferry, after fighting all day without victuals or drink, laying as a picket all night, the heavens over us and the earth beneath us, which was all we had, having left our baggage at the old encampment we left in the morning. The next morning marched over to Mile Square. I had eight men killed and thirteen wounded, among which was Colonel Shepherd, a brave officer.

“*Sunday*, General Lee sent for and informed me there were two hundred barrels of pork and flour at East Chester, if the enemy had not taken it; would be glad if I would think of some way to bring it off. I sent out and pressed fifteen wagons, and at night turned out the whole brigade,

<sup>1</sup> *The Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 12, 1776.

and went so nigh we heard their music and talk very plain, and brought off the whole.

“*Wednesday*, sent out a scouting party, principally from my own regiment, who met with a party of Hessians and attacked them, killed twelve and took three prisoners; one of the slain was an officer of high rank on horseback; the horse was taken and brought off. We had one man mortally wounded, of Colonel Baldwin’s regiment.

“*Sunday*, the enemy struck their tents, and were on a march in two columns, one to the right and the other to the left, towards the North River. General Lee immediately gave orders for his division, which consisted of eight thousand men, to march for North Castle, to take the ground to the eastward and north of them, about fourteen miles distance. We had not marched more than three miles before we saw the right column advancing in a cross road to cut us off, not more than three quarters of a mile distance; this being our situation, eight thousand men on the road with their baggage, artillery, and one hundred and fifty wagons, filled the road for four miles. We then turned off and marched by Dobb’s Ferry road, and got into White Plains about ten o’clock Monday morning, after being out all night. We left General McDougal’s brigade posted on a height between the enemy and us, to cover our march. About twelve o’clock they attacked him with a heavy column, supported with twelve pieces of artillery, who pressed him so hard he was obliged to retreat, having twenty men killed and about forty wounded, and wholly from their artillery.

“I am posted on a mountain, commanding the roads to Albany and New England; the enemy on one opposite, about one mile distance. We expect an attack every moment. I don’t care how soon, as I am very certain, with the blessing of God, we shall give them a severe drubbing.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 25th of October, General Lee’s division marched from Kingsbridge to White Plains, and joined the rest of

<sup>1</sup> *American Archives*, 5th Series, vol. ii.



the army under General Washington. The baggage and military stores were intrusted to the care of Glover's brigade, and on the 26th reached their destination in safety.

On the 28th of October the British under General Leslie made an attack upon the right of the American army at White Plains. General M'Dougal, with about sixteen hundred men, occupied Chatterton's Hill, on the west side of the river Bronx, while Colonel Glover was stationed with his brigade on another hill near by. On the first charge of the British cavalry four regiments of the American militia ran away, leaving General M'Dougal with only six hundred men to defend the hill. The remaining troops made a gallant resistance, however, and for more than an hour held their position against the whole fire of twelve pieces of artillery, besides the musketry and a charge of cavalry. The loss of the Americans was forty-seven killed and seventy wounded. The following morning the British advanced upon the hill upon which Glover's brigade was stationed. With one brass twenty-four, a six, and a three-pounder, and three iron twelve-pounders, Glover awaited their approach. A line of 12,000 men, extending as far as the eye could reach, approached in four columns, and filed off to the left of Glover's position. Their objective point was a hill overlooking that upon which the Americans were posted. Reserving his fire until the enemy had entered a valley between the hills, in order to make the attack, Glover brought his guns to bear, and welcomed them with the contents of the three-pounder. The six and twelve-pounders were discharged in rapid succession, and finally, as a parting salute, the brass twenty-four pounder blazed forth with terrible effect. The rout of the British was complete. Once after their repulse they attempted to ascend the hill, but after discharging a small artillery piece three or four times, were forced to retire. Dismayed at his defeat, the British general ordered a retreat, and his troops fled in the greatest confusion.

The reader is spared a recital of the retreat of the army of Washington across New Jersey. For several weeks after the affair at Chatterton's Hill, Glover's brigade — of which, it should be remembered, the Marblehead regiment was always a part — was stationed at North Castle, under General Lee. About the middle of December the entire division joined the main army, then on its "dismal retreat."

This was the gloomiest period of the war to the Americans. The campaign had been little else than a series of disasters and retreats. The enemy had gained possession of Rhode Island, Long Island, and nearly the whole of New Jersey.

Encouraged by the arrival of reënforcements, and knowing that the British troops were so posted "that they could not readily be brought to act in concert on a sudden alarm," General Washington conceived the idea of recrossing the Delaware and attacking the Hessian advance posts. Reports had been received that the British commander was only waiting for the river to freeze over in order to make a triumphant march to Philadelphia. To prevent this, and at the same time regain his lost position in New Jersey, the commander-in-chief resolved to make an attack upon Trenton, on the night of December 25.

"Early on the eventful evening," writes Washington Irving, "the troops destined for Washington's part of the attack, about two thousand four hundred strong, with a train of twenty small pieces, were paraded near McKonkey's Ferry, ready to pass as soon as it grew dark, in the hope of being all on the other side by twelve o'clock. Washington repaired to the ground, accompanied by Generals Greene, Sullivan, Mercer, Stephen, and Lord Stirling. It was indeed an anxious moment for all. . . . Boats being in readiness, the troops began to cross about sunset. The weather was intensely cold; the wind was high, the current strong, and the river full of floating ice. Colonel Glover, with his amphibious regiment of Marblehead fishermen, was in the

advance, — the same who had navigated the army across the Sound in its retreat from Brooklyn, on Long Island, to New York. They were men accustomed to battle with the elements ; yet, with all their skill and experience, the crossing was difficult and perilous. Washington,<sup>1</sup> who had crossed with the troops, stood anxiously, yet patiently, on the eastern bank, while one precious hour after another elapsed, until the transportation of the artillery should be effected. The night was dark and tempestuous ; the drifting ice drove the boats out of their course, and threatened them with destruction.”

Before daybreak the transportation had been effected. The troops landed about nine miles above Trenton, and were formed in two divisions, the Marblehead regiment leading the advance. Shortly after the troops began to march, Capt. John Glover, a son of the colonel, discovered that the arms had been rendered unfit for use by the storm of snow and sleet which prevailed. This information was at once communicated to General Sullivan, and, as the column moved forward, the men were ordered to clean their muskets in the best manner possible. While the men were engaged in this unavailing occupation, an officer was sent to apprise General Washington of the fact, and his only reply, communicated almost instantly by his aid-de-camp, was, tell the column “ to advance and *charge*.”<sup>2</sup> The troops moved on, and as the storm continued to increase, the cold grew more bitter and intense. Two men were frozen to death ; and Lieut. Joshua Orne, of one of the Marblehead companies, became so benumbed from the cold, during the march, that he had fallen on the ground a little distance from the side of the road, and would have perished had he not been accidentally discovered, when nearly covered with snow, by some one in the rear of the regiment.

<sup>1</sup> Capt. William Blackler, of Marblehead, had command of the boat in which Washington was rowed across.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson's *Memoirs*.

The story of the successful attack upon Trenton, which resulted in the capture of nearly one thousand prisoners with their arms and ammunition, and compelled the British army to abandon New Jersey and retreat to New York, needs no repetition here. There, as elsewhere, the men of Marblehead were distinguished for the valorous manner in which they acquitted themselves.

Years afterwards, in a speech before the Massachusetts Legislature, General Knox, who was Chief of Artillery at Trenton, paid the following tribute to the brave men of the Marblehead regiment:—

“SIR: I wish the members of this body knew the people of Marblehead as well as I do. I could wish that they had stood on the banks of the Delaware River in 1776, in that bitter night when the Commander in Chief had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current bearing onward the floating masses of ice, which threatened destruction to whosoever should venture upon its bosom. I wish that when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard that distinguished warrior demand ‘*Who will lead us on?*’ and seen the men of Marblehead, and *Marblehead alone*, stand forward to lead the army along the perilous path to unfading glories and honors in the achievements of Trenton. There, sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home upon land or water, alike ardent, patriotic, and unflinching, whenever they unfurled the flag of the country.”

Shortly before the engagement at Trenton, Congress had clothed General Washington with additional powers, and as soon as practicable measures were adopted for recruiting new regiments of cavalry and artillery. The gallantry and meritorious conduct of the officers and men of the Marblehead regiment had not escaped the notice of the commander-in-chief, and on the first of January, 1777, William R. Lee, the major of the regiment, who, for some time had been acting as brigade major, was promoted to the rank

of colonel. Immediately, upon receiving his commission, Colonel Lee returned to Massachusetts to recruit and organize his regiment. Many of the officers and men of the new regiment were from Marblehead. Joseph Swasey was major, Joseph Stacey quartermaster, and Joshua Orne was captain of one of the companies. Among the lieutenants were William Hawkes, Samuel Gatchell, Jeremiah Reed, John Clark, and John Barker.

In March, the office of adjutant-general having become vacant, Colonel Lee was recommended by Congress for that office. General Washington conferred the appointment, however, upon Colonel Pickering, of Salem, and upon his refusal to serve, Colonel Lee was immediately summoned to headquarters. Upon his arrival, Lee, with becoming modesty, declined the honor, and recommended Colonel Pickering, "whom he declared, he considered, from a very friendly and intimate acquaintance, as a first-rate military character, and that he knew of no gentleman so well qualified for the post." Washington afterwards declared in a letter to Congress, that nothing derogatory to the merits of Colonel Lee, who held a high place in his esteem, and who had "deservedly acquired the reputation of a good officer," influenced him in giving the preference to Colonel Pickering.

On the 23d of February, Colonel Glover, who had temporarily left the army to attend to his private affairs, was appointed by Congress a brigadier-general. Receiving orders from General Washington to join the army at Peekskill, he immediately set out from home, and took command of his brigade on the 14th of June. From this time, until the 27th of July, the men under his command rendered efficient "service in resisting the encroachments of the enemy at New York." On that day the brigade sailed from Peekskill for Saratoga to reinforce General Schuyler, then retreating before the army of Burgoyne, and formed a portion of the troops which, on the 3d of August, marched from Saratoga to Stillwater. Of the experience of his men during

their brief stay at Saratoga, General Glover, in a letter from Stillwater under date of August 6, wrote as follows: "During the three days at Saratoga, we were constantly (night and day) in alarm; our scouting parties a great part of the time cut off, killed, scalped, and taken prisoners. The day we left it, our scouts were all driven in by the Indians, and two men were brought to my quarters, one of them scalped; it appeared they had not been dead more than half an hour. I immediately detached four hundred men from my brigade to scour the woods, where they remained till four o'clock; saw nothing of the enemy save three blankets supposed to be left by them.

"We have had twenty-five or thirty men killed and scalped and as many more taken prisoners within four days. This strikes a panic on our men; which is not to be wondered at, when we consider the hazard they run as scouts, by being fired upon from all quarters (and the woods so thick they can't see three yards before them), and then to hear the cursed war-whoop which makes the woods ring for miles."<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th of August, the army having retreated to Van Schaick's Island, General Gates arrived and took command of the centre division, comprising Glover's, Nixon's, and Patterson's brigades. Shortly after, the army moved up the river as far as Bemis's Heights, where, in the battle on the 19th of September, Glover's brigade composed a part of the right wing of the army which was posted on the hills near the river. The British army was encamped about two miles from General Gates, and on the morning of the 19th advanced in great force on the left of the Americans. "The battle," wrote General Glover, "was very hot till half-past one o'clock; ceased about half an hour, then renewed the attack. Both armies seemed determined to conquer or die. One continual blaze without intermission till dark, when by consent of both parties it ceased; during which time we

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*

several times drove them, took the ground, passing over great numbers of their dead and wounded. Took one field-piece, but the woods and bush were so thick, and being close pushed by another party of the enemy coming up, was obliged to give up our prize. The enemy in their turn sometimes drove us. . . . Our men were bold and courageous, and fought like men fighting for their all. We have taken about seventy prisoners, among whom are two officers. . . . The enemy suffered much, having two regiments almost cut off; their killed, wounded, and missing, numbering seven hundred, among whom were a great proportion of officers."

The British encamped about one mile distant, and as Burgoyne was desirous of receiving reinforcements before venturing another attack, no general engagement took place again until the 7th of October. In the mean time the Americans were not idle. They employed their time in harassing the British camp with frequent night alarms, driving their pickets, and bringing off their horses. As an instance of the fine spirits and daring bravery of his men in exploits of this nature, General Glover writes: "I ordered one hundred men from my brigade to take off a picket of the enemy who were posted about half a mile from me, at the same time ordering a covering party of two hundred to support them. This being the first enterprise of the kind, and as it was proposed by me, I was very anxious for its success. I therefore went myself. The night being very foggy and dark, we could not find the enemy till after day. When I made the proper dispositions for the attack, they went on like so many tigers, bidding defiance to musketballs and bayonets. Drove the enemy, killed three, and wounded a great many more, . . . without any loss on our side."

The British General Burgoyne unconsciously testified to the manner in which his army was harassed by Glover and the men under his command, when he wrote: "Not a night

passed without firing, and sometimes concerted attacks upon our advanced pickets. I do not believe either officer or soldier ever slept in that interval without his clothes; or that any general officer or commander of a regiment passed a single night, without being upon his legs occasionally at different hours, and constantly an hour before daylight.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of October, during the battle which resulted in the disastrous rout of the British, Glover's brigade, being a part of the right wing of the army, under command of General Lincoln, was held in reserve. A part of the brigade, however, including the Marblehead regiment, were engaged under General Arnold during his impetuous assault upon the British camp during the latter part of the day. The British, having abandoned their artillery, and knowing that the field was lost, retreated to their camp, which they were determined to preserve at all hazards. Scarcely had they entered their lines when they were attacked by the intrepid troops under Arnold. The attack was made by a determined charge with the bayonet, resulting in one of the most desperate hand to hand fights ever known. The camp was defended with great bravery, the Americans being greeted with a tremendous fire of grape-shot and small arms. “Even the stolid Hessians,” says a recent writer, “expressed their amazement when they saw these brave Marbleheaders dash through the fire of grape and canister and over the dead bodies of their comrades, through the embrasures, over the cannon, with the same agility with which they had formerly climbed to the main-top, or traversed the backstays, bayoneting the cannoneers at their posts. . . . Glover's troops evinced the coolness and agility of sailors in their attack, and showed that they could use the bayonet with as much skill and effect as the marline or handspike on board ship.” During the engagement General Glover had three horses shot under him.

At night the battle was over, and victory had once more crowned the arms of the Americans.

<sup>1</sup> *Burgoyne's Expedition*, p. 166.



On the following evening the British army retreated to Saratoga, but owing to the badness of the roads and the heavy rain which prevailed, did not arrive there until the morning of the 10th. On the morning of the 11th, General Gates, under the impression that the main body of Burgoyne's army had retreated to Fort Edward, commenced an attack upon the camp at Saratoga. This was a great mistake, and but for a fortunate discovery by General Glover, would have proved disastrous to the Americans. "General Nixon's, being the oldest brigade, crossed the Saratoga Creek first. Unknown to the Americans, Burgoyne had formed a line under the cover of the woods, to support a post of artillery where the others meant to make their attack. General Glover was on the point of following Nixon. Just as he entered the water, he saw a British soldier making across, whom he called and examined. The soldier claimed to be a deserter, and said that he was going to the Americans. Glover asked him about Burgoyne's army. The soldier answered, 'It is encamped the same as days past.' Glover told him, 'If you are found attempting to deceive me, you shall be hung in half an hour; but if you speak nothing but the truth, you shall be protected and meet with good usage.' He then asked him, 'Have not numbers been sent off to Fort Edward?' The deserter replied, 'A small detachment was sent off a day or two ago, but are returned on finding the passes occupied by the Americans, and the whole army is now in camp.' Glover, though the junior officer to Nixon, sent off immediately to him, to desist and re-cross the creek; and at the same time despatched his aid-de-camp, with the deserter behind him on horseback to General Gates; who, having examined the soldier, hurried away the aid-de-camp, the adjutant-general and others to countermand the former orders and prevent the attack. General Nixon, upon receiving Glover's message, retreated; but before he had recrossed, the fog cleared off, and the rear of his brigade was galled by the enemy's cannon, which killed

several of his men. . . . Glover's message was received by Nixon in the critical moment; a quarter of an hour later would probably have proved fatal to the whole brigade, and given a turn to affairs in favor of the royal army."<sup>1</sup>

By this fortunate discovery the last hope of the British general was destroyed. The reinforcements which he had confidently expected had not arrived; his provisions were nearly exhausted, and his retreat was cut off by the Americans, who were posted everywhere in the vicinity. Accordingly, on the 13th of October, he surrendered with his whole army to General Gates.

The entire number of soldiers who surrendered on this occasion was 5,791, and by the terms of the capitulation they "were to be sent to Massachusetts and guarded in or near Boston." The duty of guarding, and conducting the prisoners to their destination, was assigned to General Glover and the men under his command, whose brilliant achievements during the campaign had made them famous throughout the country. All along the march from Saratoga to Cambridge the roads and hill-sides were lined with interested spectators, and though the victorious brigade was everywhere greeted with cheers and other encouraging demonstrations, not a word of insult was offered to the unfortunate prisoners.

In the mean time, Col. William R. Lee had returned to Massachusetts, where he had been busily engaged during the summer in recruiting, and suitably equipping his regiment. On the 2d of October he was ordered to march with his regiment to join the army at Philadelphia. While on the march the news of the surrender of Burgoyne was received, and Colonel Lee, with the troops under his command, was ordered to return to Cambridge to form a portion of the guard for the British army.

The prisoners arrived at Cambridge on the 7th of Novem-

<sup>1</sup> An account of the affair as related by General Glover to Gordon, the historian, March 18, 1785.

ber, and were received by Colonel Lee, as the commanding officer of the cantonment. It was indeed a remarkable coincidence. On the very ground where, two years before, the Marblehead regiment had first appeared in arms in the Continental service, General Glover now delivered an army to the care of Colonel Lee. And what a change had taken place during the interval in the positions of these heroic citizens of Marblehead. When, in 1775, the regiment left the town, one was its colonel, and the other the captain of one of its companies. Now, the colonel had become a general, and the captain, having been promoted from one grade after another to that of colonel, had been offered the position of adjutant-general of the American army. Further comment is unnecessary. The responsible positions to which they had been promoted is sufficient evidence of their heroism, and of the distinguished services which they had rendered to their country.

The British soldiers were placed in barracks on Prospect Hill, and the Germans on Winter Hill, while the officers were allowed to obtain quarters among the citizens of Cambridge and the neighboring town. The utmost limits of parole were allowed them, and they were treated with the consideration and courtesy due them as gentlemen.

On the day after their arrival at Cambridge, General Burgoyne and his two major-generals, Phillips and Reidesel, were invited to dine with General Heath, then in command of the American forces in and around Boston. The dinner is described as an elegant affair, and among other prominent guests were Generals Glover and Whipple, who had conducted the British army from Saratoga.<sup>1</sup>

Though General Heath and the officers under his command had done everything in their power to render the situation of the British officers and soldiers as comfortable and pleasant as possible, many of them seemed incapable of feeling a sense of gratitude. Every liberty consistent

<sup>1</sup> *Heath's Memoirs*, p. 326.

with a due regard to their security was allowed them, of which advantage was taken in many instances to commit the most destructive depredations on the property of the inhabitants. Fences, sheds, barns, and other structures, as well as fruit and ornamental trees, were destroyed and used as fuel whenever it could be done with impunity. To such an extent were these outrages committed, that it became necessary to double the guards, and the matter was made the subject of the following report from Colonel Lee to General Heath. "This moment a subaltern from the Hills informs me that the British soldiers behave in a most scandalous manner, by pulling down fences, barns, and other buildings, and abusing the guards and sentries; in consequence of which I have ordered all the guards to be doubled, and the regiments to be ready to move at a moment's warning."

Shortly after this affair, Colonel Henley, who was in immediate command at Cambridge, being the senior officer, ordered some of the prisoners who were under arrest in the guard-house to parade, that he might examine them. One of the prisoners behaved with so much insolence towards him, that Colonel Henley in a moment of anger pricked him with his sword. General Burgoyne, upon hearing of the matter, wrote a very insolent letter to General Heath, in which he charged Colonel Henley "with barbarous and wanton conduct and intentional murder."

In consequence of this complaint, Colonel Henley was placed under arrest, and Colonel Lee was ordered to take command at Cambridge. A few days after, a court of inquiry, of which General Glover was president, decided that "for the honor of Colonel Henley as well as for the satisfaction of all concerned, it would be most proper that the judgment of a court-martial should be taken on his conduct." A court-martial was accordingly ordered, of which General Glover was president, and Colonel Lee one of the members. After a thorough investigation of the affair Colonel Henley

was exonerated, and it was decided that the charges were not supported.

During the trial, which lasted more than twenty days, General Burgoyne was an attentive and interested participant in the proceedings. Though his conduct was at times extremely disrespectful, and very offensive to the members of the court-martial, the following extract from a speech which he made during the trial, shows his high estimation of the character and conduct of General Glover and Colonel Lee. After dwelling at length upon the unfortunate position of the officers and soldiers of his army, and the sanguine expectations which had been indulged "of their being received with all that magnanimity and kindness which was due them as prisoners of war," General Burgoyne said: "We were led into these delusive hopes by the very honorable treatment shown us by General Gates; by that we received from you, Mr. President,<sup>1</sup> when you conducted us upon the march, and by that we afterwards found from the worthy member of the court near you,<sup>2</sup> who had the immediate command in this district upon our arrival, and to whom, most happily for us, the command is now again devolved."<sup>3</sup>

Lieutenant Aubury, of the British army, who was one of the prisoners, afterwards wrote an account of his "Travels in America," in which, after a review of the court-martial, he pays the following tribute to Colonel Lee, and his merits as an officer.

"In consequence of this acquittal, Colonel Henley re-assumed his command the next day, but merely for form's sake, as the next week Colonel Lee took the command which he had when we first arrived. Affairs are much better regulated, everything is now in perfect tranquillity, and a good understanding has taken place between our troops and the Americans. Colonel Lee has remedied one great

<sup>1</sup> General Glover.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Lee.

<sup>3</sup> See *Travels through America*, by Lieutenant Aubury.

evil, which was compelling our soldiers to purchase all their provisions at two stores in the barracks, and not permitting them to send to Cambridge, where they were much cheaper. Passes have been granted for a sergeant and a certain number of men to go out and purchase provisions, by which means the stores cannot impose on the troops; and they now sell their commodities at the market price."

Owing to the hazardous condition of his private affairs, which had long been in need of his personal supervision, Colonel Lee found it necessary, in the summer of 1778, to resign his commission and request his discharge from the army. His request was granted by Congress, but though the papers were forwarded on the 24th of June, he did not relinquish his command until the 1st of August, when he returned to Marblehead.

General Glover was detained in Massachusetts a much longer time than was expected would be necessary to finish the business with which he had been intrusted by General Gates, and did not again join the army until the following summer. During that ever memorable winter of 1778, his brigade formed a part of the army of Washington and experienced all the suffering which must forever make the camp at Valley Forge famous in American history. But through it all they behaved like men. Neither want, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor all combined, could induce them to forsake the service of their country. To the patient forbearance and fidelity of men like these, we owe the foundation of the American Republic.

On the 28th of June, General Glover, in obedience to the urgent requests of Washington, again joined the army, and at once assumed command at Fort Arnold, near West Point on the Hudson, where he rendered efficient service in superintending the erection of forts and redoubts in the vicinity. In the mean time, his brigade, in company with that of General Varnum, had been sent, under the command of the Marquis Lafayette, to reënforce the army of General Sulli-

van, who was then in command of the department of Providence. A concerted effort was to be made for the purpose of recapturing Rhode Island proper, which the enemy had made one of their military depots and strongholds, and to this end, it was necessary that additional troops should be raised as reënforcements. General Glover joined his brigade after it had been several days on the march. Immediately upon reporting to General Sullivan with his command, he was requested to proceed to Boston, Marblehead, and other places, for the purpose of engaging "two or three hundred seamen, or other persons well acquainted with boats, to act as boatmen in the expedition against Rhode Island." The pay of the recruits was to be three dollars a day, and their time of service was to be fifteen days if they were not sooner discharged.

In accordance with these instructions, General Glover went to Massachusetts, and in a short time returned with two entire companies raised in Boston and Salem, and a large number of volunteers from Marblehead. They arrived at Providence on the 10th of August, and were assigned to their various positions in the army.

General Sullivan's reënforcements having arrived, and all things being in readiness for the descent upon Rhode Island, the army crossed from Tiverton in two divisions, by means of eighty-six flat-bottomed boats, and landed on the north end of the island. The British abandoned their works in that part of the island, when the Americans landed, and retired within their lines, about three miles above Newport. This being perceived by the Americans, they moved from the ferry in the afternoon, and encamped upon the high ground known as Quaker Hill, between ten and eleven miles north of Newport. By an agreement with the Count D'Estaing, who commanded the French squadron, it was expected that the army would be joined by four thousand marines as soon as it landed on the island. The French commander, however, instead of landing his marines as he

had promised, sailed away to attack the British fleet which had appeared off Newport on the day before.

Though greatly disappointed by this action on the part of their French allies, the Americans continued the preparations for attack. On the 15th. in expectation of the "speedy return of the French squadron," the army marched forward in three divisions, took post within two miles of the enemy's lines, commenced the erection of batteries, and soon afterwards opened a fire of balls and bombs upon the British works.<sup>1</sup> Glover's brigade was on the left of the line, under command of Colonel Bigelow, the general having been placed temporarily on the staff of General Sullivan. The French fleet failed to put in an appearance, and the Americans were forced to abandon the siege.

The time for which the Massachusetts volunteers had enlisted having nearly expired, and the plans of General Sullivan having been defeated through the perfidy of the French admiral, it became necessary to induce the soldiers to remain for some after the expiration of their term of service. Accordingly, on the 20th of August, General Sullivan addressed them in the general orders, as follows: "While the commander-in-chief esteems it his duty to return his warmest acknowledgments to the truly spirited citizens of Salem and Marblehead, who so cheerfully turned out to take charge of the boats, and who have hitherto executed their trust to so universal satisfaction, he cannot help expressing his concern that the term of time they agreed for is so nearly expired; it gives him the most sensible pain to reflect that the unfavorable weather, the absence of the French fleet, and some other unforeseen and unfortunate events, have lengthened out the operations, and lay him under a necessity of calling on those men (who ought to have returned with the thanks of the army and country in general) to continue the sacrifice they are making of their private interest a few days longer, to see the business they are so nobly engaged in com-

<sup>1</sup> Lossing, vol. i.



pleted, and this island again restored to the domination of the United States.”<sup>1</sup>

The French admiral, on the return of his squadron, having announced his determination to proceed at once to Boston, General Glover joined with the other American generals in signing a remonstrance against the withdrawal of the squadron at such an important crisis; but without avail. The squadron sailed away on the 23d, and the American army was left to work its way out of the difficulty in the best manner possible.

Discouraged by this abrupt withdrawal of the French, between two and three thousand of the American volunteers left for home on the following day. Not so with the volunteers from Salem and Marblehead. Their time of service had expired, but they would not desert the army at a time when their services were so necessary.

The American force having been greatly reduced by the perfidy of the French, and the desertion of so large a number of volunteers, a retreat was determined upon, which began on the night of the 28th, with great order and secrecy. The position of the army was changed from the advanced batteries before the lines of the British, to an eminence known as Butt's Hill, about twelve miles from Newport. The retreat was not discovered until morning, when the British succeeded in obtaining an advantageous position on Quaker Hill, a little more than a mile from the American front. During the skirmishing which ensued between the advance corps of the two armies, the American left was reinforced by a regiment from Glover's brigade. At about nine o'clock the British opened a severe cannonade upon the Americans, which was returned with great spirit. Skirmishing ensued until about ten o'clock, when two British sloops-of-war and some small armed vessels sailed up the river, and the enemy's troops, under cover of their fire, advanced in force to turn the right flank of the American army, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*

capture the redoubt which protected it. They were twice driven back in confusion, when a third effort was made with greater numbers. General Sullivan now ordered the right to be reënforced, and a sharp conflict of nearly an hour's duration succeeded, in which the artillery of both armies played briskly from the hills. The enemy were at length routed, and fled in great confusion to a hill where they had cannon and works to cover them, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. The action must have ended in the ruin of the British army had not the redoubts on the hill covered them from a close pursuit. Immediately upon the repulse of the enemy on the right, they appeared advancing on the left, in consequence of which Glover's brigade and General Tyler's militia, supported by Titcomb's brigade, were ordered to advance and form in a cross-road within half a mile of the enemy. They accordingly took post, and a cannonade, with skirmishing, ensued and continued till dark. It was not judged advisable to attack them in their works, as the Americans, inferior in numbers to the enemy, were much fatigued, and had been without provisions or refreshment of any kind for thirty-six hours.<sup>1</sup> The Americans had thirty killed, one hundred and thirty-two wounded, and forty-four missing. The British lost, in killed and wounded, two hundred and ten, and twelve missing.

On the following night, General Sullivan, with his army, evacuated Rhode Island. The troops were transported to the main land in the flat-bottomed boats, which were so skillfully manned by the volunteers from Marblehead and Salem that before midnight the whole army had crossed without the loss of a man.

In February, 1779, General Glover was granted a furlough by Congress, and returned to Marblehead to adjust his private affairs. He evidently did not remain long from his brigade, for a month later, on the departure of General Sullivan, the command of the department of Providence devolved upon him.

<sup>1</sup> *New York Journal*, September 14, 1778.

On the 30th of June, Glover, with his brigade, marched from Providence to join the main army. On the way, at the request of General Parsons, he marched to Norwalk to defend that town against the British, who were advancing upon Connecticut.

On the 23d of July he was ordered to proceed to Ridgefield and remain until further orders, for the purpose of watching and communicating the movements of the enemy. How long General Glover remained at this post is uncertain; but in November he was with his brigade at Peekskill, from whence he wrote to John Hancock on the 25th: "The spirit of reënlisting prevails much. It is my opinion, had I money to pay the bounty as resolved by court, I could retain the greater part of the nine months' men, as well as those that were engaged for three years," to serve during the war. "About seventy have already reënlisted in my brigade; my money is all exhausted; I can do no more. It is idle to suppose men who, as they say, have been so often neglected, will engage upon resolves of Court. We may as soon expect lines to be stormed and forts to be taken by plans of attack drawn upon paper, without men, arms, or ammunition sufficient to execute those plans, as old soldiers to reënlist without money. It is the sinews of war."

"The whole of the army has gone into winter cantonments except General Nixon's and my brigades, who are now in the field (eight hundred of my men without shoes or stockings) enjoying the sweets of a winter campaign, while the worthy and virtuous citizens of America are enduring the hardships, toils, and fatigues incidental to parlours, with good fires and sleeping on beds of down."<sup>1</sup>

During the summer of 1780, General Glover was with his brigade at West Point, with the exception of a few weeks spent in Massachusetts for the purpose of forwarding drafts to the army. At the time of the capture of the unfortunate Major André, Glover had again rejoined his bri-

<sup>1</sup> Upham's *Memoir of Glover*.

gade, and on the 29th of September was a member of the court which sentenced the spy to death. André's heroic conduct, after the sentence had been imposed upon him, inspired the admiration of all who witnessed it. Though his mission, had it been successful, would have been ruinous to the American army, his captors felt that the chief conspirator was the traitor Arnold, and their hearts went out to the brave young officer in sympathy. On the 2d of October, when the execution took place, General Glover was officer of the day, and was deeply affected by the scene. Even old soldiers, who had many times braved death on the battle field, shed tears on the occasion. But though the necessity of the execution was sincerely regretted, no one questioned the equity of the sentence.

During the following winter and spring, General Glover was at West Point. On the departure of Washington with the allied armies, for Virginia, his brigade formed a part of the force which was left to protect the Hudson Highlands, under command of General Heath. During the march of the army for Peekskill, Glover had command of Lincoln's division.

We learn little of the doings of Glover and his men from this time until the 12th of November, when he commanded a foraging expedition of which his brigade formed a part, and for which he was subsequently thanked in the general orders of General Heath.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, had decided the great contest in favor of the Americans, and though the army was not disbanded, nor the treaty of peace signed till two years later, the war was virtually at an end. Enlistments for the army went on, however, for some time, and in the spring of 1782 General Glover was ordered to Massachusetts to "take charge of the mustering and forwarding recruits."<sup>1</sup> This was the last service ren-

<sup>1</sup> General Glover retired from the army on account of his rapidly failing health, and in July, 1782, was placed on the half-pay establishment by resolution of Congress. He died January 30, 1797.

dered by Glover as a general in the American army, and with it must end our account of the part taken by the men of Marblehead in the various movements upon the land. Throughout the war they were distinguished for their bravery and the faithful performance of duty. Whether in camp, or on the march; leading the advance in an attack, or covering a retreat; everywhere, and under all circumstances, the same steady resolution characterized their actions.

## CHAPTER IX.

HAVING followed the men of Marblehead as far as possible through the various campaigns of the Revolution, let us now turn our attention to their exploits upon the water. The naval history of the war for Independence can never be fully written. Many of the most daring exploits of men in private armed vessels must forever remain unknown. The information to be obtained from the records of the period is very meagre, and reliance must be placed principally upon newspaper reports of engagements, and the log books and private journals of seamen. The rest is traditionary.

In another chapter, an account has already been given of the early captures by Captains Broughton, Selman, and Manly, in privateers fitted out by order of General Washington, and of Captain Mugford's heroic capture of the transport *Hope*, and his subsequent death while defending his vessel against the boats of the British fleet.

On the first of January, 1776, Captain Manly was given the command of the armed schooner *Hancock*, and became commodore of a fleet of six vessels fitted out by order of General Washington. The other schooners were the *Lee*, Captain Waters; the *Franklin*, Captain Samuel Tucker; the *Harrison*, Captain Dyer; the *Lynch*, Captain Ayres; and the *Warren*, Captain Burke. Captains Waters, Tucker, and Dyer were commissioned on the 20th of January, 1776, while the last three commanders did not obtain their commissions until the first of February.

It is related of Captain Tucker, that when the express with his commission rode up to his door, the gallant captain, with his sleeves rolled up, and with a tarpaulin hat slouch-



*Samuel Tucker* ~





ing over his face, was engaged in chopping wood in the yard. The officer thought that he must have mistaken the direction, and exclaimed, somewhat roughly —

“I say, fellow, I wish you would tell me if the Honorable Samuel Tucker lives hereabouts!”

“Honorable! honorable!” said Tucker, with a shrewd look at the stranger; “there is not any man of that name in Marblehead. He must be one of the family of Tuckers in Salem. I am the only Samuel Tucker there is here.”

The gallant look and deportment of the young man convinced the officer that he could not be mistaken, and, after handing him his commission and partaking of refreshments, he returned to the camp at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day Captain Tucker was at Beverly, superintending the fitting out of the Franklin, and in a short time sailed on his first cruise. The small arms necessary for the proper armament of his vessel were purchased with his own private funds, and the banner under which he sailed was the handiwork of his wife. In a short time he fell in with the British ship *George* and the brig *Annabel*. The two vessels were transports, and had on board about two hundred and eighty Highland troops under command of Col. Archibald Campbell. It was about ten o'clock in the evening, and a conflict ensued which lasted nearly two hours and a half. At length the British, having lost a large number of men, including the commander of one of the transports, struck their colors and surrendered. The prizes had on board a large amount of ammunition and military stores. Tucker sustained no damage in the loss of men, but the sails of his schooner were completely riddled.

During the month of April, Commodore Manly was transferred to the command of the frigate *Hancock*, of 32 guns, and, on his promotion, the command of the schooner *Hancock* was given to Captain Tucker. Shortly after taking command of this schooner, Tucker captured two brigs within

<sup>1</sup> Sheppard's *Life of Tucker*.

sight of a British man of war, and carried them into Lynn. One of the brigs was from Cork, ninety-two tons burden, laden with beef, pork, butter, and coal; the other, of about one hundred tons burden, was from the Western Islands, and laden with wine and fruit.

Early in the spring of 1776, Capt. John Lee, of Marblehead, was commissioned commander of the privateer *Nancy*, a small vessel carrying six guns. One afternoon, just before night, he discovered a heavy armed merchantman, which, though much larger than his own vessel, he resolved to capture. The *Nancy* was so low in the water that she was not discovered by the enemy. As soon as the night became sufficiently dark, Lee sailed up to the ship, having extended indistinct lights beyond the bowsprit and from the stern of his vessel, which gave her the appearance of great length. The English captain, thinking it idle to contend with a force so much superior to his own, as he thought her from this stratagem, struck his colors. His men were sent on board Captain Lee's small vessel in boat-loads, and were easily secured. The captain was among the last to leave the ship; and when he stepped on to the deck of the schooner, and saw how he had been deceived, he attempted to kill himself. He was prevented by Captain Lee, who by courteous and gentle treatment endeavored to soothe his wounded feelings. During this cruise, Lee captured thirteen prizes which were sent into the port of Bilboa, in Spain. The last of these he followed, in order to superintend the trial, condemnation and sale of the vessels and cargoes, and to repair his own vessel.

After refitting, he sailed into the British Channel on a cruise, and was chased by the flag-ship of Admiral Jarvis. Captain Lee made every effort to increase the speed of his vessel by throwing his guns and other heavy ordnance overboard; but finding it impossible to escape, ran her on shore. The wreck was immediately surrounded by the boats of the ship, and the officers and crew were captured, and ultimately

landed in England and sent to Forton Prison.<sup>1</sup> Of their treatment while there, and the escape of Captain Lee, we have more to relate hereafter.

On the 28th of July, 1776, the ship *Peggy*, mounting six three-pounders and two two-pounders, was sent into Marblehead, having been captured by the privateers Hancock, Captain Tucker, and the Franklin, Captain Skinner. The prize was from Scotland, and was estimated as worth about £15,000 sterling.<sup>2</sup>

During the latter part of the month of October, Tucker captured the brig *Lively*, bound from Air to Newfoundland, which, together with the cargo and crew, was sent into Boston. Mr. Sheppard, in his "Life of Commodore Tucker," states that during the year 1776 the number of prizes captured by that daring commander was from thirty to forty, including ships, brigs, and smaller vessels, many of them with very valuable cargoes, and some of them armed vessels.

In March, 1777, Captain Tucker was received into the navy, and was commissioned as commander of frigate *Boston*. It is probable that he did not assume the command of the frigate for some time after, however, as would seem from the following incident of naval warfare, during which the *Boston* was commanded by Captain Hector McNeil.

"In May of this year, the *Hancock*, 32, Captain John Manly, and the *Boston*, 24, Captain Hector McNeil, sailed in company from Boston, on a cruise to the eastward. A few days out, or in the month of May, the *Hancock* made a strange sail, early in the morning, and succeeded in getting near enough to her to exchange broadsides, on opposite tacks, the *Hancock* using her starboard and the enemy her larboard guns. At this time the *Boston* was out of gunshot. Finding that he had to deal with an antagonist of superior force, the English vessel, which was a frigate, stood on,

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Col. W. R. Lee.*

<sup>2</sup> *American Archives.*

crowding sail to escape. The Hancock now went about in pursuit, when Captain Manly sent his people from the guns, and ordered them to get their breakfasts. As the Hancock was one of the fastest ships that was ever built, she quickly drew up abeam of the chase, which renewed her fire as soon as her guns would bear. Captain Manly, however, commanded his men not to discharge a gun, until fairly alongside, when a warm and close action commenced that lasted an hour and a half, when, the Boston drawing near, the Englishman struck. The prize proved to be the Fox, of 28 guns. In this action the Hancock lost eight men, and the Fox thirty-two. The Boston did not fire a gun until just after the Fox had struck, when she is said to have given her a broadside, the Hancock being in the act of lowering the boats to take possession as her consort ranged up on the beam of the prize.

“ Captain Manly now put a crew on board the Fox and continued his cruise, but was not fortunate enough to fall in with anything of moment. On the 1st of June the three ships appeared off Halifax, in company, looking into the harbor. This brought out the Rainbow, a 44 on two decks, Sir George Collier, the Flora, 32, and the Victor, 18, in chase. The Americans scattered, the Rainbow and Victor pressing the Hancock, the Flora the Fox, while the Boston had so much the start as to be able easily to keep aloof. The Flora first closed with the Fox, which ship she recaptured after a short but spirited action. The wind being very light, Captain Manly attempted to lighten his ship by pumping out the water, and is believed to have hurt her sailing by altering her trim. Finding the Rainbow was closing, that gallant officer made his disposition for boarding, and, doubtless, would have made a desperate effort to carry his powerful antagonist, had the wind permitted. The air remained so light, however, that the Rainbow got him fairly under her guns, before he could get near enough to accomplish the object, the Victor getting a raking position at the same time the Hancock struck.

“Captain McNeil was much censured for abandoning his consort on this occasion, and was dismissed the service in consequence.”<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after this event, Captain Tucker, upon whom the rank of commodore had been conferred, sailed on a cruise in the Boston. While out he fell in with a frigate much larger than his own and carried her by boarding. The marines were led by Lieutenant Magee, a brave young officer, who was killed the moment his feet struck the enemy's deck. Captain Tucker, who had brought his ship gun to gun with the British frigate, leaped into the midst of his adversaries, cutting down all before him. The loss of life on board the frigate was very great, and she soon struck her colors and became the prize of the Boston.

During the latter part of October, or early in the month of November, 1777, the brigantine *Penet*, Captain John Harris, of Marblehead, master, sailed for the port of Nantes, in the kingdom of France. Captain Harris was charged by the Board of War with the important duty of conveying Mr. Austin, who carried important papers from the government, to the first port that could be made in France or Spain. The passage was made in safety, and the *Penet* returned with a cargo and several seamen who had been discharged from American ships in France. Captain Harris subsequently sailed in private armed vessels, and in 1779 was sailing-master on board a ship commanded by Capt. John Conway, of Marblehead. On the 19th of November, of that year, they fell in with, and were captured by a British ship of a larger size than their own, though not without a spirited engagement. The American vessel was at length obliged to strike her colors. After the battle was over, and the American seamen had surrendered themselves as prisoners, a lieutenant of the British ship seized a musket, and aiming at Captain Harris, shot him through the head, killing him instantly. The murder was deliberate and intentional, and is

<sup>1</sup> *Cooper's Naval History.*

only one of many instances of brutality on the part of British officers.

On the 10th of February, 1778, Commodore Tucker, who had again been commissioned as commander of the *Boston*, received orders to carry the Hon. John Adams as envoy to France. Mr. Adams took with him his son, John Quincy Adams, then about eleven years of age. The *Boston* experienced a great deal of unpleasant weather during the passage, and was several times chased by British cruisers which had been sent out to capture her. Commodore Tucker succeeded in eluding them all. On the 11th of March, he fell in with the armed ship *Martha*, bound from London to New York with a valuable cargo. As the *Boston* sailed up to her, the decks were cleared for action, and the men were at the guns ready for battle. Noticing Mr. Adams standing among the marines with a gun in his hand, Commodore Tucker in tones of authority ordered him to leave the deck. Mr. Adams, however, continued at his post, when, at last, Tucker seized him and forced him away, exclaiming as he did so, "I am commanded by the Continental Congress to deliver you safe in France, and you must go down below, sir." Mr. Adams accordingly left the deck. The *Boston* fired but one gun at the enemy, who returned three, and then struck his colors. The prize was manned and sent into Boston, and Tucker kept on his course to France, arriving at Bordeaux on the 31st of March. On the 11th of May, the *Boston*, having refitted, again put to sea. Between the 19th and 23d of June, Tucker captured three prizes, one of which was sent to Boston and the other two to L'Orient. On the 3d of July the *Boston* put into L'Orient, where she remained until the 1st of August. Having sold his prizes, Tucker sailed for Nantes, where he was joined by Commodore Whipple, in the *Providence*. The next day, August 8, they sailed, and on the 14th arrived at Brest, where they were joined by the ship *Ranger*, commanded by Captain Simpson. On the 22d, the three

ships sailed in company, and two days later they captured the brig Sally, Captain Ward. Early in September, Tucker gave chase to a brig called the Friends, and took it, and on the 9th, he captured the snow Adventure, Captain Symes. While crossing the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, the three frigates were separated, but subsequently they all arrived safely at Portsmouth.

During the latter part of the year 1778, Captain John Lee, who for more than two years had been confined in Forton Prison, England, succeeded, by a most remarkable adventure, in effecting his escape. Throughout the entire period of his detention, as a prisoner of war, Captain Lee suffered the most cruel treatment. The cells were damp and cold, the provisions scanty, and of the meanest kind, and the bed-clothing was not sufficient to protect him from the deleterious effects of his comfortless position. Being without funds, he was unable to purchase even wearing apparel enough to decently cover his person, and in a short time his naturally robust and vigorous constitution was seriously impaired. Three times he attempted, with a few of his companions in misery, to effect an escape. They were detected, however, and as a punishment were confined in a filthy and comfortless apartment called the "Black Hole," where their sufferings were greatly increased.

When again allowed the range of the large apartments and yard of the prison, he was informed by one of the officers of the establishment that there was a person at the gate, who had been authorized and desired to have an interview with him. On going to the entrance of the prison he found a well, but plainly dressed gentleman, who, as soon as he presented himself, asked: "Are you Captain John Lee of Marblehead?" and being answered in the affirmative, he presented a purse containing seventy-five guineas.

Captain Lee asked in astonishment, to whom he was indebted for such a timely and most acceptable present. "No matter," was the answer, and then the gentleman ob-

served: "With a part of those funds, purchase, or procure in some manner, a complete suit of uniform, like those worn by the soldiers of the guard; and this evening place yourself in some obscure corner or position, from whence, when they go the rounds, you can unperceived fall into the ranks, and come out into the yard. But as there are sentinels who must be passed before you reach the street, the countersign will be required;" which was then whispered in his ear, and the unknown gentleman disappeared.

By using the gold freely and adroitly, during the day, Captain Lee was enabled to obtain the requisite dress, and following the instructions which he had received, he fell into the ranks as the guard passed through the prison, and soon reached the yard. Then, giving the countersign, he passed the guard at the outer gate, and found himself alone in the street. The night was very dark, and the roads were entirely unknown to him, so that he did not know where to go, or what next to do. While he was endeavoring to come to some decision, in this perplexing dilemma, the gentleman who gave him the purse came up, and taking him by the hand, congratulated him upon his good fortune. Then, conducting him to a carriage which was waiting at a little distance, the gentleman requested him to enter it, and stated that the coachman had instructions where to convey him. As he entered the carriage the gentleman wished him a prosperous and safe return to America, and was about taking his leave, when Captain Lee again asked to whom he was indebted for such a humane and generous act? He answered "No matter;" and after directing the coachman to move off, he bowed and said, "Farewell, God bless you," and was soon out of sight. On his arrival in America, Captain Lee related the circumstances of his escape to his brother, Col. William R. Lee, and expressed a strong desire to know who the gentleman could have been, and what were his motives for extending assistance to an utter stranger and a natural enemy. Colonel Lee replied: "I can inform



you. When General Burgoyne and his army arrived at Cambridge as prisoners of war, I had the command of the troops which were stationed there as a guard; and again for several months previous to his departure for England. When I waited upon him, to take leave on the day of his departure, he thanked me in the most cordial manner for my attentions, and, as he expressed it, the gentlemanly and honorable manner in which I had treated him and his officers, and wished to know whether there was anything which he could do for me, when he reached England. I informed him, I had a brother who for more than two years had been confined in Forton Prison; and as he was entirely destitute of funds, I should consider it a great favor if he would take charge of seventy-five guineas, and cause them to be delivered to him on his arrival. He replied: 'Why did you not inform me before, that you had a brother a prisoner in England? You shall not send any money to him; I will see that it is supplied, and shall with the greatest pleasure do everything in my power to render his situation as comfortable as possible.' I thanked him for his generous proffer of services, but informed him that I could not consent to receive pecuniary aid, and desired as a special favor that he would be so kind as to deliver you the purse which I put into his hand. 'It shall be done,' he said, 'and you may be assured that I shall find him out, and see that he is well provided for in all respects.' Thus, it is evident that you are indebted to General Burgoyne for your fortunate escape from the horrors of a prison."<sup>1</sup>

During the spring and summer of 1779, Commodore Tucker, in the frigate *Boston*, sailed on several remarkably successful cruises. During the month of June alone, he captured seven prizes, six of which were armed vessels. Of these, the most important were the *Pole*, a frigate of two hundred tons burden, mounting twenty-four guns, and the sloop of war *Thorn*, mounting sixteen guns. The *Pole* was

<sup>1</sup> From the Manuscript *Life of Col. W. R. Lee*.

captured without the firing of a gun on either side. As soon as Tucker saw the ship in the distance, he knew her to be a British frigate, and boldly sailed up to her. Disguising his own ship with English colors, he prepared for action, and, having obtained a commanding position, hoisted the American flag and ordered an instant surrender. The commander of the British frigate, seeing that resistance was in vain, struck his colors. The prize was subsequently sold for £103,000, the sale of the coal and provisions found on board increasing the amount to nearly one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

In the mean time, Commodore Manly, who two years before had been captured by the British and sent to prison, was exchanged. Upon regaining his freedom, he at once assumed command of the privateer *Cumberland*. While cruising in her, he was captured by the British frigate *Pomona*, and carried into Barbadoes, where he and his officers were imprisoned. All their applications to obtain paroles were rejected. They finally succeeded in effecting an escape, and seizing a sloop, sailed for Martinico, where they arrived in safety. Manly was afterwards in command of the privateer *Jason*, which had been captured from the British shortly before his escape. While on a cruise, during the month of July, he was attacked by two British privateers, one of eighteen guns, and the other of sixteen. In the engagement which ensued, Manly behaved with great bravery, and reserved his fire until he came close up with his adversaries. Running between them, he first discharged a broadside into the eighteen-gun vessel, killing and wounding nearly thirty of her crew. He then gave her consort the other broadside, when both vessels surrendered, and became his prizes.

In July, Commodore Tucker, in the *Boston*, sailed on a cruise in company with the frigate *Deane*, commanded by Captain Nicholson. On the 15th they captured the privateer *Enterprise*, of seventeen guns and eighty men, and

shortly after the sloop-of-war *Mermaid*, a tender of the frigate *Vigilant*. During a part of the time, the *Boston* and *Deane* were accompanied by the United States frigate *Confederacy*. A large number of prizes were taken during this cruise, thirteen of which were taken by the *Boston* alone without the assistance of the other frigates. Among their captures was the ship *Earl of Glencairn*, mounting twenty guns, with a cargo of dry goods, the invoice of which amounted to £40,000, besides four hundred barrels of provisions, and fifty puncheons of rum. They also took the brig *Venture*, bound from *Madeira* to *New York*, with one hundred and fifty pipes of *Madeira* wine; and four British privateers, which were sent into *Philadelphia*.

In November of this year, the letter of marque *Freemason*, Capt. Benjamin Boden, sailed from *Marblehead* to *Martinico*. She carried six guns and fifteen men. On her passage she was taken by a British privateer sloop, mounting sixteen guns. The captain, second mate, and a boy, were left on board the *Freemason*, but the first mate, Robert Wormsted, with the rest of the crew, was carried on board the privateer. The prisoners were handcuffed and thrust into the hold, and at night the hatchway was closed. Here, Wormsted conceived a plan of escape which was successfully executed. His handcuffs were so large that he could with little exertion get rid of them and set the rest at liberty. He proposed rising upon the privateer the next day, when the captain should be taking the sun. At first the attempt was thought to be too desperate, they being so few in number compared with the crew on board. At length, however, Wormsted prevailed with his companions, and they solemnly bound themselves to do their utmost. His plan was to spring upon deck and knock down the captain, and they were to follow and do their part. At twelve o'clock the next day their courage was put to the test, and in a few moments the captain and many others were laid prostrate upon the deck. Their pistols were taken and aimed at the enemy

in the cabin, who surrendered without opposition. Wormsted then bore down upon the schooner and ordered her to strike her colors. Captain Boden cried for joy, and his captors were as much chagrined as astonished at this unexpected reverse of fortune. Wormsted, as commander, had the English flag lowered, and the American hoisted. Having ordered the British officers and sailors to be handcuffed and thrust into the hold, he appointed Captain Boden prize-master, and directed him to steer for Guadaloupe. There in due time they arrived in triumph, and were received with unusual testimonials of exultation. The crew of the privateer were sent to prison and the prize was sold at auction. Having loaded his vessel, Wormsted sailed for Massachusetts, and on the second day was again captured and lost everything."<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th of November the frigate *Boston*, Commodore Tucker, in company with the frigates *Providence*, *Queen of France*, and *Ranger*, was ordered to proceed without delay to the harbor of Charleston, S. C., where they arrived during the latter part of the following month. The squadron was under the command of Commodore Whipple. The frigates remained in the harbor during the entire winter and spring, and, during the thirty days' siege by the British, rendered efficient service in defense of the city. Commodore Tucker, with a party of picked marines, succeeded in demolishing the Beacon Light-house and Fort Johnson, both of which it was feared might be of great service to the enemy. The work in both instances was attended with great peril, as the men were obliged to land in boats and perform their labor directly under the guns of the British fleet. The undertaking was executed with the utmost secrecy, and its successful accomplishment was hailed with delight by the American authorities. On the 11th of May, after having withstood a siege of thirty days' duration, General Lincoln, who was in command of the American forces,

<sup>1</sup> Alden's *Collections*.

surrendered, and Charleston fell into the hands of the British. Commodore Tucker was the last of the squadron to strike his flag, and at the conclusion of the action a special order was sent to him to do so. "I do not think much of striking my flag to your present force," replied Tucker, "for I have struck more of your flags than are now flying in this harbor."

An account of the first cruise of the sloop-of-war *Thorn*, after her capture from the British, and of the subsequent attempt to seize and restore her to her former owners, has been given in another chapter. On the second cruise of the *Thorn*, Capt. Richard Cowell, of Marblehead, was appointed commander, and she had a crew of one hundred and twenty men. Being a very enterprising and brave officer, he made many captures, to man out which took so many of his seamen that his crew was reduced to only sixty, including officers and boys. He therefore concluded to return to port for the purpose of obtaining a reënforcement of seamen.

Within a few days after having commenced his homeward passage, he fell in with the British letter of marque *St. David*, of twenty-two guns. He first asked the opinion of his officers as to the expediency of engaging a ship of such superior size and armament, and apparently fully manned. Finding that the officers were in favor of attacking her, he ordered the crew to be mustered, and having represented to them the great disparity of force between the two ships, he observed, "Still your officers are anxious to attack her; are you ready to go into action?" They instantly gave three hearty cheers, as an emphatic affirmative response. The *Thorn* immediately ran down alongside of the enemy, and began a desperate engagement at close quarters. The contest lasted an hour and a half, when the *St. David* struck her colors. On boarding her it was found that she had a crew of one hundred and seventy men, having taken on board seventy marines from a transport, which she had fallen in with in distress. The captain was mortally wounded, and

one third of the crew killed or wounded. Her cargo consisted of six hundred puncheons of Jamaica spirit. Captain Cowell put an officer and twenty-five men on board the prize, and ordered him to make the nearest port; but the ship was never heard of again.

On the next cruise of the *Thorn*, she was commanded by Commodore Tucker, who had been released from his parole given at Charleston by being exchanged for a British officer of equal rank. The crew of the *Thorn* was composed of eighty-one men and eighteen boys. "She had been cruising about three weeks, when they fell in with the *Lord Hyde*, an English packet of twenty-two guns and one hundred men. As the two vessels drew near, the commanders hailed each other in the customary way when ships meet at sea, and the captain of the English packet cried out roughly from the quarter-deck —

"Haul down your colors, or I'll sink you."

"Ay, ay, sir, directly," replied Tucker, calmly and complacently; and he then ordered the helmsman to steer the *Thorn* right under the stern of the packet, luff up under her lee quarters, and range alongside her. The order was promptly executed. The two vessels were laid side by side within pistol-shot of each other. While the *Thorn* was getting into position, the enemy fired a full broadside at her, which did but little damage. As soon as she was brought completely alongside her adversary, Tucker thundered to his men to fire, and a tremendous discharge followed, and, as good aim had been taken, a dreadful carnage was seen in that ill-fated vessel. It was rapidly succeeded by a fresh volley of artillery, and in twenty minutes a piercing cry was heard from the English vessel: "Quarter, for God's sake! Our ship is sinking! Our men are dying of their wounds!" To this heart-rending appeal, Commodore Tucker replied: "How can you expect quarters while that British flag is flying?" The sad answer came back: "Our halliards are shot away!" "Then cut away your ensign-mast, or you'll

all be dead men." It was done immediately; down came the colors; the din of cannonading ceased, and only the groans of the wounded and dying were heard. Thirty-four of the crew of the prize, with the captain, were either killed or wounded. Her decks were besmeared with blood, and in some places it stood in clotted masses to the tops of the sailors' slippers."<sup>1</sup> On going on board the prize, Commodore Tucker is said to have exclaimed, as he witnessed the suffering of the wounded, "Would to God I had never seen her!"

