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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



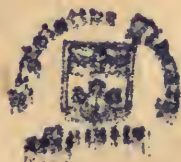
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COLLECTIONS.



Capt. Thomas Wheeler's Narrative of an Expedition with Capt. Edward Hutchinson into the Nipmuck Country, and to Quabaog, now Brookfield, Mass. first published 1675.

[The following Narrative is very scarce, and must have been so when Gov. Hutchinson wrote his History of Massachusetts, as it does not appear, in giving an account of the Expedition, (Hist. Mass. Vol. I, 265,) in which his ancestor sustained such an important part and lost his life, that the historian has made any reference whatever to Capt. Wheeler's Narrative, which he would most likely have done had he known of its existence. The following is printed from a copy which appears to have belonged to Deputy Governor Danforth, of Cambridge, and which has been obligingly furnished the Publishing Committee by a Gentleman of Salem, Ms. who is known for his very minute and thorough researches in the early history of our country. A few notes have been handed the Committee by a member of the Society.]

A

TRUE NARRATIVE

Of the Lord's Providences in various dispensations towards Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston and my self, and those that went with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also to Quabaog, alias Brookfield: The said Captain Hutchinson having a Commission from the Honoured Council of this Colony to treat with several Sachems in those parts in order to the publick peace, and my self being also ordered by the said Council to accompany him with part of my troop for security from

any danger that might be from the Indians : and to assist him in the transaction of matters committed to him.

THE said Captain Hutchinson,* and myself, with about twenty men or more marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28, 1675 ; and from thence into the Nipmuck Country, and finding that the Indians had deserted their towns, and we having gone until we came within two miles of New Norwich, on July 31, (only we saw two Indians having an horse with them, whom we would have spoke with, but they fled from us and left their horse, which we took,) we then thought it not expedient to march any further that way, but set our march for Brookfield, whither we came on the Lord's day about noon. From thence the same day, (being August 1,) we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles north west from us, we sent out four men to acquaint the Indians that we were not come to harm them, but our business was only to deliver a Message from our Honoured Governour and Council to them, and to receive their answer, we desiring to come to a Treaty of Peace with them, (though they had for several dayes fled from us,) they hav-

* [Capt. Hutchinson had a very considerable farm in the Nipmug country, and had occasion to employ several of the Nipmug sachem's men in tilling and ploughing the ground, and thereby was known to the face of many of them. The sachems sent word that they would speak with none but Capt. Hutchinson himself, and appointed a meeting at such a tree and such a time. The guide that conducted him and those that were with him through the woods, brought them to a swamp [as stated in the Narrative] not far off the appointed place, out of which those Indians ran all at once and killed sixteen [but 8, as in Narrative] men, and wounded several others, of which wounds Capt. Hutchinson afterwards died, whose death is the more lamented in that his mother and several others of his relations died by the hands of the Indians, now above 30 years since. *Ms. Letter sent to London, dated Nov. 10, 1675, as quoted by Gov. Hutchinson, I. 266.*

Capt. Hutchinson belonged to Boston and had been one of its representatives, and considerably in publick life. He was son of William and the celebrated ANN Hutchinson, and was brother-in-law to Major Thomas Savage, of Boston, who married Faith, the sister of Capt. H. He was the father of the Hon. Elisha Hutchinson, one of the Counsellors of Massachusetts, who died 10 December, 1717, aged 77. The last was father of Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, born 30 January, 1674 ; died 3 December, 1739, whose son, Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, born 9 September, 1711, was the celebrated historian of Massachusetts. *I Savage's Winthrop, 246.* It is a little singular that the Gov. should not have met with a Narrative so particular respecting the fate of his great ancestor.]

ing before professed friendship, and promised fidelity to the English. When the messengers came to them they made an alarm, and gathered together about an hundred and fifty fighting men as near as they could judge. The young men amongst them were *stout* in their speeches, and surly in their carriage. But at length some of the chief Sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about 8 of the clock upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield, with which answer the messengers returned to us. Whereupon, though their speeches and carriage did much discourage divers of our company, yet we conceived that we had a cleer call to go to meet them at the place whither they had promised to come. Accordingly we with our men accompanied with three of the principal inhabitants of that town marched to the plain appointed; but the treacherous heathen intending mischief, (if they could have opportunity,) came not to the said place, and so failed our hopes of speaking with them there. Whereupon the said Captain Hutchinson and my self, with the rest of our company, considered what was best to be done, whether we should go any further towards them or return, divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed, because the Indians kept not promise there with us. But the three men who belonged to Brookfield were so strongly perswaded of their freedome from any ill intentions towards us, (as upon other bounds, so especially because the greatest part of those Indians belonged to David, one of their chief Sachems, who was taken to be a great friend to the English :) that the said Captain Hutchinson who was principally intrusted with the matter of Treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a Swampe where the Indians then were. When we came near the said swampe, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there be-