During the year 1780, while cruising in the ship *Marquis*, of sixteen guns, many of which were small four-pounders, Capt. Richard Cowell fell in with a British letter of marque. She mounted twenty-four guns, and a complete set of men, far superior in numbers to his own. Relying, however, on the spirit and bravery of his officers and crew, he laid his ship alongside the enemy, and continued there for nearly three hours. So near were the two ships in this situation that the sponges were frequently taken from one to the other while the men were in the act of loading. One man on board the *Marquis* was nearly taken out of the port at which he was stationed, by one of the crew of the enemy. This gallant and heroic action would undoubtedly have resulted in a glorious victory for Captain Cowell; but the enemy, after having expended all his ammunition, hauled off from his opponent, and the disabled state of the spars and rigging of the *Marquis* prevented the gallant captain from pursuing him.

In March, 1781, Commodore Tucker, who had again sailed in the *Thorn*, captured two prizes, one of which was a ship from Liverpool, mounting sixteen six-pounders, bound to Charlestown with a cargo of brandy and dry goods. The other was a packet from Jamaica bound to London. The engagement lasted two hours, during which the packet had four men killed and fourteen wounded. Not a man was

<sup>1</sup> Sheppard's *Life of Tucker*.

lost on board the Thorn. During the month of May, and early in June, Tucker captured three prizes, namely, a sloop from St. Eustatia bound to Halifax, a letter of marque brig of fourteen guns, bound from Antigua to Quebec, laden with rum and molasses, and a scow laden with three hundred hogsheads of sugar.

Shortly after this, he captured the English ship Elizabeth of twenty guns. The ship was bound for Halifax under convoy with the brig Observer of sixteen, and the sloop-of-war Howe, of fourteen guns. Ascertaining that two smaller vessels with valuable cargoes were sailing under protection of the convoy, Tucker determined to intercept them. On the appearance of the fleet Tucker hoisted the English flag and boldly sailed into the midst of them. Coming up between the Elizabeth and the Observer, he made friendly inquiries of them, and then, as if by accident, managed to get his vessel entangled with the Elizabeth. When all was in readiness, Tucker lowered the English flag and hoisted the American, at the same time giving orders to fire a broadside. The Elizabeth fired at the same time. Before the English captain had time to discharge another gun, thirty picked men from the Thorn boarded his vessel. Obtaining possession of the deck, they drove the crew below, and hauled down the colors. The brig and the sloop-of-war then attempted an attack upon the Thorn, but Tucker assumed a threatening attitude, and after the sloop-of-war had discharged a broadside both vessels sailed away. During the engagement the Thorn had nine men killed and fourteen wounded.

During the latter part of the month of July, the Thorn was captured by the British frigate Hind. She was captured near the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, and Commodore Tucker, with his crew of eighty men, was landed at the Island of St. John's, to be conveyed to Halifax.

Shortly after they were landed at St. John's, Tucker and the officers of the Thorn were placed in an open boat for



the purpose of being carried to Halifax. A verbal promise was exacted from Tucker, that he would coast along the shore and proceed direct for Halifax; but he was overpowered by his officers, who were determined to escape. They accordingly sailed across Massachusetts Bay, and about the middle of August arrived at Boston in safety.

This was the last cruise made by Commodore Tucker during the Revolutionary war. His biographer claims that he "took more prizes, fought more sea-fights, and gained more victories, than, with a very few exceptions, any naval hero of the age." And it is true.

In the latter part of the year, Capt. Robert Wormsted, of Marblehead, sailed in a privateer from Salem. When off the coast of Nova Scotia, he fell in with an English armed vessel, and being in danger of capture, ran his vessel ashore and abandoned her. After traveling for some time through the woods, Wormsted and his men again came to the water, where they found an open boat, which they seized and at once sailed for New England. On their passage, they fell in with a vessel from Cork, laden with linens, butter, candles, etc., which had been taken by the Americans and re-taken by the British. Captain Wormsted and his crew boarded and took her by surprisal without arms. They were shortly after chased by a British vessel, which bore down upon them so rapidly, that they were obliged once more to have recourse to their boat. Hastily throwing in a few stores, and other articles, they made their escape, and finally arrived in Marblehead.

During the month of November, 1782, the ship *St. Helena*, commanded by Captain John Stillwell, sailed with a fleet from Havana for Philadelphia. She mounted twenty guns between decks, — ten of which, however, were of wood, — and had under convoy fifteen American vessels, which had previously been subjected to an embargo. On the day they were permitted to leave port, the *St. Helena*, in attempting to get under way, met with a disaster which

detained her till sunset. The fleet was beating backward and forward during the night, which was dark, waiting for the convoy. The *St. Helena* passed and repassed a number of the vessels. In the mean time several guns were heard, supposed to be from one of the fleet. At length, about midnight, she was saluted with a broadside. It was something wholly unexpected; the men were fatigued; no one seemed to know his station, and great confusion ensued. Some of the guns, however, were soon got into operation, and the firing continued till daylight, when the antagonist was found to be His Britannic Majesty's brig *Lively*, commanded by Captain Michael Stanhope. The *St. Helena* was also within reach of the guns of the *Jupiter*, a ship of the line. Of course, her colors were lowered, and the men taken on board the *Lively*. Six days afterwards, it was discovered that the crew of the *St. Helena* were preparing to rise. All the men were consequently confined below, and were suffered to come up only through a narrow grating one at a time, the hatchway being constantly guarded by a sentinel. After six days' close confinement, five of the Americans, namely, Anthony Carner, *John Prince*,<sup>1</sup> Seth Farrow, *Lewis Russell*,<sup>1</sup> and Nathan Walker, concerted a plan for taking the brig. Accordingly, about noon, Walker disarmed the sentinel, took out the bar which fastened the hatchway, and the other four instantly rushed upon deck, fought in a most desperate manner, and in a few moments took the vessel.<sup>2</sup> The number of Americans on board the *Lively* was forty-six. They immediately bore away for Havana, and upon their arrival at that port, a committee was chosen to sell the prize and settle with the crew. Of this committee, John Prince was chairman, and after having disposed of the prize, he submitted the following report:<sup>3</sup> —

<sup>1</sup> Of Marblehead.

<sup>2</sup> Alden's *Collections*.

<sup>3</sup> From original manuscript.

“ Brig and materials . . . . .	\$18,000.00
Cash on board . . . . .	1,827.00
One negro . . . . .	380.00
Sundry goods sold on board . . . . .	124.00
	<hr/>
	\$20,331.00

After deducting sundry expenses amounting to \$1,556, the money was divided among the crew.”

The end of the year 1782 closed the maritime war of the American Revolution. As it had been begun by the men of Marblehead, so it was reserved for a Marblehead commander to close it with a brilliant achievement. Commodore Manly, who, in 1775, hoisted the first American flag,<sup>1</sup> and on board the little schooner *Lee* made the first important capture of the war, had been appointed to the command of the United States frigate *Hague*. While cruising about the West Indies, he was chased by an English seventy-four, and grounded on a sand-bank near Guadaloupe. Three ships of the line having joined the seventy-four, they came to anchor within gunshot of the *Hague*. With springs on their cables they opened a most tremendous fire. Commodore Manly supported this cannonade for three days. On the fourth day he succeeded in extricating his ship from her perilous position, when, hoisting Continental colors at the maintop-gallant-mast, he fired thirteen guns as a farewell defiance, and boldly sailed away. In due time the *Hague* arrived safe in Boston.

Shortly after this, early in the year 1783, Captain Ambrose James sailed from St. Martin's for Marblehead. He had been out but a short time when his schooner was taken by an English cruiser and pillaged of every movable article on board, including five or six hundred dollars in cash.

<sup>1</sup> The ensign was the pine-tree flag, according to Colonel Reed, who in a letter to Colonels Glover and Moylan, dated October 20, 1775, said: "Please to fix some particular color for a flag and signal by which our vessels may know one another. What do you think of a white ground, a tree in the middle, the motto, 'Appeal to Heaven?'" — *Lossing*, vol. i., 576.

The commander of the cruiser then ransomed the schooner for one hundred Johannes, and took Captain James's note of hand as security for the payment. The vessel subsequently arrived in Marblehead without further molestation.

Many years after the close of the Revolutionary War, several of those who had taken a part in the struggle were living in Marblehead. They were all aged men, and pensioners of the government. One of their number, who had represented the town in both branches of the State legislature, and who was at the time a justice of the peace, obtained from each of these veterans a deposition of his experience during the war. As in nearly every instance they were engaged the greater proportion of their time in privateering, it is fitting that the brief narrative of their experience as contained in these interesting depositions should close this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

GEORGE CASH served as a private in Captain Merritt's company, of Glover's regiment.

MASON HARRIS, a sergeant in Captain Selman's company. Marched to Cambridge, June 22, 1775; returned to Marblehead, December 31, 1775. In 1778, at Rhode Island forty-five days.

WILLIAM HARRIS, a soldier in Capt. Samuel R. Trevett's artillery company in 1775. At Cambridge May 24; returned June 22. In January, 1776, enlisted in Colonel Hitchcock's regiment and was at Cambridge about three months, having entered for "during the war." Hired a man to take his place, and sailed with Captain Forrester in the sloop Rover. Afterwards sailed with Captain Cole in the Coronet; then with Captain Cowell in the ship Marquis, and subsequently with Captain Reed, in the same ship. His last cruise was with Captain Vallison, in the schooner Hawk.

<sup>1</sup> These depositions were taken in 1830 by Capt. John Prince, and were copied from the original especially for this work. The oldest of the deponents was eighty-five years of age, the youngest sixty-nine.

WILLIAM BEAN, a private in Captain Selman's company. Then sailed with Capt. John White, in the sloop *Revenge*. Afterwards with Captain Warren, in the brig *Handen*, and subsequently in the *Springbird*, four cruises. His last cruise was in the letter of marque *Freemason*.

RICHARD MARTIN, a private in Captain Selman's company in 1775. In November of that year sailed with Captain Selman on the expedition to St. John's Island. Was steward and pilot on board. Afterwards enlisted in the fort for one year, and subsequently sailed in the *Springbird*.

GEORGE TUCKER, a soldier in the fort during the year 1775. Afterwards sailed with Captain Fettyplace, in the sloop *Odione*; then with Captain Hamilton, in the ship *Jason*. His last cruise was with Captain Tucker, in the schooner *Hancock*.

ABRAM MOSS,<sup>1</sup> a lieutenant in Capt. Norman Bancroft's company. Was stationed at Bunker Hill for three months to guard General Burgoyne's troops. Afterwards went privateering with Captain Hamilton, in the ship *Jason*. Then sailed on a cruise with Captain Cross, in the brig *Tiger*, and was captured and carried to St. John's, Newfoundland. On being released he sailed with Captain Neal in the ship *Viper*, and was again captured and taken into Halifax. From there he went to St. Thomas, in the West Indies, and from thence to Hayti. On a voyage from Hayti to Portsmouth, N. H., he was again captured and carried to Charleston, S. C. From there he was sent on board a transport to New York, and then carried to Newfoundland.

CHARLES FLORENCE, a fifer in a Pennsylvania regiment. The day after the enemy left Bunker Hill, marched on to it, and saw the "kittles" on the fire left by them. Was there about five weeks. Afterwards sailed with Captain Cole, in the schooner *Oliver Cromwell*, and manned out

<sup>1</sup> This name was undoubtedly Morse; in the Marblehead vernacular, however, it would be pronounced as written in the deposition.

eleven prizes. Then sailed with Captain Vallison in the schooner Hawk, and took a large Jamaica ship laden with sugar. While on a cruise with Captain Graves, in the brig Eagle, he was captured, and sent to Quebec, where he remained eighteen months. He was then transferred to Halifax, and from thence to New York, where he was confined on board the prison ship "Old Jersey." While he was on board this floating prison, a ship arrived from Yorktown with a number of British officers, who had been taken with Cornwallis, and released on parole. Ten of the prisoners, of whom he was one, were put on board the American ship, with instructions to return to Yorktown in her, and deliver her to the authorities, which was done. On his return from Yorktown, Florence sailed in the brig Peacock, and after being out three days was captured by a British frigate and carried to New York, where he was again confined on board the "Old Jersey." One month after, he was exchanged, and traveled home, having been absent thirty-two months. A short time after arriving in Marblehead, he went on a cruise in the privateer General Glover, Captain Caswell. They were out six weeks and took four prizes, all of which arrived at Salem. One of the prizes was loaded with munitions of war which the government took. His last cruise was with Captain Caswell, in the ship Rover. They were out nine months, and took two ships, one of which was laden with flour, the other with slaves. Both were carried into Martinico. Returned home in May, after the peace of 1783.

SAMUEL PETERS sailed with Captain Stiles, in the ship Traveller; was captured and impressed into the British service. Was on board British ships seven years, and returned from London in a Salem brig after the declaration of peace.

WILLIAM LASKEY sailed in the Springbird, and afterwards with Captain Twisden, in the Tornado. Subsequently, while on a cruise in the schooner Bunker Hill, he was taken prisoner and confined thirteen months. During

four months of the year 1776 he was stationed at Castle William.

THOMAS BROWN arrived from Grand Bank in May, 1775, and during the next six months was in service at the fort. He then commanded a look-out schooner in the Bay. Afterwards went on a cruise in the brig Massachusetts. She was out about two months, and took a brig mounting twenty guns. His next cruise was with Captain Thorndike, in the schooner Warren. On his next cruise, which was with Captain Bartlett in the brig Hampden, he was taken prisoner and carried to Dominico. From there he ran away, however, and succeeded in making his escape, after which he shipped on board the ship *Tyranicide*, as mate. While cruising in this ship they took a valuable prize, which was sent into Boston. He then sailed in the privateer *Brutus*, which took three prizes. On a subsequent cruise, in the schooner *Oliver Cromwell*, he was taken prisoner and carried into Newfoundland. His last cruise was in the schooner *Hancock*, during which two prizes were taken.

SAMUEL GILES sailed in 1778, with Captain Stiles, in the schooner *Swan*. They went to Baltimore in the State service and carried a load of flour. On their return they were captured by a British vessel on *George's*, and carried to Halifax. After his release, he sailed on four cruises in the brig *Tiger*, during which eighteen prizes were taken. His next cruise was in the ship *Jack*, of eighteen guns, Captain Brown. After being out a short time they took five prizes. During another cruise with Capt. T. Collyer, in a ship of eighteen guns, a large ship loaded with provisions was captured. Giles subsequently sailed one cruise in the ship-of-war *Thorn*, during which four prizes were captured. He was afterwards on board the ship *Jason*. A short time after sailing, this ship fell in with and captured a British privateer brig of twenty guns, after an action of two hours. The captain, one of the lieutenants, and several sailors of the British brig, were killed. The *Jason* had seven men

killed. The prize was dismantled and sent ashore. They soon after took another prize, which was sent in.

After this, Mr. Giles sailed in the ship *Henry*, which, after taking several prizes, was captured by a British ship. The crew were sent to New York and put on board the frigate *Balfour*, in which they were carried to Jamaica and imprisoned. Giles finally succeeded in escaping, and shipped on board a vessel bound for New York, where he arrived after peace had been declared. He returned to Marblehead about 1783.

NICHOLAS BESSOM sailed from Boston in the brig *Freemason*, March 24, 1779, on a voyage to France. The ship reached her destination in safety, and returned with a load of munitions of war for the army, the entire voyage occupying about six months. He afterwards sailed a cruise in the brig *Montgomery*, and another with Captain Reed, in the *Marquis*. He subsequently sailed in the ship *Buckamoor*, and while on board a prize which she had captured, was taken prisoner and carried to Lisbon.

CAPT. THOMAS BARKER arrived from fishing about the middle of May, 1775, and enlisted in Captain Trevett's company of artillery. May 21, Mr. Whitwell preached a sermon to the artillery company at the Old Meeting-house. A few days after, the artillery company marched to Cambridge, and was in the battle of Bunker Hill. On his return to Marblehead he was employed in rebuilding the fort, and afterwards enlisted in Captain Fettyplace's company, in which he was stationed at the fort until August, 1776. Soon after, he shipped on board the brig *Massachusetts*, Capt. Daniel Foster, and sailed on a cruise. After being out two or three weeks, they fell in with and captured an English brig, which had on board twenty-seven light horse for the British army. He was afterwards taken prisoner with "Jack Lee."

SAMUEL GRAVES was in a company at the fort in 1775. Afterwards, Capt. Joseph Barker's company came to attend,



and he went to Westborough, where he remained till the peace of 1783. He returned with Captain Hooper in a company of artillery.

WILLIAM HOOPER, JR., was in Captain Hooper's company, and came home with Captain Graves. Afterwards sailed in the *Tyrannicide*. He was in the Rhode Island expedition in 1778.

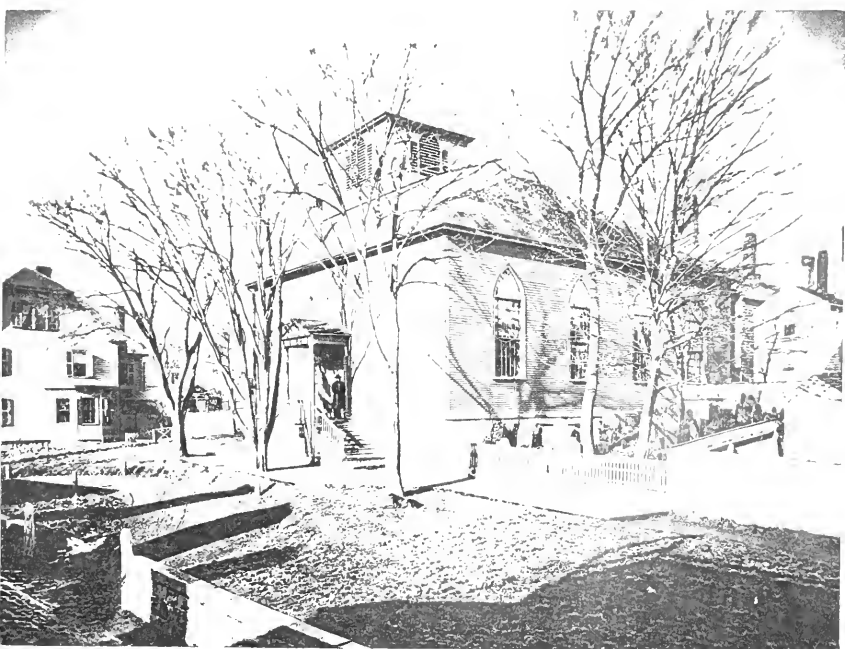
## CHAPTER X.

THOUGH their fortunes had been seriously impaired by the fearful ravages of the war, the citizens of Marblehead were not disheartened. On the return of peace, with that determined spirit of enterprise for which they had ever been distinguished, they entered at once upon their accustomed commercial pursuits. Under the direction of merchants of the character and ability of Col. William R. Lee, John Hooper, Thomas and Knott Pedrick, and a score of others equally well known and respected in their day and generation, large ships were fitted out, some of which made successful voyages to France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the West Indies. The Grand Bank fisheries were also in a measure revived, and every attempt was made to restore the prosperity which the town enjoyed in the years before the war. It was not until these attempts were found to be well nigh futile, that the disastrous effects of the great struggle were realized. The days when Marblehead gave promise of being a great commercial port were gone; and they were gone forever. The only recourse of the inhabitants was to prosecute the fishing business, and in a few years it became almost the sole industry of the town.

On Tuesday, November 2, 1784, the Marquis de Lafayette visited the town. The general was accompanied by the Chevalier Grandchamps, the Chevalier Caraman, and Samuel Breck, Esq., of Boston. The distinguished visitors were met on Salem road by a procession of prominent citizens, and escorted to the entrance of the town, where they were received with a band of music by a large concourse of people. As the procession marched into town the church



LEE MANSION.



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.



bells were rung, and the marquis was received on all sides with prolonged cheers, and cries of "Long life to the Marquis de Lafayette!" Arriving at the residence of one of the citizens, he was introduced "to the gentlemen of the place," after which the following address was presented.

"*Sir*, — The citizens of Marblehead with open arms and affectionate hearts welcome your return to the United States.

"Your early attachment to the cause of America, — THE CAUSE OF MANKIND, — your unremitting exertions and eminent services therein, — all conspire to reanimate our breasts with that superlative esteem and respect we have long entertained for the Marquis de Lafayette.

"Our loss of men and property in the glorious conflict may deprive us of the pleasure of fully manifesting the principles of hospitality we feel on this joyful occasion; but, sir, we are happy in this assurance, that your magnanimity will consider our circumstances as a misfortune, and not a fault.

"We assure you, sir, with utmost sincerity, that we are deeply interested in your welfare, and happy when honored with your company; and we flatter ourselves that the present interview is only a prelude to similar favors from yourself and friends who now accompany you."

The reply of the Marquis was as follows: —

"*Gentlemen*, While I have the satisfaction once more to enter a town which so early fought and so freely bled in the great conflict, admiration mingles with the tender concerns of a sympathizing heart. But, amidst our regrets of brave men who had the honor to fall in their country's cause, I rejoice in the virtuous spirit and animating industry remarkable in the remaining sons of Marblehead. May your losses be an hundred fold repaired by all the blessings of peace and plenty. And may your numerous posterity, in the preservation of that liberty so gloriously purchased, ever venerate the memory of their ancestors.

"Equally proud of your esteem, and happy in your friend-

ship, gentlemen, I heartily thank you for your kind wishes, and so honorable a welcome, and will most pleasingly anticipate every opportunity to present you with the affectionate tribute of my respect and gratitude."

General Lafayette was then escorted to another private residence, represented in the newspaper reports as a "genteel House," where a grand dinner was served. After dinner, an hour was devoted to speeches, and the customary thirteen toasts were drunk, the sentiment offered by Lafayette being, "The town of Marblehead, and unbounded success to its fisheries."

At six o'clock General Lafayette and his friends departed as they had come, amid the booming of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the joyful acclamations of the people.

With the expectation that the visitors would remain in town over night, arrangements had been made for a grand ball in the evening; but other engagements rendered it necessary for them to decline the invitation, and the citizens were deprived of their company on the occasion.

The unsettled condition of affairs at the close of the Revolutionary War, together with the great increase of debts, both public and private, had for several years been breeding discontent among the people of Massachusetts. Conventions of delegates had been held in various towns in the counties of Middlesex, Berkshire, Hampshire, Bristol, and Worcester, and the most inflammatory appeals had been made to incite the people against the lawfully constituted authorities of the State. The effect of these incendiary appeals was soon apparent. Mobs of armed men, under the lead of demagogues as unprincipled and deluded as their followers, assembled in the towns of Concord, Taunton, and Great Barrington, and prevented the courts of justice from assembling. The rioters numbered from two hundred to eight hundred men. Before the end of September, these riotous proceedings had developed into a formidable insurrection, which continued to increase until about eighteen

hundred men, under the lead of Daniel Shays and Luke Day, defied all civil and military authority, and spread consternation and alarm throughout the State. Prompt and decisive measures were taken by the governor and the General Court for the suppression of the rebellion, and a force of nearly five thousand men under Generals Lincoln, Shepard, and Brooks, was sent to rout the malcontents. Quiet was soon restored in the eastern counties; but in the west, where the rebellion had assumed more formidable proportions, the task was much more difficult. On the 25th of January, 1787, the insurgents made a concerted attack upon the arsenal at Springfield. The post was defended by General Shepard, with about eleven hundred men, and the rebels were routed in great confusion. Four men were killed, and though the leaders made every effort to rally their forces, the mob retreated in disorder. They were pursued from one place to another, and finally, early in February, were effectually routed.

Rumors had been in circulation for some time that the citizens of Marblehead were in sympathy with the insurgents. Though the injustice of the stigma was keenly felt, the people suffered it to pass in silence, awaiting their own good time to refute it. On the 7th of February a town meeting was held, at which a vote was passed expressing the hearty concurrence of the citizens in the measures adopted by the government for the suppression of the rebellion. Measures were also adopted for raising recruits and offering bounties, and a committee was chosen to "receive subscriptions of money, provisions, arms, ammunition, and clothing, to be repaid out of the next town tax." Peace was soon restored, however, a large proportion of the insurgents availed themselves of the clemency of the government, and took the oath of allegiance, and sixteen of the leaders were convicted of treason and sentenced to death.

On the 29th of May, 1787, the Constitutional Convention, composed of delegates from all the States, met in Philadel-

phia. The articles of confederation which formed the only "cord of connection between the States" had been "tried and found wanting," and the necessity of a more perfect union was seen and felt throughout the country. The delegates from Massachusetts were Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong. Though Mr. Gerry labored earnestly throughout the entire session of the convention to secure "a constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union," he was one of the sixteen members who withheld their signatures from the document when completed. In his report to the Massachusetts Legislature, giving the reason for this action, he says: "It was painful to me, on a subject of such national importance, to differ from the respectable members who signed the Constitution. But conceiving as I did that the liberties of America were not secured by the system, it was my duty to oppose it."

"My principal objections to the plan are, that there is no adequate provision for a representation of the people; that they have no security for the right of election; that some of the powers of the legislature are ambiguous, and others indefinite and dangerous; that the executive is blended with and will have an undue influence over the legislature; that the judicial department will be oppressive; that treaties of the highest importance may be formed by the president, with the advice of two thirds of a quorum of the senate, and that the system is without the security of a bill of rights."

The instrument was referred to the several States for ratification, the Convention of Massachusetts being held at the State House in Boston on the 9th of January, 1788. The delegates from Marblehead, chosen at a town meeting held on the 3d of the previous month, were Isaac Mansfield, Azor Orne, Jonathan Glover, and John Glover, all of whom voted in favor of the adoption of the instrument.

Of the subsequent events, resulting in the election of



George Washington and John Adams as President and Vice-president of the United States, and the peaceful establishment of the national government, it is not within the province of this work to treat. The elevation of these patriots to the two highest offices in the gift of the people gave unbounded satisfaction in Marblehead, as elsewhere. For Mr. Adams, especially, the citizens of Marblehead entertained feelings of the deepest gratitude for his inestimable services "in preserving to the United States of America in the Treaty of Peace the extensive advantage of the cod-fishery." These advantages were considered as especially beneficial to Marblehead, and the citizens, in the fullness of their hearts, resolved to present Mr. Adams with an address, and some slight testimonial of their appreciation of his efforts in their behalf. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1789, a town meeting was held, at which it was voted to "present his Excellency John Adams, Esq., with six quintals of table fish," accompanied by the following address, drawn up by a committee chosen for that purpose: —

"AN ADDRESS TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

"*Sir* : The Inhabitants of Marblehead, in common with their fellow-countrymen, have ever felt strongly impressed with sentiments of gratitude and satisfaction for the eminent services rendered by you to the United States of America in all their foreign negotiations which have been committed to your charge; in considering the result of those negotiations we find ourselves under very peculiar obligations to your faithful and unshaken patronage of the fishery, which we apprehend to have been in danger from the politics and interests of powerful nations. We therefore, being now legally assembled in Town Meeting, pray your excellency to accept this our unanimous address as expressing our sense of those essential benefits which we now enjoy in the preservation of the fishery, for which we believe ourselves more especially indebted to your excellency. While we are en-

joying the fullness of those benefits, we pray your excellency will indulge us to furnish your table with a small share of the fruits of your good services, which we wish may be acceptable as a mark of our gratitude."

The committee, consisting of Messrs. Marston Watson, Joshua Orne, and Thomas Lewis, by whom the address was reported, were instructed to forward it to Mr. Adams, together with the fish.

During the year 1788, or early in the year 1789, several influential citizens, who appreciated the necessity of greater educational advantages for the youth of the town, contributed the funds for the establishment of an academy. These gentlemen, who styled themselves "benefactors," were Samuel Sewall, Robert Hooper, Samuel Hooper, William Raymond Lee, Elisha Story, Samuel Russell Trevett, John Humphreys, John Goodwin, Marston Watson, Richard Homan, Joseph Sewall, Samuel Bartoll, John Dixie, Richard Pedrick, Ebenezer Graves, and Burrill Devereux. In a short time a building was erected, which is still standing on Pleasant Street, and Mr. William Harris, a gentleman who had been studying medicine with a physician in Salem, was employed as preceptor. The first public exhibition by the pupils was held on the 6th of July, 1789, when "the youth by their just pronounciation, and pleasing manners, gained the approbation of a large and very respectable audience."<sup>1</sup> "The benefactors of the academy, and the parents of the youth," remarked one of the county papers, "were amply rewarded by these early and distinguishing proofs of their success; and the public congratulates them upon the choice of a Preceptor, who affords good hopes that he will answer their most generous intentions."

The national government having been firmly established, one of the most important measures claiming the attention of the administration was the appointment of federal offi-

<sup>1</sup> *Salem Mercury*, July 14, 1789.

cers throughout the country. For many years previous to the Revolution, Marblehead had been a port of entry, but the records were taken away by the Tory refugees during the war, and we are thereby deprived of much valuable information concerning the commercial and maritime history of the town. For several years after the close of the war, a naval officer was chosen by the State legislature, and in the summer of 1786 the appointment of Mr. Samuel R. Gerry, in the place of Mr. Stephen Sewall, whose term of office had expired, caused an earnest and somewhat personal controversy among the citizens. The friends of Mr. Sewall, among them many of the merchants and business men of the town, remonstrated against his removal, and the remonstrance was published in the "Massachusetts Gazette." But a large majority of the citizens of Marblehead were on the side of Mr. Gerry, and the next issue of the "Gazette" contained an article several columns in length in reply to the remonstrance. Unfortunately for the remonstrants, they had styled themselves "sixty of the most respectable inhabitants of Marblehead," which exposed them to the satire of their opponents, by whom they were mercilessly assailed. The controversy continued for several weeks, and finally the "Gazette" appeared with a supplement devoted entirely to "a reply to the most respectable inhabitants."

The first collector appointed after the organization of the government was Richard Harris, who was evidently commissioned in the autumn of 1789. The district comprised all the waters and shores in the towns of Marblehead and Lynn, though since that time the towns of Swampscott, Nahant, and Saugus have been set off from Lynn, and are still included in the district. The first entry made in the records is under date of October 2, 1789. The number of licenses granted during the year ensuing was one hundred and thirty-two, twenty-seven of which were sloops, schooners, and brigantines registered in the foreign trade.

The universal joy of the people over the inauguration of

General Washington as the first President of the United States, was heightened by the announcement that he would soon make a tour of the New England States. This journey was undertaken with a view to ascertain the disposition of the people towards the government and its measures, as well as to recruit his health, which was feeble. He commenced his journey on the 15th of October, in company with Major Jackson and Mr. Lear, gentlemen of his family; and after passing through Connecticut and Massachusetts, and as far north as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he returned to New York by a different route.

Though Marblehead, from its peculiar position, was somewhat out of the route of his journey, President Washington had not forgotten the brave men who served under him at Trenton, Princeton, and Valley Forge, and the invitation of the selectmen to visit the town was promptly accepted. Accordingly, on the 29th of October, he was received at the entrance of the town by a procession composed of the selectmen, the clergymen of the town, and a large body of citizens. The accounts of the celebration on this important occasion are very meagre; but we are informed that the distinguished visitor "was conducted to the house of Mrs. Lee,<sup>1</sup> where a collation was provided of which he very cheerfully partook, with the gentlemen of his suite, the selectmen, clergymen, and other gentlemen of the town." President Washington was welcomed by the selectmen, who presented the following address in the name and on behalf of the town.

"TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"*Sir*: Your presence has inspired the inhabitants of Marblehead with the most unbounded joy; but they cannot express as they would wish, their grateful sense of the honor done them on this occasion. The too visible decay and poverty of this Town, must be their excuse that they have not offered to the illustrious character who now visits them, a re-

<sup>1</sup> Now the Marblehead National Bank Building.

ception more answerable to his Dignity, and more expressive of their own veneration.

“The blessings of Independence and a Republican Government, must ever excite our gratitude and affection to so eminent a supporter of the Public Liberty, whose wisdom and valor have so successfully defended the rights of his country. The establishment by the United States of a secure and efficient Government, gives us the pleasing expectation of the gradual revival of our Fishery and Commerce, objects of the industry, and the principal means of the subsistence of the Inhabitants of this place for above a century previous to the late Revolution. In the commencement of the contest with Great Britain, this Town was early in their exertions in the common cause, and were not discouraged when they foresaw that reverse of their situation which the war has necessarily produced. The return of Peace did not restore to us the former advantages of the Fishery, which hath remained under peculiar discouragements; and we have yet patiently to expect that attention of the General Government which may remedy these evils, and which the subject may deserve from its extensive importance to the commerce of the United States.

“The present Government of the United States commands our ready submission and inviolable attachment, and we deem it as peculiar felicity, that the highest Dignity of that Government is so properly vested in you, in whom all America repose the most entire confidence, and in whose administration the world will admire the example of a Patriot Ruler.

“Sir, our anxiety for your health and long life is proportionate to our most ardent wishes for the prosperity of our country; and we are well assured that you will ever partake in the happiness of that numerous people over whom you preside. May the Divine Providence continue to favor your care and guidance of their most important public

affairs, and reward your virtues, which have been so long employed in promoting the happiness of mankind.

“In behalf of the Town of Marblehead, October 29, 1789.

“ISAAC MANSFIELD,	} <i>Selectmen.</i> ”
JONA. GLOVER,	
JOHN GLOVER,	
SAM'L SEWALL,	
SAM'L HOOPER,	
NATHAN'L LINDSEY,	
BURRILL DEVEREUX,	
RICH'D HARRIS.	

Before leaving the town, President Washington visited one of the fish yards, and several other places of interest, after which he proceeded on his journey. Two days later, having arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., he forwarded the following letter in reply to the address: —

“TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF MARBLEHEAD.

“*Gentlemen:* The reception with which you have been pleased to honor my arrival in Marblehead, and the sentiments of approbation and attachment which you have expressed of my conduct, and to my person, are too flattering and grateful not to be acknowledged with sincere thanks, and answered with unfeigned wishes for your prosperity.

“Avoiding to dwell on the diminution of pleasure which the mention of your impaired circumstances occasions me, I desire to engage your thoughts on the pleasing prospect presented to all our interests, and particularly to our fishery, in the efficiency of our government, and the invigorated industry of our citizens.

“Protected in the exercise of those means which the beneficent Parent of Mankind has furnished for their sustenance and comfort, the citizens of America, animated by virtuous enterprize, and actuated by due obedience to the laws and regulations of their government, may expect with

confidence, to enjoy every blessing which industry can promise, and national union may insure. Your attachment to the Constitution of the United States is worthy of men who fought and bled for freedom, and who know its value.

“Your anxiety for my health, and your prayers for my happiness are replied to with solicitude for your welfare, and earnest entreaty to the Author of Good for your felicity.

“G. WASHINGTON.”

The plea of poverty, offered in apology for not receiving the President of the United States in a manner more becoming to his station, gives but a faint conception of the condition of the town at this time. For two years the fishing business had failed to be remunerative, and many of the inhabitants were reduced to a state of extreme wretchedness. There were four hundred and fifty-nine widows and eight hundred and sixty-five orphan children in the town, nearly all of whom were dependent in some degree upon the tax-paying inhabitants for support. As the winter of 1790 advanced, their sufferings were greatly augmented, and several perished from hunger and exposure.

Added to the general distress of the inhabitants from this cause, was the anxiety produced by the visible decay of property, both public and private. Houses, barns, and fences were falling to pieces, and, without the means to repair them, their owners were powerless to prevent it. The town house and work-house were in a ruinous condition, and “River Head Beach” had been so long out of repair that it was in great danger of being entirely washed away by the constant inroads of the sea.

The citizens knew not where to seek relief, and various expedients were resorted to for the purpose of obtaining money for the assistance of those in distress. On the 19th of February, 1790, the scholars of the Academy gave an exhibition for the benefit of the poor, and under the direction of their preceptor, acted the “tragedy of George Barn-

well, and the comedies of the Recruiting Officer, and the Haunted House." The price of admission was half a dollar, and though no report has come down to us of the result of this benevolent enterprise, there can be little doubt of its success. At length, driven to desperation by the misery about them, the citizens, in town meeting assembled, voted to petition the legislature for permission to hold a lottery for the relief of their necessities. The desired permission was readily granted, and William R. Lee, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Hooper, Marston Watson, and Joseph Sewall were appointed managers of the lottery, and gave bonds to the treasurer of the Commonwealth in the sum of one thousand pounds for the faithful execution of their trust. The lottery consisted of 8,000 tickets, divided into four classes; 2,000 prizes being drawn in the first class, 1,000 in the second, 1,000 in the third, and 1,420 in the fourth, the whole number of prizes, therefore, being 5,420, and the whole number of blanks 2,580. The price of tickets in the first class was half a dollar, in the second class one dollar, in the third class two dollars, and in the fourth class four dollars. The managers in advertising their scheme to the public, after enumerating the possible advantages to be derived from the purchase of tickets, concluded as follows: "The benevolent and public spirited may in this form, with a *hope* of immediate advantage to themselves, and a *certainty* of promoting the general welfare, contribute their aid for the preservation of the town of Marblehead, and provide for the employment and support of many helpless and distressed persons."

The drawing of prizes in the first class was advertised to take place on or before the 22d day of April; but owing to the rapid and unexpected sale of tickets the managers were enabled to draw them on the 26th of March. The tickets in every class were disposed of as readily, and the final drawing took place on the 3d of June. The prizes, all of which were of money, varied in amount from three thousand dol-



lars to one dollar, and were subject to a deduction of twelve and one half per cent. for the use of the lottery.

By means of this lottery, and two others subsequently held, the beach at the head of the harbor was repaired; the distress of the inhabitants was alleviated; and the general appearance of the town was greatly improved.

During the year 1790, the Methodist Church was organized in the house of Mr. Prentiss, on Mugford Street. The new society consisted of seven members only; but so rapidly did it increase in numbers that in a few years a pastor was settled and religious services were regularly maintained.

On the 11th of April, 1792, the town narrowly escaped a serious conflagration. A house belonging to a Mr. Bowler, and situated near one of the wharves, caught fire, and in a short time the flames were communicated to five other houses in the vicinity, including a brick warehouse upon the wharf. The three engines belonging to the town were soon found insufficient for the emergency, and but for the timely arrival of assistance from Salem, the town must have suffered from the ravages of fire in addition to its other misfortunes. Mr. Bowler lost his dwelling-house, which contained a bake-house under the same roof, and his loss was estimated at one thousand pounds. The most severe sufferer, however, was a poor widow who lost a comfortable dwelling-house and all her furniture.

The Marblehead Academy had now become an established institution. Education was encouraged in Massachusetts as in no other State in the Union, by wise laws and judicious appropriations, and when, in 1792, an act of incorporation was applied for, it was readily obtained. The act became a law on the 17th of November of that year, and the corporation was established "by the name of The Trustees of the Marblehead Academy." Shortly after, the legislature granted a township of land six miles square, lying between the rivers Kennebeck and Penobscot, in the county of Hancock, for the purpose of supporting the acad-

emy. This land was subsequently sold to Samuel Sewall, Esq., for the sum of £1,500.

There were other schools in Marblehead where the common branches of an English education were taught; but it was at the academy alone that any knowledge of the Latin and Greek, or of the higher studies in literature, could be acquired. It was, too, the only school where girls were admitted on the same footing as boys. Joseph Story, in after years Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was one of the earliest scholars that belonged to it, and it was there that he fitted for college. In his autobiography, written in 1831, he pays the following tribute to his schoolmates of the gentler sex, and gives us a view of the customs in vogue at the academy which might otherwise have been lost. "Girls as well as boys went to the same school at the same hours, and were arranged on opposite sides of a large hall on their appropriate forms. In the simplicity of those days it was not thought necessary to separate the sexes in their studies. Generally we studied the same books, and as we recited our lessons in the presence of each other, there was a mutual pride to do our best, and to gain an honest portion of flattery or of praise. I was early struck with the flexibility, activity, and power of the female mind. Girls of the same age were on an average of numbers quite our equals in their studies and acquirements, and had much greater quickness of perception and delicacy of feeling than the boys. Remaining thus at school with them until I was about fifteen years old, I could not be mistaken as to their powers; and I then imbibed the opinion, which I have never since changed, that their talents are generally equal to those of men, though there are shades of difference in the character of their minds resulting from several causes."

The progress made by the pupils of the academy in their studies, gave great satisfaction to their parents and guardians, and when, from time to time, the doors were opened

and an exhibition was given, the hall was crowded with interested spectators. On one of these occasions the exercises began with an oration by Master Watson, on the subject of "heroism," in which a pleasing and useful contrast was drawn between the characters of Cæsar and Washington. This was followed by a Latin oration in which Master Story appeared to great advantage. The young ladies also came in for their due share of praise, in the newspaper reports of the affair, and were highly complimented for "the manner in which they acquitted themselves."

The mails had been carried to Marblehead from Salem, regularly twice a week, for many years, and on special occasions it had been customary to dispatch a messenger on horseback to carry important news or documents. On the 20th of March, 1793, the first post office was established, and Thomas Lewis was appointed postmaster.

The war between France and England, which began in 1793, involved the United States in serious complications with both nations. The cruisers of these powers were constantly committing depredations on American commerce, and it was with great difficulty that a strict neutrality was preserved. During the month of September, the schooner Peacock, Captain Blaney, sailed from Marblehead with a cargo of fish for the West Indies. The cargo was sold at Martinique, and having taken on board a cargo of rum, sugar, and cotton, the captain sailed for home by way of St. Eustatia, when his vessel was captured by the English brigantine Argus, Capt. Charles Parker. Though the outrage was committed in utter disregard of the neutrality laws of all nations, the English captain took his prize into the nearest British port where she was condemned. The court decided, that though a neutral vessel, she had sailed from a French colony, with French produce, and was therefore the lawful prize of her captors. Though manifestly unjust, and in violation of the treaty of 1783, the decision was in accordance with an order of council which authorized

British cruisers to stop all vessels loaded wholly or in part with provisions bound to any port in France or occupied by the armies of France. A similar order from the French government had the effect "to sweep the sea of all neutral commerce."

By means of a treaty negotiated by a special embassy to the court of St. James, war with England was happily averted. The difficulties with France, however, were not so easily adjusted. C. C. Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall, were sent by the administration to negotiate a settlement; but instead of courteous treatment they received an intimation that unless a loan of money were forthcoming, war might be the result. Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall at once returned to America, but Mr. Gerry, with the hope of preserving friendly relations between the two countries, remained in France some months longer. He was recalled by the administration and his course was severely criticised by his political opponents, but there can be no doubt that he was actuated by the most patriotic motives.

Active preparations were now made throughout the country for a war with France, and the fortifications along the coast were put in a state of defense. The old fort in Marblehead became a rendezvous for the enlistment of volunteers, and a company was stationed there during the summer of 1798, under the command of George W. Duncan, a lieutenant of engineers. With the same patriotic spirit by which they had been actuated during the great struggle for independence, the citizens of Marblehead sprang to arms for the defense of their country. The veterans of the Revolution, though exempt from military duty, formed themselves into a company, and were armed and equipped at their own expense. Their commander was the intrepid Col. William R. Lee, under whose direction they were disciplined once a fortnight, in order to be in readiness to act at a moment's notice. Encouraged by the example of their elders, the young men of the town organized a company of light in-





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fantry, and early in the month of September made their first public appearance, clad in bright new uniforms and properly armed. Another company was organized, consisting of the firemen and other exempts, and in a short time a large proportion of the able-bodied men of the town had enrolled themselves as volunteers. Fortunately, their country did not find it necessary to call its ever-ready defenders into active service; for two years later, with the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France, peace was restored.

During the year 1799, little of especial local interest to the people of Marblehead appears to have occurred. On the 6th of June, Col. Azor Orne,<sup>1</sup> who had been one of the most prominent citizens of the town, died in Boston, and his remains were brought to Marblehead for interment. On the Sunday following his death, the Rev. Ebenezer Hubbard, pastor of the First Congregational Society, preached an appropriate sermon, taking for his text the words found in chapter eleven of the gospel according to St. John, thirty-fifth verse: "Jesus wept."

Another event to which considerable local importance attached, was the election of the Hon. Samuel Sewall,<sup>2</sup> as a

<sup>1</sup> COL. AZOR ORNE was born in Marblehead on the 22d of July, 1731, and was the son of Joshua Orne, an eminent merchant, who had served the town in various capacities. He began his public career in 1773 as a representative in the General Court; but his most active services commenced in 1775, at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. He was an active member of the Committee of Safety during the exciting years previous to the breaking out of the war; a delegate to the Provincial Congress, and a member of both branches of the General Court. He shared with Elbridge Gerry and Jeremiah Lee the honor of being elected a member of the first Continental Congress. During the war for Independence he was an eminent patriot, freely giving his time, and loaning his money for the cause in which he was engaged. He was a member of the State Convention which framed the new Constitution after the war, and also of the convention called for the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788. He was chosen a member of the council in 1780, and again in 1788, holding the office at the time of his death. In 1792 he was chosen an elector of President and Vice-president of the United States.

<sup>2</sup> SAMUEL SEWALL, LL. D., A. A. S., was a graduate of Harvard College,

member of Congress. Mr. Sewall was an eminent member of the Essex bar, and had for several years represented Marblehead in the General Court. Having been prominent in all local matters, and deeply interested in the welfare of his fellow-citizens, his election gave the most sincere pleasure to the people of Marblehead, who felt that in him they had an able advocate of their interests at the national Capitol. Nor was their confidence misplaced. "No man" — said Hon. Isaac Parker, in a tribute to his memory — "ever understood better the general interests of his country and the particular interests of his constituents. The citizens of Marblehead used to acknowledge the great benefits derived from his attention to their peculiar business and the improvements introduced into it by his exertions. His commercial information was much valued and much used in Congress. . . . No man in the House of Representatives was more relied upon for useful knowledge, nor more esteemed for power in debate than he was. . . . Whenever he addressed the chair, members of all descriptions listened with an expectation of being informed and an assurance that they should not be deceived."

The first bequest made to the town was the sum of nine hundred and thirty-seven dollars which was given by Capt. John Marchant for the benefit of the poor. During the month of June, 1797, Captain Marchant, who was about to sail on a foreign voyage from Philadelphia, placed a promissory note for that amount, which he held against a citizen

and studied law under the direction of Chief Justice Dana, a lawyer of great eminence. He began his professional labors in Marblehead, and continued his practice in the county of Essex until his election to Congress. He owned considerable property in the town, the "Lee Mansion" being at one time a part of his estate. In the year 1800 he was appointed to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and subsequently became Chief Justice, which position he held at the time of his death. He was a prominent and exemplary communicant of St. Michael's Episcopal Church, and was esteemed and beloved by all who knew him. He died in 1814, at the age of fifty-seven years.



of Dorchester, in the hands of Col. William R. Lee, with instructions to collect it, and in case he never returned, to donate the amount to the poor of the town. Captain Marchant died at Batavia during the following year, and the note was collected in accordance with his instructions. It is doubtful, however, whether the benevolent intentions of the donor have ever been carried into effect. After an unsuccessful attempt to invest the fund, the overseers of the poor turned it over to the town, and it was appropriated for the erection of two grammar school-houses.

On the 14th of December, 1799, George Washington, revered and beloved as "the father of his country," died at Mount Vernon, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. In accordance with a recommendation of the General Court, that eulogies be delivered in all the cities and towns of the Commonwealth, Thursday, the 2d day of January, 1800, was observed in Marblehead with impressive ceremonies, in honor of the illustrious dead. Bells were tolled, flags were raised at half-mast, minute-guns were fired by artillery stationed on "Training-field Hill," and there was a general suspension of business in token of the grief of the people at the nation's loss. In the afternoon, the Lodge of Masons, the Marine Society, and the scholars of the public schools, formed a procession, and after parading through the principal streets marched to the new meeting-house, where, after other appropriate exercises, an oration was delivered by Joseph Story, then a student in the law office of Hon. Samuel Sewall, and afterwards Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The oration, which was listened to with rapt attention by a large and appreciative audience, was spoken of as "an elegant address," and was afterward published by vote of the town.

In the autumn of 1800, the town was once more thrown into a state of the most intense excitement by the breaking out of the small-pox. Doctor Elisha Story, who had for many years been a popular and successful physician in the

town, having learned of the important discovery by Dr. Jenner, that contagion from small-pox could be averted by inoculation with cow virus, sent to England and procured a quantity of virus, with which he inoculated several of his own children, and those of some of his friends. It was soon evident, however, that a fatal mistake had been made. The virus proved to be that of the genuine small-pox, and as the disease spread from house to house, the people were panic-stricken with fear. Several town meetings were held to consider the matter, and the town house being too small to contain the crowd of excited citizens that assembled, the meetings were adjourned and again convened at the "New Meeting-house." All intercourse with other towns was prohibited, and a committee was chosen to adopt other necessary measures of precaution against the spread of the pestilence. The wrath of the unreflecting and ignorant portion of the community was directed with especial severity against Dr. Story, to whom they attributed the cause of the entire trouble. Threats of lynching him were publicly made, and fears were entertained by his friends that some serious injury would be done him, either in person or property. The counsels of the wise prevailed, however, and the good doctor, who suffered keenly in his mind on account of the distress which he had innocently caused, was unmolested.

To add to the general distress, a large proportion of the community were suffering from the most extreme privations of poverty. "Melancholy indeed," wrote the town's committee a few weeks later, "was the prospect of six hundred inhabitants (one twelfth of our population) who, independent of disease, were destitute of the common comforts of life; who had little else than hunger and cold in prospect, with the approaching inclement season." The town had voted to care for the poor and destitute, but it was found impossible to "furnish relief proportionate to such a demand." Succor was at hand, however, for upon their

necessities being known, contributions<sup>1</sup> began to pour in from several of the neighboring towns, and in a short time the distress was alleviated.

On the 13th of January, 1801, a little less than two months after the breaking out of the disease, the town was declared cleansed, and the inhabitants of other towns were invited to resume their usual intercourse. But before this could be done, the grave had received sixty-four victims of the pestilence, twenty of whom were adults.

We have now reached a period in the history of our town, and of the nation, when, in order to obtain a proper understanding of the events which follow, in the years intervening before the War of 1812, it becomes necessary to review briefly the origin and principles of the two great political parties into which the people were divided. Both parties had their beginning in the events incident to the adoption of the Constitution, and the organization of the national government. The advocates of a consolidated and powerful government, led by John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, styled themselves Federalists, and were in favor of the subordination of the States to the nation. Opposed to them were Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Samuel Adams, and Elbridge Gerry, who viewed with a jealous eye the encroachments of the general government upon the rights reserved to the States, and who were the recognized leaders of a large minority styling themselves Republicans, or, as they were afterwards called, Democrats.

<sup>1</sup> According to a report made by Nathan Bowen, chairman of a committee appointed by the town, the contributions were as follows:—

From Messrs. G. Crowninshield & Sons, Salem . . . . .	\$200.00
Marine Insurance Office, Salem . . . . .	1,800.00
Mr. King's Insurance Office . . . . .	800.00
Mr. Brooks' Insurance Office, Boston . . . . .	600.00
Messrs. Bradstreet & William Story . . . . .	50.00
Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Cambridge . . . . .	100.00
An unknown hand . . . . .	20.00
South Parish in Andover, in cash, meal, etc. . . . .	200.00

Mr. Makepeace of Lynn, a load of meal, and several loads of vegetables from different persons.

The Federalists, being conservative in their ideas, found it difficult to relinquish the pomp and splendor to which they had been accustomed when under the government of England, and were in favor of "high sounding titles," and of creating great distinctions between the officials and the people. The Democrats were radically opposed to every measure of a monarchial or an aristocratic tendency, and were in favor of the utmost simplicity in the administration of the government. Instead of creating distinctions, they regarded the officials as the servants of the people, and insisted upon holding them to a strict accountability for the proper discharge of their duties while in office.

Party spirit ran high upon all the public questions of the day, and especially at the time of an election, and the adherents of both parties were often guilty of indulging in the most excessive and bitter vituperation against their opponents. This was especially true of the campaign preceding the presidential election of 1800, which resulted in the triumph of the Republican-Democrats, and the election of Thomas Jefferson. The citizens of Marblehead were Democrats by a large majority, and when, in the spring of the following year, Elbridge Gerry was the candidate of their party for the office of the Governor of Massachusetts, the vote of the town was three hundred and fourteen in his favor, against twenty-seven votes cast for his opponent, Governor Strong. The Federalists were in the majority in the State, and Governor Strong was elected; but "it is a proof of the confidence of the people in the integrity of Mr. Gerry, that the vote for him was large though insufficient to insure his election."

During the years intervening, until 1804, there appears to be nothing of importance to record. Early in the month of January of that year, the principal business men and capitalists of the town subscribed \$100,000 as the capital stock of a bank, and applied to the legislature for an act of incorporation. "We feel confident," they declared in their me-

morial, "that the trade and mercantile capital of the place, though slowly reviving from the depression they suffered in the American war, are now adequate to the support of the institution, and will receive from it an increasing vigor. The means of a frequent credit at a common rate of interest, and obtained in money, must be an important aid to their fishery, which now employs a thousand seamen and a large capital. Though not restored to its former extent and prosperity, the foreign commerce of the place is materially connected with the fishery, and principally engaged in exporting its produce, and the returns in gold and silver received for this valuable export will continually supply their bank and maintain its credit." The act of incorporation received the signature of the governor on the 7th of March, 1804, and the institution was established as the Marblehead Bank. The first meeting of the company for the election of officers was held at Putnam's Tavern, on the 10th of April, when Capt. Joseph Barker, Mr. Henry Gallison, Capt. John Selman, Mr. John Hooper, 4th, Capt. William Hooper, Mr. Nathaniel Hooper, and Capt. Thomas Meek, were chosen directors. At a meeting of the directors held subsequently at the store of John Williams & Co., Capt. Joseph Barker was elected president, and Mr. John Pedrick, 3d, cashier. A few days later, the "Lee Mansion House" was purchased of Hon. Samuel Sewall, for five thousand dollars, and has ever since been owned and occupied by the bank.

Instances of great bravery are not uncommon when men are fighting for the honor of their country or in defense of their homes. The deeds of the soldier who bravely faces death upon the battle-field are recorded on enduring monuments, and all men unite in doing honor to the hero. But there are deeds of heroism performed when the country is at peace, and the home is free from danger, when the ocean is the battle-field, and the mighty wind the foe. These, too often, are allowed to fade from the memory, and to perish

in oblivion. Thus, there are few persons living to-day who have ever heard of the many acts of heroism performed by Marblehead fishermen while at sea. Much has been done to perpetuate the memory of an act of injustice to an innocent man, who had been accused by a cowardly crew of willfully refusing to assist a vessel in distress; but the following incident, so worthy to be had in remembrance, has been almost forgotten.

In the spring of 1805, the English ship *Jupiter* foundered at sea, and three days after the sad event, skipper William Powers fell in with her long-boat, having on board thirty-nine of the passengers and crew. The fresh wind and heavy sea rendered it impossible for the boat to board the schooner, and for a time it was feared that all attempts to rescue the unfortunate occupants must be abandoned. Finally, as a last resort, the heroic "skipper" placed a rope about his waist, and by flinging himself over the "lee quarter," succeeded in lifting each person separately on board the vessel. It was nobly done; but the disinterested skipper performed the act of mercy at the risk of his own life, and, though a strong and powerful man, was completely exhausted and severely bruised. The rescued passengers were shortly after distributed among three other vessels, commanded by skippers John Powers, Green, and Dennis, by whom they were brought in safety to Marblehead. Their arrival was the signal for similar acts of generosity on the part of the inhabitants, who vied with each other in supplying their necessities, and making them as comfortable as their friendless situation would permit.

Shortly after this event the town was again thrown into a state of excitement by the news of an outrage committed by the British frigate *Ville de Milan* upon several fishing vessels from Marblehead, Salem, and Beverly. The frigate was cruising on the Banks, and her commander, Captain Lowrie, boarded the vessels and impressed twelve or fourteen of their best men into the British naval service. Though

only one of many similar outrages, this incident is important as an illustration of the depredations committed by British cruisers upon American seamen, which resulted in the passage of the Embargo Act, and the subsequent war between the United States and Great Britain.

The political campaign preceding the election of 1805 was chiefly remarkable for the party spirit and bitter intolerance manifested by both Federalists and Democrats. For several years, Marblehead had been represented in the General Court by five Democrats, all of whom were nominated for reelection. As the day of election approached, the "Gazette," a Federalist organ published in Salem, contained articles from time to time, addressed to the citizens of Marblehead, strongly urging the claims of the Federalist candidates, and severely reflecting upon the course adopted by their opponents. Articles in reply were published in the "Register," the organ of the Democrats, and the result was a newspaper controversy which continued long after the election was over. The Democratic candidates were reelected; but the ill-feeling engendered during the campaign took the form of triumphant exultation on the part of their supporters, which increased the virulence of the defeated and discomfited Federalists. Political argument soon developed into personal abuse; crimination and recrimination followed, and in a short time the opposing parties were engaged in a warfare of words, which, with its attendant excitement, threatened the peace of the community.

This state of affairs continued until the spring of 1806, when the time for holding the annual town meeting was approaching. A short time before the day on which the meeting was to be held, several hundred copies of a pamphlet, entitled, "An Address to the Inhabitants of Marblehead, Relative to the Very Bad Policy of the Town," were mysteriously distributed from house to house. The address consisted of a review of the expenditures by the various boards of town officers, and a severe criticism upon the manner in

which the business of the town had been conducted. After the most covert insinuations concerning the overseers, collectors, and assessors, the remainder of the address was largely devoted to abuse of the selectmen. They were characterized as "men without talents, information, or integrity; wholly wrapped up in their own importance, and passionate without restraint." They were also charged with extreme partisanship, and with delaying "honest applicants merely to annoy a political opponent." "What have politics," concludes this portion of the address, "to do with surveying our highways, or passing upon a town order? Such, however, is the disposition of some men, who are continually prating on the corners of the streets, and extolling nobody's goodness and philanthropy but their own; and such is their baseness, that they would fain make you believe that because this or that man does not agree with you in politics, therefore he cannot be an honest man."

These, and similar sentences, caused the indignant citizens to believe that the address was the work of their Federalist opponents, who had adopted this method of destroying the confidence of the people in the honor and integrity of their officials. If such was its mission the address was a failure. Instead of having the desired effect, it created a storm of indignation and excitement. Men congregated in groups upon the wharves and in the various places of public resort, angrily discussed the more objectionable portions of the address, and threatened vengeance upon the author. But their threats were not easily executed. The pamphlet had been circulated at night, and as it contained neither the name of the author nor the imprint of the printer, no one knew whence it came, or by whom it was written.

Though unable to ascertain the name of the author, the citizens were determined to show their disapprobation of the sentiments contained in the address. They resolved, however, to wait until "town meeting day," and then in their corporate capacity take such action as should be deemed



appropriate and expedient. The seventeenth of March, 1806, will be forever memorable in the annals of Marblehead. It was the day of the annual town meeting, and from every quarter of the town the sturdy fishermen congregated, until the old town house was crowded to repletion, and the entire square in the vicinity was thronged with an earnest and excited multitude.

Who can describe the scenes incident to a Marblehead town meeting three quarters of a century ago? The strong traits of character which marked the men of those days can never be properly delineated, save by one with the genius and keen perception of a Dickens. Democratic at all times, and under all circumstances, they were especially so when in town meeting assembled. The wealthy merchant, proud of his aristocratic ancestry; the imperious captain, accustomed to the strict discipline of a ship, where he had but to command, to be obeyed; and the poor fisherman whose life from youth to old age had been one incessant round of toil and privation, met on an equality, which in any other town would have been impossible. If their ideas were peculiar not less so were their customs. They were a law unto themselves, and they passed their votes in utter defiance of warrants and of rulings. Though no one ever removed his hat except to address the meeting, every fisherman took off his jacket upon entering the hall. And they were nearly all debaters. Woe betide the luckless individual who, in an unguarded moment, indulged in personalities, or advocated unpopular sentiments; "it were better for him that he had never been born," than to draw upon himself the contemptuous sarcasm and fierce denunciation of his fellow-citizens.

The town meeting of which we write was no exception to the general rule. As soon as the meeting had been organized by the choice of a moderator, a prominent citizen produced a copy of the obnoxious pamphlet, from which he read some of the most objectionable sentences, and then, in

a speech of several minutes' duration, proceeded to denounce the author, the printer and the entire Federal party. Other speakers followed, and at the conclusion of their remarks, it was voted: "That the *Lying Pamphlet*, introduced into this meeting, lately addressed to the inhabitants of this town, be burned by the chimney-sweeper, and that Thomas Nicholson be directed to see it put in execution." But there was no necessity of choosing a master of ceremonies. The citizens took the matter into their own hands, and after collecting as many copies of the pamphlet as possible, proceeded at once to the entrance of the town, where a fire was kindled, and the "Address to the Inhabitants," was committed to the flames. The proceedings were probably of the most boisterous nature, for men in a state of excitement are not likely to judge of the propriety of their actions. No authentic report of the affair has come down to us, but there is a tradition that a poor negro, rejoicing in the cognomen of "Black Charley," was violently pushed into the fire, and though no bodily harm befell him, his hat, which fell off, was entirely consumed.

The Salem "Gazette," in its next issue, characterized the affair as a riot, and a few days later several of the principal participants were summoned before the grand jury, then sitting at Ipswich, and subjected to a rigid examination concerning the proceedings. The blame for this indignity was also charged to the Federalists, and on the 7th of April another meeting was held to consider the matter. The citizens had, in the mean time, demonstrated their confidence in the town officers by reëlecting them, and on this occasion Mr. Ebenezer Graves, one of the selectmen, was chosen moderator of the meeting. After remarks by several prominent citizens, the following votes, expressive of the sentiments of the people, were unanimously adopted:—

• *Voted*: That this town views with just resentment certain measures taken by restless persons to destroy the peace and harmony of the same: and it now appearing that

several of the good citizens have lately been summoned and did appear before the grand jury at a court sitting at Ipswich for the county of Essex, and were examined respecting certain proceedings in this town on or about the 17th of March last, therefore. —

“ *Voted*: That this town has a fellow-feeling of sympathy for the good citizens thereof, and that should any of them be indicted, or process of law be commenced against any of them for the doings of that day (March 17th), for burning what was then termed the Lying Pamphlet, this town will in its corporate capacity (agreeable to the laws and Constitution of this Commonwealth) defend and support them in and against any lawsuit that has been or may be commenced in consequence of the proceedings of the 17th of March aforesaid.

“ *Voted*: That this town consider the aforesaid pamphlet entitled ‘An Address to the Inhabitants of Marblehead,’ as an insult offered to the inhabitants thereof, both in their individual and incorporate capacity, and that a committee be appointed ‘to search and inquire for the author of the pamphlet aforesaid, or any accessory thereto, and him or them to prosecute according to law at the expense of the town.’ ”

Nine persons were elected as members of this important committee, who were also authorized to act as the agents of the town in employing attorneys. But there was no necessity for this action. No one was indicted by the grand jury, and in a short time the excitement subsided.

## CHAPTER XI.

FOR several years the attention of the country had been attracted to the depredations committed by British cruisers upon American commerce; but it was not until the summer of 1807, when the United States frigate Chesapeake was attacked by the English ship Leopard, that the people were fully aware of the danger which threatened them. The outrage was committed near the capes of Virginia, and the insult was the more aggravated because perpetrated in American waters. An indignation meeting was held at Norfolk, Virginia, on hearing of the affair; and President Jefferson at once issued a proclamation, complaining of the insolence of British cruisers, and ordering all ships of war belonging to that nation to quit immediately the waters of the United States. Meetings were held in all the principal towns in the country to indorse the action of the President, and on the 11th of July the citizens of Marblehead assembled in town meeting and adopted a series of patriotic resolutions, which concluded with the declaration, "That we will support the government of the United States, and with alacrity obey its dictates; and we do hereby tender our all whenever our country calls for the same."

The repeated indignities to which American seamen were subjected, had the effect to impress upon Congress the necessity of legislation for the protection of the commerce of the country, and on the 8th of January, 1808, the famous embargo law was passed. This act, which was adopted at the instance of the president, detained all vessels in American ports, and required all American vessels then away, to return home. But the depredations of the British continued,

in spite of the embargo. Vessel after vessel was captured and confiscated, and many were overhauled while returning from foreign ports in compliance with the law. Among these were the schooners *Minerva* and *Perseverance*, of Marblehead, commanded by Captains Poor and Messervey.

The *Minerva* was intercepted by a British frigate, and ordered to England under the command of a prize master. Fortunately she fell in with the flag ship of a British admiral, and after her papers had been indorsed by that officer, she was allowed to proceed on her passage home. The *Perseverance* was captured near Nantes by a British man-of-war, and taken into Plymouth, England. She was subsequently released, and on her arrival home, the captain reported that he had left sixty American vessels at Plymouth, among which was the schooner *Betsy Hooper*, of Marblehead, which had been confiscated.

Though firmly in favor of the embargo, and sincerely believing in its necessity as a measure of precaution, the inhabitants of Marblehead were among the greatest sufferers from its effects. With a population of six or seven thousand, nearly all of whom were entirely dependent upon the fishing business for subsistence, the condition of the town was deplorable. Eighty-seven vessels, averaging eighty tons each, were necessarily idle; and the warehouses were stored with the fish caught during that and the previous year. The law prohibited their exportation, and there was no market for them at home; consequently they could not be sold, and there was great distress among the people.

As the summer advanced, the suffering among the families of fishermen increased; and on the 15th of August, the town appropriated the sum of two thousand dollars for their relief. On the 26th of September, the town ceded to the United States "so much of the land on the southerly side of the Work house lot (now Back St.) as may be necessary for the erection of a brick gun house thereon." In the course of time the gun-house was erected, and though many

years have passed since it ceased to be used for the purpose for which it was originally intended, it is still standing.

Early in the month of November the people of Marblehead were greatly excited by an event, the narration of which the writer would gladly omit. But a proper regard for the completeness of this work, and the unenviable notoriety given to the town by the various versions of the affair which have already been published, renders it necessary that it shall receive some recognition in these pages.

On Sunday, the 30th of October, the schooner *Betty*, commanded by Skipper Benjamin Ireson, arrived from the Grand Banks. Shortly after their arrival, the crew reported that at midnight on the previous Friday, when off Cape Cod light-house, they passed the schooner *Active*, of Portland, which was in a sinking condition; and that the skipper had refused to render any assistance to the unfortunate men on board the wreck. The excitement and indignation of the people upon the reception of this news can be better imagined than described. Two vessels, manned by willing volunteers, were immediately dispatched to the scene of disaster, with the hope of their arrival in time to save the shipwrecked sailors. But their mission was a failure, and they returned with no tidings of the wreck. The resentment of the people was still further provoked when, on the following day, the sloop *Swallow* arrived, having on board Captain Gibbons, the master of the ill-fated schooner. He corroborated the story told by the crew of the *Betty*, and stated that the *Active* sprung a leak at about eleven o'clock on Friday night. An hour later the *Betty* was spoken, "but, contrary to the principles of humanity," she sailed away without giving any assistance. On Saturday, Captain Gibbons and three of the passengers were taken off the wreck by Mr. Hardy, of Truro, in a whale boat. Four other persons were left on the wreck, but the storm increased so rapidly that it was found impossible to return to their rescue. Captain Gibbons was placed on board the revenue cutter *Good Intent*, and after-

ward went on board the sloop *Swallow*, in which he came to Marblehead.<sup>1</sup>

This statement by one who had so narrowly escaped a watery grave made a deep impression upon the fishermen, and they determined to demonstrate their disapproval of Skipper Ireson's conduct by a signal act of vengeance. Accordingly, on a bright moonlight night, the unfortunate skipper was suddenly seized by several powerful men and securely bound. He was then placed in a dory, and, besmeared from head to feet with tar and feathers, was dragged through the town, escorted by a multitude of men and boys. When opposite the locality now known as Workhouse Rocks, the bottom of the dory came out, and the prisoner finished the remainder of his ride to Salem in a cart. The authorities of that city forbade the entrance of the strange procession, and the crowd returned to Marblehead.

Throughout the entire proceeding, Mr. Ireson maintained a dignified silence, and when, on arriving at his own home, he was released from custody, his only remark was; "I thank you for my ride, gentlemen, but you will live to regret it."

His words were prophetic. When too late to make reparation for the wrong they had committed, the impulsive fishermen realized that they had perpetrated an act of the greatest injustice upon an innocent man.

At this late day, when for years his memory has been defamed throughout the land, and the fair name of the women of Marblehead has been sullied by the fictitious story of one of our best New England poets, it is but just that the true history of the affair should be written. Skipper Ireson was not more to blame than his crew, and, it is believed, not at all. When the wreck was spoken and the cry of distress was heard, a terrific gale was blowing. There was a consultation on board the *Betty* as to the course to be pursued, and the crew decided not to endanger their own lives for

<sup>1</sup> See *Boston Centinel*, *Essex Register*, and *Salem Gazette*, November, 1808.

the sake of saving others. Finding that they were resolute in their determination, Skipper Ireson proposed to lay by the wreck all night, or until the storm should abate, and then go to the rescue of the unfortunate men. To this they also demurred, and insisted upon proceeding on their homeward voyage without delay. On their arrival in Marblehead, fearing the just indignation of the people, they laid the entire blame upon the skipper. This version of the affair is generally accepted as true; and for the credit of the town, be it said, that it is one of the few incidents in its entire history that its citizens have any reason to regret.

The embargo, which had now been in operation nearly a year, had been strongly opposed by the Federalists from the beginning, and as the ill effects of the measure began to be felt their hostility increased. They had succeeded in obtaining control of both branches of the legislature of Massachusetts, and a series of resolutions had been adopted by that body, "questioning the constitutionality of the embargo, and condemning it as an experiment both novel and dangerous." Town meetings had been held in nearly all the principal seaports to remonstrate against the law, and many of the speeches at these meetings were seditious and inflammatory in the extreme. But not so in Marblehead. Though starvation stared them in the face, the citizens were loyal to the government, and at a town meeting held on the 7th of December, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved:* That this town continues steadfast in the faith that the Embargo law was a law of wisdom, and that the President and Congress of the United States are entitled to, and shall receive our warmest thanks for their early attention to the Independence, Liberty, and just rights of the Union and particularly of the commercial part thereof.

*Resolved:* That this town will use all the energy they possess to carry into full effect all the laws the present Con-







*Joseph Story*

gress have enacted or may enact for the support of our just and equal rights, against the unjustifiable and imperial decrees of the belligerent powers of Europe, by proffering to our country our property and services."

Captains William Story, Nathan B. Martin, and Joseph Pedrick were elected a committee to forward the resolutions to the Hon. Joseph Story,<sup>1</sup> member of Congress from this district. The resolutions were forwarded according to the instructions of the town, accompanied by a letter signed by every member of the committee.

"Having learned that the government intends employing some cutters as gun-boats, to prevent the evasions of the laws of the country," they wrote, "we with humility beg leave to suggest to you our opinion, that on this coast, (that is to say) from Cape Cod to Cape Sable, any cutters which the government may send will not so well answer the purpose; the gun-boats will be useless, for they would not, in this inclement season of the year, be able to keep at sea without great risk. From the knowledge we have of our fishing vessels, we think they will answer every purpose and be a saving to the government to employ them in defense of their laws. We also beg leave to offer the gov-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Story was born in Marblehead, September 18, 1779. His father was Dr. Elisha Story, an eminent physician and surgeon. He was fitted for college at the Marblehead Academy, but studied the languages for a time with the town schoolmaster. He graduated at Harvard University in 1798. On his return to Marblehead he began the study of law in the office of the Hon. Samuel Sewall. In January, 1801, he entered the office of Mr. Samuel Putnam, of Salem, and in July of that year he was admitted to the Essex bar. In 1805 he was elected a representative to the General Court from Salem. In 1808, after having served three sessions in the legislature, he was elected a member of Congress. He remained in Congress but one session, declining to be a candidate for reelection. In 1810, he was again elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and became Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1811, he was appointed by President Madison, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1829, he was appointed Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. He was eminent as a judge, as a judicial writer, and as a teacher of law. He died in Cambridge, September 10, 1845.

ernment as many vessels of this description as will fully prevent any evasions whatever from any ports or places between the above mentioned capes, or wherever otherwise wanted.

“Knowing, as you do, the peculiar situation of the people of this place, that they have now on hand two years’ catching of fish, and no vent for the same. Notwithstanding this, they look upon the measures of the government as the only means of retaining our future commerce. They therefore feel disposed to the utmost of their abilities, to support the general government with the risk of their lives and property, and beg leave through you to tender their services to man out, and have manned, any vessels which it may please for the service of the United States.”

This action of the town gave great satisfaction to the friends of the administration throughout the country. The resolutions were published by Republican newspapers everywhere, and from one and all the town received words of praise and encouragement. Of the manner of their reception in Congress, Representative Story wrote to his brother under date of December 21, 1808: “This day I had the pleasure of presenting the Marblehead Petition, and as a part of my address on this occasion, which was short, I read in the hearing of the House the Resolves of Marblehead. The effect was electrical. It gave a degree of delight, it awakened a sensation of admiration, far beyond what I ever knew in a public body. On every side the patriotism, the honorable, the tried and uniform patriotism of Marblehead, resounded. All the Republicans declare their determination to assist in some way to honor and relieve the citizens of the Town, and I feel an assurance that some of our fishermen will be employed as protectors of our coasts. One able Republican member from South Carolina (Mr. D. R. Williams) declared that such was his sense of the virtue and character of the town, that he would willingly give them a thousand bushels of corn as a present from his plantation.

But all the friends of the Government rejoiced that in this day of disaffection in the Eastern States a people could be found who were true to the honor and rights of their country.

“ Mr. Giles of the Senate hearing of my having the Resolves, sent for them, and in a speech which he made to-day in the Senate read them, and complimented you all. You may depend that a more reasonable and welcome resolution never came to Congress. It is an example worthy to be followed. When I named the facts to the President he appeared highly delighted.

“ If you in the Eastern States will resolutely support the government all will certainly go right. The Southern and Western States are firm and united. They cannot be moved from their determination to defend our rights.”<sup>1</sup>

The anxiety expressed by the Republicans concerning the effect of the opposition to the embargo, manifested by the people of the Eastern States, was not without reason. Senator Adams expressed his belief in a communication to the President, that “ from information received by him, and which might be relied upon, it was the determination of the ruling party in Massachusetts, and of the Federalists in New England generally, if the embargo was persisted in, no longer to submit to it, but to separate themselves from the Union, at least until the existing obstacles to foreign commerce were removed.” This, it has been said, was a false alarm; but that such was the sincere belief of the citizens of Marblehead, is evident from the following resolutions, adopted at a town meeting held on the 9th of February, 1809: —

“ *Resolved*: That we view with the utmost abhorrence and indignation, the conduct of a party among us who are continually endeavoring to excite the good people of this Commonwealth to a disobedience of the laws of the Union,

<sup>1</sup> From the original letter written by Hon. Joseph Story to his brother, Capt. William Story.

by false and libellous publications respecting the motives and measures of the general government, and gross misstatements of the nature and sources of our present embarrassments ; that the real object of this party is to separate the United States, and excite rebellion and civil war for the purpose of establishing a monarchy under the pretense of a northern confederacy, or force us into a destructive war with the continent of Europe, and consequently a fatal alliance with the corrupt monarchy of Britain, whose embrace is death.

*Resolved* : That the real causes of our present embarrassments are not the embargo, nor any measure of our government, but are wholly owing to the unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical conduct of Great Britain and France, and that orders of the former and decrees of the latter have destroyed all neutral trade and rendered it not worth preserving ; that these orders and decrees are destructive of all our commercial rights, and cannot be submitted to without national degradation and national ruin ; and therefore it is our opinion that the administration has acted a highly honorable part in vindicating our rights and opposing the outrageous aggressions of foreign nations ; and we are ready to meet all the consequences of a war if it be necessary to support them by the sword.

*Resolved* : That the conduct of Great Britain in the impressment of our seamen adds a deeper dye to the injuries inflicted upon us by her : that her claims to force our innocent seamen into her service under the false pretext of their being her subjects, is an outrage upon our national sovereignty which ought to be resisted at all hazards ; and the men who publish to the world declarations that Great Britain has done us no injury, when thousands of our seamen are confined on board her ships of war, are unworthy the name of Americans, and should receive the pointed distrust of all honest and honorable men. . . .

*Resolved* : That we are determined never to yield our

Liberties and Rights, purchased by the best blood of our country, either to external foes or domestic traitors; that we are determined at all hazards to maintain the Constitution of the United States and all the laws made in pursuance thereof; and we do most religiously and solemnly pledge our lives, our property, and our sacred honor, for their support, through every peril of insurrection, rebellion, or invasion.

“*Resolved*: That we hold sacred those inestimable privileges resigned to our hands by a numerous class of brave and hardy townsmen, who sacrificed their lives for the achievement of our glorious independence; that in order to protect and defend these privileges, ever to be held sacred by Americans, we will arm and equip ourselves in such a manner as our circumstances will admit, and do hereby publicly declare that we will die Freemen and never live Slaves.”

So great was the pressure brought to bear upon Congress from all parts of New England, demanding the repeal of the embargo law, that it was deemed the part of wisdom to pacify the people, and “to allay the tumult which threatened to become serious.” Accordingly on the 27th of February, an act was passed effecting the repeal of the law after the 15th of March. An arrangement was also made with the British minister for an adjustment of the controversy between Great Britain and the United States. This arrangement, however, was disowned by the British government, and the excitement in America became more intense than ever. Party spirit increased in rancor; the Democrats were determined to support the administration, while the Federalists were loud in their clamors against it.

The people of Marblehead had not forgotten their resolution to “arm and equip” themselves, and during the month of June the company known as the Marblehead Light Infantry was organized. Joshua O. Bowden was the first commander, and the company has maintained its organization ever since.

The events of the year 1810 were of more than ordinary interest to the people of Marblehead. Early in the month of January two schooners were captured by British cruisers and carried into St. Jean de Luce. This was considered an evidence that the British government intended to continue its policy of seizing American vessels and impressing American seamen, and had the effect to increase the indignation already felt by the people. "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," was the cry everywhere, and when in the month of May, the annual State election took place, Elbridge Gerry, the Democratic candidate for governor, received 471 of the 524 votes cast in Marblehead. Mr. Gerry was elected, and in both branches of the legislature the majorities were Democratic.

By the census of this year, it appeared that the number of inhabitants in the town was 5,842, of whom 63 were "people of color."<sup>1</sup>

During the month of February the First Baptist Church was organized, twenty-one persons being regularly dismissed from the First Baptist Church of Salem, for this purpose.

During the following year (1811) the town voted to "purchase the tract of land at the entrance to the town, owned by Mr. Aaron Waitt, at a price not exceeding three thousand and two hundred dollars; and to erect a suitable building for the permanent and convenient occupation of the poor of the town."

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was formally declared against Great Britain by the Congress of the United States. The reasons publicly given for this step were substantially as follows: "The impressment of American seamen by the commanders of British ships of war; their doctrine and system of blockade; and the adoption and continuance of the Orders in Council, which operated extensively to the interruption and injury of American commerce."

<sup>1</sup> In 1765 the number of inhabitants was 4,594.

In 1780 the number of inhabitants was 4,142.

In 1790 the number of inhabitants was 5,661.



Intelligence of the declaration of war reached Boston on the 23d of June, and, as the General Court was then in session, the governor communicated it to the representatives of the people. In the preceding State election the Federalists had been partially successful, and had elected the governor and a majority of the House of Representatives. Accordingly, the House prepared an address regretting the event, and expressing their opinion of its impolicy and inexpediency. The action of the Senate, which was Democratic, was exactly opposite, and that body adopted and published an address approving of the war, and declaring it in their opinion just and necessary.

“From the moment when war was declared, the citizens of Boston, the metropolis of Massachusetts, clamored for peace, and reprobated the war as wicked, unjust, and unnecessary.” Many other towns in the State were only too ready to follow the example set by Boston, and on the 29th of June the citizens of Newbury declared: “We consider this war ruinous to the property as well as the happiness and morals of the nation. It is brought on the country by surprise; it was conceived in darkness and secret conclave; the People were kept in profound ignorance of their impending destruction.”

Far different were the resolutions adopted by the citizens of Marblehead. On the very day that the meeting was held in Newbury a town meeting was held in Marblehead, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

“*Resolved*, That we view the late solemn act declaring war against Great Britain and her dependencies, as the last resort of a much injured people, fully persuaded that its justice and necessity will be acknowledged by all who candidly pass in review the doctrines of our enemy; and nothing short of a base submission would have prolonged peace.

“*Resolved*, That whatever sacrifices may result, we pledge ourselves to support our government, our laws, and our Liberty, through the present arduous conflict. We also pledge

ourselves to support and protect the Union of the States as the ark of our political safety ; and that we view all those who dare intimate a wish for the separation of the Union as the worst enemies to our peace, prosperity, and happiness.”

As soon as the news of the declaration of war was received in Marblehead, the town was the scene of the utmost activity. Nowhere in the country did the citizens spring to arms with more alacrity. Four privateers, namely, the *Lion*, the *Thorn*, the *Snowbird*, and the *Industry*, were immediately fitted out, and began a series of remarkably successful cruises against the ships of the British nation.

This was not all. Forty private armed schooners were soon fitted out in Salem, a large proportion of which were manned by Marblehead seamen. One schooner, the *Growler*, was commanded by Capt. Nathaniel Lindsey, of Marblehead, and had an entire crew of Marblehead men. Of the crew of the ship *America*, one of the most conspicuous and successful cruisers during the entire war, thirty were from Marblehead.

The fishermen of Marblehead were also largely represented on board the frigates of the United States navy. Eighty men of the crew of the *Constitution* were from Marblehead, and were on board her throughout the entire period of her brilliant career.

Though the enthusiasm of the people was so great at the prospect of war, they were not unmindful of other patriotic duties ; and the Fourth of July, the thirty-sixth anniversary of American Independence, was appropriately celebrated. The church-bells were rung at sunrise, noon, and sunset, and the customary Federal salutes were fired. At eleven o'clock A. M., a procession was formed at the town house, which, after being escorted about town by the Marblehead Light Infantry Company, proceeded to the New Meeting-house, where an oration was delivered by Jacob Willard, Esq. The other exercises were participated in by the choir of the church, and the Reverend Messrs. Bowers, Dana, and Ellis.

The war had now begun in earnest. On the 20th of July, the ship *Orient*, of Marblehead, Captain Andrews, commander, while on the passage home from a merchant voyage to Gibraltar, was captured on the Banks of Newfoundland by the British sloop-of-war *Hazard*. The *Orient*, which had on board a rich cargo, and about thirteen thousand dollars in specie, was sent into St. John's, N. B. The crew, ten in number, were placed on board a prison ship, from which they were subsequently released by the United States frigate *Essex*, and sent to New York on board a cartel ship.

During the month of July, three Nova Scotia shallops arrived in the harbor, having been sent in as prizes by the privateer *Lion*. They were laden with West India produce, and had on board several thousand dollars in specie.

A fine English brig from Liverpool, bound to St. Johns, was also sent in as the joint prize of the *Lion* and *Snowbird*. The brig had six guns, but made no resistance.

Early in the month of August, the schooner *Dolphin*, of Salem, was captured by the British cruiser *Belvidera*. Among the unfortunate crew of the *Dolphin*, who became prisoners of war, was Joseph Furness, of Marblehead. Shortly after his confinement on board the *Belvidera*, he was carried on board the ship *San Domingo*, where an attempt was made to impress him into the British naval service.<sup>1</sup> With manly heroism, Furness declared that he would not fight against his country, and told his captors to shoot him as he stood, if they chose to do so. They then placed him on board the gaard ship, where his steady resolution and undaunted courage inspired the admiration of the British officers. Soon after, documents were sent down for his release, and he returned home.

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-one citizens of Marblehead were impressed into the British naval service, namely: John Smith, William Hooper, John Holden, Thomas Curtis, Samuel Brimblecom, Philip Brimblecom, Richard Pearce, Paul Newhall, Israel Eaton, Benjamin Ashton, William Eaton, John Nicholson, William Homan, Thomas Mitchell, Jacob Wadden, Ambrose Dodd, William Mitchell, Luke Magan, Asa Prichard, William Pousland, and Thomas Porter.

On the 19th of August, the celebrated battle between the United States frigate *Constitution* and the British frigate *Guerriere* took place, which resulted in a glorious victory for the *Constitution*. During the engagement, Captain William B. Orne,<sup>1</sup> of Marblehead, was a prisoner on board the *Guerriere*, and the following graphic account of the action is from his private journal.

“I commanded the American brig *Betsey*, in the year 1812, and was returning home from Naples, Italy, to Boston. When near the western edge of the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, on the 10th of August, 1812, I fell in with the British frigate *Guerriere*, Captain Dacres, and was captured by him. Myself and a boy were taken on board of the frigate; the remainder of my officers and crew were left in the *Betsey*, and sent into Halifax, N. S., as a prize to the *Guerriere*. On the 19th of the same month, when in latitude  $41^{\circ} 41'$  north, longitude about  $55^{\circ} 40'$  west, the wind being fresh from the northward, the *Guerriere* was under double-reefed topsails during all the forenoon of this day. At two P. M. we discovered a large sail to windward, bearing about north from us. We soon made her out to be a frigate. She was steering off from the wind, with her head to the southwest, evidently with the intention of cutting us off as soon as possible. Signals were soon made by the *Guerriere*; but as they were not answered, the conclusion of course was that she was either a French or an American frigate. Captain Dacres appeared anxious to ascertain her character, and after looking at her for that purpose, handed me his spy-glass, requesting me to give him my opinion of the stranger. I soon saw, from the peculiarity of her sails and from her general appearance that she was without doubt an American frigate, and communicated the same to Captain Dacres. He immediately replied that he thought she came down too boldly for an American, but soon after added, ‘The better he behaves, the more honor we shall gain by taking him.’

<sup>1</sup> Captain Orne subsequently removed to Brooklyn, N. Y.

“The two ships were rapidly approaching each other, when the *Guerriere* backed her main-topsail and waited for her opponent to come down and commence the action. He then set an English flag at each mast-head, beat to quarters, and made ready for the fight. When the strange frigate came down to within two or three miles distance, he hauled upon the wind, took in all his light sails, reefed his topsails, and deliberately prepared for action. It was now about five o'clock in the afternoon, when he filled away and ran down for the *Guerriere*. At this moment, Captain Dacres politely said to me : ‘ Captain Orne, as I suppose you do not wish to fight against your own countrymen, you are at liberty to go below the water-line.’ It was not long after this before I retired from the quarter-deck to the cock-pit. Of course, I saw no more of the action until the firing ceased, but I heard and felt much of its effects ; for, soon after I left the deck, the firing commenced on board the *Guerriere*, and was kept up almost constantly until about six o'clock, when I heard a tremendous explosion from the opposing frigate. The effect of her shot seemed to make the *Guerriere* reel and tremble as though she had received the shock of an earthquake. Immediately after this I heard a tremendous crash on deck, and was told the mizzen-mast was shot away. In a few moments afterward, the cock-pit was filled with wounded men. At about half-past six o'clock in the evening, after the firing had ceased, I went on deck, and there beheld a scene which it would be difficult to describe. All the *Guerriere*'s masts were shot away, and, as she had no sails to steady her, she lay rolling like a log in the trough of the sea. Many of the men were employed in throwing the dead overboard. The decks were covered with blood, and had the appearance of a butcher's slaughter-house ; the gun-tackles were not made fast, and several of the guns got loose and were surging to and fro from one side to the other. Some of the petty officers and seamen, after the action, got liquor, and were intoxicated ; and what with the groans of

the wounded, the noise and confusion of the enraged survivors on board of the ill-fated ship, rendered the whole scene a perfect hell." <sup>1</sup>

The loss on board of the *Guerriere*, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 101. The loss on board the *Constitution* was seven killed and seven wounded.

The news of this engagement was received in Marblehead with the greatest enthusiasm; and so large a proportion of the crew of the victorious frigate were citizens of the town, it was considered almost a local victory.

During the month of August, three prizes were captured and sent in by the Marblehead privateers. The *Lion* sent in a schooner laden with lumber and military stores. The *Industry* captured the brig *Earl of Moria*, bound from Liverpool to St. Andrew's, and sent her into Machias. The *Growler*, of Salem, Captain Lindsey, of Marblehead, captured the brig *Ann*, of ten guns, bound from Liverpool to New Providence, richly laden with dry goods and crates worth \$100,000.

Two other prizes were subsequently sent in, but the exact date of their capture cannot now be ascertained. One was the brig *Richard*, of three hundred tons, captured by the *Industry*; and the other was the brig *Freedom*, with seven hundred hogsheads of salt, sent in by the *Thorn*.

The presidential election of 1812 resulted in another triumph for the Democratic party, and the reelection of President Madison. This was accepted as an indorsement of the war policy of the administration and gave great satisfaction to its friends throughout the country. In Marblehead, especially, the event was hailed with great rejoicing. Elbridge Gerry, who was revered and honored as a patriot and a statesman, had been elected vice-president of the United States, and nowhere was the honor conferred upon him and Massachusetts more sincerely appreciated than in his native town.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coggshall's *Privateers of 1812*.

<sup>2</sup> Elbridge Gerry was born in Marblehead, July 17, 1774. He received

On the 29th of December a desperate engagement was fought off St. Salvador, between the United States frigate Constitution, then commanded by Captain Bainbridge, and the British frigate Java, of thirty-eighty guns. The combat continued more than three hours, and when the Java struck she was reduced to a mere wreck. Of her crew, one hundred and sixty were killed and wounded, while on board the Constitution there were only thirty-four. Among the killed on board the Constitution in this action, were two brothers named Cheever, of Marblehead, the only sons of a poor widow.

On the first of June, 1813, a battle was fought in the bay back of Marblehead Neck, in sight of a multitude of anxious spectators, between the United States frigate Chesapeake,

the rudiments of his education in the common schools of Marblehead, and graduated from Harvard College in 1762. He was elected a representative from Marblehead to the General Court in 1772, and again in 1773. During the difficulties between England and the colonies preceding the Revolutionary War, he was an active member of the Committee of Safety of Marblehead. In 1774, he was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts and continued a member of that body until his election as a member of the Continental Congress in 1779. On the 4th of July of that year, he signed the Declaration of Independence. He continued a member of Congress until the year 1780, when he resigned and declined a reëlection. In 1783, he was again chosen a member of Congress, and remained a member of that body till 1785. During that year, and while a member of Congress, he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature by the citizens of Marblehead. In 1786, he was a delegate to the Convention which met at Annapolis, Md., to report a system for the regulation of the commercial trade of the United States. In 1787, he was a member of the Convention which met at Philadelphia and framed the Constitution of the United States. He was a member of the first and second Congress which met after the organization of the government in 1789. In 1797, he was chosen an elector of president and vice-president of the United States, and cast his vote for John Adams. During the same year he was appointed by President Adams a commissioner to France. In 1810, he was elected governor of Massachusetts and in 1811 was reëlected. In 1811, he was elected vice-president of the United States. While on his way to the capital as president of the Senate he died suddenly in the city of Washington, November 23, 1814, at the age of seventy years. His remains were buried in the Congressional Cemetery at Washington, and in 1823 Congress erected a monument to his memory.

commanded by Captain Lawrence, and the British frigate Shannon, commanded by Captain Broke. The action terminated fatally for the Chesapeake and the intrepid Lawrence was mortally wounded. Of the crew of the Shannon, twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded. Of the crew of the Chesapeake, forty-eight were killed and nearly one hundred wounded. When carried below and asked if the colors should be struck, Captain Lawrence replied: "No: they shall wave while I live." Delirious from excess of suffering, he continued to exclaim. "Dont give up the ship!" an expression consecrated by the people of Marblehead as the last words also, of the heroic Mugford, thirty-seven years before.

During the engagement, three Marblehead sailors were on board the Shannon as prisoners of war, by whom the progress of the battle was watched with the utmost interest. They had been taken on board a prize of the privateer America, several days before, and their hopes of a speedy delivery were suddenly brought to an end by the capture of the Chesapeake.

The body of Captain Lawrence was carried to Halifax, but was subsequently brought to Salem, and reburied with great parade, the Hon. Joseph Story, a native of Marblehead, acting as the orator of the day.

The large number of British sloops of war which were cruising about the bay caused the inhabitants to fear an attack upon the town, and in the spring and summer of this year active preparations were made for its defense. Fortifications were erected, and batteries were stationed on Twisden's Hill, Goodwin's Head, Hewitt's Head, and on the Neck. The town was divided into two wards, and all the able-bodied men remaining at home were enlisted into companies and detailed for guard duty. The Marblehead Light Infantry, which now numbered one hundred men in its ranks, acted as a reserve force to be called upon in case of an attack. A company was also recruited, and mustered



into the service of the United States, for duty at Fort Sewall. This company was under the command of Capt. John Bailey, and Joshua O. Bowden, the efficient commander of the Light Infantry, was its first lieutenant.

Guards were stationed along the coast, on the Neck, and at various localities in the town, for the purpose of alarming the inhabitants should an attack be made. On several occasions the alarm gun was heard, and the citizens rushed to arms; but in every instance the vigilant sentinels were mistaken, and no attack was made.

These precautionary measures were not adopted by the town, however, without sufficient cause. The British cruisers had become so bold that in several instances unarmed American vessels were captured within full sight of the shore, and almost within range of the guns of the fort. On one occasion, during the month of August, two English ships of war sailed close into the Neck, and captured six coasting vessels which were bound to Boston.

During this period of excitement, two men were killed by the guards in the public streets of the town. Both of the unfortunate incidents occurred in the night, when it was impossible for the sentinels to see who was approaching. One of the victims was a young man named Joseph Butman, who was foolishly trying to alarm the sentinel stationed at the town house. The other was a negro, known as Black Charley, who was shot by the sentinel stationed at Lovis's Cove. Charley was on his way home from a dancing party, where he had performed the important service of fiddler, and being somewhat deaf, it is presumed did not hear the challenge of the guard. These sad events cast a general gloom over the community, and were deeply regretted; but the stern necessities of war demanded that the guards should be commended for the faithful performance of duty.

During the month of February, 1814, a number of British prisoners were brought to Marblehead and confined in Fort Sewall. This action on the part of the government

was seriously resented by the citizens, many of whom declared that, if opportunity offered, they would inflict summary vengeance upon the detested Englishmen, in retaliation for the inhuman treatment of American prisoners by the British. Finally, as a measure of precaution, the prisoners were removed and carried to Boston.<sup>1</sup>

On Sunday, the 3d of April, 1814, the citizens were alarmed by the sudden appearance of three ships of war, which appeared to be sailing directly for Marblehead Harbor. Two of the frigates were ascertained to have British flags at their mast-heads, while the third, which was in advance of the others, carried the stars and stripes. It proved to be the frigate *Constitution*, which for three days had been chased by the British frigates *Tenedos* and *Endymion*. As the three stately ships neared the land, and the exciting chase could be more distinctly witnessed, the headlands and housetops were filled with interested and anxious spectators. The *Constitution* succeeded in escaping from her pursuers, and, as she majestically sailed into the harbor, cheer after cheer rent the air, and from many a heart a prayer of thanksgiving went forth for the preservation and safety of "Old Ironsides." When about three miles out, the commander of the *Constitution* inquired if any of the Marblehead seamen felt competent to pilot the ship into the harbor. "Aye, aye, sir!" was the answer from a score of volunteers, and from the number Samuel Green was selected, by whom the good ship was successfully brought in. Towards evening she again weighed anchor and sailed into Salem Harbor, where she was not so much exposed, and was less liable to attack.

One evening, late in the month of July, two ships sailed into the harbor, causing some apprehensions of an attack. An alarm-gun was fired, and the people prepared to repel them should they prove to be enemies. They were neutral vessels, however, being the Dutch sloop-of-war *Ajax*, and

<sup>1</sup> See files *Salem Gazette*, 1814.

the merchant ship Prince of Orange, under her convoy. The Ajax had on board his Excellency Mynheer Chaugulon, with his family and suite, who had come as minister from the Prince of Orange to the United States. The next day the ships sailed for Boston, where the minister was received in state, and with the honors due his station.

While these events were transpiring at home, the heroic sons of Marblehead were winning unfading laurels by their valorous conduct upon the water. In the spring of 1814, Capt. David Porter, in the frigate Essex, engaged the British frigate Phœbe, of fifty-two, and the sloop-of-war Cherub, of twenty-eight guns, in the harbor of Valparaiso. For more than two hours he sustained this unequal encounter, before he surrendered, and his crew fought with a bravery never exceeded. Of his intrepid officers and seamen, fifty-eight were killed, thirty-one were missing, thirty-eight were severely, and twenty-five slightly wounded. During the action, Lieut. John Glover Cowell, a son of the intrepid Capt. Richard Cowell, and a grandson of Gen. John Glover, of Revolutionary fame, was wounded. After having the wound dressed a second time, he returned to his station, when another shot severely wounded him in the leg. He was taken up to be carried below; but peremptorily refusing to go, he continued at his post until loss of blood rendered him insensible. He was then taken below and placed under the care of the surgeon. After the battle he was carried on shore, where his leg was amputated, and after suffering with exemplary fortitude for twenty-one days, he expired in the presence of his gallant companions. "His case excited in Valparaiso the liveliest interest. The whole city most feelingly and deeply sympathized in his sufferings and lamented his fate. His heroism had made every one his friend and his mourner. He was buried with the most distinguished honors, both military and civil, that the place could afford. All the American and British officers, the crews of the Essex and the Essex Junior, of the Phœbe and Cherub, and of every

other vessel in port, joined to swell the funeral procession. But the chief pomp that was displayed on this solemn and interesting occasion, arose from the attention of the inhabitants of the place. It would be scarcely hyperbolic to say that *the ashes* of the gallant Cowell were watered by the tears of all Valparaiso. The concourse of Spaniards, headed by the governor of the district and a large military escort, was immense.

“Followed by this vast and magnificent procession, and attended by solemn music and lighted tapers, the remains of the hero were carried to the principal church of the city. Here, after having been exposed to public view for two days, shrouded in elegant funeral apparel, they were interred in consecrated ground within the walls of the building, an honor never perhaps before conferred on a stranger in that part of the world.”<sup>1</sup>

The war virtually ended in December of this year, when the treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, by the representatives of the United States and Great Britain. In February, 1815, the treaty was ratified by the two governments, and President Madison issued a proclamation to that effect. On the reception of the news in Marblehead, every house in town was illuminated, and from nearly every housetop something was set flying to the breeze; those who could not procure flags, hoisting sheets, pillow cases, and in some instances even petticoats, in honor of the great event. For an entire week the church bells were rung, and as day after day their merry peals rang out, they left full conviction on every heart of the sincere joy and most ardent patriotism of the people.

Though peace had been declared, over seven hundred citizens of Marblehead were confined in British prisons. Halifax, Chatham, Plymouth, and the loathsome prison ships each had their quota, while in Dartmoor Prison alone more than five hundred were confined. The majority of

<sup>1</sup> See Captain Porter's official report, and Boston papers of 1814.

these men were captured in privateers by British ships of many times their size and armament. Many, however, were taken from unarmed merchant vessels on their voyages to and from the various foreign ports.

To narrate the experience of the men of Marblehead while confined in these prisons would require a volume in itself. Throughout the entire period of their incarceration, which lasted for six months after the war was over, they were noted for the cheerful manner in which they bore their sufferings and privations. It was only at times, when adverse intelligence was received concerning their loved ones at home, that they were depressed. At one time they were "told positively and circumstantially that three frigates sent their boats into Marblehead, and after driving out all the women and children, set fire to the town and reduced the whole to ashes." This for a time was believed, and the prisoners from Marblehead were in a state of great anxiety. At another it was reported in the prison, "that peace between America and England was concluded, and that one of its conditions was giving up the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. This alarmed the Marblehead men more than the report of the burning of their town; they raved and swore like mad men. 'If that be the case,' said they, 'I am damned, Marblehead is forever damned, and we are all damned; and damnation seize the peacemakers who have consented to this condition.' On this subject they worked themselves into a fever and were very unhappy all the time the story was believed."<sup>1</sup>

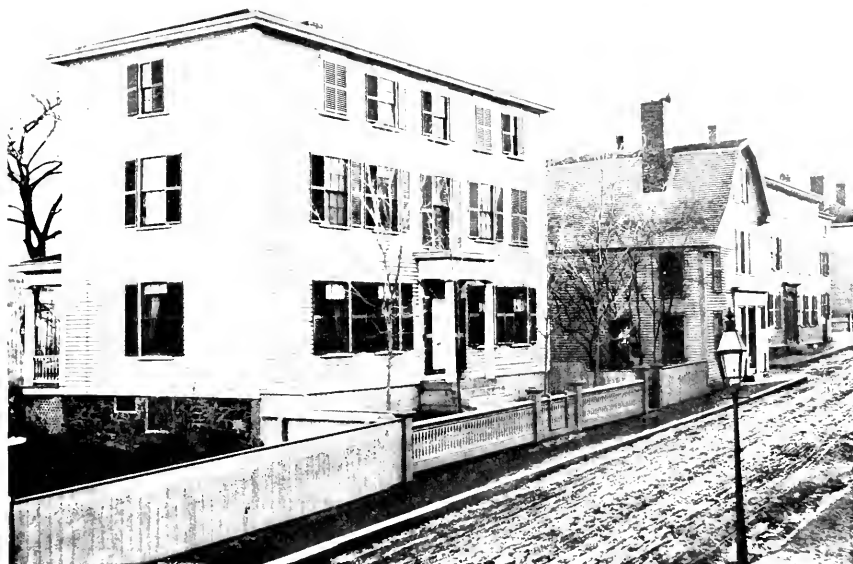
The brutal treatment to which the prisoners in Dartmoor Prison were subjected, culminated on the 6th of April, 1815, in a premeditated and bloody massacre. On the afternoon of that day some boys who were playing ball in one of the yards, accidentally knocked their ball over into the barrack yard. The disobliging sentinel in that yard refused to

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Chatham, Halifax, and Dartmoor.*

throw it back to them, and they therefore picked a hole in the wall to get in after it. This gave the murderous commander of the prison the pretext he desired. The alarm-bell was rung, and while the defenseless prisoners were running into the yard to ascertain the cause of the alarm, the soldiers, who had been stationed at the gates and upon the walls, were ordered to fire upon them. There was no avenue of escape for the unfortunate victims. Even after they retreated to the interior of the prison, the soldiers pursued them and fired into the doors. Seven of the prisoners were killed, and sixty wounded. Among the wounded were John Peach, and Thomas Tindley, of Marblehead.

A few days after the massacre, the hearts of the prisoners were made glad by the joyful intelligence that orders had been issued for their release. The news proved to be true, and it was not long before they were on board cartel-ships homeward bound.

The intrepid Marbleheaders kept up their reputation for courage to the last. The captain of one of the ships being a man of weak nerves and rather a timid nature, was afraid to spread the amount of canvas that his ship could carry. This disgusted the prisoners, who were impatient to arrive home, and they accordingly took matters into their own hands. The captain was deposed, and an election was held for the choice of commander. Mr. John Hubbard, of Marblehead, a son of the pastor of the First Congregational Church, was chosen, and that gentleman at once assumed command of the ship. Stepping upon the quarter-deck, he politely informed the English captain that the prisoners had voted to work the ship during the remainder of the passage, and that there was therefore no further need of his services, nor those of his crew. The captain and his subordinates, knowing that they had a resolute and determined set of men to deal with, offered no opposition, and in due season the voyage was completed in safety.



318. PLACE OF ELDRIDGE GERRA, AND VICINITY.



VIEW ON WASHINGTON STREET.





Over one thousand men from Marblehead were engaged in the war for "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Of these, seven hundred and twenty-six were on board privateers, one hundred and twenty were in the navy, fifty-seven were in the army, and one hundred were members of the Marblehead Light Infantry.

## CHAPTER XII.

AT the close of the war the citizens applied themselves earnestly and industriously to the task of restoring their shattered fortunes. There were now only forty-eight vessels employed in the bank fisheries, eighteen of which were of less than fifty tons burden. When the embargo of 1807 went into operation there were one hundred and sixteen vessels engaged in the business, ninety-eight of which were of more than fifty tons burden. This great reduction in the number of vessels engaged in the industry by which the inhabitants obtained a livelihood, is the best evidence that can be given of the sacrifices made by the town during the period of controversy and war with Great Britain.

On the 4th of March, 1817, James Monroe, of Virginia, was inaugurated President of the United States. He was a man of amiable and conciliatory character, and was popular with both political parties. His inaugural address, which was remarkable for its patriotic sentiments, and the able and temperate manner with which it dealt with all the important questions of the day, was warmly applauded throughout the country, by Federalists as well as Democrats.

A few months after his inauguration, President Monroe made a tour of the Eastern States, and in so doing honored the town of Marblehead with a brief visit. He was received at the entrance of the town by a procession consisting of the military, the boards of town officers, the scholars of the public and private schools, the clergy, and a large concourse of citizens. He was escorted to the "Lee Mansion," where a large number of prominent citizens assembled "to pay their respects," and afterwards visited Fort Sewall and other points of interest.

The organization of Sabbath-schools in Marblehead began in the spring of 1818. On the 22d of May of that year, several prominent citizens assembled at the "New Meeting House," and measures were taken for the organization of a "Sabbath-school Union Society." At a subsequent meeting, held at Academy Hall, a constitution was adopted, and the society was organized by the choice of the following officers: —

*President.* — Hon. William Reed.

*Vice-president.* — Dr. Calvin Briggs.

*Treasurer.* — Hon. Nathaniel Hooper.

*Secretary.* — Nathan Bowen, Esq.

On Sunday, June 14, the school was opened, divisions having been established at each of the churches in town. These divisions were each under the direction of a superintendent and teachers elected by the society. The schools held their sessions on the morning of each Sabbath day from May to November, and continued under the direction of the society for eleven years, when each church assumed control of its own school.

By a vote of the people of Massachusetts, a convention was called to meet at Boston in November, 1820, for the purpose of revising and amending the Constitution of the State. Benjamin Knight, John Prentiss, Jr., Nathan B. Martin, Hon. Nathaniel Hooper, and Capt. John Gregory, were elected as delegates from Marblehead. The convention was in session seven weeks, and its deliberations were marked by the harmony which prevailed among its members. As a result of their labors, fourteen amendments were proposed, a majority of which were adopted by the people.

The year 1824 was marked by an event of the greatest interest to the people of Marblehead. The venerable Marquis de Lafayette, who had come to the United States at the express invitation of Congress, was traveling through the country, and the citizens voted unanimously to invite

him to revisit the town. The invitation was accepted, and a day late in the month of August was appointed for the auspicious occasion. The distinguished visitor, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, was received at the entrance of the town by a procession of civic and military organizations, and escorted through the principal streets amid the joyful acclamations of the people. He was then conducted to the "Lee Mansion," where a grand dinner was served, and a public reception was given to the citizens. The dinner-table, it is said, presented a magnificent appearance. All the "well-to-do" families of the town contributed their silver ware to grace the festal board, and neither pains nor expense were spared in its arrangement. General Lafayette remained in Marblehead several hours, and before departing made a brief call upon Mrs. Mary Glover Hooper, the wife of Robert Hooper, Esq., and the only surviving daughter of his old friend and companion in arms, Gen. John Glover.

Among other interesting incidents of this memorable day was the first appearance of the military company known as the Lafayette Guards, which had been organized a short time before, under command of Capt. William B. Adams.

At this time, and for many years previous, the male inhabitants of Massachusetts were required by law to be enrolled in the militia of the State. Only those belonging to the fire department, or who held the office of constable, were exempt from military duty. The scenes in Marblehead on the days of the general muster were often ludicrous in the extreme. The inhabitants were divided into two artillery companies, one of which was known as the North Ward Company, and the other as that of the South Ward. The members of these companies were usually ordered to appear armed and equipped, and, like good soldiers, they always obeyed orders. Some presented themselves with swords and cutlasses of various lengths and shapes. Others were armed with gun-stocks without barrels, and *vice versa*. The ma-

jority, however, carried dirk-knives, pistols, and anything that "could pass muster" in the shape of a weapon. Each company was possessed of two brass cannons, which more than made up for all deficiencies in other respects. Not a man was in uniform except the officers, who were gorgeous in blue coats, with brass buttons and gold lace. But the march was the principal feature of the great occasion. Trudging along beside a very short fisherman, clad in "monkey jacket and sou'-wester," would be a very tall farmer lad, in homespun frock and broad-brimmed hat. The rolling gait of the fisherman and the gigantic strides of the farmer rendered it impossible for them to keep in step, and numerous were the misunderstandings on this account.

Occasionally there was a division muster at some town in the county, and at such times the Marblehead artillerymen were conspicuous in the sham fights which occurred. It was at one of these sham fights in the year 1824, that the expression "Marblehead never retreats," had its origin. "It was arranged that a high hill in Danvers should be held by a portion of the troops called the British, who, with their allies, the Indians, were to be attacked by the other troops and eventually retreat; while the attacking party were to take possession, and plant their flag on the ramparts. The wigwams were built and the preliminary arrangements all made, the Marblehead artillery being the last to retire.

"Now the battle waxed loud and furious, big guns and little guns, smoke and smother, and the grand rush of the attacking party up the hill; but it was brought to a standstill by the persistent peppering from the Marbleheaders under Major Traill, and his gallant adjutant, afterwards Major Green.

"'Why don't you retreat?' said the attacking colonel, as the flashes threw the gun-wads in his face and singed his whiskers, 'why don't you retreat?'

"But these semi-marine gunners, who had learned to handle and train a gun 'on the briny,' had got warmed up,

and forgot that they for the nonce represented John Bull; and one of them, rushing forward, sang out: 'Marblehead never retreats!'"<sup>1</sup>

It is said, too, that some of the gunners loaded their guns with small potatoes, which rendered the attack a somewhat hazardous undertaking.

Early in this year a society was incorporated by the name of the "Columbian Society," which for more than fifty years exercised a perceptible influence upon the political sentiments of the citizens. "Actuated by a sincere desire to promote political and useful knowledge among ourselves and our fellow men" — its members declared in the preamble of their Constitution — "and believing no method so productive of advantage in the improvement of the mind as reading and the interchange of sentiments and ideas among men; and feeling an ardent zeal to perpetuate the principles and rights for which our Fathers of the Revolution fought and bled; we have associated and do by these presents voluntarily associate ourselves together." This society was in the truest sense a Marblehead institution. Had it been otherwise it could not have existed. The doctrines inculcated by its constitution were democratic in the broadest and noblest sense. Every person upon becoming a member was required to make the following declaration: "I do firmly believe that man by nature is and ought to be free; that I cherish an ardent attachment to the rights and liberties of our country, and the Republican institutions thereof."

For many years the best moderators of our town meetings were graduates of the president's chair of the Columbian Society, and the most skillful debaters who participated in town meeting discussions obtained their experience at the weekly meetings of that institution.

During this year the public streets were named by vote of

<sup>1</sup> This story, which appeared in a Boston paper some years ago, was corroborated by persons who remembered the incident.

the town. Nearly all of them had been known as "lanes" from the time of the settlement of the town, and Mugford, Green, and State Streets are still familiar to most of the older inhabitants as "New Meeting House," "Ferry," and "Wharf" lanes. Previous to the breaking out of the Revolution, State Street was known as "King Street," but the patriotic citizens declined to recognize the name after the close of the war. One of the most curious incidents of this action of the town, was the naming of a narrow foot-path, leading over a ledge of rocks from Lookout Court, or Lodge Hill, to Lee Street. Its name as entered on the records is "Prospect Alley."

As early as 1825, the manufacture of misses and children's shoes was introduced into Marblehead. Previous to this time, the only boots and shoes made in town were heavy leather boots for the use of fishermen and "custom shoes for ladies and gentlemen." The first manufacturer to engage in the new enterprise was Mr. Ebenezer Martin, who made his own shoes and sold them at retail. His workshop was in the old "Reynolds House," on Darling Street. It was his custom to carry his goods about in a cart, and drive from one town to another, until he disposed of them. The next earliest manufacturer was Mr. Thomas Wool-dredge, whose factory was on Orne Street; and a few years later Messrs. Benjamin Hawkes, Thomas Garney, and Adoniram C. Orne, engaged in the business as a firm. Shortly after, Messrs. Samuel and Peter Sparhawk began business. Of all the early manufacturers, Mr. Samuel Sparhawk is the only one engaged in the business at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

During the year 1829 the attention of the citizens was called to the condition of the poor at the almshouse. A committee appointed by the town to investigate the matter, reported that one hundred and twelve persons were confined in the institution, a majority of whom were "lodged in a garret of the house for want of better accommodation."

<sup>1</sup> 1879.

Among other evils complained of was the allowance of ardent spirits to the subjects, "a barrel a month" being consumed. The place as a reformatory institution was an utter failure. Men convicted of drunkenness were sentenced to be confined in the almshouse, and while there were given an allowance of the beverage which had brought them to grief. These, and other evils, aroused the virtuous indignation of the citizens, and the result was a thorough reformation in the overseer's department.