ing a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thick swampe on the left. In which there were many of those cruel blood-thirsty heathen, who there way laid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off ; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprize us.* When we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a showre of haile, they being, (as was supposed,) about two hundred men or more. We seeing our selves so beset, and not having room to fight, endeavoured to fly for the safety of our lives. In which flight we were in no small danger to be all cut off, there being a very miry swamp before us, into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards, and there being no safety in retreating the way we came, because many of our company, who lay behind the bushes, and had let us pass by them quietly ; when others had shot, they came out, and stopt our way back, so that we were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill ; but the greater our danger was, the greater was God's mercy in the preservation of so many of us from sudden destruction. My self being gone up part of the hill without any hurt, and perceiving some of my men to be fallen by the enemies' shot, I wheeled about upon the Indians, not calling on my men who were left to accompany me, which they in all probability would have done had they known of my return upon the enemy. They firing violently out of the swamp, and from behind the bushes on the hill side wounded me sorely, and shot my horse under me, so that he faultring and falling, I was forc-

* [It seems from a note in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, that the Indians took a prisoner of the name of George, a christian Indian, who afterwards reported that Philip and his company of about 40 men, besides women and children, joined the Nipmuck Indians in a swamp, ten or twelve miles from Brookfield on the 5th of August. "The Indians told Philip, at his first coming, what they had done to the English at Quabaog: Then he presented and gave to three sagamores, viz. John alias Apequinash, Quanansit, and Mawtamps, to each of them about a peck of unstrung wampum, which they accepted." Philip was conducted to the swamp by two Indians, one of whom was Caleb of Tatunasket, beyond Mendon.]

ed to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company, missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much endangered, returned towards the swampe again, though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins, where he saw me in the danger aforesaid. Whereupon, he endeavoured to rescue me, shewing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself into great peril of his life to help me in that distress, there being many of the enemies about me, my son set me on his own horse, and so escaped a while on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so through God's great mercy we both escaped. But in this attempt for my deliverance he received another dangerous wound by their shot in his left arm. There were then slain to our great grief eight men, viz.—Zechariah Philips of Boston, Timothy Farlow,* of Billericay, Edward Coleborn, of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly, of Concord, Sydrach Hopgood, of Sudbury, Serjeant Eyres,† Serjeant Prichard,‡ and Corporal Coy,§ the inhabitants of Brookfield, aforesaid. It being the good pleasure of God, that they should all there fall by their hands, of whose good intentions they were so confident, and whom they so little mistrusted. There were also then five persons wounded, viz.—Captain Hutchinson, my self, and my son Thomas, as aforesaid, Corporal French,¶ of Billericay, who having killed an Indian, was (as he was taking up his gun) shot, and part of one of his thumbs taken off, and also dangerously wounded through the body near the shoulder; the

[* Timothy Farley was son of George Farley, one of the first settlers of Billerica.]

[† John Ayres. ‡ Joseph Pritchard. § John Coye.]

[¶ Corporal John French was son of Lieut. William French of Billerica. He went from Cambridge with his father to Billerica, about 1654, and lived there until his death in October, 1712, aged about 79.]

fifth was John Waldoe, of Chelmsford, who was not so dangerously wounded as the rest. They also then killed five of our horses, and wounded some more, which soon died after they came to Brookfield. Upon this sudden and unexpected blow given us, (wherein we desire to look higher than man the instrument,) we returned to the town as fast as the badness of the way, and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it. All the while we were going, we durst not stay to stanch the bleeding of our wounded men, for fear the enemy should have surprized us again, which they attempted to do, and had in probability done, but that we perceiving which way they went, wheeled off to the other hand, and so by God's good providence towards us, they missed us, and we all came readily upon, and safely to the town, though none of us knew the way to it, those of the place being slain, as aforesaid, and we avoiding any thick woods and riding in open places to prevent danger by them. Being got to the town, we speedily betook our selves to one of the largest and strongest houses therein, where we fortified our selves in the best manner we could in such straits of time, and there resolved to keep garrison, though we were but few, and meanly fitted to make resistance against so furious enemies. The news of the Indians' treacherous dealing with us, and the loss of so many of our company thereby, did so amaze the inhabitants of the town, that they being informed thereof by us, presently left their houses, divers of them carrying very little away with them, they being afraid of the Indians sudden coming upon them; and so came to the house we were entered into, very meanly provided of cloathing, or furnished with provisions.