On Saturday, March 13, 1830, the first local newspaper ever established in town made its appearance. It was called the "Marblehead Register," and was published by Mr. Henry Blaney. For three years the editor struggled heroically to make the enterprise a success; but his efforts were futile, and he was obliged to suspend publication. Several newspapers have since been established, but a similar fate has befallen them all, except the last, which is still in existence.<sup>1</sup>

During the year 1831, several important local institutions were established. On the 18th of March, the Grand Bank was incorporated with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. At the first meeting of the stockholders, a board of nine directors was chosen, consisting of Messrs. Edmund Kimball, Joseph W. Green, Benjamin Porter, Joel Newhall, James Oliver, Knott Martin, Abel Gardner, David Blaney,

<sup>1</sup> The newspapers published in Marblehead since 1833 have been *The Gazette*, published by Peter Dixey, Jr., in 1832; *The Mercury*, published by Robinson Breare, in 1848; *The Essex County Times*, published by J. K. Averill, in 1848; *The People's Advocate*, published by Beckford & Coffin, in 1849; *The Ledger*, published by T. J. Hutchinson, in 1859. Mr. Hutchinson subsequently admitted a partner, and the firm name was changed to Hutchinson & Skinner. In 1861, Mr. Horace Traill became proprietor of the *Ledger*, and it was published until the end of the year 1863. In December, 1871, *The Marblehead Messenger* was established by Messrs. Hart and Trask. Shortly after, Mr. Hart died, and the paper was published by Mr. E. I. Trask, with Mr. William Martin Chamberlain as editorial manager. In 1874, the *Messenger* was purchased by Messrs. Samuel Roads, Jr., and Frederick W. Leck, by whom it was conducted until January 1, 1877. It was then purchased by Messrs. N. Allen Lindsey and William S. Phillips, Jr., by whom it is still published.



and Edmund Bray. The directors subsequently elected Joseph W. Green, president, and John Sparhawk, Jr., cashier. At their first meeting the directors voted to purchase the estate of Capt. William Russell, on Hooper Street, and to erect thereon a stone building with slated roof. On the 18th of November the business of banking was begun in the new building.

On the 30th of August, the town voted to petition Congress for the erection of a light-house on Point Neck. The light-house was erected in accordance with the wishes of the town, Mr. Ezekiel Darling being the first keeper.

Early in this year the Marblehead Seamen's Charitable Society was organized. This society is still in existence, there being only one older society in town. The Marblehead Female Humane Society antedates it, having been organized in 1816.

In the summer of 1833, President Andrew Jackson, who had entered upon his second term as the executive of the nation, made a tour of the Middle and New England States. On the 28th of June, accepting the urgent invitation of the citizens, he visited Marblehead. He was received at the entrance of the town by a procession consisting of the military companies, a cavalcade of fifty horsemen, the fire department, scholars of the public schools, and a large concourse of citizens. Along the route of the procession several triumphal arches, decorated with flowers and bearing appropriate mottoes, were erected, and many private residences were elaborately decorated. President Jackson rode through the principal streets in an open carriage, after which the procession halted at the "Lee Mansion," where an address of welcome was delivered by Frederick Robinson, Esq. A dinner had been provided for the occasion, but to the great disappointment of the citizens their distinguished visitor was obliged to proceed as soon as possible to Salem, and they were deprived of the pleasure of his company.

The violent opposition to the measures of President

Jackson's administration, gave rise to a new political organization, known as the Whig party. Between this party and the Democrats there existed a feeling of the most bitter hostility. This was especially true of the adherents of both parties in Marblehead. Their opposition to each other was so intense that on the occasion of a Fourth of July celebration in 1834 they refused to act in concert, and the result was two rival celebrations.

The Democrats formed a procession, and escorted by the Lafayette Guards, with a drum and fife and two bugles, proceeded to the Methodist Meeting-house, where an oration was delivered by Mr. Frank Knight, a native of the town. They then marched to Fort Sewall, where a dinner was provided, and appropriate speeches were made by prominent members of the party. The Whigs were escorted by the Marblehead Light Infantry, a majority of whose members were of that political faith. Led by a band of music, they marched to the Old North Meeting-house, where an oration was delivered; after which they sat down to a dinner at Academy Hall.

During the year 1835, the fire department was thoroughly reorganized. The town at this time owned four hand engines, including the "Friend" and the "Endeavour," already mentioned. The other two were the "Union," purchased in 1798, which was located at the junction of Orne and Washington Streets, and the "Liberty," purchased about 1808, which was located on the hill at the head of Watson Street. Besides these there were two engines owned by private parties, one of which was named the "Torrent," and the other the "Relief." The "Torrent" was located in the rear of the Stone Church, and the "Relief" in a small building near the "Lee Mansion House."

A committee appointed by the town to examine the several engines belonging to the fire department, reported that only one, the "Liberty," was "worth spending a dollar on." That engine was accordingly repaired and refitted

with all the modern improvements, and two new suction engines, the "Marblehead" and "Essex," were purchased. Two new houses were erected for their accommodation, that of the "Marblehead" being on Bassett Street and that of the "Essex" on Franklin Street.

During the year 1836, the Universalist Society was organized. For a time the meetings were held in the hall on the corner of Washington and Darling Streets; but the following year, so rapid had been the growth of the society, that the present church edifice was erected on the corner of Watson and Pleasant Streets.

The year 1837 is memorable as the period of one of the most severe financial panics the country has ever experienced. Business was everywhere at a stand-still; bankruptcy had become a common lot, and by midsummer the banks universally had suspended specie payments. Notwithstanding the distress which prevailed in consequence of the depression of business, the year was one of the most eventful in the annals of Marblehead. For years the town had maintained three grammar schools, known as the North, Centre, and South schools. It was now voted to establish a High School, with separate departments for boys and girls. The school was established in accordance with the vote of the town, and the building known as the "Masonic Lodge" was rented for its accommodation.

It was during this year, also, that the famous controversy over the "Surplus Revenue" took place. During the administration of President Jackson, a large amount of money accumulated in the treasury of the United States. By an act of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to distribute the amount among the several States, and the State of Massachusetts, on the reception of its proportion, distributed it among the towns of the Commonwealth. By this act of the legislature the town of Marblehead received about thirteen thousand dollars. As soon as it was known that the town was to receive so large a

sum of money, a controversy arose among the citizens as to the disposition that should be made of it. At a town meeting held on the 15th of April, a committee of nine persons was chosen to take the matter into consideration, and "to report at length" on the disposal of the money. The Hon. Frederick Robinson was chairman of the committee, and upon their recommendation it was voted that the money be appropriated "for the purchase of a large, fertile, and convenient town farm, of not less than one hundred acres, and for erecting upon it a large, durable, and convenient building for the poor." A committee, consisting of Messrs. Frederick Robinson, Benjamin Stone, William B. Adams, Samuel Avery, Richard Cole, and Jeremiah Hathaway, was chosen to carry the vote into effect. Three days later, the citizens again convened, and a building committee was chosen, with authority to "take down the old almshouse, and to erect a new one on the town farm." The entire scheme to purchase a farm was bitterly opposed by a large minority, and at a meeting held on the 24th of April it was voted to reconsider all former votes, and to divide the money among the inhabitants *per capita*. This proposition was carried by a vote of 172 in the affirmative and 144 in the negative. In the afternoon an adjourned meeting was held, when the friends of the town farm succeeded in reconsidering the action of the morning, and defeating the "dividing project." One meeting after another was held to consider the matter, and the excitement of the citizens increased with each meeting. During the controversy, Frederick Robinson, John Hooper, Richard Girdler, and Andrew Lackey, were in turn elected town treasurer, all of whom declined to serve. Finally the choice fell upon Mr. John Nutting, who accepted. At one meeting it was voted to "indefinitely postpone the entire matter," and at another to "cancel the outstanding orders of the town with the fund." At length, after a controversy of nearly a year in duration, it was ascertained that the town was under a legal obligation to purchase the farm

belonging to Humphrey Deverenx, Esq. The farm was accordingly purchased for the sum of \$13,000. Two years later the farm was sold for \$11,000, and the money was turned over to the treasurer, the town losing \$2,000 by the transaction.

The date of the regular establishment of stage communication between Marblehead and Boston was about the year 1768. The establishment of a regular line of stages between Marblehead and Salem, however, did not take place until twenty-six years later. The first proprietor of a line of stages in Marblehead, of whom we have any knowledge, was Mr. Hooker Osgood, who drove regularly to Boston for many years previous to the War of 1812. He died in 1811, and the business was purchased by Messrs. Israel Putnam and Jonathan Cass. This firm subsequently sold out to a company, under whose management the business was conducted for several years. Upon the abandonment of the enterprise by the company, Mr. Cass resumed the business, with Mr. Increase H. Brown as a partner. In 1829, Mr. Cass withdrew, and Mr. Brown entered into a copartnership with Messrs. Stephen P. Hathaway and Benjamin Thompson, the style of the firm being I. H. Brown & Co. A stage was driven to Boston daily, and to Salem twice a day, Mr. Thompson being the driver of the former, and Mr. Hathaway of the latter. On the opening of the Eastern Railroad between Salem and Boston, in 1838, the stage to Boston was discontinued, and, instead, stages were driven four times a day to the Marblehead Depot, then located in Swampscott, on what is now known as the "Old Lynn Road." On the opening of the Marblehead and Salem Branch of the Eastern Railroad, in 1839, the stage to Salem was discontinued.

The year 1839 may be said to have been the period when the fishing business of Marblehead reached the zenith of its prosperity. At that time ninety-eight vessels, only three of which were under fifty tons burden, were employed in the business, — a larger number than have ever sailed from this port since the time of "Jefferson's embargo."

By the will of Mr. A. S. Courtis, who died during the year 1839, the town received a legacy of \$5,000, upon condition of an annual payment of five per cent. to his three heirs during their lifetime. At the death of the last heir the whole amount was to revert to the town for the purchase of school-books and stationery for poor children. A committee chosen to take the matter into consideration reported that the heirs had offered to compromise with the town for the sum of \$500, and it was voted to accept the proposition.

The presidential contest of 1840, known as the "Hard Cider Campaign," was one of the most exciting and memorable in the history of the country. President Van Buren was renominated by the Democrats; against him the Whigs placed Gen. William Henry Harrison, a man of great popularity by reason of his services on the northwestern frontier in the War of 1812. The struggle in Marblehead was marked by an unusual degree of bitterness and intolerance. The enthusiasm of partisans was aroused to the highest pitch, and in many instances the reason of voters was obscured by prejudice and personal feeling. Political meetings were held every day and evening during the campaign. The meetings of the Whigs were held in a "Log Cabin," which they had erected on the estate now owned by John S. Martin, Esq., on Pleasant Street, while the Democrats held their meetings in a "Pavilion" on the Common. The contest resulted in the election of General Harrison, by a large majority.

The question of slavery, which had occupied the attention of thinking men throughout the country to a greater or less degree ever since the close of the War for Independence, was now again brought before the people. Anti-slavery conventions were held in all the Northern and Western States, and though not largely attended, were beginning to have a perceptible effect in moulding public opinion. In February, 1841, an Anti-slavery convention was held at Georgetown, Mass., and as a result of its deliberations the political organi-

zation known as the Liberty Party came into existence. This party advocated the total abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had the sole legislative power. The only person from Marblehead who attended the convention at Georgetown was Mr. Samuel Goodwin, a gentleman who had long been an earnest and outspoken abolitionist. Three years later, at the presidential election of 1844, six votes were cast in Marblehead for the candidates of the Liberty Party. The voters were: Samuel Goodwin, Ambrose Allen, Robert P. Stevens, George Pedrick, Thomas M. Goodwin, and John Dennis. These gentlemen appeared regularly at the polls at each recurring State election, and their party gradually increased to fifteen members. For years they made little or no progress, but with steady resolution and firm devotion to principle, they maintained their organization, forming the nucleus of the great Anti-slavery party which, under two names, has assumed such proportions in Marblehead.

The year 1844 was marked by the erection of the building known as "Lyceum Hall," and by the organization of two of the most prominent and influential societies in the town. These were Samaritan Tent of Rechabites, and Atlantic Lodge of Odd Fellows.

In 1845, another engine was added to the fire department. This engine was the "Gerry," and upon its reception the Fire Association of that name was organized.

The year 1846 marks a memorable period of distress in the annals of the town. On the 19th of September of that year, one of the most terrible gales ever known took place on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, and ten vessels belonging in Marblehead, containing sixty-five men and boys, were lost. Forty-three of these unfortunate seamen were heads of families, leaving forty-three widows and one hundred and fifty-five fatherless children. This great calamity may be said to have given the death-blow to the fishing interests of the town. Gradually as the years have passed

one vessel after another has dropped from the roll of "Bankers," until only one remains as a silent reminder of the greatness of the industry in former years.

In 1848, the Marblehead Seamen's Charitable Society erected a monument on the "Old Burying Hill" in memory of its deceased members, fourteen of whom were lost in the September gale of 1846. The monument is of white marble, fifteen feet high, and stands upon the highest point of ground on the hill, being visible from ten to fifteen miles at sea.

The inhabitants had not recovered from the calamity of 1846 when another of a different nature, but not less appalling, cast a gloom over the entire community. The presidential campaign of 1848 had nearly drawn to its close, when on Thursday evening, November 2, two large political gatherings were held at Salem. The Hon. Daniel Webster was advertised to address the Whigs, and Gen. Caleb Cushing the Democrats. Special trains were run to Salem from all the towns in the vicinity, and more than two hundred citizens of Marblehead availed themselves of the opportunity to listen to the eloquence of the great orators. At twelve o'clock that night, as the Marblehead train was returning from Salem, a collision took place with the down train from Lynn. The engine, tender, and forward car of the Marblehead train were utterly demolished. Six of the occupants of the car were killed, and five were seriously wounded. The killed were, Henry G. Trefry, Samuel Manning, John Stevens, Nathaniel Roundy, John Cross, and John Cloon Russell. Mr. Benjamin F. Brown was maimed for life, having both legs broken. Messrs. Francis Curtis, Edmund Glover, Thomas Clothey, and Asa Hooper, were seriously wounded; and several others, including the engineer, were slightly injured.

During the year 1849, the ship Robert Hooper, owned by Mr. Edward Kimball, was constructed at "Red Stone" Cove. The launching, which took place on the 31st of



October, was witnessed by hundreds of people, many of whom came from the neighboring cities and towns. Business was generally suspended, and the day was observed as a holiday throughout the town. The enterprise thus begun, for a time gave promise of becoming one of the permanent industries of the town. Six other ships of from eight hundred to twelve hundred tons burden were subsequently built for Mr. Kimball; and within a period of nine years twenty schooners of from eighty-seven to one hundred and twelve tons burden were built for various persons engaged in the fishing business.

In 1850, a Hook and Ladder Carriage was purchased and placed in the fire department. It was named the "Washington," and a company was organized for its management.

During the following year, the present almshouse was erected by vote of the town.

For several years the "Manifestations," at Rochester, New York, had engaged public attention, and during the year 1852, several families in town avowed themselves as believers in the doctrines of Spiritualism. Seances were at first held at the residence of Mr. John Lefavour, on Beacon Street, and subsequently at the house of Mr. Samuel B. Gregory, opposite the Common, and at that of the Hon. Frederick Robinson, on Sewall Street. A few years later public lectures were regularly given at Shawmut Hall. A society of Spiritualists was subsequently organized, and existed several years. It finally disbanded, however, and for some years the seances have been held at private houses.

In 1852, the Infantry Company known as the Glover Light Guards was organized. The first captain was Mr. William H. Hooper, a descendant of General Glover.

On the 31st of March, 1853, Mr. Moses A. Pickett, a gentleman who had for years been a noted character in the town from his odd, eccentric manners, died and was buried. The event attracted little or no attention at the time beyond the circle of his few immediate relatives and friends;

but when his will was opened it was found that he had bequeathed the entire residue of his estate, after paying a few small legacies, to be used as a fund "to comfort the widow and the fatherless, the aged, the sick, and the unhappy." His house, he directed should be kept in repair, and "let to widows at a moderate rent." There was only one provision in the will, which was that those to whom his house gave shelter, should be natives of the town of Marblehead. The entire amount of the bequest was about \$13,400.

In his lifetime, Mr. Pickett had been considered a man of a very penurious and miserly disposition; but when the contents of the will were made known, the mouths that for years had been sealed were opened. Then, for the first time, his quiet and unostentatious charities were made known. The widow, the fatherless, the aged and the sick, had many times been the recipients of his never failing help in time of need. They had not known the name of their mysterious benefactor, and the local dealers who were the almoners of his charity had been pledged to secrecy. It was not until he had been called to his reward, that his fellow-citizens saw and appreciated the true worth of the man who had lived among them.

The remainder of the year 1853 is chiefly memorable on account of the three great military festivals which took place before it closed. On Tuesday, June 28, the Marblehead Light Infantry, which had adopted the name of "Sutton," in honor of Gen. William Sutton, appeared under the command of Capt. Knott V. Martin. Among the distinguished visitors present were His Excellency Governor Clifford, the Hon. Charles W. Upham, who at that time represented the Essex District in Congress, and a large number of military officers from other towns. The Glover Light Guards, under Capt. John M. Anderson, appeared in a grand parade on the 29th of September; and on the 19th of October, the Lafayette Guards, under command of Capt. John Carroll, Jr., made a similar demonstration. On each of these occa-

sions the company parading was presented with a silk banner, the gift of the ladies of the town.

The anniversary of American Independence had been celebrated from time to time with great parade, but probably the greatest celebration of the kind ever known in town was that which took place on the Fourth of July, 1856. At nine o'clock in the morning of that day, a procession was formed in seven divisions, consisting of the three military companies; the entire fire department; all the secret societies and other organizations; the scholars of the public schools; the town officials and their predecessors in office; aged citizens in carriages; a party of mounted Indian warriors and a cavalcade of horsemen. Mr. Joseph P. Turner acted as Chief Marshal. The procession moved through all the principal streets to the "Old North Church," where an oration was delivered by W. C. Endicott, Esq., of Salem. The other exercises consisted of prayer by the Rev. B. R. Allen, and reading the Declaration of Independence by Mr. Franklin Knight. An ode, written for the occasion by Mrs. Maria L. Williams, was sung by the choir. In the evening there was a brilliant display of fire-works, under the direction of a Boston pyrotechnist.

In 1856, a lodge of the "Sons of Temperance" was organized, known as "Washington Division No. 3." The following year, the "Marblehead Musical Association" was organized.

In 1858, several communicants of the First Congregational Church withdrew from that body, and organized the society which for nearly twenty years was known as the "Third Congregational Church." During the year 1860 the society erected the house of worship known as the "South Church," on the corner of Essex and School streets.

On the 5th of December, 1858, the Hibernian Friendly Society was organized.

The year 1859 was as remarkable for local events as any in the history of the town. On the 1st of January, a new

engine, named the Mugford, was added to the fire department. On the evening of that day the Mugford Fire Association was organized.

A controversy had arisen relative to the purchase of another hand engine, and many of the firemen were loud in their praises of a machine known as the "Button-Tub Engine." The town decided adversely to the proposition, however, and the engine known as the "General Glover" was purchased. The General Glover Fire Association was organized upon its reception.

On the 16th of October, the Waterside Cemetery was consecrated with appropriate exercises, consisting of prayer, singing, and an address by the Rev. Benjamin R. Allen, pastor of the North Congregational Church.

On the 29th of the same month a destructive fire broke out on State Street, destroying two buildings, and seriously damaging several others. The loss was about five thousand dollars.

For several years, the citizens professing the faith of the Roman Catholic Church had maintained occasional services at private houses and in various halls in town, going to Salem to receive the holy communion. In 1859, the church "Star of the Sea" was erected, and since that time services have been regularly held. During the same year Washington Lodge of Good Templars and the Young Men's Christian Association were organized.

The year 1860 was not less eventful than the previous year had been. On the 26th of January, a large building on Essex Street, known as Bassett's Hall, was totally destroyed by fire. This hall had been erected but a short time before, and was dedicated to the use of the Spiritualists of the town. The house of the "General Glover Fire Association" was also destroyed. Another house was soon erected on Pleasant Street for the use of the company, however, and at the same time a house was erected on State Street for the use of the "Gerry Fire Association."

A reduction of the price paid for labor by the shoe manufacturers of Lynn and Marblehead, in the spring of this year, resulted in one of the greatest strikes ever known in either place. Nearly every man, woman, and child employed in the manufacture of shoes in Marblehead participated in the movement, and there was a general determination not to submit to the reduction. On the 2d day of March the "strikers" made a grand demonstration, and in their parade about town they were escorted by the entire fire department and the three military companies. Five days later a similar demonstration took place in Lynn, when the shoemakers of Marblehead, escorted by the firemen and military, visited that city and participated in the proceedings. On the 29th of March, the "women strikers" paraded about town, and one of their number acted as drummer. With commendable gallantry, the firemen and the military again tendered their services as an escort, and the affair passed off very pleasantly for all concerned. At length, after a strike of six weeks in duration, the shoemakers accepted the terms of the manufacturers, and returned to their labor.

The presidential contest of this year was as exciting in Marblehead as elsewhere throughout the country. The question of the extension of slavery was now brought before the people for decision as it had never been before. Four candidates for the presidency were in the field, supported by as many different parties. But there is little need of a review of this subject here. The result is well known, and another chapter will treat of the part taken by the men of Marblehead in the civil war which followed.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE end of the year 1860 closed a quarter of a century of great industrial development in the history of Marblehead. For a period of fifty years previous to the year 1835, not a street or road was laid out in the town. Nearly every street was overcrowded with houses, and there were few vacant lots to be obtained in the settled portion of the township, that were considered available for building purposes. A general apathy seemed to have settled over the entire community. Those who owned land would not sell it for business enterprises or other purposes, and, as a natural consequence, there came to be little or no demand for it. In 1835, a new order of things was inaugurated. During that year, through the persistent efforts of Mr. Adoniram C. Orne, a road was laid out by the county commissioners, which may properly be called an extension of Pleasant Street. This road began at a point near the corner of Spring Street, and extended through a field known as the "tan yard," in which the "Brick Pond" was situated, into Washington Street. This was a great improvement, as previous to that time Pleasant Street opened into Washington Street through what is now known as Essex Street.

With the opening of the railroad to Salem, in 1839, an impetus was given to the manufacturing interests of the town, and an era of prosperity began. One of the first to avail themselves of the advantages presented by this ready means of transportation by rail, was Mr. Joseph R. Bassett, an energetic and enterprising young man who had established himself in the shoe business a few years before. As his business increased he built a factory near the depot, and

began to devise measures for the improvement of the town. But in those days the people of Marblehead were not easily convinced of the necessity of improvement, and Mr. Bassett was obliged to contend with the stubborn opposition and blind conservatism of his fellow-citizens. For years a twine factory or rope-walk had been situated in a field fronting on Washington Street, and a few feet back of this building there was a tan yard and a cordage factory. The only access to these buildings until another way was opened by the extension of Pleasant Street, was by means of a narrow foot path which led from Washington Street to a gate at the entrance to the pastures on "Reed's Hill." The first venture of the enterprising shoe manufacturer was to purchase the field in which the rope-walk stood, and in a short time the foot path was transformed into the street now known as School Street. The town refused to sanction his action, and would not accept the street after it was finished. He was not to be discouraged, however, and a short time after purchased the "Sewall Lot," through which a street was laid out from the Cornish and Evans estate to a point on "Reed's Hill." This street was accepted by the town in 1844, and has since been known as "Sewall Street." "Spring Street" was laid out during the following year, and was so named from a spring of pure water on the premises. Mr. Bassett's next movement was to lay out and build four streets over Reed's Hill, and in that vicinity.

The question which now perplexed the people was, "How could the house-lots on all these streets be sold, and by whom would they be purchased?" The problem was soon solved. On every street that he had laid out Mr. Bassett began to build neat and comfortable cottages, agreeing to furnish those of his workmen who purchased them with constant employment, and to deduct a certain proportion from their earnings every week, until the houses and lots were paid for. This proposition was readily accepted by many of his workmen; and in a few years the entire sec-

tion in the vicinity of the new streets was covered with houses.

Though actively engaged in enterprises which were to a greater or less extent of a public nature, Mr. Bassett did not neglect his own business. With the keen foresight of a shrewd business man, he made use of every new invention as it appeared, and the effect was soon apparent in the increasing proportions of his business. In 1844 he introduced the first sewing-machine ever used in the town. It was used for stitching uppers, Miss Hannah Johnson, a young woman at work in his factory, being the first operator. Previous to this time, all the shoes manufactured in town had been made entirely by hand. With the introduction of the sewing-machine other possibilities were suggested and the idea was conceived of using it for binding shoes as well as stitching them. The work was at first performed by stitching the binding on one side of the upper with the machine, and then turning it over and sewing it down on the other side by hand. This was not a very satisfactory method, however, and finally Mr. Bassett succeeded in inventing a "binding attachment" for the machine. The "binder," as it was called, was made from an old pewter spoon which had been filed and bent into the requisite shape. But it performed its work well, and was as successful as if made from some more pretentious material.

During the year 1847, Mr. Bassett erected a steam saw-mill on the shore in the section known as the ship-yard. This was for the manufacture of wooden shoe-boxes; but it had an effect little dreamed of, even by its sanguine projector. The necessity of a good road to the mill suggested the laying out of streets, and the founding of a new settlement. The idea was speedily put in execution. A large tract of land in the vicinity was purchased, and Commercial Street, the two streets running parallel with it, and the cross streets intervening, were laid out. Two years later, the street leading over the hill, known as "Prospect Street," was laid out.



The growth of the settlement in this section was hardly less rapid than that of those near the depot and on "Reed's Hill." As before, houses were erected and sold to workingmen at reasonable prices, and in a short time there was a village of comfortable homes where once had been vacant fields and pasture lands.

It is unnecessary to write of the large buildings erected in the vicinity of the depot during these and the years that followed. We have already, perhaps, devoted too much space to the doings of one man. But it should be remembered that to him, more than to any other person, the citizens of Marblehead are indebted for the growth and industrial development of their community. During the great panic of 1857 he was the only manufacturer who did not close his factory. Hundreds of workingmen were thrown out of employment, and in their extremity all looked to him. He employed them all, nearly the entire laboring population, and by his persistent energy averted the suffering and distress that otherwise must have been inevitable.<sup>1</sup>

It is a difficult task to write of men still living. Their mistakes, their weaknesses, and their faults are brought prominently to view even in praising their virtues; and few men have lived who have not made enemies. So, perhaps, with this man. He has undoubtedly made mistakes, been guilty of indiscretions, and shown many grievous faults. But with these we have nothing to do. The record of his career while a resident of Marblehead bears evidence that he has not lived for himself alone, and it is ours only to recognize in him the public-spirited citizen who did what he could for the good of the community.

There were other manufacturers who were contemporaries with Mr. Bassett, during all these years. Of some of them we have already written, and space will permit mention of but two of the principal firms. These were the Messrs. William T. Haskell & Co., and Joseph Harris & Sons.

<sup>1</sup> He had 700 hands at work.

The founders of both these firms began business as poor men. It is said of Mr. Haskell that he obtained the money with which he established his business by a fortunate rise in the price of wood. He was a clerk in his father's grocery store, and one day a coaster with a load of wood arrived in the harbor, and the owner, after vainly endeavoring to sell his load, turned it over to young Haskell, telling him that all the money he could obtain for it over a certain amount should be his own. Shortly after, there was a scarcity of wood in the market, and the load was sold for a good price. With the capital thus obtained, the young man at once began the manufacture of shoes. His first place of business was in a building on the corner of Front and State streets. He subsequently removed to a building on Washington Street, near the "Lee Mansion," and finally to a small building on Pleasant Street, which was enlarged from time to time as his business increased. In this building he conducted his business during the remainder of the period of his residence in Marblehead.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Haskell was eminently successful as a business man. By his energy and perseverance he built up an industry which gave employment to hundreds of his fellow-citizens, and brought to him a rich reward.

Mr. Joseph Harris, the founder of the firm of Joseph Harris & Sons, began business in the year 1841. His workshop was an upper chamber of his dwelling-house on Harris's Court, where for years he conducted his business. The sons of Mr. Harris, of whom he had a large family, entered heartily and with the utmost sympathy into all the plans he projected. With untiring industry they toiled, making all the shoes manufactured by their father, until, by rigid economy and self-denial, they laid the foundation of a successful business. As the business increased, a large number of workmen were employed, and a factory was erected on Pleasant Street. This building was enlarged from time to

<sup>1</sup> He removed his business to Lynn in 1861.

time, until it became one of the largest shoe manufactories in the town.

The shoes manufactured in Marblehead during the period of which we write, were made almost entirely outside the factories. The uppers were cut under the supervision of a foreman in these buildings; but this was about the only portion of the work performed there. The shoes were generally given out in sets of thirty-six and seventy-two pairs each, to be stitched and bound by the deft hands and nimble fingers of the young women. The homes in the old town were "hives of industry" in those days, and presented a most cheerful appearance. Having first performed their regular daily duties as beseemed good housekeepers, the mother and her daughters were accustomed to sit down with their work-baskets and prepare the uppers which were to be made into shoes by the father and brothers. In some instances, too, the happy laugh and merry song of the maiden proved that the shoes she bound were for the hands of some one dearer than a brother. These were exceptional cases, however, for generally, when prepared, the uppers were carried to the factory, from whence they found their way in company with soles and thread and lasts into the small shops with which the town abounded. Once there, the various parts began to assume shape. The soles were wet and "skived" and "rounded on"; — they had no patterns then; — the "stiffenings" were wet and "skived" and pasted in; the upper was lasted to the soles and sewed; the shoe was dried and turned and beat out; the edges were properly blacked and "slicked;" the bottoms were scraped and sand-papered and chalked; the sole linings were pasted in; the shoes were strung into pairs, and the set was finished. This work was all performed by one man, but it took several days, perhaps a week, to do it. The shoes were then neatly packed in a basket and returned to the factory, when the work, if satisfactory, was paid for, and another lot was given.

Has it ever occurred to the reader that the little shops, with their groups of six or eight workmen, were educational institutions? Perhaps not; but they were, nevertheless, and their influence was hardly less apparent than that of the public schools. The shoemakers of Marblehead were generally men of very limited education; yet they were men of sound judgment, and were well informed upon all the great political questions of the day. This was from their constant practice of having the newspapers read to them while at their work. Sometimes the editorials and speeches provoked a partisan discussion, when both sides of the question at issue were ably argued. Nor were the newspapers the only sources of information of which they availed themselves. Books of history, biography, and travel found their way into the shops occasionally, and were read to willing auditors, perchance by some school-boy, delighted at the prominence which the opportunity gave him.

With the introduction of the sewing-machine, the division of labor and the factory system began. This has had the effect to abolish nearly all outside labor. It was very gradual in its growth, beginning first with having a certain proportion of the uppers stitched or bound in the factory. Then, in 1859, came the McKey sewing-machine, introduced by Mr. Bassett for sewing uppers to the soles. Compo work began at about the same time; but as only the first of these innovations had made very great progress in the town in the year of our Lord 1860, let us leave the new system to a later period for consideration.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE opening of the year 1861 found the people of the United States excited as they had never been before, over the questions of slavery and State sovereignty. The presidential contest of 1860, which was unequaled in the history of the country for the sectional prejudice manifested by the pro-slavery advocates of the South, and the anti-slavery men of the North, had resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, the candidate of the Republican party. From the well-known principles of his party, it was presumed that the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration would be to oppose the extension of slavery into the territories. The result of the election produced the most intense excitement throughout the slave-holding States. On the 20th of December the State of South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession from the Union; and this action was followed in rapid succession by the States of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. On the 4th of February, 1861, a convention of delegates from the seceding States was held at Montgomery, Ala., and a provisional government was formed under the style of the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was afterward chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-president.

Such was the condition of public affairs when, on the 4th of March, President Lincoln was inaugurated. Seven States had already severed their connection with the Union, and others were evidently on the verge of adopting the ordinance of secession.

For several months the seceding States had been making

active and warlike preparations. Nearly all the United States forts and arsenals within the boundaries of these States had been seized and fortified, and a large proportion of the arms, ammunition, and military stores belonging to the General Government were in their possession. On the 12th of April, General Beauregard, commanding the Confederate forces at Charleston, S. C., opened fire on Fort Sumpter, a United States garrison commanded by Major Robert Anderson, in the harbor of that city. Major Anderson and the small force under his command fought nobly in defense of their flag ; but at length, after sustaining a bombardment which continued two days without cessation, while their fort was on fire, and the magazines were beginning to explode about them, they were obliged to surrender and evacuate.

The news of the fall of Fort Sumpter aroused the entire North to action. The great civil war which had so long been threatened could no longer be averted, and in every town and hamlet, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the people rose as one man to defend the integrity of the Union.

On the 15th of April, President Lincoln issued his first proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand militia for a three months' service. The news was received in Marblehead late in the afternoon of that day, and the three militia companies were at once notified by their respective commanders to be in readiness to take the early morning train for Boston. These companies were: The Marblehead Sutton Light Infantry, Company C, Eighth Regiment, commanded by Capt. Knott V. Martin; the Lafayette Guards, Company B, Eighth Regiment, commanded by Capt. Richard Phillips; and the Glover Light Guards, Company H, Eighth Regiment, commanded by Capt. Francis Boardman.

The morning of Tuesday, the 16th of April, broke cold and stormy. Notwithstanding the rain and sleet which rendered the cold weather uncomfortable in the extreme, the streets of Marblehead were filled with an excited throng

of people. Wives and mothers and fathers and children were represented there in the dense crowd, all anxious to speak a farewell word to the soldiers on their departure. The first companies to leave town were those commanded by Captains Martin and Boardman, which marched to the depot and took the half-past seven o'clock train for Boston. Captain Phillips' company took the train which left Marblehead about an hour and a half later.

As the trains slowly left the depot, the cheers of the assembled multitude were reëchoed by the soldiers in the cars. "God bless you!" "Good-by!" resounded on all sides; and it was not until the last car had disappeared in the distance, that the great crowd began to disperse.

Of the arrival of the Marblehead companies in Boston, in response to the President's call for troops, there is little need for us to write. The testimony of such eminent witnesses as Adjutant-general Schouler, and General E. W. Hinks, cannot be disputed, and we quote it *verbatim*.

"There has been some controversy in military circles," wrote General Schouler, "as to which company can claim the honor of first reaching Boston. I can answer, that the first were the three companies of the Eighth Regiment belonging to Marblehead, commanded by Captains Martin, Phillips, and Boardman. I had been at the State House all night; and, early in the morning, rode to the arsenal at Cambridge, to ascertain whether the orders from headquarters, to send in arms, ammunition, overcoats, and equipments, had been properly attended to. Messengers had also been stationed at the different depots, with orders for the companies, on their arrival, to proceed at once to Faneuil Hall, as a northeasterly storm of sleet and rain had set in during the night, and had not abated in the morning. On my return from Cambridge, I stopped at the Eastern Railroad depot. A large crowd of men and women, notwithstanding the storm, had gathered there, expecting the arrival of troops. Shortly after eight o'clock, the train arrived with

the Marblehead companies. They were received with deafening shouts from the excited throng. The companies immediately formed in line, and marched by the flank directly to Faneuil Hall, the fifes and drums playing "Yankee Doodle," the people following and shouting like madmen, and the rain and sleet falling piteously if to abate the ardor of the popular welcome. And thus it was the Marblehead men entered Faneuil Hall on the morning of the 16th of April."<sup>1</sup>

The testimony of General Hinks, who at the breaking out of the war was Lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Regiment, is interesting as an important historical statement, and is as follows:—

"On Monday, April 15, 1861, at quarter-past two o'clock, in reply to an offer of my services made in the morning of that day, I received from Governor Andrew a verbal command to summon the companies of the Eighth Regiment, by his authority, to rendezvous at Faneuil Hall at the earliest possible hour. Leaving Boston on the half-past two o'clock train, I proceeded to Lynn, and personally notified the commanding officers of the two companies in that city, and from thence telegraphed to Captain Bartlett, at Newburyport, and Captain Centre, of Gloucester, and then drove to Beverly, and summoned the company there; and from thence hastened to Marblehead, where I personally notified the commanding officers of the three Marblehead companies. I found Captain Martin in his slaughter-house, with the carcass of a hog, just killed, and in readiness for the "scald." On communicating to the captain my orders, I advised him to immediately cause the bells of the town to be rung, and to get all the recruits he could. Taking his coat from a peg, he seemed for a moment to hesitate about leaving his business unfinished, and then turned to me, and with words of emphatic indifference in regard to it, put the garment on, with his arms yet stained with blood and his shirt-sleeves

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts in the Civil War*, p. 50.



but half rolled down, and with me left the premises to rally his company.

“On Tuesday, April 16, I was directed to remain on duty at Faneuil Hall, and during the forenoon the following named companies arrived there and reported for duty, to wit : —

“1. Companies C, Eighth Regiment, forty muskets, Capt. Knott V. Martin, and H, Eighth Regiment, Capt. Francis Boardman, both of Marblehead, which place they left at half-past seven o'clock A. M., and arrived in Boston at about nine o'clock.

“2. Company D, Fourth Regiment, thirty-two muskets, Sergt. H. F. Wales, of Randolph, left home about nine o'clock, and arrived at about ten A. M.

“3. Company B, Eighth Regiment, forty muskets, Capt. Richard Phillips, of Marblehead, left home at nine o'clock, and arrived in Faneuil Hall about eleven A. M. . . .”

“The above is substantially a true record, as will appear by reference to the files of the ‘Journal’ of that date, and is prompted only by a desire to do justice to Captain Martin and the patriotic men of Marblehead, who, on the outbreak of the Rebellion, were the first to leave home, the first to arrive in Boston, and subsequently, under my command, the first to leave the yard of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, to repair and relay the track in the march through Maryland to relieve the beleaguered capitol of the Nation.”

On the morning after the departure of the companies, thirty more men left Marblehead to join them. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the town, and men everywhere were ready and anxious to enlist. Of the patriotic spirit of the people, no better evidence can be given than that contained in the reply of Governor Andrew to a gentleman who asked him if any more men would be needed. “For heaven’s sake,” replied the governor, “don’t send any more men from Marblehead, for it is imposing on your goodness to take so many as have already come !”

The citizens were not less prompt to act than those who had rallied for the defense of the nation. On the 20th of April, a town meeting was held to provide for the families of the soldiers, and the old town hall was crowded to repletion. Mr. Adoniram C. Orne was chosen moderator. The venerable town clerk, Capt. Glover Broughton, a veteran of the War of 1812, was there beside the moderator, his hands tremulous with emotion, awaiting the action of his fellow-citizens. "It was voted that the town treasurer be authorized to hire the sum of five thousand dollars, to be distributed for the relief of the families of those who have gone or are going to fight the battles of their country." A committee of five persons was chosen to repair to the assessors' room, and report the names of ten persons to act as distributors of the fund. The town was divided into districts, and the following gentlemen were chosen as a distributing committee, namely: Messrs. Thomas Main, John J. Lyon, Frederick Robinson, William Courtis, William Litchman, Stephen Hathaway, Jr., James J. H. Gregory, John C. Hamson, Jr., Richard Tutt, Joshua O. Bowden.

No resolutions were adopted. The times called for *action*, and "*Factis non verbis*" was the motto of the hour. But human nature must find some vent for enthusiasm, and we are informed in the records, by the faithful clerk, that "three cheers were then given." They probably shook the building, for genuine Marbleheaders are blessed with strong lungs, and can never cheer by rule.

The patriotism of the ladies of Marblehead at this time, and throughout the entire period of the war, cannot be overestimated. With loving hearts and willing hands, they contributed their time, their labor, and their money for the benefit of those who had gone forth to battle. The work of some was of a public nature, and the deeds of these are recorded; but the only record of hundreds who worked quietly in their own homes was written on the grateful hearts of the soldiers for whom they labored.

On the 22d of April a meeting of the ladies was held at the town hall, and a Soldiers' Aid Society was organized. The object was to perform such work as was necessary for the comfort of the soldiers, and to furnish articles of clothing, medicines, and delicacies for use in the hospitals. Mrs. Maria L. Williams was elected president. That lady subsequently resigned, and Mrs. Margaret Newhall became president, and Mrs. Mary M. Oliver, secretary.

On the following day, eighteen ladies met at the Sewall Grammar School-house, on Spring Street, and organized a committee to solicit money for the benefit of the soldiers. The following are the names of the ladies who composed this committee:—

Miss Mary E. Graves, *President*.

Miss Mary A. Alley, *Secretary*.

Miss Mary L. Pitman, *Treasurer*.

Mrs. Mary Glover.	Miss Hannah J. Woodfin.
Mrs. Hannah Hidden.	Miss Lizzie Cross.
Miss Harriet Newhall.	Miss Mary A. Cross.
Miss Tabitha Trefry.	Mrs. Hannah Doak.
Mrs. Hannah J. Hathaway.	Miss Alicia H. Gilley.
Mrs. John F. Harris.	Miss Carrie Paine.
Miss Amy K. Prentiss.	Miss Mary E. Homan.
Miss Sarah E. Sparhawk.	

In less than one week from the time of their organization the ladies of this committee had collected the sum of \$508.17. The teachers of the public schools generously contributed six per cent. of their salaries for the year in aid of the object; and there was a disposition manifested by the people generally, to give *something*, however small the amount.

Stirring reports were now received from the companies at the seat of war. The blockading of the railroad to Baltimore by the Secessionists; the seizure of the steamer Maryland; and the saving of the old frigate Constitution, in which their fathers fought so valiantly, caused the hearts of the people to swell with pride, as they related the

story one to another. The men of Captain Boardman's company were the first to board "Old Ironsides," and a delegation of them helped to man her on the voyage to New York. The sufferings of their soldier boys, who were obliged to eat pilot bread baked in the year "1848," brought tears to the eyes of many an anxious mother. But the tears were momentary only, and the sufferings of the boys were forgotten in the joy that Marblehead soldiers had been permitted to lead the advance on the memorable march to Annapolis Junction and to relay the track which had been torn up to prevent the passage of the troops. The arrival of the troops in Washington; the new uniforms furnished in place of those worn out in eight days; and the quartering of soldiers in the United States Capitol Building, was all related in the letters that came home.

Some of these letters were so full of patriotic sentiment that they should be preserved to testify of the spirit of the men of Marblehead who participated in the struggle for national life. We have space only for one of these, which is quoted in full because it is so characteristic of the heroic old veteran who wrote it.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON CITY, *April* 27, 1861.

*"Dear Sir:* We arrived in Washington yesterday after a great deal of hardship and privation, living for thirty-six hours at a time on one small loaf to a man; water a great part of the time very scarce, and not of a very good quality. But the men bore it almost without a murmur. The Eighth Regiment had the honor of taking the noble old frigate Constitution out of the dock at Annapolis, and placing her out of the reach of the Secessionists. The Eighth came from Annapolis to Washington, in company with the New York Seventh, — God bless them. They shared with us their last morsel; and the two regiments together have laid railroad tracks, built bridges, run steam-engines, and contracted

an eternal friendship, which has been cemented by deeds of daring for each other. We have encamped in corn-fields, on railroad embankments, with one eye open while sleeping; and have opened R. R. communication between Annapolis and Washington, for all troops which may hereafter want to pass that way.

“Give my love to all friends of the Stars and Stripes, and my eternal hatred to its enemies.

“Yours respectfully,

“KNOTT V. MARTIN.

“To Wm. B. BROWN, Esq.”

During the latter part of April, active measures were taken to recruit another company to join those already in the field. In a few days the “Mugford Guards,” a full company of fifty-seven men, was organized, and Captain Benjamin Day was commissioned as commander. Every effort was made to get the new company in readiness for departure as soon as possible. The men were without uniforms, and the school teachers at once voted to furnish the materials for making them, at their own expense. Mr. John Marr, the local tailor, offered his services as cutter, and they were gratefully accepted. On Sunday, May 5, the ladies of the Soldiers Aid Society, with a large number of others, assembled at Academy Hall, and industriously worked throughout the entire day and evening to make up the uniforms.

On the following day, the town voted to appropriate the sum of \$400 to furnish the company with comfortable and necessary clothing.

On the 7th of June another meeting was held, and the town voted to borrow a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars, to be applied by the selectmen in aid of the families of volunteers.

On Sunday, June 23, the Mugford Guards attended divine service at St. Michael's Church. After an address by

the rector, the Rev. Edwin B. Chase, each man in the company was made the recipient of a copy of the "Book of Common Prayer."

On the morning of Monday, June 24, the new company took its departure for the "seat of war." The soldiers were escorted to the entrance of the town by the Mugford Fire Association and a large concourse of citizens. Almost the entire community assembled in the streets to say "farewell," and to bid them "God speed." On arriving at the locality known as the "Work-house Rocks," the procession halted, and the soldiers were addressed by William B. Brown, Esq., in behalf of the citizens.

"It may soon be," said Mr. Brown, in conclusion, "that yours will be the only entire company to represent the town of Marblehead, for our men who now represent her, though willing and anxious to continue in the service, must give way, we are told, to the hosts which are everywhere uprising and claiming a partnership in the glorious work of redeeming the land. Be it so, if it must be; they have already proved their lineage, and have shown the jewels of bravery and patriotism, as undimmed in our crown through years of peace and plenty as when set there by Mugford, Glover, Tucker, Gerry, and Orne. They have added new glory to the grand old flag for which they fought, while they gathered inspiration from its grace, its beauty, and its history. You are to follow them, and for a longer time! God only knows how long! And the hour is about to strike which shall summon you away. We offer you gladly, though in tears, on the altar of our country, — another wreath from among us, along with the myriads of garlands laid there in unalterable devotion to Liberty, Union, and Law. May no flower or leaf be withered in weakness or cowardice, no sirocco of passion or sensuality blast its beauty or blemish its perfume; but may it be a 'joy forever,' that we may hang it up in the chambers of our remembrance on your return, as a memorial that every member of this company was constant to the cause, was manly and brave. . . ."

“ But if the fortunes of war — always dark and uncertain — keep some of you back forever, we will take courage from your example, and stronger than ever stand by the Union which, from the day of its birth until now, has rained blessings on us all. The muster-roll of your gallant band is written on all our hearts. Not a man of you shall be forgotten, nor shall the loved ones you leave behind be neglected. Every name shall be cherished in the fond hope of return and reunion; and if any comes not back again, we will write them on the virgin leaves of the history we all love and honor, we will recount them to the future as proofs of your supreme devotion to Liberty, and as pledges that the sons of Marblehead shall be true to her forever.”<sup>1</sup>

Captain Day, in reply, expressed the most patriotic sentiments in behalf of the company.

The soldiers embarked for Boston in wagons which were in waiting, and departed amid the deafening cheers of the citizens.

On Thursday, August 1, the three Marblehead companies arrived home. Arrangements had been made to give them an enthusiastic welcome. At three o'clock in the afternoon a procession was formed, consisting of the Marblehead Band, the “ Home Guards,” the boards of town officers, the entire fire department, and the scholars of the public schools. An interesting feature of the procession was thirteen young ladies, representing the original States, wearing white dresses, and red, white, and blue veils. The arrival of the train bringing the soldiers was announced by the ringing of bells, the

<sup>1</sup> It is but just to state in this connection, that every promise made by Mr. William B. Brown to the soldiers has been — so far as he is himself concerned — sacredly fulfilled. For the past eighteen years he has assiduously devoted his time and attention, during the hours usually taken by men of business for rest and recreation, to the service of invalid veterans of the war, and the families of those who were killed in battle, or died from diseases contracted in the army or navy. Hundreds of men, women, and children have reason to bless his name for the pensions and State aid obtained through his disinterested efforts. He has received no remuneration for his services, save the love and veneration of the people of his native town.

firing of guns, and the joyful acclamations of the people. They were received at the depot at about six o'clock P. M., and escorted to the "Town House," where an address of welcome was delivered by Jonathan H. Orne, Esq., a member of the board of selectmen.

On the afternoon of the following day, the veterans were given a grand reception. The procession was again formed, and they were escorted about town to Fort Sewall, where a dinner was served.

Shortly after the return of the companies, Capt. Knott V. Martin resigned as commander of the Sutton Light Infantry, and recruited a company for the Twenty-third Regiment. More than half the members of this company were enlisted in Marblehead. They left for the seat of war during the month of November.

On the 21st of December the town voted to appropriate the sum of three thousand dollars in aid of the families of volunteers.

The news of the splendid triumph of General Burnside in his expedition against North Carolina, resulting in the capture of Roanoke Island on the 8th of January, 1862, sent a thrill of exultation through every loyal heart in the country. But the joy of the people of Marblehead was turned to grief by the news that three of their bravest citizens had fallen in the battle. These were Lieut. John Goodwin, Jr., Sergt. Gamaliel H. Morse, and Private John Shaw, of Company B, Twenty-third Regiment. Messrs. Goodwin and Shaw were killed instantly; but Mr. Morse was mortally wounded and died after several days of severe suffering.

Just one month from the date of the battle of Roanoke Island, the famous battle took place between the United States frigates Cumberland and Congress, and the Confederate Ram Merrimac, in Hampton Roads, Virginia. After an engagement of fifteen minutes the Merrimac ran into the Cumberland, crushing in her side. The frigate immediately began to sink. Over one hundred of the seamen on board



the ill-fated vessel went down in her and found a watery grave. One of the bravest of the heroes who lost their lives in this engagement was William B. Hubbard, of Marblehead. He was captain of one of the guns on board the Cumberland. When the ship was sinking, and death stared them in the face, the first thought of many was naturally that of self-preservation. Not so with Hubbard. His powder-boy had become frightened and could not be found. "I am determined to have one more shot at them!" cried the gallant Hubbard, and immediately went below to procure ammunition. On his return, as he approached his gun to reload it, a shot from the enemy laid him on the deck. He went down with the ship, nobly dying at his post.

Among the crew of the Cumberland were David Bruce and John Hazel, of Marblehead. Nathaniel Roundey and John Flemming were on board the Congress throughout the action.

Late in the month of April, the citizens received the precious bodies of their earliest dead, the first slain in battle. Then, for the first time, they realized the magnitude of the sacrifice to be made. Only the life-blood of their best and bravest could preserve the institutions for which their fathers fought. The funeral services over the bodies of Messrs. Goodwin and Morse took place on Thursday, April 24, at the Unitarian Church.<sup>1</sup> The services consisted of singing by the choir, prayer by the Rev. George W. Patch, and an address by the Rev. Samuel R. Calthrop, pastor of the church. The remains were accompanied to their last resting-place in the New Burying Ground, by the three companies of the Eighth Regiment belonging in Marblehead, and a large concourse of people.

It is seldom that heroes are so honored as were these dead soldiers. His excellency, John A. Andrew, the war Governor of Massachusetts, was there in the procession, accompanied by Adjutant-general Schouler, and the members

<sup>1</sup> The body of Mr. Shaw was not brought home.

of his staff. Major-general Sutton, and the field and staff officers of the Eighth Regiment were also in attendance.

On the 2d of July President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand more volunteers to serve for three years, or during the war. In accordance with this call the most earnest efforts were made to procure recruits from Marblehead. On the 19th of July the town voted to offer a bounty of \$100 to every man who would volunteer on the quota of the town; and Captains Richard Phillips, Samuel C. Graves, Francis Boardman, Messrs. Samuel Roads and John Goodwin, were chosen a committee to assist the selectmen in recruiting.

On the 31st of July the town treasurer was authorized to hire the sum of \$14,400, to be used as bounties for volunteers in sums of \$100 each. A committee was chosen to wait upon the governor and request him to appoint an additional recruiting agent. On the 1st of August Governor Andrew issued the following permission to recruit:—

“In consequence of the request of the town of Marblehead, made by a legal town meeting held yesterday, — a copy of the record of which is handed me, attested by the town clerk, — I appoint at the nomination of the other gentlemen who came to represent the town, Samuel Roads, Esq., additional recruiting agent for Marblehead. He will coöperate with the town's committee, and use his influence to forward the enlistment; and I ask the good people of Marblehead to support and help him with all their hearts and hands.”

Mr. Roads at once established his headquarters at an office on Washington Street, opposite the head of Hooper Street, and the enlistment progressed rapidly. In a short time, sixty-nine men had enrolled themselves for a service of three years, or during the war. Of these, thirty-two were assigned to the Tenth Battery, then recruiting at Lynnfield; ten to the Thirty-second Regiment; eight to the Seventeenth Regiment; seven to the Twenty-third Reg-

iment; and the others were distributed among the First Massachusetts Cavalry, and the Twentieth, Twenty-fourth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Regiments.

On Tuesday, August 26, the town voted to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars, "for each volunteer enlisting in the service of the United States for a period of nine months, until the quota of the town shall be full." It was also voted to "request all shoe manufacturers, all storekeepers, and all others to close their places of business each day during the remainder of the week, from two o'clock P. M. to six o'clock P. M.; and that all citizens be entreated to abstain from customary labor during these hours, and assist the authorized agent in procuring recruits." It was ordered that the bells be rung each day from two o'clock to three o'clock P. M. The Marblehead Band was invited to be present at the town hall, and give their services during the hour in which the bells were to be rung.

On the 27th of September another meeting was held, at which it was voted to pay the sum of one hundred dollars as a bounty to every volunteer enlisting over and above the quota of the town, for a service of nine months. This action was intended for the benefit of the two Marblehead companies, the Sutton Light Infantry, and the Lafayette Guards. A vote was also passed restricting each company to the number of eighty-four men. The company known as the Glover Light Guards was disbanded shortly after its return from the three months' campaign, in consequence of the enlistment of a large proportion of its members in the various three years' regiments.

On the 25th of November, the Sutton Light Infantry, under command of Capt. Samuel C. Graves, and the Lafayette Guards, under command of Capt. Richard Phillips, left the State with the other companies of the Eighth Regiment, for Newbern, N. C.

The town had made generous provision for the families of soldiers from time to time, since the beginning of the war.

As the proportion of citizens who were absent in the army and navy increased, additional appropriations were found necessary, and in March, 1863, the treasurer was authorized to hire the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars for this purpose.

In the spring of 1863, Congress authorized a draft to obtain reënforcements for the army. A provost-marshal was appointed for each State, with an assistant in every congressional district. Mr. Daniel H. Johnson was appointed marshal of the Essex District, with headquarters at Salem. A board was also established to make an enrollment of all the men in the State between the ages of twenty and forty-five years. In May, Messrs. John C. Hanson and Thomas Swasey were appointed enrollment officers for Marblehead, with instructions to return the names of all persons enrolled to the assistant provost-marshal, on or before the first day of July. The town was divided into two districts for the purpose of enrollment, one being on the north side of Washington Street, and the other on the south side. After a thorough canvass of the town, the enrollment officers reported the names of over twelve hundred citizens of Marblehead between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, and therefore subject to conscription.

The draft took place at Lyceum Hall, in Salem, on the afternoon of July 10, in the presence of a large and deeply interested audience. The names of one hundred and eighty citizens of Marblehead were drawn from the box. Of these, a large proportion were exempted by the examining surgeons on account of physical disability, or other causes. Many procured substitutes, and others paid the commutation fee of three hundred dollars. A very few — not more than twenty, it is said — of the number originally drafted, were mustered into the United States service.

The draft was one of the most unpopular acts of President Lincoln's administration. In New York the attempt to enforce the order caused a serious riot; and only the

prompt and decisive action of the governor and the adjutant-general prevented a similar outbreak in the city of Boston.

When the war broke out old Fort Sewall was in ruins. The exposed condition of the harbor, and the fact that Confederate gun-boats were cruising about the coast, caused the citizens to turn their attention to the fortification of the town. At a town meeting held on the 15th of August, it was voted to appropriate the sum of \$4,000 to be paid to laborers employed upon the repairs of Fort Sewall. This sum was sufficient to pay each of the laborers fifty cents a day, which, with one dollar and twenty-five cents paid by the government, gave them a fair remuneration for their labor. In a short time, Fort Sewall was thoroughly repaired and considerably enlarged. The government also erected two other fortifications, one at the head of the harbor overlooking River Head Beach and the Neck, known as "Fort Glover," and another on Naugus Head, overlooking Salem Harbor, known as "Fort Miller." All three forts were garrisoned by companies from other parts of the State until the end of the war.

On the Fourth of July, 1864, Congress passed an act authorizing the enlistment of recruits for the Union army in the insurgent States. The Governor of Massachusetts at once adopted measures to procure a portion of these recruits for the benefit of the State; and on the 23d of July, the town of Marblehead voted to deposit the sum of \$5,000 with the treasurer of the Commonwealth for the purpose of obtaining a portion of these recruits to serve on the quota of the town. The town also voted to pay a bounty of \$125 to every recruit enlisting on its quota.

On the 24th of July, the Eighth Regiment, which had returned from the nine months' campaign several months before, again left the State for a service of one hundred days. The regiment at this time was under the command of Colonel Benjamin F. Peach, Jr., a Marblehead boy who had risen from the ranks. The "Sutton Light Infantry" took

its departure with the regiment. The "Lafayette Guards" subsequently left town as an unattached company, having been too late in recruiting to take its accustomed place in the regiment.

During the month of August the ladies of the Unitarian Society held a fair for the benefit of the soldiers. The citizens responded nobly, — as they had done to every patriotic appeal, — and the sum of \$1,500 was netted. Of this sum \$400 was given to the Sanitary Commission, and the balance was distributed among sick and wounded soldiers and the needy families of those in the army.

The desire to do something to alleviate the sufferings of those in the army was almost universal. Nearly every organization in town sent boxes of luxuries and medicines to the soldiers in camp. Early in the year the members of the Gerry Fire Association presented the sum of eighty-two dollars to the Soldiers' Aid Society, the proceeds of a dancing party held under their auspices. The members of Washington Lodge of Good Templars presented the sum of thirty-five dollars, the proceeds of a social party held at their hall. These donations were applied to the purchase of materials which were made up into quilts, comforters, and dressing-gowns for soldiers in the hospitals.

In November of this year the ladies of Marblehead supplied a table at a fair held in Boston for the benefit of sailors, and by their efforts alone the sum of \$1,300 was netted.

Shortly after the return of the Eighth Regiment from the one hundred days' campaign, Capt. Samuel C. Graves resigned as commander of the Sutton Light Infantry, and organized an unattached company. This company left town in February, 1865, and was stationed for some time at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. It was then ordered to Plymouth, Mass., where it remained several months after the close of the war.

We have written only of the companies actually organ-

ized or enlisted in Marblehead. But it is impossible to do otherwise. The history of the part taken by the men of Marblehead in the great civil war can never be fully written. They were in nearly every regiment that went from Massachusetts. In every battle of importance, from Bull Run to Appomattox Court House, they proved themselves worthy of their ancestors and of Marblehead.

Where all are brave, instances of individual heroism are seldom noticed. But the bravery of William Goss, "Hacker," as his companions called him, a private soldier from Marblehead, deserves special mention here. He was a member of the First Massachusetts Cavalry. At the battle of James's Island, S. C., in the summer of 1862, he was appointed an orderly to the Brigade Commander. During the impetuous charge upon Fort Johnston he had three horses shot from under him; but his courage was undaunted. After the battle, he was publicly thanked for his valorous conduct, and was honorably mentioned in the general orders of the Commander-in-chief.

There were other sons of Marblehead equally as brave; but their experience was not unlike that of thousands who suffered and died for the nation. With patient endurance, and the fortitude of martyrs, they drank to the dregs the bitter cup of war. Through the long and fatiguing marches, in the many hard-fought battles, and in the hopeless agony of life in the death-fostering prison-pens, they were manly and true. It is unnecessary to say more. By the self-sacrificing devotion of heroes like these, the nation was saved.

Throughout the entire period of the war, the news of every Union victory was announced to the people by the merry peal of the church bells of the town. On Saturday, April 8, 1865, news was received of the surrender of General Lee, at Richmond, Va., and the bells rang out the joyful tidings. The event, however, did not take place until the following day. On Monday, April 10, the citizens formed in procession, and, headed by a band of music,

marched through the principal streets to Lyceum Hall, where addresses of congratulation were delivered by Dr. Briggs, of Salem, and other speakers. In the evening many of the houses were illuminated, and beacon fires were lighted on the hills in honor of the great event.

The assassination of President Lincoln, on the night of April 14, gave a tragic ending to one of the greatest civil wars recorded in history. In Marblehead, as elsewhere throughout the country, every mark of respect was paid to the memory of the martyred President. On the day of the funeral many of the shoe manufactories, private residences, and other buildings, were appropriately draped in mourning: the church bells were tolled, and public services were held at the Baptist Church, where an address was delivered by the Rev. George W. Patch.

Though actual hostilities ceased in April, the soldiers who had enlisted for a service of three years were not discharged until June, when the war was considered as finally ended. On the 20th of that month, the people of Marblehead gave a reception to the members of the Tenth Massachusetts Battery, a large proportion of whom were citizens of the town. This battery had been engaged in all the most important battles of the army of the Potomac, and had become distinguished for efficiency and bravery.

On the 4th of December a reception was given to General Kilpatrick, who delivered an address on the steps of the town hall.

During the war, Marblehead furnished for the army and navy one thousand and forty-eight men, which was a surplus of ninety-one over and above all demands. Eight hundred and twenty-seven were in the military service, and two hundred and twenty-one were in the navy. Of these, one hundred and ten were killed in battle, or died from wounds and sickness, and eighty-seven were wounded, many of whom returned home only to die after months, and, in some instances, years of suffering.



The whole amount of money raised for war purposes by the town, exclusive of State aid, was \$139,725.

The sum of \$107,800.65 was raised by the town and paid to families of volunteers, as State aid, during the four years of the war. This sum was afterwards refunded by the Commonwealth.

NOTE. — One of the officers who are deserving of especial mention for the faithful performance of duty during the civil war, is Mr. James C. Graves, of Marblehead. He enlisted on board the United States ship *Ino*, August 23, 1861, as a first-class boy. Soon after, he was appointed paymaster's clerk on board the *Ino*, and subsequently held the same position on board the receiving ship *Ohio*, and the United States steamer *Albatross*. While attached to this steamer he was detailed to proceed to New Orleans for provisions. Returning on board the United States sloop-of-war *Richmond*, it was found that Admiral Farragut was blockaded by the enemy above Port Hudson. To establish communication with the fleet volunteers were called for, and Mr. Graves with several others responded and crossed a dangerous point then in possession of the enemy. The expedition was successfully conducted, though with great danger, the men being obliged to walk about two miles in water waist deep. For his participation in this expedition he was appointed to the position of assistant paymaster, and ordered to the United States steamer *Rodolph*. While attempting to engage a fort off Blakely River, near Mobile, Ala., a few days before the surrender of that city, April 1, 1865, the *Rodolph* was destroyed by a torpedo. Mr. Graves succeeded in saving all his books, papers, and money, and for this service received the thanks of the War Department. He was honorably discharged, May 2, 1867, after having served six consecutive years in the United States navy.

## CHAPTER XV.

THOUGH the citizens of Marblehead did not take so prominent a part in the naval service of the country, during the civil war, as in the wars against Great Britain, the record of those who enlisted is, as a whole, creditable to the town.

In the summer of 1861, Capt. Michael B. Gregory enlisted, and was assigned to duty at the Charlestown Navy-yard. After a service of several months, during which he was distinguished for his promptness and ability in fitting out government vessels, he was appointed to the command of the United States ship *R. B. Forbes*. This ship immediately sailed on a brief cruise along the Atlantic coast, after which Captain Gregory left the service and came home.

In September, Capt. Josiah P. Cressy, in command of the United States ship *Ino*, sailed on a cruise in the North Atlantic. The commander and eighty men of the crew were from Marblehead. In January, 1862, the *Ino* returned, and on the 19th of February sailed on a cruise to Cadiz. The passage was accomplished in a few hours over twelve days, being at that time the quickest ever known for a sailing vessel. From Cadiz, Captain Cressy sailed up the straits of Gibraltar, and there formed a blockade for the Confederate steamer *Sumpter*. He subsequently sailed to the island of Tangiers, Morocco, and captured two Confederate officers, who were made prisoners of war. They were sent to Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, in the bark *Harvest Moon*. Captain Cressy returned in June, 1862, and resigned his commission.

Early in the autumn of 1861, Capt. Samuel B. Gregory,

and his brother Capt. William D. Gregory, enlisted in the navy, and were assigned to duty on board the gunboat E. B. Hale, then lying in New York Harbor. While getting ready for sea, and daily expecting sailing orders, they were summarily dismissed from the service. An investigation proved that a few of their personal enemies in Marblehead had preferred charges of disloyalty against them to the secretary of the navy. Upon ascertaining the origin of these charges, the brothers at once returned to Marblehead.

Shortly after their arrival in town, a large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens, irrespective of party, was held at Lyceum Hall, and resolutions were adopted severely condemning the action of those who had preferred the charges, and expressing the confidence of the people in the integrity and loyalty of the injured officers. Armed with the record of this meeting, and with a petition signed by nearly every legal voter in Marblehead, the brothers proceeded to Washington, and were at once reinstated in the service. Their commissions were dated October 3, 1861, Capt. Samuel B. Gregory being assigned to the command of the United States steamer *Western World*, and Capt. William D. Gregory to the United States ship *Bohio*.

Both vessels had several Marblehead sailors on board. They sailed from New York Harbor on the 1st of January, 1862.

On the 7th of February, while cruising on the coast of Louisiana, Capt. William D. Gregory discovered a schooner sailing under a British flag. He immediately gave chase, and on overtaking the stranger found her to be the Confederate schooner *Eugenie Smith*, bound from Havana to Metamorras, with a valuable cargo of coffee, soap, dry goods, and other articles. She was put in charge of a prize-master, and sent to the United States District Court, at Key West, Fla. The officers and crew were placed on board the United States steamer *Rhode Island*, as prisoners of war.

Immediately after forwarding his prize to the proper au-

thorities, Captain Gregory sailed for the Southwest Pass, at the mouth of the Mississippi River, where he arrived late in the afternoon of Friday, March 7. On his arrival he was informed that the captain of a United States ship which arrived the day before, had fallen in with, and boarded a suspicious looking schooner sailing under an English flag and register; but after an examination of her papers had allowed her to proceed on her voyage.

Ascertaining the latitude and longitude in which the strange schooner had been seen, Captain Gregory obtained permission to cruise for her, and at eleven o'clock P. M. the *Bohio* was under way. At five o'clock the next morning a sail was discovered on the lee bow. All drawing sails were at once set on board the *Bohio*, and the captain gave directions to "keep off" for the stranger. Noticing that he was pursued, the commander of the strange vessel set all sails and an exciting chase ensued. The stranger proved to be a fast sailer, and it was with difficulty that the *Bohio* kept up with her. At eight o'clock A. M., a shot was fired from the *Bohio* with no effect. At noon, finding that the stranger was steadily out-sailing him, Captain Gregory resolved to capture her if possible, by stratagem. Several barrels were placed upon the deck, and upon these about twelve feet of stove-pipe were fastened for a smoke stack. The precaution having been taken to place sand in the bottom of the lower barrel, a fire was started with bits of rope, old junk, tar, and other materials, and in a short time the smoke began to pour out of the funnel in fine style. The men were constantly employed in wetting the sails, and as the wind filled them, and the speed of the ship increased, the stratagem had the desired effect. The schooner "hove to" at about two o'clock P. M., and surrendered. She proved to be the Confederate schooner *Henry Travers* of New Orleans, sailing under a British register.

The captain of the schooner stated that when he perceived the *Bohio* getting up steam, as he supposed, and saw

how fast she was gaining on him, he considered it useless to try to out sail a steamship. He therefore held a consultation with his officers, and was advised by his mate to surrender, "as the Yankees would certainly blow the schooner out of the water, after chasing her so far."

Captain Gregory cruised for several months in Mississippi Sound, capturing prizes, and effectively putting an end to blockade running in that vicinity. He continued in command of the *Bohio* until mid-summer, 1862, when he resigned and retired from the service.

The Marblehead sailors on board the *Bohio* were distinguished at all times for their daring and bravery. During the summer of 1863, the United States sloop-of-war *Preble*, lying in Pensacola Bay, was discovered to be on fire. The officers and crew were panic-stricken, and in their efforts to save the ship, seemed unconscious of their own peril. The fire was rapidly eating towards the powder magazine, which had been filled the day before, when a boat-load of men from the *Bohio* boarded the burning ship. With almost superhuman exertions they succeeded in extricating the crew from their perilous situation. In many instances they were obliged to push the men overboard to be picked up by the boats. Just as the last man was removed, the magazine exploded. The heroism displayed by the men of the *Bohio* was long the subject of conversation, and they were rewarded by the approbation of their officers, and the gratitude of the men whose lives they had preserved.<sup>1</sup>

During all this time, the armed steamer *Western World*, under command of Capt. Samuel B. Gregory, was doing effective service on the Southern coast. After leaving New York Harbor, in January, 1862, Captain Gregory was or-

<sup>1</sup> The Marblehead sailors engaged in this act of heroism were William P. Dinsmore, John H. Giles, Mason H. Sweet, Asa W. S. Rix, Daniel Dennis, and John Glynn. Mr. Dinsmore, who held the office of master's mate on board the *Bohio*, was returning home on board the transport *North America*, when she foundered at sea, December 22, 1864. He escaped, but lost all his clothing, and the entire amount of money received for his three years' service.

dered to proceed at once to Port Royal, S. C., where he arrived after a passage of six days. Three days after his arrival, the *Western World*, with four other gunboats, was ordered up St. Augustine River. On their arrival, they fell in with a Confederate fleet under Commodore Tatnall, and a spirited engagement took place. Little damage was done on either side; but the Union sailors succeeded in disconnecting the telegraph wires between the city of Savannah and Fort Pulaski, which was situated on a point at the mouth of Savannah River.

During the month of February, while arrangements were being made for the capture of Fort Pulaski, the *Western World* and the gunboat *E. B. Hale* were ordered to proceed up Mud River. On the 15th of the same month, they again fell in with the Confederate fleet under Commodore Tatnall. After a battle of an hour and a half in duration several of the rebel gunboats were crippled and the fleet was obliged to retreat.

Captain Gregory remained with his steamer in Mud River until the 10th of April, when the attack upon Fort Pulaski took place. After the battle he sailed down the river and his officers had the honor of raising the stars and stripes on the fort, the first time that honored emblem had waved there since the beginning of the war.

On returning to Port Royal, the *Western World* and three other gunboats were placed under command of Commander Prentiss, and ordered to Wingaw Bay. While there, they sailed on an expedition up the South Santee River, for the purpose of destroying the railroad bridge connecting Savannah with Richmond, Va. The river was very shoal, however, and they were obliged to abandon the enterprise. On their return, the enemy opened fire upon them from a battery which had been placed on Blake's Plantation, by the side of the river. The gunboats returned the fire, and a lively fight ensued. The enemy were at length driven off, but not until a large number of them had

been killed, and several men on board the gunboats had been wounded. The owner of the plantation was an Englishman by birth, and quite wealthy, owning about fourteen hundred slaves. During the skirmish, the slaves flocked to the banks of the river for protection, and about twelve hundred of them were taken on board the gunboats as "contrabands of war." On landing, the sailors set fire to the rice houses, which the enemy had used as a shelter during the attack. They also burned about seven hundred stacks of rice, containing about eight hundred bushels in each stack.

In September the *Western World* was ordered to Doboy Sound, Georgia, where there was about fifteen miles of coast to guard. A company of colored men was formed for picket duty, and stationed on an island in the Sound. During the month, this company was attacked by a company of Confederates, but with the aid of the marines, and a company of sailors from the *Western World*, the enemy were repulsed and driven from the island. In the engagement the captain of the colored company was killed.

While the *Western World* was on duty at Doboy Sound, the crew rose against the captain, and organized one of the most serious mutinies that took place during the entire period of the war. One evening late in the month of October, as Captain Gregory appeared on the spar deck of his steamer, he found nearly the entire crew of one hundred men assembled, and ready to receive him. He was informed that they refused to serve under him any longer, and desired the executive officer, Mr. Pettengill, for their commander. With rare presence of mind, Captain Gregory reminded them that he was in command of the steamer, and ordered them to return to their duty. Finding that they refused to obey him, he called the Marblehead sailors and a few others who had not joined the mutiny to his assistance, and stationed them as a guard in various parts of the steamer. He then read the law concerning mutiny, and after explaining its provisions, and the consequences attend-

ing its violation, requested all who were ready to return to their duty, to step "abaft the mainmast." To his surprise every man did as he requested. Nearly all the officers sympathized with the mutiny. When executive officer Pettengill was ordered to arm himself and assist the commander, he refused to obey. On being ordered a second time, he obeyed, but with great reluctance.

Ascertaining that Pettengill was the chief instigator of the mutiny, Captain Gregory placed him under arrest, and reported the case to Admiral Dupont. The *Western World* was at once ordered to Boston, where, in accordance with instructions from Admiral Dupont, charges were preferred against Pettengill, and forwarded to Washington. Pettengill was tried by a court-martial at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and convicted on all the charges. He was sentenced to suffer imprisonment for six months at hard labor, and at the expiration of his term of imprisonment to be dismissed from the service.

In March, 1863, the *Western World* was ordered to Newport News, Va., to join the squadron under command of Rear-admiral Lee. The steamer was then ordered to Guinn's Island, in the Piankatank River, for the purpose of intercepting blockade runners who were supplying the city of Richmond with flour and other articles. So effectively was this service performed, that nearly every blockade runner was captured, and the price of flour advanced in the city of Richmond from \$60 to \$140 per barrel. The suffering and inconvenience caused by the scarcity of breadstuffs at length became so great that Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, offered a reward for the capture of Samuel B. Gregory, commander of the United States steamer *Western World*. Influenced by this offer, and perhaps a desire to be revenged, a band of twelve men secreted themselves in ambush, and mistaking the commander of another United States gunboat for Captain Gregory, shot and killed him, as he was passing up the river in his gig.



The successful manner in which Captain Gregory controlled the mutiny on board the *Western World*, gave great satisfaction to his superior officers. When, therefore, the crew of the United States steamer *Perry* became mutinous, in the autumn of 1863, the secretary of the navy transferred him to the command of her. On taking command, Captain Gregory adopted a firm but conciliatory policy towards the crew, and in a short time they were working together in harmony. While cruising in this steamer about Murrell's Island, South Carolina, Captain Gregory discovered a schooner loading for the purpose of running the blockade. A boat's crew were at once dispatched to fire her, but their retreat was cut off by a company of Confederate Cavalry, and they were all taken prisoners.

Captain Gregory subsequently commanded the United States steamer *Pautumskey*; the iron double-propeller *Don*; and the steamer *Currituck*. In the last steamer he was stationed on the Potomac River until the close of the war.

The record of the services of this distinguished commander must close the history of Marblehead in the civil war. Like their brethren who served as privates in the army, the citizens of Marblehead who, as common sailors or inferior officers, helped to man the gunboats of the navy, were celebrated for their ability and the faithful performance of duty. We cannot follow them all. Suffice it to say, in the words of one who had many of them under his command: "They were smart and brave, and as true as steel."

## CHAPTER XVI.

DURING the war, and the years immediately following its close, the shoe business of Marblehead was in a more prosperous condition than it had ever been before. With the introduction of the McKay sewing machine, a division of labor became necessary, and the entire system of manufacturing shoes was revolutionized. All work was now performed in the factories, and instead of the old system under which boys were taught a thorough knowledge of shoemaking as a trade, they were taught simply to be proficient in some particular branch of the work.

By the improved method of manufacturing, thousands of cases of boots and shoes were made in a much shorter time than it had formerly taken to produce as many hundreds.

The divisions of labor increased also, with each new invention, until a single shoe in the process of construction passed through the hands of thirty-six different persons.

As the business increased, and became remunerative, the effect was apparent in the improved condition of the town. Large buildings were erected in the vicinity of the depot for manufacturing purposes, while handsome residences in various parts of the town gave evidence of the prosperity of the people.

Efforts had been made from time to time to establish more direct railroad communication between Marblehead and Boston. In 1847, William Fabens, Eben B. Phillips, Increase H. Brown, and their associates, were granted an act of incorporation as the "Marblehead and Lynn Branch Railroad Company." The route of the proposed road was from a point on South Street, in Marblehead, southwesterly

through the farms near the sea-shore, and westerly through the village of Swampscott, connecting with the Eastern Railroad at Lynn. The entire amount of the capital stock was not subscribed, however, and the project was abandoned.

The increasing prosperity of the town after the close of the war seemed to warrant another attempt, and in 1865, Messrs. John F. Harris, Jonathan H. Orne, and others, obtained a charter for the organization of a company. The project was received with favor by a majority of the citizens, and in September, 1866, the town voted to petition the legislature for the privilege of subscribing to the capital stock of the company. The permission was obtained; but with the provision that the credit of the town should not be granted in aid of the railroad except by a two thirds vote of a legal town meeting.

During the same year, the citizens of Swampscott petitioned the county commissioners to lay out an avenue from Swampscott to Marblehead, terminating at the Neck line. This measure was not popular in Marblehead, and as the advocates of the avenue were generally opponents of the railroad scheme, the result was a long and exciting controversy. Numerous town meetings were held to consider both subjects, and a committee was finally chosen to appear before the county commissioners and protest against the building of the avenue. In 1870, the commissioners ordered the town to build its portion of the road, and the sum of twelve thousand dollars was accordingly appropriated for the purpose.

The road was completed and opened for travel during the following year.

The conditions imposed by the legislature rendered it exceedingly difficult for the town to appropriate money in aid of the railroad. After several unsuccessful town meetings had been held, the requisite two thirds vote was obtained, and the sum of fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for

the purchase of five hundred shares of the capital stock. This action of the town was reconsidered at a subsequent meeting, and the motion was lost. Finally, in August, 1871, the town voted to issue its bonds to the amount of seventy-five thousand dollars, in aid of the construction and equipment of the railroad, receiving as collateral security the first mortgage bonds of the company. This vote was never carried into effect, however, as the Eastern Railroad Company undertook the construction of the road under the charter granted to the original petitioners.

During all these years of controversy the citizens had not been unmindful of other duties, nor had the period been wanting in important local events. New streets were laid out in various parts of the town, and great improvements were made by removing buildings and widening several of the older highways.<sup>1</sup>

During the year 1866 another hand-engine, known as the "M. A. Pickett," was added to the fire department. On the 27th of June, of the same year, a serious fire broke out on Prospect Street, destroying a brick rope-factory and several wooden buildings. In August, two other fires occurred, and several buildings on the wharves were destroyed.

On the night of February 5, 1867, the town narrowly escaped a destructive conflagration. A fire broke out in the shoe manufactory of Joseph Harris & Sons, on Pleasant Street, destroying the building, together with the Baptist Church and the dwelling-house of Increase H. Brown. The flames were communicated to several other buildings in the vicinity, but the fire was fortunately controlled before doing further damage.

The work of rebuilding began early in the spring. A commodious factory was erected by Messrs. Harris & Sons, on Elm Street, and the Baptist Society erected a new church

<sup>1</sup> Elm Street was widened in 1865, Gregory Street in 1868, and the corner of Pleasant and Washington Streets, by the removal of the "old Hinckley Building," in 1870.

on the site formerly occupied by their old house of worship. On the 14th of October, eight men at work on the new church edifice were thrown to the ground by the breaking away of a staging. One man was killed instantly, and another died from his injuries, after several days of extreme suffering.

The custom of decorating the graves of soldiers with flowers was observed in Marblehead for the first time on the 13th of June, 1868, under the auspices of the "Soldiers' and Sailors' Union League." Nearly every organization in town participated in the procession. The exercises, which took place on the Common, consisted of an oration by William B. Brown, Esq., an address by the Rev. William G. Haskell, and reading a poem written for the occasion by Mr. Benjamin K. Prentiss, of Lynn, a native of Marblehead. The procession then marched to the several cemeteries, where the graves of those who gave their lives in defense of the country were reverently decorated. This beautiful custom has been annually observed on the 30th of May, under the auspices of the "Grand Army of the Republic."

The most notable events of this year, besides the usual excitement attending a presidential election, were the organization of the Liberty Hose Company, and the action of the town in authorizing the lighting of the public streets at night.

Little of importance marked the passage of the year 1869. Two prominent local organizations were chartered, however: "John Goodwin, Jr., Post 82, Grand Army of the Republic," and "Ozias Encampment I. O. of Odd Fellows."

During the following year, Unity Degree Lodge Daughters of Rebekah, and Neptune Lodge, No. 31, Knights of Pythias, were organized.

In 1871, the town voted to purchase a new steam fire-engine, which resulted in a controversy among the firemen as to which company should have the custody of the new ma-

chine. At the annual March meeting, the citizens elected a board of firewards, in accordance with the time-honored custom of the town. This action was resisted by the board of selectmen, who appointed another set of firewards, and claimed that the election by the citizens was illegal. The question was finally carried before the courts, and a decision was rendered declaring the election by the people the only legal method of appointment.

The new engine arrived on the 8th of September, and was subsequently placed in charge of the General Glover Fire Association.

The Marblehead Savings Bank was incorporated early in the year, and in December a new local newspaper, known as the "Marblehead Messenger," made its appearance.

On New Year's night, 1872, the fire department made a grand demonstration in honor of the satisfactory ending of the controversy concerning the new steam fire-engine. After a torch-light procession about town, the various companies assembled at the rooms of the Glover Fire Association, where a dinner was served. The Marblehead Steam Fire Association was organized on the same evening.

On the 8th of July, a new church edifice, which had been erected a short time before on Gregory Street by the Roman Catholics, was burned to the ground. Soon after, a parsonage was erected on the same site, for the use of the parish priest.

During the month of August, "Manataug Tribe Improved Order of Red Men" was organized.

The year 1873 was one of the most eventful in the annals of the town. Early in the winter, several persons were reported sick with the small-pox, and great excitement prevailed among the people. The first to die with the disease was Mr. George Hatch, a member of the board of selectmen, and a gentleman well known and highly respected in the community. Shortly after, a house on Water Street was taken for a small-pox hospital, and several persons were

placed there for treatment. The management of this hospital was not satisfactory to the citizens, and a controversy ensued which continued until the close of the annual town meeting.

On Thursday morning, September 11, a fire broke out in a stable on Darling Street, belonging to Mr. Thomas T. Paine, and before it could be extinguished a large hotel on Washington Street, known as the "Manataug House," and a dwelling-house adjoining, belonging to the estate of Samuel Homan, were destroyed. Several other buildings in the vicinity were badly damaged.

On Monday, October 19, the new railroad from Marblehead to Lynn, known as the Swampscott Branch, was opened for travel, and the event was celebrated in an appropriate manner. Five hundred citizens were conveyed over the route in the first train, and on its return a grand dinner was served at Allerton Hall. The Marblehead Band was in attendance, and speeches were made by many of the prominent citizens and invited guests.

The year 1874 opened with a gloomy prospect for the people of Marblehead. The shoe business was suffering from the effects of the great financial panic of 1873, and a large proportion of the laboring population were out of employment. As the year advanced, and the business depression continued, a "Citizens' Relief Association" was organized for the assistance of those in distress. The people responded generously to every appeal made in behalf of the sufferers, and the distress was alleviated.

At the annual March meeting of this year, William B. Brown, Esq., who had served as a member of the school committee for a quarter of a century, declined a reelection. As soon as his determination was made known to the citizens the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"Whereas, Our beloved fellow-citizen, William B. Brown, has served his native town as a member of the School Committee for the long period of twenty-five years; as

chairman of the Board, writing the annual report, and giving most freely of his time, his intelligence, and his hearty sympathy to the cause of education in our midst, without one cent of remuneration, even to the prejudice of his pecuniary interest and bodily health; And Whereas, for the present high standing of our public schools we gratefully acknowledge a large indebtedness for his direct personal efforts, therefore, be it—

“*Resolved*: That we, the citizens of Marblehead, in town meeting assembled, do hereby vote him our most hearty thanks, for these rare and invaluable services.”

On the night of April 14, a dwelling-house on Reed's Hill, owned and occupied by Mr. John Stewart, caught fire and was partially destroyed. After the fire was extinguished, it was discovered that Miss Amy Stewart had lost her life from suffocation in attempting to escape from her room. This is the only instance of the loss of human life at a fire since the settlement of the town.

On the 25th of April the old “Columbian Building,” on Washington Street, was burned to the ground. At a town meeting held on Wednesday, May 27, Mr. James J. H. Gregory donated the sum of two thousand dollars to the town, to be used as a fund, the interest of which is to be applied once in four years to promote the moral, mental, and physical welfare of the inhabitants. The method of investment for this purpose, is to be decided by a committee consisting of the chairman of the selectmen, the chairman of the school committee, and all the ministers of the gospel settled over religious societies in the town.

On Friday, October 2, the first annual parade of the fire department took place. Every association in the department participated in the procession. All the engine houses and many private residences were elaborately decorated with flags and bunting. In the afternoon there was a trial of hand engines, and a race between the Liberty Hose Company and Washington Hook and Ladder Company.



During the year the selectmen were formally notified that Mr. Benjamin Abbot, who died in Boston in September, 1872, had bequeathed all the residue of his property, after the payment of several other legacies, to the town of Marblehead. The property consisted of United States bonds and other securities to the value of \$103,000.<sup>1</sup> The will of the donor concluded as follows: "I have made this provision for the town of Marblehead because it was my birthplace. And it is my desire that a building shall be erected for the benefit of the inhabitants of said town; but I do not intend to limit the use of the legacy to that purpose or to impose conditions which would prevent the use of it for such other general objects as the citizens of said town may determine upon in their discretion. I desire that my name shall always be attached to said fund."

On the 9th of February, 1875, a town meeting was held at Lyceum Hall, and resolutions were unanimously adopted accepting the legacy, and declaring the steadfast purpose of the town to erect a building in accordance with the wishes of the donor. At the same meeting, Messrs. William B. Brown, Henry A. Potter, Henry F. Pitman, Thomas Ingalls, Samuel Sparhawk, and Joseph P. Turner, were elected trustees of the fund.

On the 21st of May, the town voted to "erect a public building of brick with stone trimmings, to be designated as Abbot Hall, of such dimensions as will secure an audience hall that will seat at least twelve hundred persons; a hall for a public library and reading-room," a fire proof vault for the storage and security of the records, and rooms for the use of the various boards of town officers.

<sup>1</sup> BENJAMIN ABBOT, the donor of this munificent gift, was born in Marblehead, September 7, 1795. Early in life he removed to Salem, and was apprenticed to a cooper. He subsequently opened a coopers' shop in Boston, and by economy and persevering industry succeeded in amassing a fortune. Mr. Abbot was esteemed by all as a man of honor and integrity, and his genial disposition and ready sympathy endeared him to a large circle of friends. He died in Boston, September, 1872.

The selection of a site for the new building had for some time occupied the attention of the people, and various localities were strongly advocated through the columns of the local paper. On Saturday, May 22, a town meeting was held for the choice of a site, and a majority of the citizens voted in favor of the Common. Several meetings were held for the election of a building committee, and Messrs. James J. H. Gregory, Simeon Dodge, Moses Gilbert, Henry F. Pitman, and Thomas Appleton were chosen by a majority vote.

In December, the town voted to appropriate \$75,000 of the Abbot fund for the erection of the building, and the committee were instructed to proceed with the work. The opponents of the site chosen by the town, though in the minority, were active and determined in their antagonism; and when, in the spring of 1876, ground was broken on the Common for the erection of the building, a bill in equity was filed in the supreme judicial court to restrain the committee from further proceedings. The bill was based principally on the claim that the town had no legal right to erect the hall on the Common, as the land was the property of the commoners of Marblehead.

The case was tried on Monday, April 17, before Associate Justice Ames, of the supreme judicial court. Hon. Ebenezer R. Hoar appeared as counsel for the town, and Mr. S. B. Ives, Jr., for the petitioners. A decision was rendered in favor of the town, the petitioners being unable to prove an adverse title.

The work on the foundation of the building began at once and progressed rapidly. The corner-stone was laid on the 25th of July, the exercises consisting of music by the Marblehead Brass Band, prayer by the Rev. John W. Chadwick, and addresses by Messrs. James J. H. Gregory and Jonathan H. Orne.

There were other important events in the year 1876, besides the erection of Abbot Hall, and to these we must turn our attention.

During the autumn of the previous year a great temperance revival was inaugurated through the efforts of a few faithful and zealous women, who styled themselves the "Christian Temperance Union." By their invitation Dr. H. A. Reynolds, of Bangor, Maine, visited the town and began a series of temperance meetings at Lyceum Hall. In a short time a "Reform Club" was organized, and as one after another of those who were known to be inebriated signed the pledge of total abstinence, the movement assumed proportions far exceeding the most sanguine expectations of its originators.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1876 the people were in a constant state of excitement and enthusiasm. Public meetings were held several times a week, and more than twelve hundred persons signed the pledge. The Reform Club increased to four hundred members, and a temperance society known as the Independent Associates was organized. During the summer out-door meetings were held, and though the enthusiasm was not as great as in the winter, many of the fallen were reclaimed. The influence of this great reformation cannot be overestimated. A majority of those who forsook the dangerous paths of intemperance were sincere in their professions and have since been industrious and law-abiding citizens.

Wednesday, May 17, the one hundredth anniversary of the capture of the British transport Hope, by Capt. James Mugford, in the Continental schooner Franklin, witnessed one of the greatest celebrations ever known in the history of Marblehead. The day was ushered in by the ringing of all the church bells for an hour at sunrise, and a salute of thirty-nine guns from a battery on "Work-house rocks." The bells were also rung, and salutes were fired at noon, and sunset. At nine o'clock A. M., a procession was formed, consisting of military companies of Marblehead and Lynn, seven bands of music, distinguished visitors, soldiers and sailors of the War of 1812, veterans of the civil war, town

officers, clergy, secret societies, scholars of the public schools, and the entire fire department. The procession moved through the principal streets to the square at the junction of Pleasant and Essex Streets, where a monument which had been placed in position the day before was dedicated with appropriate exercises. The monument is a shaft of Hallowell granite, eighteen and one half feet high, and four feet nine inches square at the base. It is inscribed on all four sides as follows:—

On the northern side:—

A TRIBUTE OF MARBLEHEAD

To the memory of the brave Captain Mugford, and his heroic crew, who, in the Franklin of sixty tons, and four four-pounders, May 17, 1776, under the guns of the British fleet, captured and carried into Boston the transport Hope, three hundred tons, ten guns, loaded with munitions of war, including 1,500 barrels of powder.

On the eastern side:—

CREW OF THE FRANKLIN AS FAR AS KNOWN.

JAMES MUGFORD . . . .	<i>Captain.</i>
THOMAS RUSSELL . . . .	<i>Lieutenant.</i>
JEREMIAH HIBARD . . . .	<i>Lieutenant.</i>
WILLIAM THOMAS . . . .	<i>Gunner.</i>
SAMUEL H. GREEN . . . .	<i>Quartermaster.</i>
JAMES TOPHAM . . . .	<i>Carpenter.</i>
JOHN POWERS . . . .	<i>Boatswain.</i>

SEAMEN.

JOHN DOVE,	SAMUEL ROFF,
THOMAS DOVE,	JAMES QUILTY,
JOHN WITHAM,	QUINN BETTIS.

On the western side:—

CAPTAIN JAMES MUGFORD,

Born in Marblehead, May 19, 1749.

Killed May 19, 1776,

while successfully defending his vessel against thirteen boats and two hundred men from the British fleet.

On the southern side : —

ERECTED MAY 17, 1867.

After the dedication of the monument, the procession moved to the Unitarian church, where the other exercises took place. They consisted of singing by the Marblehead Musical Association, prayer by the Rev. Benjamin H. Bailey, an ode written for the occasion by the Rev. John W. Chadwick, an oration by the Hon. George B. Loring, of Salem, and an ode written by Miss Marcia M. Selman.

On the Fourth of July another celebration took place ; but owing to a controversy concerning the dedication of the Soldier's and Sailor's Monument, it was not so successfully conducted as that of the Mugford Centennial. At nine o'clock A. M., a procession was formed, consisting of the Marblehead Brass Band, the Marblehead Monumental Association, the Hibernian Friendly Society, a delegation of the Mugford Fire Association, the Board of Selectmen, the clergy, and the children of the North and South Church Sabbath-schools in carriages. The procession moved through the principal streets to the square at the junction of Mugford and Elm Streets, where a monument erected in memory of the soldiers and sailors of Marblehead who fell in the civil war was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. The monument is of Hallowell granite, being thirty-four feet high, and eight feet square at the base. It bears four tablets containing the names of one hundred and thirty-eight soldiers and sailors. On the base directly in front is the following inscription : —

IN MEMORY OF OUR COUNTRY'S DEFENDERS.

1776.      1812.      1861.

ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF MARBLEHEAD.

DEDICATED JULY 4, 1876.

The other exercises of the day took place at the Unitarian

rian Church. They consisted of prayer by the Rev. Julius H. Ward ; singing, by the Marblehead Musical Association ; reading of the Declaration of Independence, by Mr. Charles H. Litchman ; and addresses, by Messrs. James J. H. Gregory and William B. Brown. At the close of the exercises, a dinner was served at Allerton Hall.

The political campaign of this year was as exciting in Marblehead as elsewhere throughout the country. The most memorable event in connection with it, however, was a Republican caucus for the election of delegates to attend the senatorial convention of that party. The caucus was held at the town hall on Monday evening, October 9, and continued three entire evenings before a choice was made. The names of three gentlemen were presented as candidates for the nomination, and the friends of each rallied in large numbers. At length, after a bitter and most exciting contest, delegates favorable to one of the contestants were chosen. The nomination, however, was not conferred upon either of the contestants. The Prohibitory party had nominated Mr. James J. H. Gregory, of Marblehead, for senator, and the nomination was ratified by the Republican convention. At the ensuing election, Mr. Gregory was elected, though a heavy vote was cast for Mr. Daniel Appleton, of Marblehead, the candidate of the Democratic party. The vote of Marblehead was cast in favor of the entire Democratic ticket by a large majority, and both the candidates of that party for representatives to the General Court were elected. During the campaign, a new political organization, known as the "Greenback Labor Party," was formed. Forty-four votes only were polled for the candidates of this party at the election, but two years later it had increased to such an extent as to elect two representatives to the General Court.

The local events of the year 1877 were among the most memorable in the entire history of the town. At the annual March meeting, the town voted to appropriate the sum of \$20,000 from the Abbot fund, to be placed in the hands

of trustees, and devoted, principal and interest, in their discretion, to the founding and maintenance of a reading-room and library, to be called "Abbot Library." It was also voted to place the unappropriated balance of the Abbot fund at interest, and to devote the income to the payment of the annual expense of maintaining the Abbot Building, including heating, lighting, and the care of the building and grounds.

On the 15th of May the town voted to make a reservoir of Red's Pond, and to lay water-pipes therefrom, with hydrants in suitable places for use in the case of fires. The sum of \$10,000 was appropriated for the purpose, and Adoniram C. Orne, Caleb Prentiss, Jr., Hooper R. Goodwin, Isaac Atkins, and Thomas Appleton were elected a committee to carry the vote into effect. An effort had been made many years before to convert Red's Pond into a reservoir, but a majority of the citizens were strenuously opposed to the measure, and the projector, Mr. A. C. Orne, was obliged to wait for another generation of citizens to realize its necessity.

The eventful morning of June 25, 1877, will never be forgotten by the people of Marblehead. At about half-past one o'clock, a barn in the rear of a large three-story building known as the "Marblehead Hotel," situated on Pleasant Street, in the midst of the largest and finest buildings of which the town could boast, was discovered to be on fire. Before assistance could be summoned the fire had communicated to the hotel, and when the firemen arrived on the scene the building was in flames. Every effort was made to check the progress of the destructive element, but without avail. The General Glover engine-house, situated directly over the Brick Pond Reservoir, was soon in flames, cutting off the supply of water from that source. The fire was now beyond the control of the firemen, and, in spite of their almost superhuman efforts to stop it, spread from building to building with lightning-like rapidity. In a few moments a

large shoe manufactory known as Pope's Block, was on fire, the flames spreading to a barn owned by E. V. Bartlett & Co., and from thence to a shoe manufactory owned and occupied by that firm. The fire now defied all efforts at control. Leaping around the corner of School Street, the conflagration extended from Rechabite Building to a shoe manufactory owned by Nathaniel Glover, thence to a large block owned by Wormsted & Woodfin, and soon the shoe manufactory of William Stevens, a stable owned by Thomas T. Paine, and fifteen other buildings, mostly dwelling-houses, comprising every building on Sewall Street, from the corner of School Street to Spring Street, were in flames. Extending along the north side of Pleasant Street, the fire consumed a building belonging to T. T. Paine, a small dwelling-house owned by William Humphrey, the beautiful depot erected a few years previous, said at that time to be the finest on the line of the Eastern Railroad, a barn and dwelling-house owned by Benjamin G. Hathaway, a boarding-house owned by Henry F. Pitman, a large shoe manufactory owned and occupied by Jonathan Brown, the dwelling-house of William C. Lefavour, and a barn belonging to the estate of the late Dr. H. H. F. Whittemore. On the south side of Pleasant Street, every building save one was consumed, from a house belonging to the estate of Mrs. Leonora Chapman, nearly opposite the place where the fire originated, to the Mugford Monument, at the junction of Essex and Spring streets. These included a large block owned by Joshua O. Lefavour, a house owned by John H. Brown and occupied by G. W. Forsyth as a boarding-house, a large four-story building known as Allerton Block, a shoe manufactory owned by M. J. Doak, and several dwelling-houses. On the southern end of School Street, every building was destroyed, including a large building owned by Henry O. Symonds, the frame and materials for a new engine-house in process of construction, a stable owned by Enoch A. Perkins, the South Church, a dwelling-house owned by Edmund Glover, and several



smaller buildings. On Essex Street, every building was destroyed, including a large shoe manufactory belonging to the estate of John H. Wilkins, a small shop occupied by a marble-worker, and several dwelling-houses. On Spring Street, two shoe manufactories owned by William C. Lefavour, and four dwelling-houses, were destroyed, the only building left standing being the Sewall School-house. On Bassett Street two dwelling-houses were consumed, together with a barn belonging to Franklin Reynolds. On Nickerson's Hill, a carpenter's shop belonging to Henry F. Pitman was destroyed, and several other buildings were seriously damaged.

The exciting scenes throughout the town during the progress of the great conflagration beggar description. Men, women, and children were panic stricken, and hundreds were rushing about the streets vainly endeavoring to save their household goods or personal effects. Many families were obliged to flee from burning houses, leaving furniture, wearing apparel, and everything they possessed, to the destroying element. Others succeeded in removing their furniture and household goods to the open fields, only to see them take fire, in some instances before the flames reached the houses from which they had been removed. Many houses in various parts of the town caught fire from burning embers and were saved only by the heroic efforts of the women, who carried water to the roofs in buckets, and thus preserved their own homes, while their husbands and brothers were engaged in preserving the property of others. At one time every church in the town was on fire except the Baptist and Roman Catholic. Then it was that strong men trembled, fearing that the town would be utterly destroyed. But their desperation only nerved them to greater effort, and at length, reënforced by assistance from Salem, Lynn, and other cities, the firemen were successful and the great fire was conquered. But what a scene of devastation met the eye when the morning sun broke forth. Where but a few hours before had been large factories, and comfort-

able homes, monuments of the enterprise and industry of the people, were only stone walls and tottering chimneys, The entire business portion of the town had disappeared in a single night. Seventy-six buildings, with nearly all their contents, representing over half a million dollars' worth of property, had been consumed. Only four of the large shoe manufactories were left standing in the town, while ninety families were made homeless, and fifteen hundred men and women were thrown out of employment. The prospect for them was dark and discouraging in the extreme. The loss of the property owners and business men, though severe, was partially covered by insurance; but the working population, many of whom had already been out of employment several months in consequence of the depression in business, besides losing all their tools, were suddenly deprived of the means of obtaining a livelihood. But though "cast down" the people were not disheartened. Some of the business men immediately began to devise measures for "starting again," with the heroic determination, if possible, to restore their shattered fortunes. A notable instance of this kind deserves especial mention here. Among those who lost almost everything by the fire, were Messrs N. Allen Lindsey & Co., the proprietors of the local paper. Their office was in Allerton Block, and when the great building was consumed, all their stock, fixtures, machines, and other materials shared in the general destruction. They succeeded, however, in saving their heading and column rules, and that evening, before the ruins of their former office had done smoking, an extra edition of the "Marblehead Messenger" appeared with a full account of the great conflagration. Never before since its establishment, was the "Messenger" more welcome to the citizens of Marblehead. Then for the first time they realized the value of their local paper, and appreciated the energy and business enterprise of its proprietors.

During the afternoon a meeting was held at the town

hall to devise measures of relief for the sufferers by the fire. The meeting was called to order by Capt. Knott V. Martin, and a citizens' Relief Committee was chosen to solicit donations of money and clothing. Before an appeal could be issued, however, donations began to pour in from all parts of the country, and in a short time the committee reported that enough had been received to alleviate the distress. The total amount of contributions received was \$23,498.30. The clothing was distributed by a society of ladies known as the "Women's Centennial Aid Society," who rendered efficient assistance to the committee in its charitable work.

We cannot close our account of this terrible visitation without a few commendatory words concerning the fortitude and enterprising energy which characterized the business men throughout the entire trying period. They had received a blow from which it was thought they could not recover. But with steady resolution they set themselves to the work before them, and in less than three months had rebuilt more than one third of the number of buildings destroyed by the fire.

During the two years which have elapsed since the great conflagration to the present time of writing,<sup>1</sup> nearly every building destroyed has been replaced by a new and commodious structure. The buildings erected for business purposes are very much inferior, both in size and architectural beauty, to those which were destroyed; but the dwelling-houses are superior in size, and besides being convenient, modern homesteads, are ornaments to the town.

Another important local event, during the year 1877, was the completion of Abbot Hall. This beautiful edifice was erected in strict accordance with the vote of the town, not a dollar in excess of the appropriation being expended by the committee. Great credit is due to Messrs. Simeon Dodge and Moses Gilbert, under whose supervision the building

<sup>1</sup> 1879.

was constructed. Many of the conveniences which render the new hall superior to most public buildings, are due to the faithful and efficient manner in which these gentlemen performed the work assigned them by the town.

Upon the completion of the building, several of the citizens and natives of the town residing abroad generously contributed pictures and other articles to add to its attractiveness. The Hon. James J. H. Gregory presented a clock and bell for the tower, and a large oil painting for the reading-room. Mr. Thomas Appleton, also, donated a picture for the reading-room; a piano for use in the hall was presented by Mr. Henry F. Pitman; and a carpet for the stage by Mr. Joel Goldthwaite, of Boston. Mr. Nathaniel Brimblecome, of Boston, gave a clock for the hall, and Mr. William F. Joy, of Boston, a book-case for the use of the town clerk.

The dedication of the building took place on Wednesday, December 12, under the direction of a committee of thirteen gentlemen elected for that purpose. The exercises consisted of instrumental music by the American Band of Providence, R. I.; prayer by the Rev. George Pierce, Jr., of Milford, N. H.; singing by the Marblehead Musical Association; an original ode written for the occasion by Miss Marcia M. Selman; and an oration by the Hon. Edward Avery, of Braintree, Mass. The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Edward Crowninshield, of West Dedham, Mass. In the evening a concert was given by the American Band, of Providence, R. I.

Early in the spring of the following year Abbot Library was opened to the public, Miss Mary G. Brown being appointed librarian with Mrs. Sarah Gregory as assistant.

Little of importance occurred during the year 1878. In the autumn the annual State election took place, when both the old political parties in Marblehead were nearly disintegrated by the conversion of a large proportion of the legal voters to the principles of the Greenback Labor Party.

This was caused by the candidacy of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, who was nominated as an independent candidate for Governor. The Democratic Convention at Worcester indorsed his nomination, and the result was a split in that party, the opposition supporting the Hon. Josiah G. Abbott, of Boston. The Republican candidate was the Hon. Thomas Talbot, of Billerica, who received, besides the united support of his party, a large number of votes from Democrats. The campaign was one of the most exciting ever known in Marblehead. At the election ten candidates for representatives to the General Court were in the field, supported by the various parties. A majority of the citizens voted in favor of General Butler, however, and the nominees of the Greenback Labor Party were elected.

During the period of which we have written in this chapter, the town has gradually developed into a popular summer resort. Nearly every available spot along the shore has been purchased and built upon by summer residents, and every year brings a larger number of pleasure-seekers to our shore than its predecessor. Within ten years the peninsula known as "Marblehead Neck" has been laid out into house-lots, and the growth of its settlement has been rapid and constant. Wide and well-kept avenues have been laid out in various directions, commanding a full view of the ocean, the town, and the coast from Thacher's Island to the South Shore. There are sixty-seven houses already occupied during the summer and others are being erected. The picturesque little village of Nashua comprises a large number of neatly painted houses, some of which rival any city residence in the beauty of their surroundings.

What is true of the Neck is true also, though in a lesser degree, of various other sections of the town. Peach's Point has grown within a few years into a beautiful village of commodious residences, and every year new houses are erected in the sections known as Devereux and Clifton. The boarding-houses at these sections are always well filled during the

summer, and the future prominence of Marblehead as a watering-place seems to be assured.

And now, having traced the growth of the town from the time of its settlement, let us glance, before closing, at the condition of its people in the year of our Lord 1879. The great depression to which the business of the entire country has been subjected during the past five or six years, has been a decided check to all material prosperity in Marblehead. The shoe business, the great industry of the town, has been at times almost stagnant, and the working men and women have been out of employment several months in each year. This has had the effect to drive temporary residents to more prosperous cities and towns, and to cause a decrease in the number of inhabitants. But during the past year there have been unmistakable signs of returning prosperity. The shoe manufactories have been busy for a longer period than for years past, and a larger proportion of the inhabitants have been employed. Nor is this the only encouraging sign of the times. Though the Bank fishery, the industry by means of which the people obtained a livelihood in former years, has passed away,<sup>1</sup> it is being rapidly replaced by the bay fishing trade, in which more than twenty boats are already engaged. The men go out in the morning and return at night-fall with a fare of fresh fish for which they find a ready market as soon as they land on the wharves. This enterprise is as yet in its infancy, but the successful proportions to which it has attained within a period of two years, suggest great possibilities for the future.

<sup>1</sup> Only one vessel was sent to the Banks from Marblehead in 1879.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE peninsula known as Marblehead Great Neck, as has been stated in another chapter, is one mile long and half a mile wide, and contains about three hundred acres of land. Previous to the year 1724, the land was held in common by various proprietors, with the exception of a few grants of several acres each, made by the town of Salem before the incorporation of the township of Marblehead. On the 4th of December, 1724, the proprietors voted to subdivide the land, and to locate the claim of each owner. This duty was assigned to Richard Trevett, John Waldron, and Ebenezer Hawkes, by whom the vote was carried into effect, and the division accordingly made.<sup>1</sup>

There is little of interest concerning the Neck during the years preceding the division of land. It was used principally as a pasture for cattle and sheep, and a man was elected annually by the town to "look after them and drive them home at night-fall." There were those, however, among the proprietors, who erected houses upon their land and either resided there themselves, or leased them to others, in order the more conveniently to carry on the fishing business in which they were engaged. The harbor side of the Neck, as we are informed by reliable tradition and by frequent

<sup>1</sup> The proprietors of the Neck property, at the time of the division in 1724, were Richard Skinner, John Pedrick, Andrew Pedrick, John Waldron, Francis Bouden, John Roads, Christopher Booby, John Trevett, John Calley, Robert Devoricks, John Edgcomb, Jeremiah Gatchell, Richard Trevett, Capt. Richard Reith, Mrs. Emma Peach, Ebenezer Hawkes, John Legg, Esq., Nathan Norden, Samuel Russell, Mr. William Nick's widow, John Stacey, William Hands, Sr., John Conant, Ebenezer Ingalls' widow, Capt. Benjamin James, successors of Rev. Samuel Cheever, Mr. William Reed, John Raddin.

references in the records, was for many years covered by "fish flakes," where the fish were cured and dried, and warehouses in which they were stored. Among those who thus availed themselves of these advantages, were John Roads and Nathaniel Ingersoll, both of whom were "shoremen." They were owners of vessels, and it was their custom — as it has been that of many other citizens of Marblehead since that time — to fit out their vessels and send them to the Banks, receiving as remuneration a certain proportion of the fare.

For many years the fishermen of the town obtained most of the fresh water which they carried to sea from a spring on the harbor side of the Neck, known as "Stratton's spring well," which yielded a plentiful supply. Frequent references are made to this spring in old leases and deeds, and it was doubtless one of the most famous landmarks in the vicinity.

One of the earliest of those who erected houses and resided upon the Neck, was John Pedrick, whose name appears among the householders of Marblehead in 1665. He possessed a large amount of property in real estate, and being a man of considerable means, devoted much of his time to the cultivation of the soil. From the records and traditions of his family it appears that he was of high lineage, and that Pedrick was not his real name. Coming to America at a time when the English government strongly opposed the emigration of families of the upper class, a disguise was rendered necessary, and he had recourse, as did many others of his rank and station in society, to an assumed name. He brought with him money, servants, laborers, farming implements, and household furniture. Some of the persons who came with him, it is said — but in no way related to him or his family — were permitted to take his name. That it was his intention to throw off the disguise and resume his legitimate name there can be little doubt, but as the years passed on and his property accumulated, it was evident that the



act would be attended by great inconvenience, and the idea was abandoned.

Another resident was Joshua Coombs, whose family occupied the estate for three generations. He was the father of Michael Coombs, who during the Revolutionary War was one of the most obnoxious of the Loyalists residing in Marblehead. Finding the indignation of his fellow-citizens rather more severe than was comfortable or desirable, Coombs fled to England, where he remained until the close of the war. After the declaration of peace he returned to Marblehead and died in 1806, at the age of seventy-three years.

During the year 1774, shortly before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, a company of British soldiers were stationed on the Neck under command of Major McGrath. They were there but a short time, however, and their commander is said to have been the first British officer killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

It is impossible to trace the families who made a home upon the Neck at different periods. The names of Wise, Tasker, John Tucker, William Searle, J. Swan, Henry Roads, and William Messervey, are frequently mentioned in the records, and from traditions related by aged inhabitants of the town it appears that they were fishermen. Though these men occupied a portion of the land with their "fish flakes," it was a comparatively small section, and the greater part of the territory was used chiefly as a pasture for many years.

During the year 1795, Ebenezer Giles established salt works at the upper end of the Neck, on the harbor side, and the buildings remained there twelve or fifteen years, though the enterprise proved a failure.

One of the most enterprising of the proprietors previous to the Revolutionary War was John Andrews, a wealthy "shoreman," who purchased several leases and inclosed them for a farm. During the year 1762, in the days of his

prosperity, he erected a house near the harbor, which has since been enlarged, and for several years has been known as the "Samoset House." A large portion of this property was subsequently purchased by Jesse Blanchard, and at his death it passed into the hands of Ephraim Brown, his son-in-law. At frequent intervals, Mr. Brown purchased the land of the several owners, until his estate increased to two hundred and fifty acres, embracing nearly the entire territory of the Neck.

About the year 1840, Mr. Brown began the cultivation of a farm upon his estate, and in a few years it became one of the finest and most productive in the country. After the death of the owner the property was leased to various parties, one of whom was Mr. Martin Ham, who conducted the farm, while his son, Martin Ham, Jr., occupied the house near the beach, since known as the "Atlantic House," and opened it to the public as a hotel.

During the year 1867, Mr. Ham began to under-lease small lots to sojourners for the summer, and in a short time a large number of temporary cottages were erected. As the advantages of the Neck became known, many who desired the delightful freedom of sea-shore life erected commodious tents, in which they dwelt with their families throughout the season. In a few years the ocean-side presented the appearance of an encampment of a small army. Hundreds of tents were pitched along the shore, and through the long and sultry summer days the dwellers found health and happiness in the calm enjoyment of their surroundings. Mr. Whittier, in his "Tent on the Beach," has given a picture of life at the sea-shore which can be appropriately applied to the dwellers on the Neck during this transition period:—

"The clanging sea-fowl came and went,  
The hunter's gun in the marshes rang;  
At nightfall, from a neighboring tent,  
A flute-voiced woman sweetly sang.  
Loose-haired, bare-footed, hand in hand,  
Young girls went tripping down the sand;

And youths and maidens, sitting in the moon,  
 Dreamed o'er the old fond dream from which we wake too soon.

“ At times their fishing-lines they plied,  
 With an old Triton at the oar,  
 Salt as the sea-wind, tough and dried  
 As an old cusk from Labrador.  
 Strange tales he told of wreck and storm —  
 Had seen the sea-snake's awful form,  
 And heard the ghosts on Haley's Isle complain,  
 Speak him off-shore, and beg a passage to old Spain.

“ And there, on breezy morns, they saw  
 The fishing-schooners outward run ;  
 Their low-bent sails, in tack and flaw,  
 Turned white or dark to shade and sun.  
 Sometimes, in calm of closing day,  
 They watched the spectral mirage play,  
 Saw low, far islands looming tall and nigh,  
 And ships with upturned keels sail like a sea the sky.

. . . . .

“ And when along the line of shore  
 The mists crept upward chill and damp,  
 Stretched careless on their sandy floor  
 Beneath the flaring lantern lamp,  
 They talked of all things old and new,  
 Read, slept, and dreamed as idlers do ;  
 And, in the unquestioned freedom of the tent,  
 Body and o'ertaxed mind to healthful ease unbent.”