I perceiving my self to be disenabled for the discharge of the duties of my place by reason of the wound I had received, and apprehending that the

enemy would soon come to spoyle the town, and assault us in the house, I appointed Simon Davis, of Concord, James Richardson,* and John Fiske,† of Chelmsford, to manage affairs for our safety with those few men whom God hath left us, and were fit for any service, and the inhabitants of the said town; who did well and commendably perform the duties of the trust committed to them with much courage and resolution through the assistance of our gracious God, who did not leave us in our low and distressed state, but did mercifully appear for us in our greatest need, as in the sequel will clearly be manifested. Within two hours after our coming to the said house, or less, the said Captain Hutchinson and my self posted away Epraim Curtis, of Sudbury, and Henry Young, of Concord, to go to the Honoured Council at Boston, to give them an account of the Lord's dealing with us, and our present condition. When they came to the further end of the town they saw the enemy rifling of houses which the inhabitants had forsaken. The post fired upon them, and immediately returned to us again, they discerning no safety in going forward and being desirous to inform us of the enemies' actings, that we might the more prepare for a sudden assault by them. Which indeed presently followed, for as soon as the said post was come back to us, the barbarous heathen pressed upon us in the house with great violence, sending in their shot amongst us like haile through the walls, and shouting as if they would have swallowed us up alive; but our good God wrought wonderfully for us, so

[* James Richardson is supposed to have been brother to Capt. Josiah Richardson, of Chelmsford, who died 22 July, 1695, the ancestor of the Hon. Judge Richardson, of Chester. He went from Woburn, the hive from which issued most of the Richardsons, to Chelmsford, in 166-. The first Richardson who came to the Massachusetts colony was Ezekiel Richardson, who was made a freeman, in May, 1631, and was afterwards a deputy of the General Court. Samuel and Thomas were made freemen, 2 May, 1638, and they settled in Woburn, as did also, it is believed, Ezekiel, though not upon his first coming here.]

[† John Fiske was son of the Rev. John Fiske, first minister of Chelmsford.]

that there was but one man wounded within the house, viz.—the said Henry Young, who, looking out of the garret window that evening, was mortally wounded by a shot, of which wound he died within two dayes after. There was the same day another man slain, but not in the house; a son of Serjeant Prichard's adventuring out of the house wherein we were, to his Father's house not far from it, to fetch more goods out of it, was caught by those cruel enemies as they were coming towards us, who cut off his head, kicking it about like a foot-ball, and then putting it upon a pole, they set it up before the door of his Father's house in our sight.

The night following the said blow, they did roar against us like so many wild bulls, sending in their shot amongst us till towards the moon rising, which was about three of the clock; at which time they attempted to fire our house by hay and other combustible matter which they brought to one corner of the house, and set it on fire. Whereupon some of our company were necessitated to expose themselves to very great danger to put it out. Simon Davis, one of the three appointed by my self as Captain, to supply my place by reason of my wounds, as aforesaid, he being of a lively spirit, encouraged the souldiers within the house to fire upon the Indians; and also those that adventured out to put out the fire, (which began to rage and kindle upon the house side,) with these and the like words, that *God is with us, and fights for us, and will deliver us out of the hands of these heathen*; which expressions of his the Indians hearing, they shouted and scoffed, saying: *now see how your God delivers you, or will deliver you*, sending in many shots whilst our men were putting out the fire. But the Lord of Hosts wrought very graciously for us, in preserving our bodies both within and without the house from their shot, and our house from being

consumed by fire, we had but two men wounded in that attempt of theirs, but we apprehended that we killed divers of our enemies. I being desirous to hasten intelligence to the Honoured Council of our present great distress, we being so remote from any succour, (it being between sixty and seventy miles from us to Boston, where the Council useth to sit) and fearing our ammunition would not last long to withstand them, if they continued so to assault us, I spake to Ephraim Curtis to adventure forth again on that service, and to attempt it on foot, as the way wherein there was most hope of getting away undiscovered; he readily assented, and accordingly went out, but there were so many Indians every where thereabouts, that he could not pass, without apparent hazard of life, so he came back again, but towards morning the said Ephraim adventured forth the third time, and was fain to creep on his hands and knees for some space of ground, that he might not be discerned by the enemy, who waited to prevent our sending if they could have hindered it. But through God's mercy he escaped their hands, and got safely to Marlborough, though very much spent, and ready to faint by reason of want of sleep before he went from us, and his sore travel night and day in that hot season till he got thither, from whence he went to Boston; yet before the said Ephraim got to Marlborough, there was intelligence brought thither of the burning of some houses, and killing some cattel at Quabaug, by some who were going to Connecticut, but they seeing what was done at the end of the town, and hearing several guns shot off further within the town, they durst proceed no further, but immediately returned to Marlborough, though they then knew not what had befallen Captain Hutchinson and myself, and company, nor of our being there, but that timely intelligence they gave before Ephraim Curtis his coming to Marl-

borough, occasioned the Honoured Major Willards turning his march towards Quabaug, for their relief, who were in no small danger every hour of being destroyed; the said Major being, when he had that intelligence, upon his march another way as he was ordered by the honoured council, as is afterwards more fully expressed.