While the Brown estate was thus passing from farm and pasture land to a summer resort, a similar transition was taking place upon other portions of the Neck. On the 29th of April, 1867, Mr. John H. Gregory sold his estate near the harbor (about three quarters of an acre) to Messrs. A. H. Dunlap, Thomas Pierson, John Blunt, and George Mc-Masters, all of Nashua, N. H. Late in the month of June, in the same year, these gentlemen left Nashua with a company of carpenters, and all the materials necessary for the construction of four cottages and four small stables. On the 4th of July the houses were finished, and shortly after, the owners with their families, moved into them. These were

the first houses built by permanent summer residents upon the Neck.

During the summer of the same year, Mr. John Sparhawk, who owned about three and a half acres of land in the vicinity, leased a portion of it to various persons, and several houses were erected. From this small beginning the growth of the settlement was rapid and constant. New houses were erected every year, and with each season the number of summer residents increased.

On the 11th of January, 1872, the entire property upon the Neck, belonging to the heirs of Ephraim Brown, was sold at public auction for the sum of \$255,000. The purchasers were Charles Odiorne and others of Boston, who formed a company known as the "Marblehead Great Neck Land Company."

Under the direction of this company the land was laid out into house-lots, an avenue was built along the entire ocean side of the Neck, and other similar improvements were made. A few years later, however, the company having failed to keep the conditions of a mortgage given at the time of the purchase, the property again passed into the hands of the trustees of the Brown estate. Since that time, the trustees, Messrs. Isaac C. Wyman, William D. Northend, and George F. Flint, of Salem, have been constantly employed in improving the estate. The effect has been to bring the land more prominently into the market, and during the year 1879 a large amount of property was sold, and seventeen new houses were erected.<sup>1</sup>

Within a few years a better class of houses have been built by summer residents than formerly, and the small cottages have gradually given way to those of a larger size. Some of these houses are among the finest in the entire township, the owners apparently sparing neither pains nor expense in improving and beautifying their surroundings.

During the year 1877, a hall was erected by the efforts of

<sup>1</sup> In 1879 there were sixty-seven houses upon the Neck.

the young people, which answers the double purpose of a place for holding religious services on the Sabbath and for social gatherings on other evenings of the week.

To the lover of nature, Marblehead Great Neck presents rare opportunities for the enjoyment and cultivation of his tastes. One of the greatest natural curiosities on the ocean side is the "Churn," a fissure in the rocks about thirty feet deep, where the water roars and seethes at half-tide.

The view from "Castle Rock," or "Great Head," as it is sometimes called, is one of the finest to be found on the entire New England coast. The vast expanse of water from the South Shore to Thacher's Island, relieved here and there by the beautiful islands along the shore, presents a scene which the appreciative beholder will not soon forget. In the distance, "Half-way Rock," so called because it is half-way between Boston and Cape Ann, is seen standing bold and defiant in mid-ocean. For many years the fishermen of Marblehead, when sailing past this rock, were in the habit of throwing a few pieces of small coin upon it, believing, with characteristic superstition, that the act would insure good luck and a safe return.

Nearer the shore are Tinkers and Ram Islands, and a short distance off, the "Point." Marblehead Rock serves as a guide to vessels entering the harbor. The view from the harbor side includes at once the town, Lowell, Baker's and other adjacent islands, and in the distance, Beverly, Manchester, and Gloucester shores.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

IT has been said that the history of a town cannot be better told than in the story of its ancient buildings and landmarks. Marblehead is rich in these. Some of the houses erected within fifty years after the settlement of the town are still standing, and there are many that have withstood the storms of one hundred and fifty years.

It would be of little interest to the reader to trace the history of all these houses, even if it were possible. There are those, however, which recall memories of the men of other days, whose noble deeds and earnest lives reflect honor on the town. These, at least, are worthy of attention.

Some of the oldest houses in the town are undoubtedly to be found in the vicinity of the section known as Peach's Point, where the first settlement was made. The oldest house of which we have any accurate record, however, is that known as the Tucker House, situated on Front Street. As early as the year 1664, this house was deeded by John Codner to his son John. It is said that the young man was about to be married, and that his father intended it as a wedding present. For many years the house stood by itself in an open field, and as Codner owned nearly all the land in the vicinity, there were few houses built around it.

As the commercial trade of the town increased, several wharves were built near by, and the land in the vicinity was purchased for the erection of dwelling-houses, and for business purposes. The large warehouses, some of which are still standing where they were erected more than a century ago, recall the days when they were filled with foreign mer-



THE HOME OF CHIEF JUSTICE SEWALL.



PARSON BARNARD'S HOUSE, FRANKLIN STREET.





chandise, and the fish cured in Marblehead were exported to the markets of Europe and the West Indies. The people, generally, were prosperous in those days, and as the town was constantly visited by strangers who desired entertainment, several public houses or taverns were established, all of which were profitably conducted. Of one of these taverns, which was kept in a house on the corner of Front and Glover Streets, an interesting tradition is related. It is said that during the year 1775, when the British frigate *Lively* was lying in the harbor, several shots were fired on shore, one of which struck the side of this house, where it was imbedded many years.

A short distance from the old tavern, though on different streets, are the houses once owned and occupied by Gen. John Glover, and his brother Col. Jonathan Glover. The house of the general stands on the street now known by his name, while that of his brother is on Front Street.

This house is situated some distance back from the street, and is partially concealed from view by several houses in front of it. The land now occupied by these houses was formerly Colonel Glover's garden, which, in its day, is said to have been one of the finest in town. A gate at the entrance to this garden was supported by two large posts upon each of which stood a gilded eagle with outspread wings. For this reason, the house was for many years called the "Eagle house," and by this name it is still familiarly known by the older inhabitants.

During a severe thunder-storm, this house was struck by lightning. Colonel Glover and his two daughters, one of whom was the wife of the Rev. Ebenezer Hubbard, who was also present, barely escaped serious injury. A room which they had left but a few moments before was literally torn to pieces. One of the young ladies was prostrated by the lightning, and a portion of her clothing took fire. The event was long the chief topic of conversation in the town, and upon one person, at least, it made a serious impression.

This was a youth named Samuel Bowden, who wrote a graphic account of the affair in verse. The following is an extract from the poem, in which he prays for the preservation of Mr. Hubbard, and refers to the ministers of the other churches in town.

“ O God therefore we thee implore,  
His precious life to save ;  
For none can praise thee with such lays,  
When huddled in the grave.

“ He is the only pastor we have now,  
To point the way to heaven, which way and how ;  
St. Michael’s guide, to keep his mind at ease,  
Remaineth still among the absentees.

“ The Reverend Isaac Story, mourn his fate,  
What is he now to what he was of late ?  
Bo’nerges like, he used to speak in thunder,  
Now at his silence we are apt to wonder.  
But it is weakness, caused by fatal ills,  
Affects his nerves, and through his vitals thrills ;  
And, vulture-like, preys on the mental flame,  
And every drop of vital moisture drains.  
May he regain his wasted strength once more,  
And be as nervous as he was before.”

Near Colonel Glover’s house, on the opposite side of the street, is the old custom-house, where the merchants in the olden time were in the habit of congregating, to hear the news and to talk over the expected return of their vessels. During the Revolution, the records kept in this building were stolen by loyalists, and carried to Halifax, N. S. In this way much important information has been lost, and we have little documentary evidence of the commerce of the town before the war.

On Selman Street, near Franklin Street, is the house in which that sturdy old patriot, Capt. John Selman, resided during his lifetime. His famous expedition to Prince Edward’s Island, and his patriotic zeal in capturing the governor, will be remembered by the reader. The old gentleman did not have a very exalted opinion of General Washing-

ton after the severe reprimanding he received, and throughout his life expressed the greatest indignation at what he considered the injustice done him.

Near by, on Franklin Street, is the house erected by the Rev. John Barnard, and in which he resided during his long and useful pastorate. Mr. Barnard was born in Boston, November 6, 1681, and entered Harvard College in 1696. Four years later he graduated from that institution with honors. Though constantly engaged in preaching during the years which followed, it appears that he was not regularly ordained until the year 1716, when he was settled in Marblehead as the colleague of the Rev. Samuel Cheever. From this time until his death he resided in the town, devoting himself assiduously to the sacred profession he had chosen. As a preacher, he was considered a "burning and shining light for many years; his praise was in all the churches, and he seemed like a high-priest among the clergy of the land." He died January 24, 1770, in the 89th year of his age.

On the opposite side of the street is the modest house, once the home of Capt. Richard James. Captain James was a prosperous merchant previous to the Revolution, and owned a large amount of property in various parts of the town. In later years the house became the home of Moses A. Pickett, who died in 1853, leaving his entire property to the poor of the town. This eccentric individual will never be forgotten by those who knew him. His ambition, evidently, was to be considered an artist, and in time he attained considerable local celebrity. His pictures — painted on glass, representing green cows and horses, eating red or blue grass — excited the wonder and admiration of every child who beheld them. For many years the house has been used as a home for poor widows, the benevolent old gentleman having bequeathed it to the town for that purpose.

Orne Street, leading from Franklin to Beacon Street, derives its name from Col. Azor Orne, one of the patriots who, with Gerry and Glover, took an active part in the stirring

scenes incident to the war for Independence. The house in which he lived still stands on this street, suggesting interesting reminiscences, related by the old people a generation since, of the days when its hospitable doors were thrown open to receive distinguished guests, and the negro slaves sang merrily while busy about their work.

The street upon which the greatest number of historic houses are situated is Washington Street, extending nearly the entire length of the town. The first of these houses we shall mention is that situated on the corner of Stacey Street, which is said to have been originally a part of the first meeting-house in Marblehead. The meeting-house was erected on the old Burying Hill, but was subsequently removed to Franklin Street, where it was very much enlarged. In the course of time it was pulled down, when the timbers were purchased and used in the construction of this building.

Nearly opposite the "North Church" is the old homestead of Capt. Thomas Gerry, one of the most eminent merchants of the town in the olden time. In this house his distinguished son, Elbridge Gerry, was born, and though it has since undergone a number of alterations, the room in which the great patriot first saw the light has been allowed to remain unchanged.

In later years the house became the property of Capt. William Blackler, a veteran of the Revolution. He was a captain in Glover's regiment, and it was his proudest boast through life that he was in command of the boat in which General Washington crossed the Delaware River on the night before the battle of Trenton.

Near by, on the corner of Pickett Street, is the house once the home of Maj. John Pedrick, a prosperous merchant before the Revolution. His ships sailed to nearly every port in England, Spain, and the West Indies, and his transactions were with some of the largest mercantile houses of Europe. At one time, it is said, he owned twenty-five vessels engaged in the foreign trade.

The Revolutionary War, which proved so disastrous to the merchants of Marblehead, bore with especial severity upon Major Pedrick. Several of his vessels were destroyed by British cruisers in Massachusetts Bay, and many others rotted in port. But through it all he proved himself a zealous patriot, and a firm friend to his country. When his son was drafted as a soldier, he charged him not to accept a dollar from the government for his services, and provided him with money to meet his expenses. His daughters made a silk belt for their brother to wear, in which the gold and silver coins were quilted for safety.

In addition to his other losses, Major Pedrick suffered severely by the depreciation of Continental money. At a critical period of the war, he furnished the government with valuable military and naval stores, for which he was obliged to receive a large amount of paper money. In a short time this money became utterly worthless and the entire amount was lost.

Another house in this vicinity, of which an interesting story is related, is that on the corner of Pearl and Mechanic Streets. It was erected by the Rev. Simon Bradstreet, the successor of the Rev. Edward Holyoke as pastor of the Second Congregational Church. After his death it became the property of his daughter, the wife of the Rev. Isaac Story. It was in this house that William Story, Esq., resided at the time of his death. Mr. Story was formerly of Boston, and at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War held the office of registrar, in the court of admiralty. His office was on State Street, nearly opposite the old State House. On the eventful night in 1765 when the citizens of Boston, infuriated by the passage of the Stamp Act, sacked the house of Governor Hutchinson, the office of Mr. Story was also visited, and many valuable books and documents were carried into the street and burned. Mr. Story subsequently took his residence with his sons in Marblehead. He died November 24, 1799, at the age of eighty years.

On Washington Street, near the head of State Street, the old Town House still stands where it was erected in 1728. What Faneuil Hall is to Boston, this old building is to Marblehead. Within its hallowed walls nearly every question of importance to the town, the State, or the nation, was discussed by local orators for more than a century. It was here that Orne and Lee fired the hearts of their townsmen with their patriotic eloquence in the days of the Revolution, and young Elbridge Gerry gave evidence of that ability which made him a member of the Continental Congress, Governor of Massachusetts, and finally Vice-president of the United States.

Here, too, the famous Marblehead regiment was recruited; and here the Sutton Light Infantry assembled on the stormy morning of April 16, 1861, and sent the first response to the call of the President for troops to preserve the integrity of the Union. In former years, the hall now used for public purposes was the town market, the town meetings being held in the room above. A public school was kept in the same room, and it was there that many of the most distinguished citizens of the town obtained the rudiments of education.

The houses in this vicinity are among the oldest in Marblehead. Nearly all of them have been standing more than a century, and there are several of which an interesting story can be told.

North of the town house, situated on the corner of Muggford Street, is the quaint old homestead of the Bowen family. Nathan Bowen, and three of his descendants, placed their signs over the door of this house and the store adjoining, as "Justice of the Peace and Notary Public." Each of these dignitaries, in turn, held various important local offices, and all were men of marked intelligence and ability.

In former years, a justice of the peace exercised the authority now vested in a trial justice. Petty offenders were brought before him for trial, and those whose crimes were

of a more serious nature, were examined and put under bonds for appearance at a higher court.

The records kept by Nathan Bowen, the first justice of that name, throw a curious light upon the criminal annals of the town. He held office under the colonial government, in the days when the stocks and the whipping-post were the dread of offenders.

A few extracts from these records, will, perhaps, be appreciated by the reader.

“1769 *April* 19. Mary Russell, wife of John Russell of Marblehead, Fisherman, having on the 27 day of June, A. D. 1768, complained to me that the sd Russell, had, on the 25th, of June aforesaid, had stolen from him a pair of Cotton and Linnen Sheets, of the value of thirty shillings, the property of the sd. John, and praying for a warrant to search for the same and that the Thief may be brought to punishment. Cesar, a Negro man servant of William Peach was brought before me, and being examined, confessed that he stole the said pair of sheets from the said Russell on the Summer last past, and left them in the Dwelling house of Mary Messer on her Bed.

“Its therefore ordered by me, the said justice, that the said Cesar be whipped Ten stripes on his naked back at the Public Whipping Post in Marblehead.”

“1770 *October* 2d. John Bryant otherwise called Wiseman was brought before me, charged with profanely swearing in Marblehead, the twenty third day of September foregoing. Ordered, that the said John Bryant do pay a fine of five shillings to the poor of the town of Marblehead and stand committed till performed.”

“1771 *April* 24th. Samuel Russell Gerry, and Francis Abbot, came before me and confessed that they were severally guilty of unnecessarily walking on the last Sabbath Day in Marblehead contrary to Law. Whereupon its ordered that they do each of them pay a fine to the poor of the town of Marblehead of Five Shillings and costs.”

“1771 *August* 26. Samuel Lovis, of Marblehead, Laborer, being intoxicated and misbehaving him in my presence in said Marblehead, contrary to the peace etc. Ordered, that the said Samuel Lovis be committed to the Stocks in Marblehead and there kept from half past 3 till half past 5 of the clock, afternoon of this day, which was done accordingly.”

“1772 *November* 24. John Sparhawk of Marblehead, Merchant, having this day complained to me the said justice, against Elizabeth Petro and Mary Gallison of sd. Marblehead single women for stealing from the complainant Two Dozen Handkerchiefs, the said Elizabeth and Mary were brought before me and pleaded guilty. Its therefore ordered that they restore to the said John Sparhawk six pounds, being treble the value of the goods stolen; and that Elizabeth Petro be whipped Ten stripes on her naked back, and that the sd Mary Gallison pay a fine of Twenty Shillings to the King.”

On the eastern side of Washington Street, situated south of the town house, is the house which was formerly the residence of Dr. Elisha Story, and in which his son Joseph Story, the distinguished jurist, was born. Doctor Story was an eminent physician and surgeon, who removed from Boston to Marblehead in 1770. From that time until his death he resided in the town. In 1773, he was one of that “small band of sturdy revolutionists,” who gave a practical demonstration of the opposition of the colonists to the duty on tea, by boarding the ships laden with that article, and throwing their whole cargoes, amounting to about three hundred and forty-two chests, into the harbor of Boston.

He was also one of the “Sons of Liberty,” and was selected to disarm and gag one of the sentinels on Boston Common, on the night when the two brass field-pieces placed there by order of the British Commander-in-chief, were captured and taken over to Boston Neck. He performed



this difficult and dangerous service in accordance with a plan previously arranged, and the affair was successfully conducted.

“The two cannon played a distinguished part in the Revolution, and were the same afterwards described by the secretary of war in a representation to Congress, as two brass cannon, which constituted one moiety of the field artillery with which the late war was commenced on the part of America, and were constantly in service during the war, and upon which he was desired to affix a suitable inscription. On one of them therefore was inscribed, ‘The Hancock, sacred to Liberty;’ on the other (which was the cannon taken by Dr. Story), ‘The Adams.’

During the Revolution Dr. Story was attached to Colonel Little’s regiment as a surgeon. But it was common in the Continental army for the surgeons, and even the chaplains, to act as soldiers, and in most of the battles occurring during his connection with the army he was engaged. He fought at Concord and Lexington, pursuing the British troops at every step during their retreat to Charlestown, and was in the trenches as a volunteer at the battle of Bunker Hill, fighting beside his friend Warren during all the early part of the engagement, and until he was forced to abandon the duty of a soldier for that of a surgeon in removing and attending to the wounded.”<sup>1</sup>

On the opposite side of the street, near the corner of Pleasant Street, is the homestead of Edward Holyoke, the first pastor of the Second Congregational Church, afterward president of Harvard College. Here, on the first day of August, 1728, his son, Edward Augustus Holyoke, afterwards one of the most distinguished physicians in Massachusetts, was born. Dr. Holyoke graduated from Harvard College in 1746, and in 1749 began the practice of medicine in Salem. He was the first president of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and also president of the American Acad-

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Joseph Story.*

emy of Arts and Sciences. He died in Salem, March 31, 1829, having lived to the remarkable age of one hundred years and seven months.

On the same side of the street, near the head of Darling Street, is the large brick house, once the home of Thomas Robie, the loyalist, of whose acts during the Revolution an account has been given in a previous chapter of this work. In later years the house became the residence of Major Joseph W. Green, who for nearly thirty years was one of the most enterprising merchants in the town. A few years after the close of the War of 1812, he engaged in business with Benjamin Porter, under the firm name of Porter & Green. In a short time this firm employed fourteen vessels in the fishing trade, besides brigs and packets which were sent to New York and the West Indies. Their wharves and ware-rooms were filled with every commodity used in fitting out vessels for sea, and it is said that at one time they furnished seventy-five vessels with stores, anchors, cables, wood, and supplies of every kind necessary for a long voyage to the Banks. Through the influence of Major Green, the Grand Bank was established, and he was its first president.

A short distance from Washington Street, on the eastern side of Hooper Street, the former residence of the "Honorable Robert Hooper, Esquire," is still standing. "King" Hooper, as he was called, was the wealthiest merchant in Marblehead, and one of the wealthiest in New England previous to the Revolution. His ships sailed to every port of Europe and the West Indies, and his name and fame as a merchant extended to all the mercantile centres of the world. He lived in princely style for those days, and some of the highest dignitaries of the land were his frequent guests. His uniform courtesy and kindness, and his benevolence to the poor, endeared him to all, especially the people of Marblehead, by whom he was greatly beloved. The sobriquet "King," it is said, was given to him by the fishermen, not on account of his wealth, as is generally sup-

posed, but because of his honor and integrity in dealing with them. They were ignorant men, and contrary to the practice of some of the merchants and shoremen, King Hooper was never known to cheat them or to take advantage of their ignorance. During the Revolution, Mr. Hooper was a loyalist, and his name was reported to the town as one of those "inimical to the cause of their country."

The Lee Mansion, situated on the northern side of Washington Street, is the best evidence that can be produced of the prosperity the town enjoyed during the years preceding the Revolution. It was built in the year 1768, by Col. Jeremiah Lee, a wealthy merchant, and its original cost was over ten thousand pounds. It is said to have been one of the most elegant and expensively finished houses in the British colonies, and, judging from its magnificent proportions, no one can doubt it. Its fine hall and stairway, and the paper made in England for the walls, still excite the admiration of all who visit the old house. It was here that Washington was entertained when he visited the town, and Lafayette was received on two occasions. Here, too, President Monroe received the hospitality of the citizens; and here Andrew Jackson shook the hands of the sturdy fishermen, who almost worshiped the old hero, and were so true to him through life.

On Tucker Street, opposite the head of Mason Street, is the building formerly known as the Masonic Lodge. It was erected in the year 1822, by the Marblehead Free School Association, and originally contained two school-rooms and a large hall. The hall was occupied by Philanthropic Lodge of Freemasons, which for many years was the oldest lodge of that order in the country. It was instituted in 1760, though its charter was not obtained until the year 1778. Many of the most eminent citizens of the town have been members of this order, and in former years it was a large and flourishing organization.

The houses upon "Training-field Hill," or Washington

Square, in the vicinity of the Common, were formerly the houses of opulent merchants and sea captains. The two considered most noteworthy, however, are the Lee House and the Hooper House, both of which are on the northern side of the square, fronting the common. The first of these houses was built by Col. William R. Lee, of Revolutionary fame, who resided there after his return from the army until his removal from town.

The Hooper House was built by John Hooper, Esq., one of the wealthiest of the merchants of Marblehead. Mr. Hooper was for many years the president of the Marblehead Bank, and his connection with that institution in the earlier years of its existence did much to establish its reputation as one of the most solid and reliable in the State.

That which is of more especial interest concerning the house, however, is the fact that it was the birthplace of the Hon. Samuel Hooper, a son of the merchant. He was born February 3, 1808. In early life he removed to Boston, where he became an eminent merchant, and amassed a large fortune. His public life began in 1851, when he was elected a representative in the Massachusetts Legislature, and served three terms. In 1857, he was elected a member of the State Senate, where he distinguished himself by directing legislation upon banking and finance. In 1861, he was elected a representative in Congress, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the Hon. William Appleton, and continued a member of that body until his death, which took place February 14, 1875. While in Congress, Mr. Hooper was a member of several important committees, among them that on banking and currency. His efforts in behalf of the bill providing for the national banking system were such that Secretary Chase wrote a letter attributing its success to his "sound judgment, persevering exertions, and disinterested patriotism."

Near the western end of the "Training-field Hill," on the southern side of Washington Street, is the house formerly

owned by Michael Bowden, another loyalist of the Revolution. During the war, one of the loyalists who had made himself especially obnoxious to the citizens, fled to this house for protection. He was pursued, however, and the angry citizens surrounded the house and demanded admittance. Finding that no notice was taken of their demands, they forced an entrance and began a vigilant search. As they entered the sitting-room, they were confronted by Mrs. Bowden, who exclaimed: "Gentlemen, I assure you the man you seek is not in this house. On my word and honor, I assure you he is not under this roof. If you persist in this unlawful business, this unprecedented conduct, you will cause the death of my daughter." As some of the persons present were aware of the illness of the daughter, the search was abandoned. The citizens had been truthfully informed. The man was not in the house nor under the roof, but he was on the outside of the roof, concealed behind a chimney.

Having visited all the houses of especial interest on Washington Street, let us pass to the Sewall Mansion, situated on Pleasant Street. This house was built a few years previous to the Revolution, by "King" Hooper, for his son Joseph, who resided there a short time. This was probably the same Joseph Hooper who was a loyalist during the Revolution, and in the year 1775 fled from Marblehead to England, where he became a paper manufacturer. He died in that country during the year 1812.

For some years after the close of the war, the house appears to have had several occupants; but in the year 1795 it was purchased by Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, who resided there until the time of his death.

In 1815 the estate was bought by the Hon. William Reed. Mr. Reed was born in Marblehead, June 6, 1776. He was for many years an eminent merchant in the town, and throughout his life was highly esteemed for his benevolent and religious character. In 1811, he was elected a representative in Congress, and remained in office until the year

1815. He was president of the Sabbath-school Union of Massachusetts, and of the American Tract Society, and a member of many other religious and educational organizations. He was so deeply interested in the cause of temperance that he was styled the "Apostle of Temperance." He died suddenly at Academy Hall, February 18, 1837, while preparing for a celebration by the Sabbath-school of the North Congregational Church. For many years after the death of Mr. Reed, the house was occupied by his widow, who "was always engaged in works of charity, and was regarded as a most accomplished lady and eminent Christian."

In 1856, the estate was bought by Mr. Joseph Harris, a prominent shoe manufacturer, and has since remained in the possession of his family.

The "Watson House," situated on the hill at the head of Watson Street, was built by Benjamin Marston, Esq., who before the Revolution was an eminent merchant in Marblehead. He was a brother-in-law of "King" Hooper, and of Col. Jeremiah Lee, with both of whom he was associated in business as a partner. At the breaking out of the Revolution he became an earnest loyalist, and was obliged to leave the country. After his departure the house was confiscated by order of the government, and subsequently became the property of his nephew, Marston Watson, Esq. That gentleman was born at Plymouth, May 27, 1756. "After receiving an excellent school education, and being qualified for admission to the University, he was, at the age of fourteen, placed as an apprentice with Col. Jeremiah Lee. Upon the death of Colonel Lee, in 1775, Mr. Watson resumed his classic studies with an intention of entering college, and had actually made arrangements at Cambridge for that purpose; but the Revolutionary War having then commenced, and Colonel Glover offering him a lieutenancy in his own regiment, Mr. Watson, reluctantly abandoning his literary pursuits, accepted the commission, and in the month of December, 1776, was actively engaged in the bat-

tles of Trenton and Princeton, in which Glover's regiment bore so distinguished a share. He was particularly patronized by Gen. Charles Lee, and acted as his temporary aid-de-camp. General Lee had made arrangements for his permanent establishment in that office, and he served in that capacity at the battle of Monmouth. But upon the suspension of General Lee, his hopes of immediate promotion being checked, he relinquished the army, and engaged in commerce. His activity and industry were prospered. He married in 1779, and established himself at Marblehead. In 1790 he was appointed Lieutenant-colonel of the Marblehead regiment, and in about three years afterwards was Lieutenant-colonel Commandant. In 1794, when eighty thousand of the militia of the United States were provisionally detached under the apprehension of a rupture with Great Britain, Colonel Watson was selected to command a regiment detached from the division to which he belonged."<sup>1</sup> In 1797, he removed from Marblehead to Boston, where he died August 7, 1800.

Another house of great historic interest is that formerly known as the Prentiss House, situated on Mugford Street, near the corner of Back Street. It was built by Peter Jayne, who for many years was a noted school-master in the town. During the years immediately preceding the Revolution, the "Committee of Safety" held its meetings in a hall in the upper part of this house. The "Tuesday Evening Club," of which General Glover, Elbridge Gerry, Dr. Story, Colonel Lee, and other well-known citizens were members, also held its meetings there. After the death of Mr. Jayne, his wife married Joshua Prentiss, Esq., who for many years held the office of town clerk. During the time of his residence there, in the year 1791, the Methodist Church was organized in the old hall; and for several years after the unmarried ministers of that denomination boarded in his family. In later years the house became the home

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Collections.*

of Gen. Samuel Avery, a Brigadier-general of the Massachusetts militia.

The house on the corner of Mugford and Back Streets is distinguished as the place where James Mugford and his wife went to "housekeeping" shortly after their marriage. On the opposite side of the street, near the Unitarian Church, stands the house where the dead hero was carried to his sorrowing young bride, and from whence he was borne to the grave. This house was the residence of Mr. John Griste, the father of Mrs. Mugford, and has always remained in the possession of the family.

The small shop on Back Street, owned by Mr. Joseph Wormstead, is said to be one of the oldest buildings in town. It was formerly a dwelling-house, and there is an interesting tradition concerning it. One night in the early days of the settlement, it is said, this house was attacked by several Indians who clamored for admittance. The male members of the family were away at the time, and the only occupants of the house were three unprotected women. Finding that their assailants were likely to gain an entrance, one of the women opened a window, and seizing a pot of boiling porridge which was cooking over the fire, scattered it about in all directions. The Indians were not prepared for such a warm reception, and as they were all badly scalded, departed in great haste.

The house on High Street, formerly the residence of the Cressy family, though not so old as those already mentioned, is worthy of a place in this chapter. It was the birthplace of Capt. Josiah Perkins Cressy, who was widely known among merchants, through a long career, as a successful shipmaster and famous navigator. He was commander of the ship "Flying Cloud," in which he made a series of rapid voyages to China and the Pacific coast, and the two quickest passages on record from New York to San Francisco. The most noted of these was in the year 1851, when the passage was made in eighty-nine days and twenty-one



hours. The event attracted great attention, both in this country and in Europe, and it was entered in the archives at Washington that "Captain Cressy can challenge the annals of navigation, past and present, for an equal to the speed made in his quick passages."

## CHAPTER XIX.

## FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

THE history of this, the first church gathered in Marblehead, properly begins in the year 1684, though a public preacher, or religious teacher, had been supported in the town for many years previous to that time.

On the 24th of May, 1684, as we are informed by the records, the people of Marblehead voted to invite Mr. Samuel Cheever, "who had been their minister for fifteen years and a half, to take the office of a pastor;" and to organize themselves into a "particular society for the enjoyment of all the ordinances in this place as in other towns and places in this country."

The church was organized on the 13th of August, 1684, with fifty-four members, nearly all of whom were dismissed from the First Church in Salem for the purpose. The ordination of Mr. Cheever took place on the same day, with impressive ceremonies, "the whole work" being "countenanced with the presence of the deputy-governor, five of the assistants, and twenty elders with many ministers and young scholars, and many others."

The Lord's Supper was administered for the first time on Sunday, October 5, of the same year.

There is little information to be obtained from the records concerning the church and its pastor until the year 1714, when, in consequence of the advanced age and declining health of Mr. Cheever, it was voted to call an assistant. The concurrence of the town was obtained in the matter, and Messrs. John Barnard and Edward Holyoke, of Boston,

and Amos Cheever, a son of the minister, were named as candidates. Mr. Barnard received the vote of the church and the town for the position, but as the friends of Mr. Holyoke were unwilling to yield, the result was an exciting and bitter controversy. Finally, after several church meetings had been held in the vain attempt to settle the matter satisfactorily, the friends of Mr. Holyoke withdrew, and organized the Second Congregational Church, calling Mr. Holyoke as their pastor. The First Church refused to send delegates to the council called to organize the new church, and sent an earnest protest to the legislature when a charter was applied for.

Mr. Barnard took up his residence in Marblehead in the autumn of 1815, and was ordained on the 18th of July of the following year. "As the smiles of Providence were seen in the temperateness of the day," says the record, "so the solemnity was countenanced with the presence of several councillors, many ministers, and a vast assembly of people from all parts."

The records of this church afford an evidence of the prosperity enjoyed by the people of Marblehead for many years previous to the Revolution. Many of the wealthiest citizens of the town were among its communicants, and large amounts of money were frequently contributed for charitable purposes. On the occasion of a public fast, held July 2, 1752, the sum of £166 was collected for the relief of the poor in Boston. Eight years later, another collection was taken for the relief of the sufferers by a great fire in Boston, when the congregation responded in a manner equally as liberal and generous.

On the 25th of August, 1762, the Rev. William Whitwell was ordained as assistant, and eight years later, upon the death of Mr. Barnard, he assumed the entire pastoral charge of the church. Mr. Whitwell remained with his people until removed by death, November 8, 1781.

On the 1st of January, 1783, the Rev. Ebenezer Hubbard

was ordained. His ministry covered a period of nearly eighteen years in duration, and ended at his death in the year 1800.

The next pastor was the Rev. Samuel Dana, who was ordained October 7, 1801. During the thirty-six years of his labor, four hundred and eighty members were added to the church. In the year 1817, a Sunday-school was established, and during the same year a new bell was procured for the meeting-house by the voluntary contributions of the people.

During the following year (1818) the chapel on Pearl Street was erected.

In the year 1823, the old meeting-house having become unserviceable from its dilapidated condition, the proprietors voted to tear it down and to build a new edifice. Accordingly, in the year 1824 the stone church on Washington Street was erected. It was finished, and the services of dedication took place July 21, 1825.

In 1832, the Rev. Samuel Cozzens was ordained as colleague to Mr. Dana, and remained five years, when both gentlemen resigned, and were dismissed by council at their own request.

On the 30th of August, 1837, the Rev. Mark Haskell Niles was installed as pastor, and remained until November 27, 1844. His successor was the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, who was installed April 25, 1845. He resigned July 12, 1854, to accept a professorship in the East Windsor Theological Seminary.

Shortly after the resignation of Mr. Lawrence, a call was extended to the Rev. Benjamin R. Allen, of South Berwick, Me., who accepted the pastorate, and was installed November 8 of the same year. During his ministry, in the year 1859, the church was divided by a serious controversy, which resulted in the withdrawal of about forty members, and the organization of the Third Congregational Church.

In the year 1868, a "meadow lot" and two cow leases, belonging to the church, were sold, and the proceeds, together

with donations from the Ladies Parish Society and others, amounting to about four thousand dollars, were applied to the purchase of a lot of land on High Street, and the erection of a parsonage.

Mr. Allen died suddenly June 2, 1872, and on the 3d of September, 1873, the Rev. John H. Williams was ordained as pastor.

The Third Congregational Church, of which mention has been made, was organized September 28, 1858. Public services were held at Lyceum Hall every Sabbath, until October 9, 1860, when a new house of worship, which had been erected on the corner of School and Essex Streets, was dedicated with appropriate exercises.

The pulpit was filled by the Rev. Francis Homes from April 22, 1860, to November 9, 1862, and by several other clergymen as supplies, until August 31, 1864, when the Rev. Theodore D. P. Stone was installed as the first pastor. Mr. Stone resigned September 25, 1867, and a call was extended to the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, who was installed November 19, 1868. He remained five years, and was succeeded by the Rev. Frank D. Kelsey, who was ordained July 7, 1874, and resigned early in the year 1877.

On the 25th of June, 1877, during the great conflagration which devastated a large portion of the town, the house of worship was destroyed. While the church was thus without a pastor and a church edifice, it was decided to disband the organization, and to accept an invitation from the members of the First Congregational Church to consolidate and unite with them.

The First Church having increased largely in numbers by this accession of members, the chapel on Pearl Street was found too small for the accommodation of all who attended the prayer-meetings, and during the year 1878 a suitable building was erected on Washington Street, near the church. It was dedicated on Wednesday evening, March 12, 1879.

## CHAPTER XX.

## ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

[THE following sketch was written by the author for the columns of the "Boston Post," and is inserted in this work, substantially as it was published in that journal, July 1, 1878.]

From the earliest records, it appears that the church edifice used by the communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Marblehead was erected in the year 1714, though the parish must have been gathered some years previous. The funds for the erection of the building were subscribed by thirty-three gentlemen, called in the records, "Benefactors," who pledged themselves in various sums to the amount of £175. The list was headed by Col. Francis Nicholson, who subscribed £25, and the remainder was made up by various captains of vessels in sums varying from £12 to £2 each. The fund was afterward increased to £416, by the subscriptions of forty-five other persons, when a petition was sent to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," then under the direction of the Bishop of London, asking that a minister might be sent "with all convenient speed, with the usual salary allowed their missionaries."

The petition was forwarded at the hands of Col. Nicholson, who was about to sail for England, and a letter was addressed to him in behalf of the society, signed by George Jackson, John Calley, and James Calley. The letter is dated November 27, 1714, and from it the most authentic information is obtained respecting the erection of the church.

The letter attests the deep love and veneration felt for Colonel Nicholson by the people, as is shown by the following extract: "Returning our Father and founder of the church among us humble and hearty thanks for your generous benevolence towards erecting of said church." By this letter we learn that a meeting was held July 20, 1714, when choice was made of "Mr. George Jackson, Mr. John Olton, Capt. John Calley, and Capt. James Calley, to be a Standing Committee for the carrying on that affair in building a Handsome Church." The subscribers obliged themselves to pay one third of their subscriptions when the timber and other utensils were on the spot, one third more when covered, and the other third when the church was finished. Colonel Nicholson is informed in the letter that "the Committee erected and raised a church Sept. 2d, of the dimensions following, viz., 48 foot square, 23 foot had the Tower, being 50 foot from the Ground and 17 foot square, and we design the spire 53 foot above the Tower. October 16, the Church being now enclosed and followed and the most part shingled and shut up we have agreed for finishing the whole, having all things in place. But the weather proving extreme hard has put us by at present, but hope by the blessing of God to compleat and finish the whole by the last of June ensuing at the furthest." The letter concludes by requesting the assistance of Colonel Nicholson in procuring "an able Orthodox minister." The frame and all the materials used in the construction of the building were brought from England, the reredos being brought entire in readiness to be placed in position. When completed it must indeed have been a beautiful little edifice for those times. The tower and main entrance were on the west side, and there was also an entrance on the south side. The building was covered by a roof of seven gables, supported by four large pillars of solid oak, rising from the ground. The pulpit was in the centre of the northern side. It was of the high, wine-glass pattern, with a sounding-board, and had a read-

ing desk just in front of it. The chancel was in the centre of the eastern side, and behind the altar the reredos was placed, surmounted by the royal monogram or coat-of-arms of King George. The pews were of course of the pattern common to that time, square, with high backs. The ceiling was in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, corresponding to the form of the aisles. The original form of the roof can still be seen under the present peculiar shaped roof, which was made thus simply to cover the other when an addition was made in 1728.

This rather minute description of the edifice as it appeared originally is given because, though it still retains many of its original features, the interior has been somewhat changed in consequence of various repairs made from time to time.

The earnest efforts of Colonel Nicholson in behalf of the petitioners were not without avail, and on the 20th of July following, 1715, the Rev. William Shaw arrived in Marblehead with full credentials from the Bishop of London as the rector of the "Episcopal Church of England in Marblehead." The new rector had hardly time to settle down to his labors before a controversy arose in the town as to the right of the selectmen and assessors to tax the people of the Church of England for the support of the ministers of the Congregational churches. The officials claimed that according to the laws of the province the people were obliged to pay this tax, and they were determined to collect it. The churchmen were as strenuously determined not to "pay tribute to dissenters," and the result was an open and bitter quarrel, which at one time seemed fraught with disaster to the infant parish.

At about this time the Second Congregational Society was organized. This new society seems to have been another source of trouble to the struggling parish of the Church of England, for in a letter written to the secretary of the society which sent him to Marblehead, the Rev. Mr.



Shaw accuses them of building a meeting-house "in damnable spite and malice against our church," as "some of their chief members have openly declared." Mr. Shaw also declares that "the persons thereto belonging are so inveterate against us that they omit no abuses nor indirect practices to seduce my people." It would seem, too, by the same letter, that every effort was made to suppress the growth of the church in Marblehead, not only by abusive language, but in some instances by downright persecution.

The people of the little parish were, generally speaking, poor, and consequently the repeated taxes levied upon them for the support of preachers not of their own communion was felt to be a great imposition, especially as in some instances estates were confiscated and held for the amount of the taxes. According to the testimony of the rector and the church wardens and vestry, not only were parishioners of the church taxed for the support of the dissenting ministers, but even upon the first notice of their design to attend the church they were loaded down with heavy taxes. An appeal was made to Governor Shute for relief from this burden, and an order was issued from that official restraining the selectmen and assessors from levying the tax, but to no avail. The order was contemptuously set aside and disobeyed by the town officials, and the tax was levied in defiance of the governor until some time after the close of Mr. Shaw's rectorship. Mr. Shaw closed his rectorship late in the year 1717, or early in the year 1718, the reason for which appears in his memorial to the society, written in March, 1718. He says: "Having by the blessing of God and the kind assistance of our present Governor, Colonel Shute, obtained an exemption from the oppressions of the Natives, and all things seeming to favor our pious intentions, one Charles Johnson, Clerk of the said Church, contrary to the canons thereof, sets up for an expounder and preacher of the Gospel. My hearers, generally speaking, being new converts, and having too many of them itching

ears, are too subject to be led out of the way by his seducing doctrine. This man's method did not only cause divisions and create great animosities among the members of the Church, inhabitants of the aforesaid town, but caused several to abstain from the communion and for some time refrain the Church." After vainly endeavoring to dissuade the clerk from his proceedings, Mr. Shaw, after consultations with the masters of ships and prominent men of the parish, decided to return to England and submit the matter to the society for decision, requesting that the "dangerous seducer" might be "suppressed." What might have been the character of the doctrine preached by Mr. Johnson there is no means of knowing, nor is there any mention made in the records of such a difficulty with the parish clerk. No reference whatever is made in the records to the rectorship of Mr. Shaw, except in one instance where his name appears as signing the records of a vestry meeting in 1717, though it is probable that the sixty-four baptisms and ten burials recorded in 1716 are his official acts.

Mr. Shaw did not return from England, though it seems that it was not his intention to leave the parish destitute of a supply; but the clergyman applied to evidently did not come to Marblehead for some time after the departure of the rector, if at all, for a letter written by the wardens and vestry some time after, states that they were expecting "a gentleman of this country." Probably the Rev. Christopher Bridges, to whom a call had been given, but who did not accept.

The second rector was the Rev. David Mossom, who arrived, according to the records, in the "Ded of Winter," 1718, the wardens and vestrymen being assessed twenty shillings apiece to defray his expenses. Mr. Mossom was the first person ordained presbyter for the American Colonies, and appears to have been eminently successful in his ministry at Marblehead. A short time after his settlement he reports that the church has considerably increased, the

number of communicants being near double, "besides those brought in from the neighboring towns, and many more who would come were they not deterred by this effectual bar to the growth of the church, their being obliged to pay to the dissenting minister.

The people being still taxed in defiance of the orders of the governor, Mr. Mossom made another appeal to His Excellency, and also to the justices at Salem, to restrain the town officials. The churchmen were determined to resist the outrage, and the wardens and vestry voted that "if any person belonging to this church shall be destrained upon, either in body or goods, for the payment of the rate made for the support of Mr. Cheever, the dissenting minister, . . . the vestry and all belonging to this church shall join together and pay whatever charge shall arise upon such distress, and make all possible application for the relief of the person so destrained upon." The petition of Mr. Mossom had the desired effect, and another order was issued by the governor, which resulted in the exemption of churchmen from the tax by a vote of a town meeting convened for that purpose.

In 1724 there were, according to the report of the rector, between seventy and eighty families in the parish, besides several negro slaves, who generally attended service with their masters. During Mr. Mossom's rectorship two hundred and twenty-four persons were taxed for pews, the majority of whom were fishermen. Services were held on nearly every fast day of the church, which were well attended, and the children were catechised every Friday and Sunday in Lent. The communion was administered every month, though perhaps not very conveniently, as the rector complains that the church has "neither communion table cloth nor pulpit cloth, and only one small cup for distributing the wine, though the number of communicants was more than fifty."

The records of the entire period of his rectorship are in

Mr. Mossom's handwriting, and are attested by his name after every entry. The first mention of a name for the church is made about this time in a letter to Colonel Nicholson, then governor of South Carolina, informing him that the church waits for him to name it. And the first mention of the church-yard as a burial-place is made in the last vote attested by Mr. Mossom, in which it is ordered that none save constant hearers shall be buried there, under a fine of five pounds. Mr. Mossom closed his rectorship in 1727, and went to New Kent, Va., and while there officiated at the marriage of George Washington to the widow Custis. He died in 1767, at the age of seventy-seven years.

The vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Mossom was filled temporarily by a clergyman from Boston, and in 1728 the Rev. George Pigot was settled, for whom extensive preparations were made. The sum of £150 was raised for his salary, and the church building was enlarged by an addition of fifteen feet on the northern side, the land having been purchased of Mrs. Elizabeth Brown and Mrs. Hannah Le Gallais for that purpose. Mr. Pigot came to Marblehead from Providence, R. I., and in addition to his parochial duties, officiated every month at Salem, where in a short time he gathered a congregation of between two and three hundred persons. Finding it inconvenient to attend service at Marblehead, and Mr. Pigot's parishioners being unwilling for him to leave them on Sunday to preach at Salem, an earnest appeal was made to the Bishop of London for the establishment of a mission at that place, which, after being several times denied, was finally successful.

In 1730, Mr. Pigot made what proved to be an unsuccessful attempt to regain a right to the Baronies of Morley and Monteagle, to which he was an heir, and requested permission to return to England to attend to the matter, which was evidently not granted. The records show that he received for his salary £125 per year, with whatever gold and silver is put in the contribution. During his rectorship,

which ended in 1736, there are recorded 454 baptisms, among them four of his own slaves, 95 marriages, 145 burials, and a list of 75 communicants. In going from the house of a poor and sick parishioner whom he had been visiting in the winter of 1736, Mr. Pigot fell on the ice and broke his left arm, which he refractured in the following summer. His health consequently became broken and he obtained leave to visit England, and died there, or on the passage. His wife probably never left Marblehead, as she was buried in the church-yard fifteen years after.

During Mr. Pigot's rectorship in the year 1732, the hearts of his parishioners were made glad by the reception of a brass chandelier for the church, the gift of John Elbridge, Esq., collector of the port of Bristol, Eng., who also presented an oil portrait of himself. The chandelier still hangs in its place, and is used on the evenings of festival days in illuminating the church.

The Rev. Alexander Malcom was the next rector; but, as there are no vestry records at all during his rectorship, little can be ascertained regarding him. He took charge of the parish in 1740 and remained nine years, when he resigned and went to Maryland. In 1745, a communion service of solid silver was presented to the church by Mr. David Le Gallais, as recorded on the flagon in Latin. This flagon weighs four pounds, and is still used. The paten has a later date, 1764, engraved on the under side. In a letter, dated July 30, 1745, Mr. Malcom reports that his people have kept clear of the disorders sown here by the enthusiast Whitefield who visited the town. The church, he says, "is composed of families from Great Britain and the Island of Jersey, brought up originally in the communion of the church. He speaks encouragingly of the fact that "several of the dissenters come now and then to church, who never were there before, and in great multitudes when I take any occasional sermons, which I hope will by degrees lessen their bigotry. Even their teachers come to church on these occa-

sions." Mr. Malcom lived in peace and friendliness with all while in town, and in 1748 was married to Mary Reed, though the fact only is recorded, and the officiating clergyman's name is not given. Mr. Malcom's official record is headed by the name "St. Michael's Church," the first time the name appears, though it had probably been given by Governor Nicholson some time before.

After the resignation of Mr. Malcom, the services of the church were conducted by the neighboring clergymen in Salem and Boston until the year 1753, when the Rev. Peter Bours was settled as rector. Mr. Bours was the son of Peter Bours, Esq., a member of the Council of the Province of Rhode Island. He graduated at Harvard University in 1747. His ministry in Marblehead was eminently successful, and he endeared himself to all who knew him, both churchmen and dissenters. He died suddenly February 24, 1762, and was buried in the church-yard, where his tomb may still be seen. The first mention of a glebe or rectory as being owned by the parish, is made in the records during his rectorship, though there is no indication of the time that it was erected. The first mention of an organ is also made in the records of this time, though there is nothing to show when it was purchased.

For a year and a half the parish was without a rector, when the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, who had been to London for ordination at the expense of the parish, assumed the rectorship. For some years the parish flourished under his care. A new gallery was built for the organ at the expense of several energetic communicants, the parish was organized into a corporation, a charter was obtained, and all things seemed to promise well for a prosperous future. But revolution was in the air, and for several years the constant excitement to which the sturdy men of Marblehead were subject began to have its effect upon the little parish. In 1766, Mr. Weeks congratulates the Society at London upon the fact that Marblehead has elected the only churchman

who sits in the General Assembly. But three years later there is a slight tinge of anxiety in his report, in regard to political matters which "embitter the minds of the people." He, however, reports the church as growing and on a better footing than ever. The spirit of liberty never animated a people more thoroughly than it did the people of Marblehead during the exciting times preceding and following the passage of the Stamp Act by the Parliament of Great Britain. The utmost resistance was determined upon; and while the churchmen themselves were hesitating between their love of the church and their hatred of tyranny, the overzealous Marbleheaders omitted no opportunity to denounce the Church of England as "nursing her children with milk unfriendly to the sons of liberty." Affairs went on in very much the same order until the latter part of the year 1770, when the celebrated Whitefield again appeared in Marblehead and fiercely attacked in "the most abusive language the church, the rector, and all belonging to it." This had the effect only to endear the church the more to its ever-faithful children; but among its enemies who believed all that had been said, it created the most bitter hatred of its ordinances. Whitefield was followed by several others of the same class of enthusiasts, as we are informed by Mr. Weeks in another letter, and finally one Jayne, a communicant of the church, became a convert to their teachings. His enthusiasm in the new cause did not deter him from attending the services of church, and it seems he disturbed the congregation while receiving the communion, because of some difference he had had with the clerk. For this reason he was forbidden by the rector to appear at the altar "unless he reformed and gave evidence of a better spirit and behaviour." This appears to be the only instance of any conversions among churchmen to the teachings of Whitefield and his followers, and in spite of the opposition it met with, the church held its own and seemed likely soon to be the richest congregation in town. In 1771, the door at the

west side of the church was closed and a porch was built over the south door, which has been the only door used since. There is a tradition that a door was cut in the side of the church to accommodate a stout gentleman who was too large to enter an ordinary pew-door, and this would seem to be substantiated by a vote of the parish recorded at this time: "That at present it is convenient to keep open the door leading into the garden belonging to the estate of the late William Bourne, Esq."

The events of the few years following the breaking out of the American Revolution were of the greatest import to the congregation of St. Michael's Church. The rector of the neighboring church at Salem wrote home to the society: "Mr. Weeks is popular and has the esteem of all parties, and his diligence and prudent behaviour deserve it." But neither popularity nor prudence were sufficient to stem the tide of public opinion which was daily increasing against the British government, and consequently the prejudice against the church grew the more bitter and intense. Many of its members were strong in their opposition to the measures of the government, but were equally as strong in their determination that the services of their mother church should be maintained. Every effort was made to allay the feeling of distrust, and the wardens and vestry directed that the church should be opened and services held on several occasions, appointed by the town authorities as days of fasting and prayer, but to no avail. There was not a town in the country where citizens were more patriotic than the men of Marblehead, and when, in 1775, the controversy between the mother country and the colonies developed into a declaration of war, none sprang to arms more readily, or gave their lives more willingly in defense of their rights and liberties. Then, when the rector of St. Michael's Church avowed himself as a Loyalist, and openly advised his people to have nothing to do with the "rebellion," the indignation of the people knew no bounds. Several of the most trusted



leaders of the people were communicants of the church, and the result was a hopelessly divided parish. Capt. William R. Lee, one of the most influential men in the town, was a staunch churchman and as staunch a patriot. Captain Trevett, who commanded a company at the battle of Bunker Hill, was also a churchman. These men and their associates counseled moderation, and endeavored to induce the rector to adopt a different course to preserve harmony in the parish. For a year or more after the Declaration of Independence the services of the church were regularly held; but finally a law was passed by the Provincial Congress forbidding the use of the liturgy, and the rector, with the advice of the wardens and vestry, reluctantly closed the church.

When the news of the Declaration of Independence was received in Marblehead, the joy of the people knew no bounds. Every demonstration of gladness was made, and in the height of the excitement a body of men broke open St. Michael's Church, pulled the coat-of-arms of King George from its place above the chancel, and rang the bell till it cracked. There was no mistaking the meaning of these demonstrations, and about a year after it was deemed the part of prudence to discontinue public services till the troublesome times were over. Services were, however, continued at private houses for some time, till the rector could no longer remain in town and was obliged to take refuge in Nova Scotia. The church remained closed for several years after the departure of Mr. Weeks, and was not again opened till February 6, 1780, when Mr. Woodward Abraham read prayers and a sermon. Mr. Abraham conducted the services for six years, receiving the contribution money for his services, and in 1786 the Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver was settled as rector till 1791. Notwithstanding the troubles through which the church had passed, on the first visit of Bishop Seabury, in 1787, Mr. Oliver was enabled to present one hundred and twenty candidates for confirmation.

Mr. Oliver was succeeded by the Rev. William Harris, who had for several years been teaching at the Marblehead Academy, and for some time officiated in the church as lay reader. He was ordained at the request of the wardens and vestry in 1791. Mr. Harris remained in Marblehead eleven years, and his ministry was eminently successful. He resigned in 1802, and went to New York, and afterwards became president of Columbia College.

The next rector was the Rev. James Bowers, who remained nine years and was succeeded by Rev. John P. K. Henshaw, who remained one year. He was afterward Bishop of Rhode Island, being consecrated August 11, 1843. For four years after the resignation of Mr. Henshaw, there was no rector save the Rev. Joseph Andrews, who officiated for four months, and then resigned to become a missionary in a foreign field.

In 1818 the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith became rector, but so reduced had the parish become that it was impossible for him to remain, and he resigned the following year. Dr. Smith was afterward consecrated Bishop of Kentucky, and is now Presiding Bishop of the United States, being the oldest in the country. St. Michael's was his first parish, and he has always entertained a warm affection for it, and his name is held in veneration by the parish. For several years after the resignation of Mr. Smith the old church was closed and the communicants despaired of its ever being opened for liturgic services again. In 1821, the glebe, which had for many years been owned by the parish as a home for its rectors, became hopelessly involved and was sold to pay off the parish debts. At about this time the Channing movement was at its height in the Congregational churches of New England. The pastor of the Second Congregational Society became a convert to the new doctrine, and many of his people who were firm in their love of the faith as taught by the Puritan fathers, left the society. Among the more influential of those who

withdrew was the Hon. William Reed, who looked with covetous eyes on the old church of St. Michael's. Mr. Reed bought pews, became a proprietor and vestryman of the church, and finally induced a sufficient number of proprietors to join with him in a petition to the Massachusetts Legislature for a repeal of the old charter, and to re-charter the church as a "Congregational Meeting-house." But several of the old proprietors did not consent to this proceeding, among them Dr. Drury, an old and influential vestryman, and Captain Trevett, an old sea-captain. These men were determined that the church should not be taken from its ancient parish without a stubborn fight to prevent it. The aid of the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, of Salem, was obtained, and he, with the bishop of the diocese, went before the legislature and protested against the proposed change, and through their efforts the petition was denied. Thus the old church was preserved for the use of coming generations who desire to worship according to its ancient and time-honored liturgy.

This attempt to alienate the church from its ancient usage infused new life into the communicants. Their slumbering energies were now fully aroused, and with the kind assistance of Rev. Mr. Carlisle, of Salem, services were once more held in the church. The records contain little information as to the years following for some time, other than the occasional records of vestry meetings. The Rev. Lot Johns officiated as rector for a short time in 1823, the Rev. Thomas S. W. Mott from 1825 to 1827, and from that time till 1831 the church was again closed. The Rev. Joseph H. Price became rector in 1831 and remained over a year and a half, and was succeeded by the Rev. George V. C. Eastman, who was settled in July, 1832, and remained till September, 1833. During his rectorship the services were held for some months in Academy Hall, while extensive repairs and alterations were made in the church. The old square pews were removed and slip pews were put in, the chancel

was removed to the northern end, with the pulpit and reading desk on either side,—the pulpit on the west and the reading desk on the east side of the church. Since that time the interior of the edifice has not been altered, except that it has several times been painted and frescoed. The succeeding rector was the Rev. William H. Lewis, who assumed the rectorship in 1833 and remained seven years. Under his charge the church attained a degree of prosperity such as it had not known for years, and Mr. Lewis endeared himself personally to a large number of friends. There are hundreds living to-day in Marblehead who dwell fondly on the memory of his rectorship. Perhaps no better evidence can be given of his work than the fact that during his ministry eighty-five persons were confirmed, the largest number known since 1787. Mr. Lewis was followed by the Rev. John P. Robinson, who was rector from 1840 to 1842, and was succeeded by the Rev. Moses P. Stickney, who was ordained priest in the church September 14, 1842. During Mr. Stickney's rectorship the chapel, which stands at the western side of the church, was erected, at the expense of the ladies of the Parish Aid Society.

In July, 1847, the Rev. N. P. Tillinghast took charge of the parish, but resigned on the 1st of November following. His successor was the Rev. Edward Ballard, who was called in 1848, and remained three years, giving place to the Rev. John B. Richmond, in 1851. Mr. Richmond was one of the most successful and popular rectors the parish ever had. Under his charge the parish increased in numbers, and the church was in a most prosperous condition. He closed his rectorship in 1859, and in 1860 the Rev. Edwin B. Chase became rector. Of all the rectors the old parish has had the memory of none is cherished with more sincere affection than that of this saintly clergyman. He remained six years, and was succeeded by the Rev. William R. Woodbridge, a native of Marblehead, who for four years labored zealously and resigned from ill health in 1871. For a year

or more the parish was again without a rector, when a unanimous call was extended to the Rev. John Wickliffe Leek, who accepted the rectorship. Without exception Mr. Leek was, undoubtedly, the most influential rector the parish has ever had. When he took charge of the parish, in 1872, the church stood on no street, and could only be reached by an alley-way twelve feet wide, running up from Washington Street, by the side of the back yards of private residences, one of which was a large tenement house, which almost entirely shut the church from view. The back yard and out-houses of this house were directly in front of the church door, and were a constant source of annoyance to the worshippers. During the very first year of his rectorship Mr. Leek worked earnestly to secure the removal of the building, and his efforts being seconded by an influential and zealous layman of the parish, who freely gave his time and money in aid of the project, the requisite amount of money was soon raised, and the estate was purchased in January, 1873. The following summer the house was removed, the ledge of rocks on which it stood was blasted away, and a fine lawn and driveway were laid out. During the same year two ladies of the parish, who had ever manifested their devotion to the church in good works, purchased an estate adjoining, and erected an excellent rectory, which they presented to the parish as a memorial of their mother, Mrs. Eunice Hooper. Mr. Leek remained with the parish but a few months after the rectory was finished, being obliged to close a pastorate so fruitful in good works on account of his rapidly failing health.

In the spring of 1875 the Rev. Julius H. Ward became rector. During the great conflagration in Marblehead, June 25, 1877, the roof of the church caught fire, and the building seemed doomed to destruction. A young man, named Thomas Gorman, succeeded in gaining a foothold upon it from a house adjoining, however, and while Mr. Ward held

him by a rope, secured in the belfry, he reached a point where he was able to extinguish the flames.

Mr. Ward resigned in January, 1878, and at Easter of the same year the Rev. William R. Harris, the present incumbent, was elected rector.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH (UNITARIAN).

THE organization of this church was occasioned by a controversy in the First Congregational Church concerning the settlement of a colleague to the Rev. Samuel Cheever. In December, 1714, the First Church, with the concurrence of the town, voted to call the Rev. John Barnard, and on the 5th of February, 1715, one hundred and twenty-four persons, who favored the settlement of the Rev. Edward Holyoke, withdrew from the society, and pledged themselves in an agreement to contribute the necessary funds for the erection of a "New Meeting House."

The edifice was completed during the latter part of the year, and on the 25th of April, 1716, the Second Congregational Church was organized, with twenty-seven members, who were dismissed by council from the First Church.

The ordination of Mr. Holyoke took place on the same day. On the 25th of July, 1737, after a pastorate of twenty-one years, he resigned, and accepted the position of president of Harvard College, to which he had been elected.

The second pastor was the Rev. Simon Bradstreet, who was ordained January 4, 1738. He continued his ministerial labors until May 1, 1771, when the Rev. Isaac Story was ordained as colleague. Upon the death of Mr. Bradstreet, which occurred October 5 of the same year, Mr. Story assumed full pastoral charge of the church, and continued in that position until February 4, 1802.

On the 22d of June, 1803, the Rev. Hezekiah May was ordained as pastor. He remained five years, and then re-

signed "on account of an unhappy difficulty between himself and the society."

The succeeding pastor was the Rev. John Bartlett, who was ordained May 22, 1811. The pastorate of Mr. Bartlett was probably the most eventful of any in the entire history of this church. During the great religious excitement caused by the Channing movement in the Congregational churches of New England, Mr. Bartlett announced his belief in the doctrines of Unitarianism as preached by Mr. Channing and his followers. The result was a serious controversy, during which many of those who differed with the pastor withdrew from the church and society. A majority of the communicants supported Mr. Bartlett in his teachings, however, and the church has ever since been Unitarian.

During the year 1832, the old house of worship was torn down and a new church edifice was erected. It was dedicated with appropriate exercises, January 2, 1833.

Mr. Bartlett died in February, 1849, and in October of the same year the Rev. Benjamin Huntoon became pastor. Mr. Huntoon resigned July 15, 1855, and from that time to the year 1860 the church was without a pastor, the services being conducted by clergymen who were engaged temporarily.

On Tuesday, June 5, 1860, the Rev. Samuel R. Calthrop was ordained, the sermon being delivered by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, of Boston. Mr. Calthrop resigned June 1, 1864, and in February, 1866, the Rev. James Henry Wiggin became pastor. He remained about eighteen months, and was succeeded by the Rev. William B. Buxton, who was installed August 9, 1868. During the pastorate of Mr. Buxton, the church edifice was extensively repaired, several important alterations being made in the interior.

Mr. Buxton resigned February 1, 1872, and on the 1st of January, 1873, the Rev. Benjamin H. Bailey was installed. During the year 1875, the parsonage on Elm Street was erected.



On the night of June 25, 1877, during the great conflagration, the roof of this church caught fire from falling cinders. The flames were extinguished, however, by Mr. Thomas J. Lecraw, who, being unable to force an entrance to the church, with great presence of mind climbed to the roof on a lightning rod. The noble act was appreciated by the members of the society, and they subsequently presented him with a gold watch in grateful recognition of his valuable services.

#### METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

JESSE LEE, the pioneer of Methodism in New England, preached the first Methodist sermon in Marblehead during the month of Ju'y, 1790, and in the latter part of that year took the town in his circuit. He was evidently tendered the use of the Second Congregational Church for his services, as on the 28th of June, 1791, it is recorded, that the Methodist bishop preached at the "New Meeting House."

The exact date of the organization of the church cannot be ascertained, but it is said to have been during the year 1791 or 1792, in the house of Mr. Joshua Prentiss, on Mugford Street. Preaching services were held at the house of Mr. William Martin, on Darling Street, and on the 30th of April, 1793, the Rev. Jesse Lee opened a room in the house of Mr. James Bowler, on Lee Street, for public services. On Thanksgiving day (November 8) of the same year, the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper held a service in this room in the Bowler house, and baptized a child, who was given the name of Ezekiel Cooper.

In the year 1801, the first chapel was erected on the rocks at the head of Rockaway Street, and was used as a place of worship until the erection of the present church edifice in 1833. The chapel was then converted into a dwelling-house, one-half of which has since been used as a parsonage.

In the year 1859, during the pastorate of the Rev. A. M.

Osgood, several important alterations were made in the interior of the church. In the autumn of 1879, a new entrance was made at the front of church, the vestry-room was thoroughly refitted, and several other improvements were made.

The following are the names of the pastors : —

1794, Jonathan Rexford.	1822, Henry Bulfinch.
1795, James Coval.	1823, James P. Harvey.
1796, George Cannon.	1824, Jesse Filmore,
1797, John Broadhead.	T. W. Tucker.
1798, Supplied.	1825, Benjamin Jones.
1799, Andrew Nichols.	1826, Henry Mayo.
1800, Joshua Wells.	1827, Nathan B. Spaulding.
1801, George Pickering,	1828, Selah S. Stocking.
Thomas F. Sargent.	1829, Nathan Paine.
1802, Epaphras Kibby.	1830, Darius Barker.
1803, Daniel Webb.	1831, George Sutherland.
1804, Reuben Hubbard,	1832, Newell S. Spaulding.
1805, Daniel Batchelder.	1833-4, Epaphras Kibby.
1806, Alfred Metcalf.	1835, George Pickering.
1807, Philip Munger.	1836, Hector Brownson.
1808, David Batchelder.	1837, Charles Noble.
1809, William Hunt.	1838, Abraham D. Merrill.
1810, Thomas Asbury,	1839-40, Edward Otheman.
Alex McClain,	1841-2, James Mudge.
1811, Erastus Otis.	1843, Stephen G. Hiler.
1812, Nathan B. Ashcraft,	1844, J. S. J. Gridley.
Stephen Bailey.	1844-6, William Rice.
1813, William Himman.	1847-8, William Smith.
1814, Benjamin Hazleton.	1849-50, George Dunbar,
1815, Benjamin F. Lambord.	Leonard Austin.
1816, Solomon Sias.	1851-52, F. I. Barrows.
1817, W. Marsh, O. Hines.	1853-54, Ichabod Marcy.
1818-19, Jesse Filmore.	1855-56, Augustus F. Bailey.
1820, Zalmon Stuart.	1857-58, Moseley Dwight.
1821, Jotham Horton.	1859-60, A. M. Osgood.

- |                                     |                                       |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1861-62, W. A. Braman.              | 1873-74-75, Linus Fish.               |
| 1863-64, C. L. McCurdy.             | 1876-77, J. A. Bartlett.              |
| 1865-66-67, Barthemew Othe-<br>man. | 1877 to April, 1878,<br>W. E. Dwight. |
| 1868-69-70, Z. A. Mudge.            | 1878, J. W. Dearborn.                 |
| 1871-72, W. D. Bridge.              |                                       |

## CHAPTER XXII.

## BAPTIST CHURCH.

THIS church was organized February 28, 1810, with twenty-one members, who were regularly dismissed from the First Baptist Church of Salem for the purpose. The first church edifice purchased for the society was a house of worship on Watson Street, known as the "Rock Meeting-house," which had formerly been used by a society of Hopkinsians.

On the 15th of July, 1811, the Rev. Ferdinand Ellis, who had supplied the pulpit for about fifteen months, was installed as the first pastor. In September, 1817, Mr. Ellis resigned, and in April, 1818, the Rev. Herbert Marshall was installed. He resigned September 30 of the same year, and shortly after took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The next pastor was the Rev. Isaac Kimball, who was ordained March 10, 1819. He resigned September 20, 1820. After the resignation of Mr. Kimball, the church was without a pastor about two years, during which time services were conducted by Mr. Isaac Story, Jr., a licensed preacher.

In November, 1822, the Rev. Matthew Bolles became pastor, and continued until July 3, 1825. His successor was the Rev. Samuel Adlam, who was settled August 10, 1827, and remained four years.

On the 26th of April, 1831, the Rev. Bela Wilcox was installed. During the brief period of his ministry, a new church edifice was erected on Pleasant Street. It was dedicated during the month of February, 1832. On the 12th of April, of the same year, Mr. Wilcox resigned.

The next pastor was the Rev. Avery Briggs, who was settled September 14, 1832, and resigned May 16, 1834. His successor was the Rev. Nathaniel Hervey, who was installed October 17, 1834, and remained nearly two years.

On the 1st of September, 1837, the Rev. Dudley C. Haynes was ordained. He resigned in March, 1839, giving place to the Rev. Hervey Fitz, who was settled July 5, of the same year. After a pastorate of two years, Mr. Fitz resigned, and in March, 1841, the Rev. M. M. Dean was installed. The pastorate of Mr. Dean covered a period of more than four years, ending in December, 1845. The next pastor was the Rev. Zenas P. Wild, who was settled in June, 1846, and resigned in March, 1848.

On the 1st of December, 1848, the Rev. George W. Patch was settled. His ministry was eminently successful, and for twenty-six years he continued as a faithful shepherd among this people.

On the 5th of February, 1867, the church edifice was destroyed by fire. During the same year, another house of worship was erected on the same site, which was dedicated December 28, 1868.

In September, 1874, Mr. Patch resigned, and on the first day of September, 1875, the Rev. John Harris Barrows was ordained. He remained three years, and was succeeded by the Rev. George W. Gardner, D. D., who was installed April 29, 1879.

#### UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

Early in the month of January, 1836, several gentlemen, who were believers in the doctrines of Universalism, subscribed a small amount of money for the purpose of procuring the services of a preacher of that denomination. The first service was held at Franklin Hall on the 31st of the same month, when the Rev. Benjamin Whittemore officiated.

On the 3d of February, 1836, a society was organized, and measures were taken for the erection of a house of wor-

ship. Services were regularly held on the Sabbath at Franklin Hall until March 1, 1837, when the church edifice, which had been erected on the corner of Pleasant and Watson streets, was dedicated.

On the 18th of October, of the same year, the Rev. Abraham Norwood, who had been preaching for the society about three months, was ordained as the first pastor. During the ministry of Mr. Norwood, on the 22d of June, 1839, a church was organized, by the adoption of a "confession of faith and form of church government."

The history of this church for many years was simply a record of severe struggles for existence. The pastorates of its ministers were very short, and the society found it a hard matter to raise an amount of money sufficient to pay the annual expenses. But with brave hearts the members bore up under every difficulty, confident that their efforts would at length be crowned with success.

In January, 1862, in consequence of the civil war then in progress, the church edifice was closed, and was not again opened for services until May, 1863.

In 1870, important alterations were made in the house of worship, and a commodious vestry-room was made in the basement.

In August, 1871, the Rev. Harrison Closson became pastor. During his pastorate, which has been the longest of any in the entire history of the society, 450 persons have been baptized, and 150 members have been added to the church.

The following are the names of the pastors of this church:—

Rev. Abraham Norwood. Ordained October 18, 1837. Resigned September 22, 1839.

Rev. Henry Bacon. Settled January 27, 1840. Resigned February 5, 1842.

Rev. Joseph P. Atkinson. Settled April, 1842. Resigned August 3, 1845.

Rev. Alfred Peck. Settled June 9, 1844. Resigned August 3, 1845.

Rev. Robinson Breare. Settled August 31, 1845. Resigned January, 1849.

Rev. E. Case, Jr. Settled June 10, 1849. Resigned August 24, 1851.

Rev. Z. Cook. Settled October 19, 1851. Resigned, 1853.

Rev. E. P. Dutton. Settled May 14, 1854. Resigned June, 1856.

Rev. Stillman Barden. Settled June 22, 1856. Resigned June, 1861.

Rev. E. B. Bruce. Settled August 2, 1863. Resigned May, 1865.

Rev. F. D. Kitteridge. Ordained September 24, 1865. Resigned April 1, 1867.

Rev. William G. Haskell. Ordained September, 1868. Resigned October, 1868.

Rev. C. G. Tucker. Settled August 1, 1869. Resigned 1871.

Rev. Harrison Closson. Settled August, 1871.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## CHURCH STAR OF THE SEA.

THOUGH there had been Roman Catholics in Marblehead for many years, there was no attempt to have a celebration of the mass in town until the year 1851. During that year, the Rev. Thomas Shehan, pastor of St. James Church, Salem, visited the town, and celebrated mass in the house of Mr. Dennis Donovan, on the corner of Prospect and Commercial streets. Father Shehan afterwards came to Marblehead twice a year for the purpose of hearing confessions and administering the Holy Communion, the services being held alternately at the house of Mr. Donovan and that of Mr. John Mahoney, on Glover Square.

With the exception of these visits of Father Shehan, there were no services of the Roman Catholic Church in Marblehead until the year 1854, when Anderson's Hall, on Pleasant Street, was engaged, and mass was celebrated there on the second and third Sundays of every month. In 1857, services were held at the town hall, and during that year about one thousand dollars were raised by subscription for the erection of a church edifice. A lot of land on Prospect Street was bought as a site for the building, and the balance of the money was loaned to the Roman Catholics of Gloucester, who were about to build a church.

In 1859, a small church was built, and services were regularly maintained under the superintendence of Father Shehan, who officiated himself, or procured the services of other priests.

In November, 1865, Father Shehan gave notice that he



had been appointed to the charge of another parish, and requested the people to make an effort, before he left them, to pay an indebtedness of \$800 which they owed on the church building. On the day appointed for receiving contributions, every man in the congregation left his seat, as his name was called, and placed his offering upon the altar. When the offerings were counted, they were found to amount to \$820. more than enough to cancel the entire debt.<sup>1</sup>

The parish was afterwards placed in charge of the Rev. Charles Rainoni, who officiated several years at Peabody, and celebrated one mass every Sabbath at Marblehead. In 1872, he took up his residence in Marblehead, and became the first regular parish priest in charge of this church.

In 1868, the parish bought a lot of land on the road between Marblehead and Salem, which was consecrated for use as a cemetery.

Early in the year 1872, a new church edifice was erected on Gregory Street, and on the 8th of July of the same year it was burned to the ground. Fortunately the old church building had not been removed, and services were held there as usual.

A short time after the destruction of the new church, a house was erected on the same site for the use of the pastor.

Father Rainoni died in 1875, and was succeeded by the Rev. Daniel S. Healey. During the pastorate of Father Healey, the church edifice has been entirely remodeled, and is now the handsomest to be found in the town.

#### ADVENT CHURCH.

During the year 1840, Elder J. Litch officiated in the Methodist Church, which was the first time the doctrine of the second coming of Christ, as taught by the Advent Church, was preached in Marblehead. Elders Edwin Burnham and Elam Burnham afterwards held services at the

<sup>1</sup> For much of the information contained in this sketch, the author would respectfully acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Edmund O'Keefe.

house of Mr. John Reynolds, on Darling Street. Social prayer-meetings were regularly held by a few believers until the year 1854, when Elder John Hook held a series of meetings in Lyceum Hall. As a result of his labors, eight persons were converted and baptized.

The first Advent Church in Marblehead was organized in January, 1872. It was composed of eight members, and for two years and three months worshiped at Rechabite Hall. During this time the pulpit was supplied by ministers chiefly of the Massachusetts Advent Christian Conference, and social prayer-meetings were held from house to house on several evenings of each week. In 1874, the church decided to change its place of worship, and a hall was procured near the centre of the town, on Pleasant Street, in which services have since been regularly held.

The first pastor, Elder John F. Clothey, was settled in April, 1874, after having been ordained to the ministry by the Massachusetts Advent Christian Conference.

## ADDENDA.

THE following items of interest were copied from a journal kept by Mr. Edward Bowen, and were obtained after this work was in press, when too late for insertion in the proper place.

- 1779, September 30. At about half-past seven this evening, a sad accident happened. The armed brig Freemason being all fitted for a cruise, took fire, and about eight she blew up, and did a vast deal of damage to the houses. Several more privateers were dismantled.
- 1780, January 8. Blew very hard last night, and as cold as I ever knew it. Harbor froze over as far down as Skinner's Head, last night, and this forenoon it froze from Skinner's Head to Nick's Cove.
- 9th. This morning froze as far as the point of the Neck.
- 16th. Ice gone out of the harbor as far as Skinner's Head.
- 23d. The harbor frozen over, and the upper part has been so for three weeks. All the vessels frozen in.
- 28th. Harbor frozen over so that people pass and re-pass to the Neck.
- 1780, February 1. Harbor all frozen over as far as the fort, and passable for cart and oxen. I measured the ice from the head to the New Wharf, eight inches thick on an average, as far over as the Neck.
- 6th. This day the church was opened by the proprietors, and Mr. Abraham read prayers and a sermon, which was generally liked by all.
- 9th. Ice on this side the harbor gone from Skinner's Head quite down the harbor.
- 11th. Ice all out of the harbor.
- 18th. Last night the Thorn, Captain Waters, arrived from a cruise, having had a smart engagement, in which five men were killed belonging to this town, namely, Samuel Blackler, Benjamin Stacey, —— Ramsdell, William Green, and Joseph Cross.

## APPENDIX.

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### GLOVER'S MARBLEHEAD REGIMENT.

A ROLL of the field, staff, and company officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the Twenty-first Regiment of Foot, in the service of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, commanded by Col. John Glover.

#### FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

*Colonel*, John Glover.

*Lieutenant-colonel*, Gabriel Johonet.

*Major*, William Lee.

*Adjutant*, Caleb Gibbs.

*Surgeon*, Nathaniel Bond.

*Surgeon's Mate*, Nathaniel Harrington.

*Quartermaster*, Joseph Stacy.

#### COMPANY ONE.

*Captain*, Joel Smith.

*Lieutenant*, John Bray.

*Ensign*, Joshua Orne.

*Ensign*, Thomas Fosdick.

#### *Sergeants.*

Ebenezer Griffin,

Thomas Wilkston,

John Lewis,

Thomas Elkins.

#### *Corporals.*

Robert Barnes,

Robert Girdler,

Benjamin Thompson, *Drummer*,

John Griste, *Fifer*.

*Privates.*

William Thompson,	Joseph Wadden,
John Sweetland,	Jona. Thompson,
Wm. Brimblecome,	Abram. Sothard,
John Dove,	Joseph Paine,
William Sedgebard,	William Perry,
John Legrow,	Benjamin Dennis,
Thomas Allen, Jr.,	George Watson,
John Hadler,	William Nutting,
William Dixey,	William Dimond,
Richard Gear,	Robert Newhall,
Peter Daniels,	Robert Bray,
John Green,	Thomas Allen,
Edward Casey,	Richard Pedrick,
Thomas Laskey,	Robert Hooper,
Anthony Ferdinand,	Joseph Curtis,
John Homan,	Robert Curtis,
John Lovis,	Richard Craft,
Joshua Orne,	Ely Turner,
John Davis,	John High,
Cornelius Thompson,	Christopher Oaks.

## COMPANY TWO.

*Captain*, William Blackler.*Lieutenant*, Nathaniel Clark.*Second Lieutenant*, Nathaniel Pearce.*Sergeants.*

John Day,	Thomas Barker,
Nathaniel Hartshorn,	John Melvell.

*Corporals.*

James Eberns,	Andrew Lacky.
John Thompson, <i>Drummer.</i>	
Benjamin Gardner, <i>Fifer.</i>	

*Privates.*

David Emery,	Philip Cram,
John Strokes.	Benjamin Marston,
Francis Kennel,	Richard Brimblecome,
Joseph Prockter,	John Clathing,
George Standley,	Thomas Mann,
Nathaniel Story,	William Smith,
Joseph Pearce,	Richard Yeller,
John Freeto,	William Dane,
William Millett,	William Mathews,
James Quilby,	John Cartright,
Nathaniel Dodd,	Thomas Oliver,
Philip Greely,	Samuel Stearns,
Benjamin Johnson,	Samuel Bridgeo,
Amos Damon,	James Wood,
Benjamin Brown,	Nathaniel Soto,
David Osborn,	Joseph Tucker,
Samuel Snow,	Jacob Oliver,
Samuel Thompson,	Joseph Widger,
Nicholas Gifford,	John Kelly,
William Quiner,	Manuel Seward,
Stephen Morse,	John Richardson,
John Gallison,	William Brown,
Nathaniel Ramsdell,	Benjamin Lindsey,
Benjamin Boden,	John Quiner.
John Widger,	

## COMPANY THREE.

*Captain,* John Merritt.*Lieutenant,* Joshua Prentiss.*Ensign,* Robert Nimblett.*Sergeants.*

George Wells,	William Bartlett,
John Clark,	Nathaniel Fowler.

*Corporals.*

John Roach, Peter Harman.  
 Moses Picket, *Drummer*,  
 John Wells, *Fifer*.

*Privates.*

John Ball,	Allen Hubbard,
George Murry,	Nicholas Grater,
Edward Renouf,	William Shirley,
Edward Dorr,	Thomas Dennis,
Peter Melzen,	Benteman Reed,
Peter Sine,	John Woodbridge,
Samuel Coes,	Elias Grant,
Thomas Laskey,	James Andrews,
John Murry,	William M. Hasett,
John Malcolm,	Henry White,
Daniel Mervy,	Samuel Lewis,
John Savage,	Thomas Taut,
Ebenezer Burrell,	Richard Brown,
James Trefry,	John Foot,
William Pedrick,	John Nimblett,
George Cash,	James White,
Nathaniel Renouf,	John White,
Thomas Woodbridge,	William Richards,
Lewis Cruft,	James Topham,
Thomas Doliber,	Thomas Lake,
Thomas Davis,	Hamlet Merritt,
Joseph Wiggin,	John Murry,
Peter Doliber,	William Laskey,
Joseph Hovey,	John Baker,

John Brown.

## COMPANY FOUR.

*Captain*, J. Selman.  
*Lieutenant*, J. Collier.  
*Ensign*, Edward Homan.

*Sergeants.*

Ambrose Homan,	Ebenezer Legro,
Benjamin Doak,	Philip Carroll.

*Corporals.*

Richard Marstin,	Edward Scows.
<i>Drummer, John Scott.</i>	

*Privates.*

John Bowden,	Nathaniel Doliber,
Thomas Lefavour,	John Russell,
Jacob Waitt,	Jonathan Deacons,
Joseph Batcheler,	James Trefry,
Thomas Salkins,	John Lacy,
John Savage,	William Bean,
Thomas Mase,	John Pousland,
John Felton,	Samuel Felton,
Ephraim Chambers,	Michael Doake,
John Doliber,	Thomas Doliber, -
Elias Bowden,	Richard Ireson,
John White,	Samuel Thompson,
James Cash,	John Forrester,
John Cash,	James Tooly,
Thomas Samson,	John Stacy, Jr.
William Richards,	Richard Curtis,
Hugh Ellis,	Noah Bray,
Benjamin White,	David Mason,
Samuel Ashton,	John Harris,
William Curtis,	John Laskey,
William Woodbridge,	John Ashton,
Thomas Bridgeo,	John Thompson,
Samuel Humphrey,	Thomas Brimblecom,
Amasa Hubbard,	James Antone.

## COMPANY FIVE.

*Captain, Thomas Simonds.*  
*First Lieutenant, William Russell.*  
*Second Lieutenant, George Sincross.*



*Sergeants.*

George Wendell,	Nathaniel Brown,
William Hawks,	Samuel Getchel.

*Corporals.*

John Goss,	William Chaple.
<i>Drummer,</i> William Blackler.	

*Privates.*

Peter Severy,	John Green,
Joseph Buttis,	Richard Wall,
Francis Hipenstall,	Nicholas Pickett,
William Daniels, Jr.,	William Davis,
William Chaple,	Thomas Horton,
Jonathan Davis,	Benjamin Shaw,
Isaac Wadden,	Edward Pepper,
Joseph Griffin,	John Symonds,
Charles Goodwin,	Michael Oglebe,
Elias Brian,	John Bath,
John Green, Jr.,	Edward Bowden,
William Thomas,	John Dipper,
William Parsons,	Jona. Howard,
Robert Wall,	Micah Breed,
Peter Fundy,	Enoch Jarvis,
S. Symons,	Henry Harrison,
George Tishue,	William Daniel,
Samuel Beal,	John Posey,
Samuel Grant,	Benjamin Dennis,
Francis Grater,	John Foster,
Richard Laphorn,	Joshua Getchell,
William James,	William Thorner,
John Lauk,	Nicholas Girdler,
Benjamin Andrews,	Jacob Yelton.

Thomas Mullet.

## COMPANY SIX.

*Captain*, Nicholas Broughton.*First Lieutenant*, John Stacey.*Second Lieutenant*, John Devereux.*Sergeants.*Matthew Chambers,  
Daniel Mears,W. H. Reynolds,  
Samuel Coffran.*Corporals.*John Huston,  
James Dulap,Hector McNeal,  
Nehemiah Brooks.*Drummer*, Hugh Raynor.*Privates.*Squire Baker,  
J. Blair,  
Thomas Burn,  
George Bruce,  
Samuel Boden,  
Thomas Brown,  
Edward Brooks,  
J. Bryan,  
Ebenezer Allen,  
J. Carter,  
Samuel Chapman,  
Benjamin Childs,  
William Johnson,  
Francis Jones,  
J. Laskey,  
J. Lapham,  
Ebenezer Lathe,  
Francis Lyons,  
Benjamin Lovis,  
Thomas Mebrand,  
William Mercer,  
William Prosser,William Childs,  
Simon Caswell,  
Jeremiah Duly,  
Mich. Joseph Dyer,  
Joseph Tassington,  
Thomas Tallett,  
James Girdler,  
William Green,  
Charles Holbrain,  
Philip High,  
Philip Hooker,  
James Gifford,  
Joseph Searle,  
J. Sharp,  
J. Tucker,  
James Tucksbury,  
Joshua Widger,  
J. Williams,  
Thomas Jones,  
Thomas Waddicks,  
J. Ramsdell,  
William Widger,

Charles Pearee,  
Thomas Proctor,

J. Bennet,  
Richard Mouerief.

## COMPANY SEVEN.

*Captain*, William Courtis.  
*Lieutenant*, Robert Harris.  
*Ensign*, Thomas Courtis.

*Sergeants.*

Samuel Clemens,  
James Foster,

Mason Harris,  
Ezekiel Chever.

*Corporals.*

Henry Gibbs,

Josiah Goodrich.

*Drummer*, Samuel Bowden.

*Privates.*

Asa McIntire,  
David Marston,  
John Peach,  
George Wippen,  
James Laphorn,  
John Gibbons,  
Elkanah Hitchings,  
James Ball,  
Samuel Peach,  
Michael Gurney,  
Andrew Richards,  
Samuel Webber,  
Josiah Chase,  
Emanuel Perrygreed,  
Ambrose Grandy,  
Thomas Ratford,  
Alexander Lang,  
William Burrows,  
William Cathson,  
John Poor,  
John Gillard,

James Welch,  
John Chapman, Jr.,  
Thomas Jones,  
George Clark,  
Alexander Buckingham,  
Stephen Gott,  
John Woodbridge,  
Benjamin Girdler,  
Michalar Melzard,  
Thomas Drew,  
Joseph Widger,  
John Caswell,  
Francis Cavendish.  
Daniel Maley,  
William Orne,  
Robert Spitlea,  
John Chapman,  
Lewis Gray,  
Ebenezer Hanover,  
Richard Curtis,  
Samuel Parsons,

John Frost,  
John Chaple.  
Thomas Gould,  
Thomas Ellis.

John Chambers,  
John Laffin,  
Lawrence Blake,  
Thomas Hooper.

## COMPANY EIGHT.

*Captain*, William Bacon.  
*First Lieutenant*, William Mills.  
*Second Lieutenant*, Seward Lee.

*Sergeants.*

Winthrop Sargent,  
James Hitchings,

Nathaniel Hitchings,  
John Owens.

*Corporals.*

John Jackson,

Robert Smith.

*Drummer*, John Anthoine.

*Privates.*

James Wilson,  
Philip Meservy,  
Samuel Le Groe,  
Thomas Gail,  
Robert Laskey,  
David Florance,  
Thomas Fuller,  
William Dixey,  
James Valentine,  
George Phillips,  
George Rush,  
Amos Bennet,  
Jacob Selman,  
Jonas Newall,  
John Hammett,  
Benjamin Mountforth.  
Sylvester Davis,  
Peter Lovis,  
John Traill,

William Caswell,  
Christopher Bubier,  
Andrew Smith,  
John Stephens,  
Benjamin Deveraux,  
Wm. Messervy Phillips,  
William Stone,  
Joseph Pope,  
Amos Hitchings,  
John Bezune,  
Francis Goss,  
Manuel Seward,  
Thomas Garuey,  
Thomas Lewis,  
Richard Nick,  
John Gilbert,  
Wm. Worster,  
John Curtis,  
Samuel Guttridge,

William Caswell, Jr.,	Thomas Birdway,
David Stephenson,	Samuel Caswell,
Thomas Neal,	Clement Newall,
Peter Newall,	John McColly,
William Mason,	Thomas Cloan,
William Calb.	

## COMPANY NINE.

*Captain and Colonel*, John Glover.

*First Lieutenant*, Joshua Orne, Jr.

*Second Lieutenant*, Edward Archibald.

*Sergeants.*

John Bowden,	John Allen,
Moses Lefavour,	Nicholas Newbury.

*Corporals.*

George Breed,	Thomas Savage.
<i>Drummer</i> , Thomas Trefry.	
<i>Fifer</i> , Thomas Fosdick.	

*Privates.*

James Hall,	James Dennis,
Moses Stacey,	John Howard,
John Landy,	James Lyons,
Richard Strikes,	John Murry,
Richard Webber,	Manuel Sanders,
Thomas Burch,	Samuel Glover.
Philip Grush,	Emanuel Doliber,
Graves Standley,	David Poor.
John Tishew,	Peter Martin,
John Lawrence,	Wadden William,
David Cross,	John Moore.
John Roads,	Thomas Nichols.
John Bridles,	Thomas Dimond.
William Crowell,	Samuel Ashton.
Roger Vickery,	John Trush,
Stephen Raglan,	Joseph M. Lavasue,

Thomas Husen,	Benjamin Trefry,
John Brock,	Richard Proctor,
George St. Barbe,	John Chapman,
Nathaniel Stacey,	Anthony Lewis,
Moses Murry,	James Williams,
Jonathan Glover,	Romeo, a negro,
William Nicholson,	Edward Glover.

## COMPANY TEN.

*Captain.* Thomas Grant.

*First Lieutenant.* William Bubier.

*Second Lieutenant.* Ebenezer Graves.

*Sergeants.*

Jonathan Bartlett,	Stanford Flack.
John Lefavour,	Richard Goss.

*Corporals.*

John Bubier,	Benjamin Gardner.
<i>Drummer,</i> Philip Fallett.	

*Privates.*

Josiah Nichols,	William Bartlett,
Alexander Green,	John Orne,
William Wiley,	John Petron,
Joseph Candish,	John Besom,
John Dimond,	Merritt Brimblecom,
Thomas Pons,	Joseph Mason,
Benjamin Bradford,	J. Smith Bullett,
Benjamin Bartholomew,	John Bishop,
William Hay,	Samuel Beal,
William Howard,	Bartholomew Lynch,
Philip Florance,	James Nowland,
John Oakes,	Richard Thompson,
Jacob Smallwood,	John Pickett,
Samuel Hawley,	Lawrence Bartlett,
Henry Paine,	Richard Tutt,
Samuel Persons,	John Grant,

Thomas Taggett,  
 John Liorne,  
 John Conway,  
 Michael Trefry,  
 Robert Swan,  
 Samuel Turner,  
 Thomas Felton,

John Patten,  
 Samuel Vickery,  
 Samuel Cox,  
 Peter Knaps,  
 John Fowler,  
 Thomas Fallett.

The whole number of men in the regiment was 584, all of whom were from Marblehead except Captain Symons, Nathaniel Brown, Benjamin Shaw, Edward Pepper, John Symons, and Jonathan Howard, who were of Danvers, and Enoch Jarvis, of Lynn, in the Fifth Company. The regiment was called in the army the "Marine Regiment," and "Glover's Marblehead Regiment."

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## REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS OF WAR.

THE following list of Marblehead sailors confined in Old Mill Prison, England, during the Revolution was copied by permission from a manuscript journal kept by William Russell, of Boston, who was private secretary to Commodore Manly on board the ship *Jason*.

TAKEN ON BOARD SHIP *STURDY BEGGAR'S PRIZE*, OF SALEM.

Philip Messervey, committed 1777, ran away. \*

ON BOARD BRIG *FREEDOM'S PRIZE*. TAKEN APRIL 29, 1777.

Thomas Brown, ran away.	James Lyons, exchanged.
Jacob Sayer, ran away.	John Dimond, exchanged.
Joseph Striker, exchanged.	Stephen Dennis, exchanged.
Nathaniel Stacey, exchanged.	Christopher Codner, exchanged.
Joseph Majory, exchanged.	Eli Vickery, died in prison.
William Brown, exchanged.	

ON BOARD BRIG *FANCY*, OF NEWBURY. TAKEN AUGUST, 1777.

John Lee, <i>Captain</i> , ran away.	Joseph Barker, ran away.
Robert Stephenson, <i>Lieutenant</i> , ran away.	Thomas Barker, ran away.
	John Lio, ran away.

Thomas Meek, ran away.	Jacob Vickory,
Francis Salter, ran away.	Samuel Hawley,
Andrew Slyfield, ran away.	Samuel Beal,
Robert Swan, ran away.	Thomas Horton,
John Swan, ran away.	Jonathan Bartlett,
James Valentine, died in prison.	Edmund Bowden,
Elias Hart, died in prison.	John Adams,
William Laskey,	Robert Brown,
William Pickett,	Nicholas Thom,
John Lecraw,	Robert Peirce,
Samuel Whitrong,	Benjamin Marston,
William Cole,	Skillings Brooks,
Joseph Cox,	Nicholas Girdler,
Samuel Cox,	Richard Goss,
Michael Trefrie,	Caeser Bartlett (colored).

## ON BOARD SCHOONER HAWK'S PRIZE, OF NEWBURY, 1777.

Benjamin Leach,	Thomas Widger,
Abiel Lee,	Thomas Knowson.
Moses Stacey,	

## ON BOARD SLOOP BLACK SNAKE.

Capt. William Lecraw, commander. Taken August, 1777, ran away.

## ON BOARD SCHOONER TRUE BLUE, OF MARBLEHEAD.

Capt. Peter Faneuil Jones, ran away.

## ON BOARD PRIZE OF BRIG AMERICA. TAKEN NOVEMBER 19, 1778.

Richard Neagles,	} Entered on board British ships.	Francis Messervey, ran away.
George Pike,		Thomas Collyer, exchanged.
Philip Trasher,		
John Laphorn,		

ON BOARD SHIP OLIVER CROMWELL'S PRIZE. RETAKEN  
JUNE, 1779.

William Chadwell.

## ON BOARD SHIP PILGRIM'S PRIZE.

Edward Jeboe.



ON BOARD SHIP JASON. TAKEN SEPTEMBER 30, 1779.

Capt. John Mauly.

ON BOARD BRIG MONMOUTH, OF SALEM. TAKEN OCTOBER 2, 1779.

John Stacey, } Shipped on board a  
Nathaniel Dodd, } British man-of-war.

ON BOARD BRIG RAMBLER, OF SALEM. TAKEN OCTOBER 21, 1779.

Abram Quiner,	Edward Hiller,
John Green,	Edward Hiller, Jr.,
Samuel Gale,	Henry Johnson.

ON BOARD BRIG TERRIBLE, OF MARLEHEAD. TAKEN  
SEPTEMBER 1, 1780.

Capt. John Conway, <i>Commander.</i>	William Blackler,
John Roundey,	John Dowd.
John Lewis,	

ON BOARD SHIP HANNIBAL, SEPTEMBER 18, 1780.

John Fisher,	John Coventry,
Thomas Martin, died in prison.	

ON BOARD SHIP ROEBUCK, OF SALEM, OCTOBER 16, 1780.

William James.

ON BOARD BRIG HACKETT AND JOHN, OF SALEM,  
NOVEMBER, 1781.

Joseph Pedrick.

ON BOARD SHIP FRANKLIN'S PRIZE, MAY 1, 1781.

Thomas Low,	John Orrock.
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ON BOARD BRIG EAGLE, FEBRUARY 7, 1782.

Thomas Dennis.

ON BOARD BRIG BLACK PRINCE. TAKEN OCTOBER 11, 1781.

Richard Girdler,	John Smith.
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ON BOARD PRIZE TO SHIP DETAIN. TAKEN DECEMBER 7, 1781.  
Lewis Girdler.

ON BOARD SHIP GRAND TURK'S PRIZE. TAKEN  
NOVEMBER, 24, 1781.

Frank Barker,	John Garcy,
William Arbuckle,	William Seal,
Thomas Clark,	John Lefford,
Henry Neal,	George Read,
John Frenday,	John Semmons.

ON BOARD SNOW DIANA, OF BEVERLY. TAKEN JUNE 15, 1781.

Francis Ellis,	Benjamin Crafts.
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ON BOARD SHIP HERCULES, OF BOSTON. TAKEN OCTOBER 9, 1781.

Capt. Thomas Dizmore.	Thomas Wooldredge.
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ON BOARD SHIP JASON, OF SALEM. TAKEN OCTOBER 10, 1781.

William Tucker,	William Vickery.
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#### THE MARBLEHEAD ROLL OF HONOR.

THE following list of the citizens of Marblehead who lost their lives in defense of the Union during the Civil War, we are permitted to use by the courtesy of the compiler, Mr. William H. Wormstead.

#### FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY.

	PLACE OF DEATH.	DATE OF DEATH.
William Hunt . . . . .	Co. A, Petersburg . . . . .	10th June, 1864.
Francis Freto . . . . .	Co. A, Petersburg . . . . .	17th June, 1864.
Francis Joseph . . . . .	Co. A, New York . . . . .	31st Aug., 1864.
Nath. R. Blaney, Lieut. . . . .	Co. F, Washington . . . . .	9th July, 1864.
George B. Bartlett, 1st Sergt.,	Co. G, Petersburg . . . . .	22d June, 1864.
Peter Crowley, 1st Sergt. . . . .	Co. G, Philadelphia . . . . .	12th July, 1864.
William P. Lecraw, Sergt. . . . .	Co. G, Andersonville. . . . .	28th Aug., 1864.
Thomas Cox, Sergt. . . . .	Co. G, Andersonville. . . . .	20th Oct., 1864.
William S. King, Corp. . . . .	Co. G, Savannah . . . . .	4th Oct., 1864.
Charles E. Roache, Corp. . . . .	Co. G, Annapolis . . . . .	9th Dec., 1864.
Edwin S. Rundlett, Corp. . . . .	Co. G, Cold Harbor . . . . .	2d June, 1864.
Andrew Colford . . . . .	Co. G, Fort Albany . . . . .	15th Jan., 1864.
Eben Colyer . . . . .	Co. G, Andersonville . . . . .	16th Sept., 1864.
Moses P. Graves . . . . .	Co. G, Andersonville. . . . .	22d June, 1864.

Richard Prior . . . . .	Co. G,	Andersonville . . . . .	18th Sept.,	1864.
John Sandwich . . . . .	Co. G,	Andersonville . . . . .	8th Oct.,	1864.
Nicholas Twisden . . . . .	Co. G,	Andersonville . . . . .	26th Sept.,	1864.
Samuel H. Doliber . . . . .	Co. G,	Florence, S. C. . . . .	12th Nov.,	1864.
Samuel J. Goodwin . . . . .	Co. G,	Fort Albany . . . . .	14th Sept.,	1861.
William H. Johnson . . . . .	Co. G,	Spottsylvania . . . . .	19th May,	1864.
Robert McCully . . . . .	Co. G,	Spottsylvania . . . . .	19th May,	1864.
William Tindley . . . . .	Co. G,	Spottsylvania . . . . .	19th May,	1864.
Andrew Maddison . . . . .	Co. G,	Petersburg . . . . .	22d June,	1864.
Archelaus S. Ross . . . . .	Co. G,	Petersburg . . . . .	16th June,	1864.
Benjamin F. Roundey . . . . .	Co. G,	Beverly, N. J. . . . .	31st Oct.,	1864.
Wilson H. Russell, 3d . . . . .	Co. G,	Florence, S. C. . . . .	8th Dec.,	1864.
John H. Savory . . . . .	Co. G,	Fort Albany . . . . .	31st Oct.,	1862.
Archibald Sinclair . . . . .	Co. G,	Sumpter . . . . .	18th Aug.,	1864.
David Steele . . . . .	Co. G,	Florence, S. C. . . . .	4th May,	1864.
Benjamin B. Swasey . . . . .	Co. G,	Marblehead . . . . .	16th July,	1864.
Philip A. Sweet, Jr. . . . .	Co. G,	Washington . . . . .	12th Nov.,	1864.
William B. Sweet . . . . .	Co. G,	Charlestown . . . . .	3d Oct.,	1864.
Burrill Witham . . . . .	Co. G,	Florence, S. C. . . . .	5th Feb.,	1864.
Charles E. Lyon . . . . .	Co. G,	Petersburg . . . . .	22d June,	1864.
Michael B. Graves . . . . .	Co. M,	Marblehead . . . . .	31st Dec.,	1864.
John Ragan, Jr. . . . .	Co. M,	Washington . . . . .	5th July,	1864.

## SECOND HEAVY ARTILLERY.

William Bessom . . . . .	Co. H,	Andersonville . . . . .	26th Sept.,	1864.
Nicholas Bessom . . . . .	Co. H,	Andersonville . . . . .	3d Sept.,	1864.

## THIRD HEAVY ARTILLERY.

William F. Doliber . . . . .	Co. C,	Washington . . . . .	10th Sept.,	1864.
William Brown . . . . .	Co. H,	Andersonville . . . . .	26th Aug.,	1864.

## FOURTH HEAVY ARTILLERY.

George W. Ramsdell . . . . .	Co. A,	Fort Williams . . . . .	21st Feb.,	1865.
Bartholomew Cahill . . . . .	Co. A,	Fort Barnard . . . . .	22d Jan.,	1865.

## FIRST MASSACHUSETTS CAVALRY.

Alexander S. Standley, Jr. . . . .	Washington . . . . .	29th Sept.,	1862.
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## FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS BATTERY.

Thomas P. Atkins . . . . .	Portsmouth Grove . . . . .	25th Aug.,	1864.
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## TWENTY-FIFTH MICHIGAN REGIMENT.

Oliver Chinn . . . . .	Co. G,	Bowling Green, Ky. . . . .	30th March,	1863.
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## SIXTY-THIRD NEW YORK REGIMENT.

Peter Welsh . . . . .	Co. E,	Gettysburg . . . . .	3d July,	1863.
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## NINETEENTH INDIANA REGIMENT.

Samuel M. Goodwin, Sergt. . . . .	Co. I,	Portsmouth Grove . . . . .	4th Nov.,	1864.
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## FIRST CALIFORNIA REGIMENT.

Daniel B. Haskell, Capt. . . . Co. K, Fort Craig, New Mexico, 8th May, 1865.

## FIRST MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

William A. McCormick . . . Co. G, Washington . . . . 2d Dec., 1862.

## SECOND REGIMENT.

Robert C. Cahill . . . . . Co. C, Cedar Mountain . . . . 9th Aug., 1862.

John Hines . . . . . Co. C, Cedar Mountain . . . . 9th Aug., 1862.

William Donovan . . . . . Co. C, Washington . . . . 28th Aug., 1862.

Thomas Brown . . . . . Co. H, Antietam . . . . . 17th Sept., 1862.

## EIGHTH REGIMENT, M. V. M.

William E. Phillips, Corp. . . Co. C, Boston . . . . . 10th July, 1863.

James Keith . . . . . Co. C, Baltimore . . . . . 2d Nov., 1864.

Nicholas Bartlett, Jr. . . . Co. C, Baltimore . . . . . 17th July, 1863.

John Grant . . . . . Co. C, Boston . . . . . 22d July, 1863.

Edward Smethurst . . . . . Co. B, Baltimore . . . . . 16th July, 1863.

Michael Hennessy . . . . . Co. B, Marblehead . . . . . 31st Aug., 1861.

John H. Butman . . . . . Co. C, Marblehead . . . . . 21st Nov., 1864.

## NINTH REGIMENT.

William Peachy . . . . . Co. H, Wilderness . . . . . 4th May, 1864.

John R. Goss . . . . . Co. G, Laurel Hill . . . . . 12th May, 1864.

## ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

John Ingalls . . . . . Co. K, Falmouth, Va. . . . . 17th Feb., 1863.

Daniel S. Millett . . . . . Co. E, near Gettysburg . . . . 11th July, 1863.

## TWELFTH REGIMENT.

William H. Bartoll, 2d . . . Co. K, Washington . . . . . 1st July, 1864.

## FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

John Sullivan . . . . . Co. I, Washington . . . . . 16th Dec., 1863.

## SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

John H. Woodlin, 1st Lieut. . Co. F, Wilderness . . . . . 6th May, 1864.

Nathaniel S. Gilley . . . . . Co. B, Beverly Ford, Va. . . . 16th Sept., 1863.

George Jones . . . . . Co. C, Richmond . . . . . 27th Dec., 1864.

Richard W. Chapman . . . . Co. F, Chancellorsville . . . . 3d May, 1863.

## SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

Francis H. Rathburne . . . Co. D, New York . . . . . 12th April, 1865.

Charles H. Flint . . . . . Co. G, Newbern . . . . . 10th Nov., 1862.

Michael Casey . . . . . Co. H, Andersonville . . . . . 2d Aug., 1864.

## NINETEENTH REGIMENT.

Peter Collins . . . . . Co. G, Antietam . . . . . 17th Sept., 1862.

## TWENTIETH REGIMENT.

Michael McCoy . . . . .	Co. G,	Washington . . . . .	26th Aug.,	1862.
Jacob H. Alley . . . . .	Co. H,	Washington . . . . .	12th March,	1862.
Joseph H. Collyer . . . . .	Co. H,	Poolesville, Md. . . . .	15th Nov.,	1861.
Gardner Goodwin . . . . .	Co. H,	Georgetown, Va. . . . .	6th Jan.,	1863.
Richard S. Gardner . . . . .	Co. H,	Alexandria . . . . .	9th Oct.,	1863.
Robert Grieve . . . . .	Co. H,	Savage Station . . . . .	6th July,	1862.
Thomas Oliver . . . . .	Co. H,	Andersonville . . . . .	21st Oct.,	1864.
Thomas Kelley . . . . .	Co. A,	Gettysburg . . . . .	3d July,	1863.

## TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

John Donovan . . . . .	Co. D,	Cedar Mountain . . . . .	9th Aug.,	1862.
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## TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

John Flynn . . . . .	Co. A,	Fredericksburg . . . . .	6th May,	1864.
Ambrose Goss . . . . .	Co. K,	Harrison's Landing . . . . .	28th July,	1862.

## TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Thomas Russell, Capt. . . . .	Co. I,	Newbern . . . . .	8th Dec.,	1862.
John Goodwin, Jr., 1st Lieut. . . . .	Co. B,	Roanoke Island . . . . .	8th Feb.,	1862.
Gamaliel H. Morse, Sergt. . . . .	Co. B,	Roanoke Island . . . . .	10th Feb.,	1862.
William Terhune, Sergt. . . . .	Co. B,	Hampton, Va. . . . .	16th Dec.,	1862.
John Shaw . . . . .	Co. B,	Roanoke Island . . . . .	8th Feb.,	1862.
Thomas J. Peach, Jr. . . . .	Co. B,	Drowned off Ft. Monroe,	7th Sept.,	1864.
Richard Caswell . . . . .	Co. B,	Newbern . . . . .	4th Sept.,	1863.
John C. Crommett . . . . .	Co. B,	Hampton, Va. . . . .	23d May,	1864.
Theodore Wormstead . . . . .	Co. B,	Drury's Bluff . . . . .	16th May,	1864.

## TWENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Francis E. Ireson . . . . .	Co. B,	Bermuda Hundred . . . . .	21st Aug.,	1864.
Richard H. Martin . . . . .	Co. B,	Hampton . . . . .	30th June,	1864.

## TWENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

William J. Bartlett . . . . .	Co. F,	Marblehead . . . . .	11th Aug.,	1864.
William O'Neill, Corp. . . . .	Co. C,	Bull Run . . . . .	30th Aug.,	1862.

## THIRTIETH REGIMENT.

Henry T. Rennard . . . . .	Co. A,	Winchester . . . . .	19th Sept.,	1864.
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## THIRTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

William P. Brown, 2d Sergt. . . . .	Co. E,	Fairfax Seminary . . . . .	15th Sept.,	1862.
Richard S. T. Laskey . . . . .	Co. C,	Laurel Hill . . . . .	12th May,	1864.
Samuel S. Martin . . . . .	Co. E,	Falmouth, Va. . . . .	10th Dec.,	1862.
Daniel J. Ragan . . . . .	Co. E,	Laurel Hill . . . . .	12th May,	1864.
Christian Dorien . . . . .	Co. G,	Petersburg . . . . .	18th June,	1864.

## THIRTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

John F. Green . . . . .	Co. D,	Salisbury, N. C. . . . .	15th Dec.,	1864.
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## FORTIETH REGIMENT.

John M. Brown, Sergt. . . .	Co. K, Hampton, Va. . . .	3d Nov., 1864.
William Brown, Sergt. . . .	Co. K, Baltimore . . . .	11th March, 1865.
William H. Garney . . . .	Co. B, Folley Island, S. C. . .	19th Sept., 1863.

## FIFTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

William Wooldredge . . . .	Co. A, Port Hudson . . . .	14th June, 1863.
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## UNITED STATES NAVY.

Thomas W. Stevens, Ensign . .	Ship Pontiac, Port Royal . . .	19th Jan., 1865.
William T. Adams . . . .	Ship Huron, Marblehead . . .	20th Oct., 1863.
William B. Hubbard . . . .	Ship Cumberland . . . .	8th March, 1862.
Jonathan S. Blaney . . . .	Ship Saratoga, Doeboy Sd, Ga.,	31st Jan., 1865.
Benjamin L. Cloutman . . . .	Ship Ino, at sea . . . .	18th Dec., 1861.
John Curtis . . . .	Ship Western World, New York,	July, 1862.

## INDEX.

- ABBOT, BENJAMIN, 319.  
Abbot, Francis, 347.  
Abbott, Hon. Josiah G., 331.  
Abraham, Woodward, 125, 373, 391.  
Academy, Marblehead, 206, 212, 215, 219, 235, 374.  
Active, Schooner, 232, 233, 234.  
Adams, John, 73, 120, 180, 205, 206, 221, 247.  
Adams, Samuel, 87, 90, 113.  
Adams, Capt. William B., 258, 266.  
Adlam, Rev. Samuel, 384.  
Advent Christian Conference, Mass., 390.  
Advocate, People's, 262.  
Ahawavet, 4.  
Ajax, Sloop-of-war, 250.  
Akes, Edward, 66.  
Albatross, United States Steamer, 303.  
Allen, Timothy, 18, 19.  
Allen, Ambrose, 269.  
Allen, Rev. Benjamin R., 273, 274, 360, 361.  
Alley, Miss Mary A., 289.  
Allerton, Isaac, 8, 9, 19.  
America, Privateer, 242.  
Ames, Justice, 320.  
Anderson, Capt. John M., 272.  
Anderson, Gen. Robert, 284.  
André, Major, 171, 172.  
Andrew, Gov. John A., 287, 295, 296.  
Andrews, John, 62, 335.  
Andrews, Captain, 243.  
Andrews, Rev. Joseph, 374.  
Ann, Brig, 246.  
Annibal, The, 175.  
Appleton, Thomas, 320, 325, 330.  
Appleton, Daniel, 324.  
Appleton, Hon. William, 352.  
Argus, Brigantine, 215.  
Arnold, Major-general, 160.  
Arnold, Benedict, 172.  
Arts and Sciences, American Academy of, 349, 350.  
Asbury, Rev. Thomas, 382.  
Ashcraft, Rev. Nathan B., 382.  
Ashton, 79.  
Ashton, Benjamin, 243.  
Ashton, Phillip, Jr., 45, 46, 47.  
Association, Young Men's Christian, 274.  
Association, Marblehead Monumental, 323.  
Association, Marblehead Free School, 351.  
Associates, Independent, 321.  
Atkins, Isaac, 325.  
Atkinson, Rev. Joseph P., 386.  
Aubury, Lieutenant, 165.  
Austin, Mr., 179.  
Austin, Rev. Leonard, 382.  
Averill, J. K., 262.  
Avenue, Atlantic, 5, 363.  
Avery, Rev. John, 9.  
Avery, Gen. Samuel, 266, 356.  
Avery, Hon. Edward, 330.  
Ayres, Captain, 174.  
Bacon, Rev. Henry, 386.  
Bailey, Rev. Augustus F., 382.  
Bailey, Rev. Benjamin H., 323, 330.  
Bailey, Rev. Stephen, 382.  
Bailey, Capt. John, 249.  
Bainbridge, Captain, 247.  
Baldwin, Colonel, 152.  
Balfour, Frigate, 198.  
Ballard, Rev. Edward, 376.  
Bancroft, Capt. Norman, 195.  
Band, Marblehead, 293, 297, 317, 320.  
Bank, Grand, 262, 350.  
Bank, Marblehead, 223, 352.  
Barber, William, 14, 19.  
Barden, Rev. Stillman, 387.  
Barker, Capt. Joseph, 198, 223.  
Barker, Capt. Thomas, 198.  
Barker, John, 157.  
Barker, Rev. Darius, 382.  
Barnard, Rev. John, 41, 42, 43, 47, 51, 243, 358, 359, 379.  
Barrows, Rev. I. F., 382.  
Barrows, Rev. John Harris, 385.  
Barry, Captain, 129.  
Bartholomew, William, 26.  
Bartlett, Eli V. & Co., 326.  
Bartlett, Captain, 197, 286.  
Bartlett, John, 27.  
Bartlett, Rev. John, 380.  
Bartlett, Rev. J. A., 383.  
Bartlett, Robert, 26, 66.  
Bartol, John, 17, 19, 22.  
Bartol, Widow, 26.

- Bartoll, Samuel, 206.  
 Bassett, Joseph R., 276, 277, 278, 279, 282.  
 Bassett, William, 62.  
 Batchelder, Rev. Daniel, 382.  
 Batcheller, Rev. David, 382.  
 Bateman, John, 68.  
 Bay, Oakum, 35.  
 Beal, William, 26, 30.  
 Beals, Martha, 33.  
 Bean, William, 195.  
 Beare, Philip, 12, 13.  
 Beauregard, General, 284.  
 Beckford & Coffin, 262.  
 Belcher, Governor, 57.  
 Belvidera, United States Ship, 243.  
 Bennett, John, 8, 13, 19.  
 Bennett, Widow, 26.  
 Bernard, Governor, 79, 89.  
 Bessom, Nicholas, 198.  
 Bessom Pasture, 5.  
 Betsy, Brig, 244.  
 Betsy, Schooner, 231.  
 Bettis, Quinn, 322.  
 Betty, Schooner, 232, 233, 234.  
 Bigelow, Colonel, 168.  
 Bishop, Captain, 114.  
 Blackler, Samuel, 391.  
 Blackler, William, 108, 155, 344.  
 Blancher, Widow, 14.  
 Blanchard, Jesse, 336.  
 Blaney, Captain, 215.  
 Blaney, David, 262.  
 Blaney, Henry, 262.  
 Blaney, Stephen, 146, 150.  
 Block, Allerton, 325, 327.  
 Block, Pope's, 325.  
 Blunt, John, 337.  
 Boardman, Capt. Francis, 284, 285, 287, 290, 296.  
 Boatson, Widow, 27.  
 Boden, Benjamin, 50, 124, 185, 186.  
 Bohio, United States Ship, 305, 306, 307.  
 Bolles, Rev. Matthew, 384.  
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 217.  
 Bond, Nathaniel, 117.  
 Booby, Christopher, 333.  
 Booth, Eliza, 32.  
 Boston, Frigate, 177, 178, 179, 180, 184, 185, 186.  
 Bouden, Francis, 333.  
 Bourne, Thomas, 26.  
 Bourne, William, 75, 372.  
 Bours, Rev. Peter, 78, 370.  
 Bowden, John, 62.  
 Bowden, Joshua O., 239, 249, 288.  
 Bowden, Michael, 352.  
 Bowden, Samuel, 342.  
 Bowden, William, 62.  
 Bowdoin, James, 133.  
 Bowen, Ashley, 65, 67, 68, 127.  
 Bowen, Edward, 391.  
 Bowen, Nathan, 51, 59, 61, 74, 221, 257, 346, 347.  
 Bowers, Rev. James, 242, 374.  
 Bowinge, Thomas, 19.  
 Bowler, Mr., 213.  
 Bowler, James, 381.  
 Bradfield, George, 26.  
 Bradstreet, Rev. Simon, 345, 379.  
 Braman, Rev. W. A., 383.  
 Brattle, Edward, 37, 39.  
 Bray, Edmund, 263.  
 Breare, Robinson, 262, 387.  
 Breck, Samuel, 209.  
 Brewer, David, 116.  
 Bridge, Rev. William D., 383.  
 Bridges, Rev. Christopher, 366.  
 Briggs, Dr. Calvin, 257.  
 Briggs, Doctor, 302.  
 Briggs, Rev. Avery, 385.  
 Brimblecome, John, 26, 28.  
 Brimblecome, Nathaniel, 330.  
 Brimblecome, Philip, 243.  
 Brimblecome, Samuel, 243.  
 Brimblecome, Seward, Jr., 135.  
 Broadhead, Rev. John, 382.  
 Broke, Captain, 248.  
 Brooks, General, 203.  
 Brooks, Mr., 22.  
 Broughton, Nicholas, 108, 118, 140, 174.  
 Broughton, Capt. Glover, 288.  
 Brown, Benjamin F., 270.  
 Brown, Captain, 197.  
 Brown, Ephraim, 336, 338.  
 Brown, Increase H., 267, 312, 314.  
 Brown, I. H. & Co., 267.  
 Brown, John H., 326.  
 Brown, Jonathan, 326.  
 Brown, Mary G., 330.  
 Brown, Mrs. Elizabeth, 368.  
 Brown, Nathan, 127.  
 Brown, Thomas, 197.  
 Brown, William B., 291, 292, 293, 315, 317, 319, 324.  
 Browne, John, 37, 39.  
 Browne, William, 26, 27.  
 Brownson, Rev. Hector, 382.  
 Bruce, David, 295.  
 Bruce, Rev. E. B., 387.  
 Brutus, The, 197.  
 Bryant, John, 347.  
 Bubier, John, 33.  
 Bubier, Joseph, 62.  
 Bubier's Plain, 134.  
 Buckamoor, Ship, 198.  
 Building, Columbian, 318.  
 Building, Rechabite, 326.  
 Bullfinch, Rev. Henry, 382.  
 Bunker Hill, The, 196.  
 Burgoyne, General, 159, 161, 163, 165, 183, 195.  
 Burke, Captain, 174.  
 Burnham, Elder Edwin, 389.  
 Burnham, Elder Elam, 389.  
 Burnside, General, 294.  
 Butler, Gen. Benjamin F., 331.



- Butman, Joseph, 249.  
 Buxton, Rev. William B., 380.  
 Calley, James, 362, 363.  
 Calley, John, 33, 333, 362, 363.  
 Calthrop, Rev. Samuel R., 295, 380.  
 Campbell, Col. Archibald, 175.  
 Cannon, Rev. George, 382.  
 Carwithin, David, 18, 26.  
 Carwithin, Samuel, 18, 26.  
 Carlisle, Rev. Mr., 375.  
 Carroll, Capt. John, Jr., 272.  
 Case, Rev. E., Jr., 387.  
 Cash, George, 194.  
 Cass, Jonathan, 267.  
 Castle William, 197.  
 Caswell, Captain, 196.  
 Cemetery, Waterside, 274.  
 Center, Captain, 286.  
 Chadwick, Rev. John W., 320, 323.  
 Chamberlain, William Martin, 262.  
 Chapman, Mrs. Leonora, 326.  
 Charles H., 20, 21.  
 Charles, William, 12, 13, 19, 22.  
 Charley Black, 228, 249.  
 Chase, Rev. Edwin B., 292, 376.  
 Chatham Prison, 253.  
 Chaugulon, Mynbeer, 251.  
 Cheever, Amos, 38, 359.  
 Cheever, Rev. Samuel, 23, 26, 29, 30, 36, 37, 41, 333, 343, 358, 367, 379.  
 Cheever, Sons of Widow, 247.  
 Cherub, Sloop-of-war, 251.  
 Chesapeake, Frigate, 230, 247.  
 Chichester, William, 18, 26.  
 Ching, George, 14, 19.  
 Chinn, John, 33.  
 Chipman, John, 74.  
 Church, St. Michael's, 124, 125, 218, 291, 342, 362, 391.  
 Church, First Congregational, 254, 273, 323, 343, 354, 358, 379.  
 Church, Second Congregational (Unitarian), 295, 323, 349, 359, 364, 374, 379, 381.  
 Church, Methodist Episcopal, 213, 355, 381, 389.  
 Church, Baptist, 240, 302, 314, 327, 384.  
 Church, Universalist, 265, 385.  
 Church, Third Congregational, 273, 323, 360, 361.  
 Church, Star of the Sea, 274, 316, 327, 388.  
 Church, Advent, 389.  
 Clark, 94.  
 Clark, John, 157.  
 Clarke, Rev. James Freeman, 380.  
 Clarke, Matthew, 26.  
 Clement, John, 20.  
 Clifton, 331.  
 Clifford, Governor, 272.  
 Clinton, General, 146, 147.  
 Closson, Rev. Harrison, 386, 387.  
 Clothey, Elder John F., 390.  
 Clothey, Thomas, 270.  
 Club, Tuesday Evening, 355.  
 Club, Reform, 321.  
 Codner, Christopher, 20.  
 Colner, John, 22, 26, 340.  
 Codner, Josiah, 27.  
 Coite, John, 13.  
 Colbeck, Judge, 119.  
 Cole, Captain, 194, 195.  
 Cole, Richard, 266.  
 College, Columbia, 374.  
 College, Harvard, 11, 23, 37, 50, 343, 349, 370, 379.  
 Collier, Sir George, 178.  
 Collings, Francis, 24.  
 Collyer, Captain T., 197.  
 Commission, United States Sanitary, 300.  
 Company, Marblehead Great Neck Land, 338.  
 Conant, John, 333.  
 Conant, Lot, 26.  
 Conant, Roger, 26.  
 Confederacy, Frigate, 185.  
 Confederate Schooner Eugenie Smith, 305.  
 Congress, Frigate, 294, 295.  
 Constitution, Frigate, 242, 246, 247, 248, 250, 289, 290.  
 Conway, Capt. John, 179.  
 Cook, Rev. Z., 387.  
 Coombes, Joshua, 335.  
 Coombes, Michael, 335.  
 Cooper, Ezekiel, 381.  
 Cooper, Rev. Ezekiel, 381.  
 Corbitt, Michael, 80.  
 Corkering, William, 68.  
 Coronet, The, 194.  
 Cornwallis, Lord, 135, 196.  
 Corwinge, Captain, 26.  
 Cotton, John, 37, 38.  
 Cotton, John, 37.  
 Curtis, A. S., 268.  
 Curtis, William, 108, 151, 288.  
 Coval, Rev. James, 382.  
 Cowell, Capt. Richard, 187, 188, 189, 194, 251.  
 Cowell, Lieut. John G., 251, 252.  
 Cowley, Thomas, 26.  
 Cozzens, Rev. Samuel, 360.  
 Craddock, Mr., 8.  
 Cressy, Captain Josiah P., 304, 356, 357.  
 Crocker, Richard, 26.  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 24, 21.  
 Cross, John, 270.  
 Cross, Captain, 195.  
 Cross, Joseph, 391.  
 Cross, Miss Lizzie, 289.  
 Cross, Miss Mary A., 289.  
 Crownshield, George, 65, 221.  
 Crownshield, Rev. Edward, 330.  
 Cumberland, Frigate, 294, 295.  
 Cumberland, Privateer, 184.  
 Cundy, Samuel, 26.  
 Currituck, United States Steamer, 311.

- Curtis, Francis, 270.  
 Curtis, Richard, 19.  
 Curtis, Thomas, 243.  
 Curwin, Jonathan, 31.  
 Curwithin, David, 16.  
 Cushing, Gen. Caleb, 270.  
 Custis, Widow, 368.  
  
 Daeres, Captain, 244, 245.  
 Dalton, Tristram, 133.  
 Damon, Edward, 26.  
 Dana, Francis, 204.  
 Dana, Rev. Samuel, 242, 360.  
 Darling, Benjamin, 62.  
 Darling, Ezekiel, 263.  
 Darling, George, 27.  
 Dartmoor Prison, 252, 253.  
 Davis, Jefferson, 283, 310.  
 Day, Capt. Benjamin, 291, 293.  
 Day, Luke, 293.  
 Dean, Rev. M. M., 385.  
 Deane, Frigate, 184, 185.  
 Dearborn, Rev. J. W., 383.  
 Dennis, Skipper, 224.  
 Dennis, Daniel, 307.  
 Dennis, John, 269.  
 D'Estaing, Count, 167.  
 Devereux, 21, 331.  
 Devereux, Burrill, 206, 210.  
 Devereux, John, 12, 13, 17, 19, 25, 26, 30.  
 Devereux, Humphrey, 267.  
 Devoricks, John, 333.  
 Dickens, Charles, 227.  
 Dimon, Edward, 40.  
 Dinsmore, William P., 307.  
 Division, Washington, Sons of Temperance, 273.  
 Dixie, John, 206.  
 Dixie, Peter, Jr., 262.  
 Dixie, Thomas, 20, 26.  
 Doak, Michael J., 326.  
 Doak, Mrs. Hannah D., 289.  
 Dodd, Ambrose, 243.  
 Dodd, Sarah, 34.  
 Dodd, Thomas, 26, 28, 33.  
 Dodge, Simon, 320, 329.  
 Doe, Benjamin, 62.  
 Doliber, Samuel, 17, 18.  
 Dolliber, Dea. William, 84, 97, 104.  
 Dolliber, Joseph, 17, 19, 22, 26.  
 Doliver, Thomas, 86.  
 Dollon, Miles, 67.  
 Dolphin, Schooner, 243.  
 Don, Steamer, 311.  
 Donovan, Dennis, 388.  
 Dove, Captain, 46.  
 Dove, John, 322.  
 Dove, Thomas, 68, 322.  
 Drew, John, 57.  
 Drury, Doctor, 375.  
 Dunbar, Rev. George, 382.  
 Duncan, George W., 216.  
 Dunlap, A. H., 337.  
  
 Dupont, Admiral, 310.  
 Durrell, Admiral, 66.  
 Dutton, Rev. E. P., 387.  
 Dwight, Rev. Moseley, 382.  
 Dwight, Rev. W. E., 383.  
 Dyers, Captain, 174.  
  
 Eagle, The, 196.  
 Earl of Moria, Brig, 246.  
 Eastman, Rev. George V. C., 375.  
 Eaton, Israel, 243.  
 Eaton, William, 243.  
 Edgecomb, John, 333.  
 Edwards, Jonathan, 57.  
 Elbridge, John, 369.  
 Ellis, Rev. Ferdinand, 242, 384.  
 Ellis, Thomas, 26, 33.  
 Elizabeth, The, 184.  
 Encampment, Ozias, 315.  
 Endeavour, The, 264.  
 Endicott, W. C., 273.  
 Endymion, Frigate, 250.  
 Enterprise, Privateer, 184.  
 Essex, Frigate, 243, 251.  
 Essex Junior, Frigate, 251.  
 Essex, The, 265.  
  
 Fabens, William, 312.  
 Fairchild, William, 50.  
 Farlow, Seth, 192.  
 Farragut, Admiral, 303.  
 Farrell, Garrett, 68.  
 Fettyplace, Captain, 195, 198.  
 Fettyplace, Edward, 97.  
 Filmore, Rev. Jesse, 382.  
 Fish, Rev. Linus, 382.  
 Fitz, Rev. Hervey, 385.  
 Flemming, John, 295.  
 Flint, George F., 338.  
 Flora, The, 178.  
 Florence, Captain, 195.  
 Flying Cloud, The, 356.  
 Folsom, General, 140.  
 Forbes, Ship R. B., 304.  
 Forest River, 2, 10, 11.  
 Forest Side, 14.  
 Forrester, Captain, 194.  
 Forsyth, G. W., 326.  
 Fort Darby, 12.  
 Fort Glover, 299.  
 Fort Johnson, 301.  
 Fort Miller, 299.  
 Fort Sewall, 52, 249, 256, 264, 294, 299.  
 Fort Warren, 300, 304.  
 Forton Prison, 177, 181, 183.  
 Fortune, Elias, 26.  
 Foster, Captain, 142.  
 Foster, Capt. Daniel, 198.  
 Foster, Capt. Israel, 108.  
 Foster, Ebenezer, 97.  
 Fountain Inn, 52.  
 Fowle, Col. Jacob, 63, 64, 75, 140.  
 Fowle, John, 99.  
 Fox, Nicholas, 26.

- Fox, The, 178.  
 Frankland, Sir Harry, 52-57.  
 Franklin, The, 175, 177, 321, 322.  
 Freedom, Privateer, 246.  
 Freeman, Isaac, 63.  
 Freeman, James, 65.  
 Freemason, The, 185, 195, 198, 391.  
 Freemasons, Philanthropic Lodge of, 351.  
 Friend, The, 264.  
 Friends, The, 181.  
 Furness, Joseph, 243.  
  
 Gage, Thomas, 97, 105, 106.  
 Gale, Ambrose, 26, 34.  
 Gale, Benjamin, 33.  
 Gale, Hannah, 140.  
 Gallison, Henry, 223.  
 Gallison, John, 80, 83, 99.  
 Gallison, Mary, 348.  
 Gardner, Abel, 262.  
 Gardner, Rev. George W., D. D., 385.  
 Garney, Thomas, 261.  
 Gatchell, Jeremiah, 26, 333.  
 Gatchell, John, 12, 13, 14, 18, 26.  
 Gatchell, Josiah, 27.  
 Gatchell, Samuel, 13, 14, 26, 157.  
 Gates, General, 158, 161, 162, 165, 166.  
 George, King, 82.  
 George, The, 175.  
 General Glover, The, 196.  
 General Glover Fire Association, 274, 316.  
 Gerry, Elbridge, 89, 92, 103-105, 110, 113, 114, 116, 119, 121, 123, 133, 204, 216, 221, 222, 240, 246, 344, 346, 355.  
 Gerry Fire Association, 269, 274, 300.  
 Gerry, John, 17.  
 Gerry, Samuel R., 207, 347.  
 Gerry, Thomas, 51, 88, 89, 110, 121, 125, 130, 344.  
 Gerry, Thomas, Jr., 89.  
 Gibbons, Captain, 232.  
 Gibbs, William, 117.  
 Gilbert, Moses, 320, 329.  
 Giles, Ebenezer, 335.  
 Giles, John H., 307.  
 Giles, Samuel, 197, 198.  
 Giles, Mr., 237.  
 Gilley, Miss Alicia, 289.  
 Gilligan, Alexander, 26.  
 Girdler, Richard, 266.  
 Glencairn, Earl of, 185.  
 Glover, Edmund, 270, 326.  
 Glover, Gen. John, 89, 92, 115, 116, 117, 118, 134, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 204, 210, 258, 271, 341, 354, 355.  
 Glover, Jonathan, 92, 93, 108, 114, 116, 121, 129, 130, 135, 204, 210, 341, 342.  
 Glover, Mrs. Mary, 289.  
 Glover, Nathaniel, 326.  
 Glynn, John, 307.  
 Godfrey, George, 26.  
  
 Godler, Francis, 26.  
 Goldsmith, John, 68.  
 Goldthwaite, Joel, 330.  
 Gooden, Samuel, 86.  
 Gooden, William, Sr., 86.  
 Good Intent, Schooner, 233.  
 Good Templars, Washington Lodge of, 274, 300.  
 Goodwin, Hooper R., 325.  
 Goodwin, John, 206.  
 Goodwin, John, Jr., Post 82, G. A. R., 315.  
 Goodwin, Lient. John, Jr., 294, 295.  
 Goodwin, Samuel, 269.  
 Goodwin, Thomas M., 269.  
 Gorham, Nathaniel, 204.  
 Gorman, Thomas, 378.  
 Goss, William, 301.  
 Goyt, John, 19.  
 Granaway, Richard, 12.  
 Grandchamps, Chevalier, 200.  
 Grandy, Amos, 68.  
 Grant, Thomas, 3d, 108.  
 Graves, Captain, 196, 199.  
 Graves, Capt. Samuel C., 296, 297, 300.  
 Graves, Ebenezer, 206, 228.  
 Graves, James C., 303.  
 Graves, Miss Mary E., 289.  
 Graves, Samuel, 59.  
 Gray, Thomas, 8, 13, 19.  
 Gregory, Capt. John, 257.  
 Gregory, Capt. Michael B., 304.  
 Gregory, Capt. Samuel B., 271, 304, 305, 307, 309, 310, 311.  
 Gregory, Capt. William D., 305, 306, 307.  
 Gregory, James J. H., 288, 318, 320, 324, 330.  
 Gregory, John H., 337.  
 Gregory, Mrs. Sarah, 330.  
 Green, Joseph W., 259, 262, 263, 350.  
 Green, Samuel, 250.  
 Green, Samuel H., 322.  
 Green, Skipper, 224.  
 Green, William, 391.  
 Greene, General, 154.  
 Greyson, Colonel, 144.  
 Gridley, Colonel, 117.  
 Gridley, Rev. J. S. J., 382.  
 Griggs, S., 26.  
 Grover, Samuel, 198.  
 Growler, Privateer, 242, 246.  
 Grush, John, 108.  
 Guards, Home, 293.  
 Guards, Glover Light, 271, 272, 284, 297.  
 Guards, Lafayette, 258, 264, 272, 284, 297, 300.  
 Guards, Mugford, 291.  
 Guerriere, Frigate, 244, 245, 246.  
 Guernsey Island, 7.  
 Gulliard, John, 94.  
 Gun House, 231.  
  
 Hague, The, 193.  
 Hale, E. B., Gunboat, 305, 308.

- Hale, Mr., 30.  
 Halifax Prison, 253.  
 Hall, Abbot, 319, 320, 329.  
 Hall, Allerton, 317, 324.  
 Hall, Anderson's, 388.  
 Hall, Franklin, 385, 386.  
 Hall, Lyceum, 269, 302, 305, 319, 321, 361, 390.  
 Hall, Rechabite, 390.  
 Hall, Shawmut, 271.  
 Hallowell, Edward, 68.  
 Ham, Martin, 336.  
 Hamden, The, 195, 197.  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 221.  
 Hamilton, Captain, 195.  
 Hammond, William, 86.  
 Hamson, John C., 288, 298.  
 Hancock, Frigate, 175, 177, 178, 195, 197.  
 Hancock, John, 87, 90, 113, 133, 171.  
 Hands, William, 333.  
 Hannover, William, 68.  
 Harbor, Little, 24, 40.  
 Harding, Philip, 27.  
 Hardy, Captain, 232.  
 Harrington, Nathaniel, 117.  
 Harris Farm, 5.  
 Harris, Capt. John, 179.  
 Harris, John, 26.  
 Harris, John F., 313.  
 Harris, Joseph, 280, 354.  
 Harris, Joseph & Sons, 279, 280, 314.  
 Harris, Mason, 194.  
 Harris, Mrs. John F., 289.  
 Harris, Rev. William, 206, 374.  
 Harris, Rev. William R., 378.  
 Harris, Richard, 110, 207, 210.  
 Harris, Robert, 59, 62.  
 Harris, William, 194.  
 Harrison, William Henry, 268.  
 Hart, John, 12, 13, 17, 19.  
 Hart & Trask, 262.  
 Harvard, Rev. John, 11.  
 Harvest Moon, Bark, 304.  
 Harvey, Rev. James P., 382.  
 Haskell, Rev. William G., 315, 387.  
 Haskell, William T., 280.  
 Haskell, William T. & Co., 279.  
 Hatch, George, 316.  
 Hathaway, Benjamin G., 326.  
 Hathaway, Jeremiah, 266.  
 Hathaway, Mrs. Hannah J., 289.  
 Hathaway, Stephen, Jr., 288.  
 Hathaway, Stephen P., 267.  
 Hathorne, John, 31.  
 Hathorne, Maj. William, 21, 23, 33.  
 Hawk, The, 194, 196.  
 Hawkes, Benjamin, 261.  
 Hawkes, Ebenezer, 333.  
 Hawkes, William, 157.  
 Haynes, Rev. Dudley C., 385.  
 Hazard, Sloop-of-war, 243.  
 Hazel, John, 245.  
 Hazleton, Rev. Benjamin, 382.  
 Head, Bartol's, 130.  
 Head, Goodwin's, 248.  
 Head, Hewitt's, 248.  
 Head, Nangus, 12, 14, 299.  
 Healy, Rev. Daniel S., 385.  
 Heath, Major-general, 163, 164, 172.  
 Hemeford, Richard, 26.  
 Henley, Colonel, 164.  
 Henley, Elias, 26.  
 Henley, Elias, Jr., 33.  
 Henry, 198.  
 Henshaw, Rev. John P. K., 374.  
 Hervey, Rev. Nathaniel, 385.  
 Hibard, Jeremiah, 322.  
 Hidden, Mrs. Hannah, 289.  
 Higginson, Rev. John, 3, 7.  
 Hiler, Rev. Stephen G., 382.  
 Hill, Gallows, 34.  
 Hill, Lodge, 261.  
 Hill, Nickerson's, 327.  
 Hill, Reed's, 277, 279, 318.  
 Hill, Trainingfield, 351, 352.  
 Hill, Twisden's, 130, 248.  
 Hillsborough, Lord, 77, 89.  
 Hind, The, 190.  
 Hines, Rev. O., 382.  
 Hinks, Gen. E. W., 285, 286.  
 Hinman, Rev. William, 382.  
 Hitchcock, Colonel, 194.  
 Hoar, Hon. Ebenezer R., 320.  
 Holden, John, 243.  
 Holgrave, Mr., 10.  
 Holton, Samuel, 133.  
 Holyoke, Dr. Edward Augustus, 349.  
 Holyoke, Rev. Edward, 41, 42, 50, 51, 345, 349, 358, 359, 379.  
 Homan, Edward, 26, 61.  
 Homan, Miss Mary E., 289.  
 Homan, Richard, 206.  
 Homan, Samuel, 317.  
 Homan, William, 243.  
 Homes, Rev. Francis, 361.  
 Hook, Elder John, 390.  
 Hooper, Captain, 199.  
 Hooper, John, 26, 266, 200, 352.  
 Hooper, John, 4th, 223.  
 Hooper, Joseph, 353.  
 Hooper, Mrs. Eunice, 377.  
 Hooper, Mrs. Mary Glover, 258.  
 Hooper, Nathaniel, 223, 257.  
 Hooper, Robert, 26, 62, 63, 65, 136, 206, 258, 350, 351, 353, 354.  
 Hooper, Robert, Jr., 59.  
 Hooper, Robert, Ship, 270.  
 Hooper, Samuel, 107, 206, 210, 212, 352.  
 Hooper, William, 223, 243.  
 Hooper, William, Jr., 199.  
 Hooper, William H., 271.  
 Horton, Rev. Jotham, 382.  
 Hose Company, Liberty, 315, 318.  
 Hotel, Marblehead, 325.  
 House, Atlantic, 336.  
 House, Bowler, 381.  
 House, Eagle, 341.  
 House, Hooper, 352.

- House, Lee, 352.  
 House, Manataug, 317.  
 House, Old Custom, 342.  
 House, Prentiss, 355.  
 House, Reynolds, 261.  
 House, Samoset, 336.  
 House, Tucker, 340.  
 House, Watson, 354.  
 Howe, The, 190.  
 Howe, General, 142, 146, 149.  
 Hoyle, John, 26.  
 Hubbard, Amos, 86.  
 Hubbard, Eliza, 32.  
 Hubbard, John, 254.  
 Hubbard, Rev. Ebenezer, 217, 341, 342, 359.  
 Hubbard, Rev. Reuben, 382.  
 Hubbard, William B., 295.  
 Humphrey, John, 10, 11, 12, 17.  
 Humphrey, William, 326.  
 Humphreys, John, 206.  
 Humphries, Edward, 28.  
 Hunt, Rev. William, 382.  
 Huntoon, Rev. Benjamin, 380.  
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 72, 73, 74, 86, 97, 98, 108, 126, 345.  
 Hutchinson, T. J., 262.  
 Hutchinson & Skinner, 262.  
 Hyde, Lord, 188.
- Indian, John, 32.  
 Industry, Privateer, 242, 246.  
 Ingalls, Ebenezer, 333.  
 Ingalls, Thomas, 319.  
 Ingersoll, Lieut. Nathaniel, 31.  
 Ingersoll, Nathaniel, 334.  
 Ino, United States Ship, 303, 304.  
 Ireson, Skipper Benjamin, 232, 233, 234.  
 Island, Baker's, 339.  
 Island, Cat, 94.  
 Island, Charles, 40.  
 Island, Lowell, 339.  
 Island, Ram, 339.  
 Island, Thacher's, 331, 339.  
 Island, Tinker's, 339.  
 Ives, S. B., Jr., 320.
- Jack, The, 197.  
 Jackson, Andrew, 263, 264, 265, 351.  
 Jackson, Dr. Hall, 93, 128.  
 Jackson, George, 362, 363.  
 Jackson, Jonathan, 133.  
 Jackson, Major, 208.  
 Jacobs, Charles, 68.  
 James, Capt. Ambrose, 193, 194.  
 James, Capt. Benjamin, 333.  
 James, Capt. Richard, 333.  
 James, Erasmus, 12, 13, 19, 26.  
 James, Rosamond, 14.  
 Jarvis, Admiral, 176.  
 Jason, Privateer, 184, 195, 197.  
 Java, Frigate, 247.  
 Jay, John, 221.  
 Jayne, Peter, 79, 134, 355, 371.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 221, 222, 230.  
 Jenner, Doctor, 220.  
 Jersey Island, 7.  
 Johns, Rev. Lot, 375.  
 Johnson, Charles, 365, 366.  
 Johnson, Daniel H., 298.  
 Johnson, Fort, 186.  
 Johnson, Francis, 17, 26.  
 Johnson, Hannah, 278.  
 Johnson, Robert, 27.  
 Jhonnet, Gabriel, 117, 151.  
 Jones, Paul, 120.  
 Jones, Rev. Benjamin, 382.  
 Joy, William F., 330.  
 Jupiter, The, 192.
- Keene, Will, 13.  
 Kelsey, Rev. Frank D., 361.  
 Kendelev, Edward, 67.  
 Kibby, Rev. Epaphras, 382.  
 Kilpatrick, General, 302.  
 Kimball, Edmund, 262, 270, 271.  
 Kimball, Rev. Isaac, 384.  
 King, Mr., 221.  
 King, Rufus, 204.  
 Kitteridge, Rev. F. D., 387.  
 Knight, Benjamin, 257.  
 Knight, Frank, 264.  
 Knight, Franklin, 273.  
 Knight, Robert, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29.  
 Knight, William, 12.  
 Knott, Richard, 26.  
 Knox, General, 156.
- Lackey, Andrew, 266.  
 Lafayette, Marquis, 166, 200, 201, 202, 257, 258.  
 Lafayette, George Washington, 258.  
 Lambord, Rev. Benjamin F., 382.  
 Lane, Thomas, 19.  
 Laskey, William, 196.  
 Lattimore, Christopher, 20, 22, 26.  
 Lawrence, Captain, 248.  
 Lawrence, Rev. Edward A., D. D., 360, 361.  
 League, Soldier's and Sailor's Union, 315.  
 Lear, Mr., 208.  
 Lecraw, Thomas J., 381.  
 Lee, Capt. John, 176, 177, 181, 182.  
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., 301.  
 Lee, Col. William R., 130, 132, 135, 146, 150, 151, 156, 157, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 182, 190, 206, 212, 216, 219, 352, 373.  
 Lee, Jeremiah, 61, 63, 64, 78, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 113, 114, 346, 351, 354, 355.  
 Lee, Major-general, 149, 150, 151, 152, 160, 355.  
 Lee Mansion, 351.  
 Lee, Rear-admiral, 310.  
 Lee, Rev. Jesse, 381.  
 Lee, Schooner, 193.  
 Leek, Frederick W., 262.  
 Leek, Rev. John Wickliffe, 378.  
 Lefavour, John, 271.

- Lefavour, Joshua O., 326.  
 Lefavour, William C., 326, 327.  
 Le Gallais, David, 369.  
 Le Gallais, Mrs. Hannah, 368.  
 Legg, John, 18, 19, 20, 26, 333.  
 Legg, John, Jr., 26, 39.  
 Leopard, Ship, 230.  
 Leslie, Colonel, 111, 112.  
 Lewis, Alonzo, 3.  
 Lewis, Marcy, 31, 32.  
 Lewis, Philip, 65.  
 Lewis, Rev. William H., 376.  
 Lewis, Thomas, 206, 215.  
 Library, Abbot, 325, 330.  
 Liberty, The, 264.  
 Lightfoot, William, 27.  
 Lincoln, Abraham, 283, 284, 296, 298, 302.  
 Lincoln, Benjamin, 133.  
 Lincoln, General, 149, 172, 186, 203.  
 Lindsey, Nathaniel, 210, 242, 246.  
 Lindsey, N. Allen, 262.  
 Lindsey, N. Allen & Co., 328.  
 Lindzee, Captain, 120.  
 Liner, Samuel, 68.  
 Linsford, Francis, 24.  
 Linstead, Roper, 68.  
 Lion, Privateer, 242, 243, 246.  
 Listen, Nicholas, 12, 13.  
 Litch, Elder J., 389.  
 Litchman, Charles H., 324.  
 Litchman, William, 288.  
 Little, Colonel, 349.  
 Little, Woodbridge, 116.  
 Lively, Brig, 177, 192, 341.  
 Lloyd, Arthur, 68.  
 Lodge, Masonic, 351.  
 Look, Samuel, 68, 348.  
 Loring, Hon. George B., 323.  
 Lovis, Samuel, 68, 348.  
 Low, Edward, 46.  
 Lowrie, Captain, 224.  
 Lye, Joseph, 68, 74.  
 Lynch, Privateer, 118.  
 Lyon, John, 13, 14, 19.  
 Lyon, John J., 288.  
  
 Madison, James, 221, 235, 246.  
 Magan, Luke, 243.  
 Magee, Lieutenant, 179.  
 Mahony, John, 388.  
 Main, The, 14.  
 Main, Thomas, 288.  
 Makepeace, Mr., 221.  
 Malcom, Rev. Alexander, 58, 369, 370.  
 Manly, Commodore John, 119, 120, 140, 141, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 193.  
 Manning, Samuel, 270.  
 Mansfield, Isaac, 204, 210.  
 Mansion, Sewall, 353.  
 Marblehead Gazette, 262.  
 Marblehead Ledger, 262.  
 Marblehead Light Infantry, 239, 242, 243, 254, 255, 264, 272.  
 Marblehead Messenger, 262, 316, 328.  
 Marblehead Neck, 1, 10, 14, 247, 248, 249, 299, 331, 333, 334, 335, 337, 338, 339.  
 Marblehead Register, 262.  
 Marblehead Rock, 339.  
 Marblehead Steam Fire Association, 316.  
 Marblehead, The, 265.  
 Marchant, Capt. John, 218, 219.  
 Marey, Rev. Ichabod, 382.  
 Mariott, Nicholas, 10, 13, 26.  
 Marquis, The, 189, 194, 198.  
 Marriatt, John, 27.  
 Marr, John, 291.  
 Marsh, Rev. W., 382.  
 Marshall, Rev. Herbert, 384.  
 Marshall, John, 216.  
 Marston, Benjamin, 126, 354.  
 Martin, Capt. Knott V., 272, 284, 285, 286, 287, 291, 294, 320.  
 Martin, Ebenezer, 261.  
 Martin, John, 26.  
 Martin, John H., 268.  
 Martin, Knott, 262.  
 Martin, Nathan B., 235, 257.  
 Martin, Richard, 195.  
 Martin, William, 381.  
 Mason, James, 86.  
 Massabequash, 3.  
 Massachusetts, Brig, 197.  
 Mather, Cotton, 37.  
 Mather, Increase, 28.  
 Mather, Mr., 9.  
 Matthews, William, 68, 91.  
 Maverick, Moses, 4, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 36.  
 May, Rev. Hezekiah, 379.  
 Mayo, Rev. Henry, 382.  
 McClain, Rev. Alex., 382.  
 McClester, John, 56.  
 McCurdy, Rev. C. L., 383.  
 McDougal, General, 144, 145, 146, 152, 153.  
 McGrath, Major, 335.  
 McMasters, John, 337.  
 McNeil, Capt. Hector, 177, 179.  
 Meek, Capt. Thomas, 223.  
 Melzard, John, 68.  
 Mercer, General, 154.  
 Mermaid, The, 185.  
 Merrill, Rev. Abraham D., 382.  
 Merritt, 17, 19, 25, 47.  
 Merritt, Captain, 105, 194.  
 Messer, Mary, 347.  
 Messervey, Captain, 231.  
 Messervey, William, 335.  
 Metcalf, Rev. Alfred, 382.  
 Mills, Lead, 14.  
 Minerva, Schooner, 231.  
 Misalt, Francis, 68.  
 Mitchell, Thomas, 243.  
 Mitchell, William, 243.  
 Monroe, James, 256, 351.  
 Montgomery, Brig, 198.  
 Montowampate, 3.

- Monument, Mugford, 326.  
 Morgan, Samuel, 26.  
 Morse, Gamaliel H., 294, 295.  
 Moss, Abram, 195.  
 Mossom, Rev. David, 366, 367, 368.  
 Mott, Rev. Thomas S. W., 375.  
 Mudge, Rev. James, 382.  
 Mudge, Rev. Z. A., 383.  
 Mugford, James, 108, 110, 122, 174, 321, 322.  
 Mugford Fire Association, 274, 292, 323.  
 Mullett, Abraham, 86.  
 Munger, Rev. Philip, 382.  
 Musical Association, 273, 323, 324, 330.  
  
 Nancy, Privateer, 176.  
 Nanepashemet, 2.  
 Naumkeag, 4.  
 Naumkeags, 2.  
 Neal, Captain, 195.  
 Neal, Jeremiah, 24.  
 Neal, John, 62.  
 Neck, John Peach's, 13.  
 Newhall, Joel, 262.  
 Newhall, Miss Harriet, 289.  
 Newhall, Mrs. Margaret, 289.  
 Newhall, Paul, 243.  
 Nichols, Benjamin, 67.  
 Nichols, Rev. Andrew, 382.  
 Nicholson, Captain, 184.  
 Nicholson, Col. Francis, 362, 363, 364, 368.  
 Nicholson, Edmund, 19.  
 Nicholson, Francis, 41.  
 Nicholson, John, 243.  
 Nicholson, Samuel, 27.  
 Nicholson, Thomas, 228.  
 Nick, William, 20, 26, 333.  
 Niles, Rev. Mark Haskell, 360.  
 Nixon, General, 158, 161, 171.  
 Noble, Rev. Charles, 382.  
 Norden, Nathan, 333.  
 Norman, Ensign, 28.  
 Norman, John, 19, 20.  
 Norman, Richard, 19, 20, 25, 26.  
 Northend, Hon. William D., 338.  
 Northey, John, 19, 22, 26.  
 Norwood, Rev. Abraham, 386.  
 Nutt, Capt. John, 89, 97, 137.  
 Nutting, John, 266.  
 Nutting, William, 117.  
  
 Observer, The, 190.  
 Odd Fellows, Atlantic Lodge of, 269.  
 Odiorne, Charles, 338.  
 O'Keefe, Edmund, 389.  
 Old Jersey, 196.  
 Oliver, Andrew, 73, 74.  
 Oliver, James, 262.  
 Oliver, Mrs. Mary M., 289.  
 Oliver, Rev. Thomas Fitch, 373, 374.  
 Oliver Cromwell, The, 195, 197.  
 Olton, John, 363.  
 Orange, Prince of, 251.  
  
 Orient, Ship, 243.  
 Orne, Adomiram C., 261, 276, 288, 325.  
 Orne, Capt. William B., 244, 245.  
 Orne, Col. Azor, 89, 92, 103, 104, 105, 110, 113, 116, 121, 130, 133, 140, 204, 217, 343, 346.  
 Orne, Jonathan H., 294, 313, 320.  
 Orne, Joshua, 74, 80, 89, 97, 104, 110, 116, 121, 130, 135, 155, 157, 206.  
 Orne, William, 66.  
 Osgood, Hooker, 267.  
 Osgood, Rev. A. M., 382.  
 Otheman, Rev. Bartholomew, 383.  
 Otheman, Rev. Edward, 382.  
 Otis, James, 73, 87, 90.  
 Otis, Rev. Erasmus, 382.  
  
 Paine, Miss Carrie, 289.  
 Paine, Rev. Nathan, 382.  
 Paine, Thomas T., 317, 326.  
 Paine, Zachary, 68.  
 Parker, Capt. Charles, 215.  
 Parker, Isaac, 218.  
 Parmeter, Benjamin, 26.  
 Parsons, General, 171.  
 Patch, Rev. George W., 295, 385.  
 Pautumskuy, United States Steamer, 311.  
 Peach, Col. Benjamin F., Jr., 299, 302.  
 Peach, John, 10, 13, 17, 19, 22, 25, 254.  
 Peach, John, Jr., 19, 26.  
 Peach, Mrs. Emma, 333.  
 Peach, Thomas, 68.  
 Peach, William, 86, 347.  
 Peach's Point, 7, 14, 331, 340.  
 Peacock, Brig, 196, 215.  
 Pearce, John, 62.  
 Pearce, Richard, 243.  
 Peck, Rev. Alfred, 387.  
 Pedrick, Andrew, 333.  
 Pedrick, George, 269.  
 Pedrick, John, 26, 333, 334.  
 Pedrick, John, Jr., 26.  
 Pedrick, John, 3d, 223.  
 Pedrick, Joseph, 235.  
 Pedrick, Knott, 200.  
 Pedrick, Major John, 111, 344, 345.  
 Pedrick, Richard, 206.  
 Pedrick, Thomas, 108, 200.  
 Peggy, Ship, 177.  
 Pembroke, Frigate, 65, 66, 67, 68.  
 Penet, Brigantine, 179.  
 Penhallow, Samuel, 38.  
 Pepperill, Sir William, 58.  
 Perkins, Enoch, 326.  
 Perseverance, Schooner, 231.  
 Perry, United States Steamer, 311.  
 Peters, Rev. Hugh, 11, 20.  
 Peters, Samuel, 196.  
 Petro, Elizabeth, 348.  
 Pettengill, Mr., 309, 310.  
 Phillip, King, 27, 28.  
 Phillips, Capt. Richard, 284, 285, 287, 296, 297.  
 Phillips, Dea. Stephen, 96, 97.

- Phillips, Eben B., 312.  
 Phillips, Major-general, 163.  
 Phillips, William S., Jr., 262.  
 Phippen, 79.  
 Phoebe, Frigate, 251.  
 Picke, George, 26.  
 Pickett, Ann, 59.  
 Pickett, John, 59.  
 Pickett, Moses A., 271, 272, 343.  
 Pickett, M. A., Engine, 314.  
 Pickering, Colonel, 157.  
 Pickering, John, 133.  
 Pickering, Rev. George, 332.  
 Pierce, Rev. George, Jr., 330.  
 Pierson, Thomas, 337.  
 Pigot, Rev. George, 368, 369.  
 Pinekney, C. C., 216.  
 Pittford, Peter, 19.  
 Pittsford, Edward, 19.  
 Pitman, Charity, 33.  
 Pitman, Henry F., 319, 320, 326, 327, 330.  
 Pitman, Mark, 26.  
 Pitman, Miss Mary L., 289.  
 Pitman, Thomas, 19, 20, 26, 30.  
 Pitt Paecett, Brig, 80.  
 Poat, William, 27.  
 Pole, The, 183.  
 Pomena, Frigate, 184.  
 Pond, Brick, 276.  
 Pond, Red's, 325.  
 Poor, Captain, 231.  
 Poquanum, 4.  
 Porter, Benjamin, 262, 350.  
 Porter, Capt. David, 251, 252.  
 Porter, Thomas, 243.  
 Porter & Green, 350.  
 Post, Boston, 362.  
 Potter, Henry A., 319.  
 Pousland, Thomas, 26.  
 Pousland, William, 243.  
 Pow, William, 26.  
 Powers, Capt. John, 224, 322.  
 Powers, Capt. Thomas, 80.  
 Powers, Capt. William, 224.  
 Preble, United States Sloop-of-war, 307.  
 Prentiss, Benjamin K., 315.  
 Prentiss, Caleb, Jr., 325.  
 Prentiss, Commander, 308.  
 Prentiss, John, 99.  
 Prentiss, John, Jr., 257.  
 Prentiss, Joshua, 355, 381.  
 Prentiss, Miss Amy K., 289.  
 Prentiss, Mr., 213.  
 Prescott, Colonel, 140.  
 Price, Rev. Joseph H., 375.  
 Prichard, Asa, 243.  
 Prince, John, 108, 192.  
 Prince of Orange, Ship, 251.  
 Providence, The, 180, 186.  
 Putnam, Ann, 32.  
 Putnam, Ann, Jr., 32.  
 Putnam, General, 141, 148.  
 Putnam, Israel, 267.  
 Putnam, Samuel, 235.  
 Putnam's Tavern, 223.  
 Pythias, Knights of, 315.  
 Queen of France, 186.  
 Quilty, James, 322.  
 Raddin, John, 333.  
 Railroad, Marblehead and Lynn, 312, 317.  
 Rainbow, The, 178.  
 Rainoni, Rev. Charles, 389.  
 Ranger, The, 186.  
 Read, Edward, 126.  
 Rebekah, Daughters of, 315.  
 Rechabites, Samaritan Tent of, 269.  
 Red, Samuel, 31, 32.  
 Red, Wilmot, 31, 32, 33, 34.  
 Red Men, Manataug Tribe of, 316.  
 Redden, Thaddeus, 26, 30.  
 Reed, Captain, 194, 198.  
 Reed, Hon. William, 257, 333, 353, 354, 375.  
 Reed, Jeremiah, 157.  
 Reed, Mary, 370.  
 Reed, Richard, 26, 29, 30, 61, 64, 71, 140.  
 Reed, Samuel, 26.  
 Reed, Thomas, 26.  
 Reidesel, Major-general, 163.  
 Reith, Richard, 26, 333.  
 Relief, The, 264.  
 Relief Association, Citizens, 317.  
 Reservoir, Brick Pond, 325.  
 Revenge, The, 195.  
 Rexford, Rev. Jordan, 382.  
 Reynolds, Dr. H. A., 321.  
 Reynolds, Franklin, 327.  
 Reynolds, John, 390.  
 Rhode Island, United States Steamer, 305.  
 Rice, Rev. William, 382.  
 Richard, Brig, 246.  
 Richmond, Rev. John B., 376.  
 Richmond, United States Sloop-of-war, 303.  
 River Head Beach, 48, 299.  
 Rix, Asa W. S., 307.  
 Roads, Henry, 335.  
 Roads, John, 26, 333, 334.  
 Roads, John, Jr., 27.  
 Roads, Samuel, 296.  
 Roads, Samuel, Jr., 262.  
 Robie, Thomas, 126, 137, 350.  
 Robinson, Frederick, 263, 266, 271, 288.  
 Robinson, Rev. John P., 376.  
 Rock, Half-way, 338.  
 Rodolph, United States Steamer, 303.  
 Roff, Samuel, 322.  
 Rogers, Samuel, 86.  
 Rose, Thomas, 26.  
 Roundy, Nathaniel, 270, 295.  
 Rover, Sloop, 194.  
 Rowden, Benjamin, 148.  
 Rowland, Richard, 20, 26.  
 Russell, Capt. William, 262.



- Russell, Henry, 26.  
 Russell, John, 13, 108.  
 Russell, John, 347.  
 Russell, John Cloon, 270.  
 Russell, Lewis, 192.  
 Russell, Mary, 347.  
 Russell, Roger, 26.  
 Russell, Samuel, 333.  
  
 Sabbath-school Union, 257, 354.  
 Salmon Chi, 19.  
 Sally, Brig, 181.  
 Sams, Thomas, 14.  
 Sanden, Arthur, 14, 19.  
 Sanden, Thomas, 26.  
 San Domingo, Ship, 243.  
 Sarding, Samuel, 26.  
 Sargent, Rev. Thomas F., 382.  
 Saverin, Edward, 68.  
 Savings Bank, Marblehead, 316.  
 Schools, Grammar, 255.  
 School, High, 265.  
 Schouler, Gen. William, 285, 295.  
 Schuyler, General, 157.  
 Seabury, Bishop, 373.  
 Searle, William, 335.  
 Seers, Richard, 13.  
 Selman, Captain, 194, 195.  
 Selman, Capt. John, 118, 140, 174, 223, 342.  
 Selman, Miss Marcia M., 323, 330.  
 Sewall, Joseph, 206, 212.  
 Sewall, Samuel, 52, 135, 206, 210, 212, 214, 218, 219, 223, 235.  
 Sewall, Stephen, 207.  
 Shannon, Frigate, 248.  
 Shapley, David, 33.  
 Shaw, John, 294, 295.  
 Shaw, Rev. William, 364, 365.  
 Shaw, William, 41.  
 Shays, Daniel, 203.  
 Shehan, Rev. Thomas, 388.  
 Shepard, Colonel, 151.  
 Shepard, General, 303.  
 Shute, Governor, 365.  
 Sias, Rev. Solomon, 382.  
 Simpson, Captain, 180.  
 Skinner, Captain, 177.  
 Skinner, Richard, 333.  
 Slater, John, 22.  
 Smethurst, Gamaliel, 68.  
 Smith, James, 17, 18, 26.  
 Smith, Joel, 108.  
 Smith, John, 243.  
 Smith, Rev. William, 382.  
 Smith, Right Rev. Benjamin Bosworth, 374.  
 Smyth, Thomas, 10, 26.  
 Snow, Adventure, 181.  
 Snowbird, Privateer, 242, 243.  
 Society, American Tract, 354.  
 Society, Columbian, 260.  
 Society, Female Humane, 263.  
 Society, Hibernian Friendly, 273, 323.  
 Society, Massachusetts Medical, 349.  
 Society, Seamen's Charitable, 263, 270.  
 Society, Soldiers' Aid, 289, 291, 300.  
 Society, Spiritualist, 271.  
 Society, Unitarian, 300.  
 Society, Women's Centennial Aid, 329.  
 Sparhawk, Miss Sarah E., 289.  
 Sparhawk, John, 134, 338, 348.  
 Sparhawk, John, Jr., 263.  
 Sparhawk, Peter, 261.  
 Sparhawk, Samuel, 261, 319.  
 Spaulding, Rev. Newell S., 382.  
 Spaulding, Rev. Nathan B., 382.  
 Springbird, The, 195, 196.  
 Squirrel, Frigate, 65, 66, 67, 68.  
 Stacey, Benjamin, 391.  
 Stacey, Ebenezer, 63.  
 Stacey, Henry, 18, 26.  
 Stacey, John, 19, 22, 26, 59, 333.  
 Stacey, Joseph, 118, 156.  
 Stacey, Widow, 27.  
 Stanhope, Capt. Michael, 192.  
 Stateman, John, 68.  
 St. David, The, 187.  
 Stephens, Alexander H., 283.  
 Stephens, General, 154.  
 Stephens, William, 13.  
 Stevens, John, 270.  
 Stevens, Robert P., 269.  
 Stevens, William, 326.  
 Stevers, Walter, 63.  
 Stewart, Amy, 318.  
 Stewart, John, 318.  
 St. Helena, Ship, 191, 192.  
 Stickney, Rev. Moses P., 376.  
 Stiles, Captain, 196, 197.  
 Stillwell, Capt. John, 191.  
 Stilson, Dinson, 26.  
 Stirling, Lord, 154.  
 Stocking, Rev. Selah S., 382.  
 Stone, Benjamin, 266.  
 Stone, Rev. Theodore D. P., 361.  
 Story, Bradstreet, 221.  
 Story, Dr. Elisha, 206, 219, 220, 235, 348, 349, 355.  
 Story, Isaac, Jr., 384.  
 Story, Joseph, 44, 45, 214, 215, 219, 235, 236, 237, 248, 348.  
 Story, Rev. Isaac, 123, 133, 135, 342, 345, 379.  
 Story, William, 221, 235, 237, 345.  
 Strong, Caleb, 204.  
 Strong, Governor, 222.  
 Stuart, Rev. Zalmon, 382.  
 Sullivan, General, 143, 154, 155, 166, 167, 168, 170.  
 Sumpter, Confederate Steamer, 304.  
 Surriage, Agnes, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.  
 Surriage, Edward, 53.  
 Surriage, Isaac, 56.  
 Sutherland, Rev. George, 382.  
 Sutton, Gen. William, 272, 296.  
 Sutton Light Infantry, 272, 284, 294, 297, 299, 300, 346.

- Swaburgs, Frederick, 68.  
 Swain, Mrs., 57.  
 Swallow, Sloop, 233.  
 Swan, 197.  
 Swan, J., 335.  
 Swasey, Joseph, 156.  
 Swasey, Thomas, 298.  
 Sweet, Mason H., 307.  
 Swett, Joseph, 43, 51.  
 Symes, Captain, 181.  
 Symonds, Henry O., 326.  
 Syms, Mrs., 33, 34.
- Talbot, Thomas, 331.  
 Tanors, Thomas, 26.  
 Tarrantines, 2.  
 Tasker, 330.  
 Tatnall, Commodore, 308.  
 Temperance Union, Christian, 321.  
 Tindley, Thomas, 254.  
 Tenedos, Frigate, 250.  
 Thacher, Anthony, 9, 13.  
 Thacher, Oxenbridge, 73.  
 Thomas, David, 19, 26.  
 Thomas, William, 322.  
 Thompson, Benjamin, 267.  
 Thompson, Robert, 67.  
 Thorn, The, 183, 187, 188, 189, 190, 197,  
 242, 246.  
 Thorndike, 197.  
 Tiberden, Captain, 196.  
 Tiger, The, 195, 197.  
 Tillinghast, Rev. N. P., 376.  
 Times, Essex County, 262.  
 Tomson, Archibald, 13.  
 Tomson, Widow, 14.  
 Topham, James, 322.  
 Torrent, The, 264.  
 Town Pump, 71.  
 Traill, Horace, 262.  
 Traill, Major, 259.  
 Trask, Edward L., 262.  
 Traveller, The, 196.  
 Travers, Confederate Schooner, 306.  
 Trefry, Henry G., 270.  
 Trefry, Michael, 44.  
 Trefry, Miss Tabitha, 289.  
 Trefry, Thomas, 68.  
 Trefry, Wormsted, 148.  
 Trevett, Henry, 26, 62.  
 Trevett, John, 333.  
 Trevett, Richard, 333.  
 Trevett, Samuel R., 108, 111, 115, 117  
 194, 198, 206, 273, 375.  
 Trevy, Thomas, 26.  
 Tribby, John, 26.  
 Tucker, Andrew, 26.  
 Tucker, Commodore Samuel, 130, 174,  
 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 184, 185, 186,  
 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195.  
 Tucker, George, 195.  
 Tucker, John, 335.  
 Tucker, Rev. C. G., 387.  
 Tucker, Rev. T. W., 382.
- Turner, Joseph P., 273, 319.  
 Tutt, Richard, 288.  
 Tyranicide, Ship, 197, 199.
- Uncals, William, 68.  
 Union, The, 264.  
 Upham, Charles W., 272.  
 Upham, William P., 171.
- Vallison, Captain, 194, 196.  
 Valpey, Thomas, 68.  
 Van Buren, Martin, 268.  
 Varnum, General, 166.  
 Venture, Brig, 185.  
 Vickary, George, 13.  
 Victor, The, 178.  
 Vigilant, The, 185.  
 Ville de Milan, Frigate, 224.  
 Viper, Ship, 195.
- Wadden, Jacob, 243.  
 Wadsworth, President, 51.  
 Waitt, Aaron, 240.  
 Wakefield, John, 13, 14.  
 Walcott, Mary, 31, 32.  
 Waldron, John, 22, 26, 333.  
 Wales, Sergt. H. F., 287.  
 Walpee, Benjamin, 86.  
 Walsingham, Francis Johnson, 19.  
 Walton, Samuel, 27.  
 Walton, William, 13, 14, 18, 19, 23, 26.  
 Waltown, Nathaniel, 30.  
 Ward, Captain, 180.  
 Ward, General, 117, 121, 139.  
 Ward, Rev. Julius H., 324, 377, 378.  
 Ward, Samuel, 23, 26, 30.  
 Warren, Captain, 195.  
 Warren, Doctor, 90.  
 Warren, Isaac, 68.  
 Warren, Ralph, 14.  
 Warren, The, 197.
- Washington, George, 118, 119, 120, 140,  
 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150,  
 154, 155, 156, 157, 172, 174, 205, 208,  
 210, 211, 219, 342, 344, 351, 368.  
 Washington Hook and Ladder Company,  
 271, 318.
- Waters, Captain, 174, 391.  
 Waters, Hannah, 49.  
 Waters, William, 26.  
 Watson, 215.  
 Watson, John Lee, 127.  
 Watson, Marston, 206, 212, 354, 355.  
 Watts, James, 27.  
 Watts, John, 94.  
 Webb, Rev. Daniel, 382.  
 Webster, Daniel, 270.  
 Weeks, Rev. Joshua Wingate, 125, 370,  
 371, 372, 373.  
 Welch, Jonathan, 66.  
 Well, Stratton's Spring, 334.  
 Wells, Rev. Joshua, 382.  
 Western World, United States Steamer  
 305, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311.

- Wheelock, Captain, 66.  
 Whipple, Commodore, 180, 186.  
 Whipple, Major-general, 163.  
 White, Capt. John, 195.  
 White, James, 8.  
 White, Thomas, 26.  
 Whitefield, Rev. Charles, 57, 58, 369, 371.  
 Whitehaire, Abraham, 13, 19.  
 Whittemore, Dr. H. H. F., 326.  
 Whittemore, Rev. Benjamin, 385.  
 Whittier, John G., 336.  
 Whitwell, Rev. William, 96, 97, 115, 135, 198, 359.  
 Wiggin, Rev. James Henry, 380.  
 Wilcox, Rev. Bela, 384.  
 Wild, Edward, 108.  
 Wild, Rev. Zenas P., 385.  
 Wilkins, John H., 327.  
 Willard, Jacob, 242.  
 Williams, Abigail, 32.  
 Williams, D. R., 236.  
 Williams, John, 27, 223.  
 Williams, Mrs. Maria L., 273, 289.  
 Williams, Rev. John H., 361.  
 Winepoykin, 3, 4.  
 Wimpewweekin, 3, 4.  
 Winslow, Mr., 2.  
 Winthrop, Governor, 8.  
 Wise, 335.  
 Witham, John, 322.  
 Wolfe, General, 66.  
 Wonohaquaham, 3.  
 Wood, Richard, 62.  
 Woodbridge, Rev. William R., 376.  
 Woodfin, Miss Hannah J., 289.  
 Woodfin, Thomas, 66.  
 Woods, William, 26.  
 Wooldredge, Thomas, 261.  
 Wormwood, Jacob, 33.  
 Wormstead, Joseph, 256.  
 Wormstead, Robert, 112, 117, 185, 186, 191.  
 Wormstead & Woodfin, 326.  
 Wright, Governor, 119.  
 Wyman, Isaac C., 338.









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