The next day being August 3d, they continued shooting and shouting, and proceeded in their former wickedness, blaspheming the name of the Lord, and reproaching us, his afflicted servants, scoffing at our prayers as they were sending in their shot upon all quarters of the house and many of them went to the town's meeting house, (which was within twenty rods of the house in which we were) who mocked saying, come and pray, and sing psalms, and in contempt made an hideous noise somewhat resembling singing. But we, to our power, did endeavour our own defence, sending our shot amongst them, the Lord giving us courage to resist them, and preserving us from the destruction they sought to bring upon us. On the evening following, we saw our enemies carrying several of their dead or wounded men on their backs, who proceeded that night to send in their shot, as they had done the night before, and also still shouted as if the day had been certainly theirs, and they should without fail, have prevailed against us, which they might have the more hopes of in regard that we discerned the coming of new companies to them to assist and strengthen them, and the unlikelihood of any coming to our help. They also used several stratagems to fire us, namely, by wild fire in cotton and linnen rags with brimstone in them, which rags they tyed to the piles of their arrows, sharp for the purpose, and shot them to the roof of our house, after they had set them on fire, which would have much endangered the burning thereof, had we not used means by cutting holes through the roof and out.

erwise, to beat the said arrows down, and God being pleased to prosper our endeavours therein.— They carryed more combustible matter, as flax and hay, to the sides of the house, and set it on fire, and then flocked apace towards the door of the house, either to prevent our going forth to quench the fire, as we had done before, or to kill our men in their attempt to go forth, or else to break into the house by the door; whereupon we were forced to break down the wall of the house against the fire to put it out. They also shot a ball of wild fire into the garret of the house, which fell amongst a great heap of flax or tow therein, which one of our souldiers, through God's good Providence soon espyed, and having water ready presently quenched it; and so we were preserved by the keeper of Israel, both our bodies from their shot, which they sent thick against us, and the house from being consumed to ashes, although we were but weak to defend our selves, we being not above twenty and six men with those of that small town, who were able for any service, and our enemies, as I judged them about, (if not above,) three hundred, I speak of the least, for many there present did guess them to be four or five hundred. It is the more to be observed, that so little hurt should be done by the enemies' shot, it commonly piercing the walls of the house, and flying amongst the people, and there being in the house fifty women and children besides the men before mentioned. But abroad in the yard, one Thomas Wilson of that town, being sent to fetch water for our help in further need, (that which we had being spent in putting out the fire,) was shot by the enemy in the upper jaw and in the neck, the anguish of which wound was such at the first that he cried out with a great noise, by reason whereof the Indians hearing him rejoiced and triumphed at it; but his wound was healed in a short time, praised be God.

On Wednesday, August the 4th, the Indians fortified themselves at the meeting house, and the barne, belonging to our house, which they fortified both at the great doors, and at both ends, with posts, rails, boards, and hay, to save themselves from our shot. They also devised other stratagems, to fire our house, on the night following, namely, they took a cart, and filled it with flax, hay and candle-wood, and other combustible matter, and set up planks, fastened to the cart, to save themselves from the danger of our shot. Another invention they had to make the more sure work in burning the house. They got many poles of a considerable length and bigness, and spliced them together at the ends one of another, and made a carriage of them about fourteen rods long, setting the poles in two rows with peils laid cross over them at the front end, and dividing them said poles about three foot asunder, and in the said front of this their carriage they set a barrel, having made an hole through both heads, and put an axle-tree through them, to which they fastened the said poles, and under every joynt of the poles where they were spliced, they set up a pair of truckle wheeles to bear up the said carriages, and they loaded the front or fore-end thereof with matter fit for firing, as hay, and flaxe, and chips, &c. Two of these instruments they prepared, that they might convey fire to the house, with the more safety to themselves, they standing at such a distance from our shot, whilst they wheeled them to the house: great store of arrows they had also prepared to shoot fire upon the house that night; which we found after they were gone, they having left them there. But the Lord who is a present help in times of trouble, and is pleased to make his people's extremity his opportunity, did graciously prevent them of effecting what they hoped they should have done by the aforesaid devices, partly by sending a showre of

rain in season, whereby the matter prepared being wett would not so easily take fire as it otherwise would have done, and partly by aide coming to our help. For our danger would have been very great that night, had not the only wise God (blessed for ever) been pleased to send to us about an hour within night the worshipful Major Willard with Captain Parker of Groaton, and forty-six men more with five Indians to relieve us in the low estate into which we were brought; our eyes were unto him the holy one of Israel; in him we desired to place our trust, hoping that he would in the time of our great need appear for our deliverance, and confound all their plots by which they thought themselves most sure to prevail against us; and God who comforteth the afflicted, as he comforted the holy apostle Paul by the coming of Titus to him, so he greatly comforted us his distressed servants both souldiers and town inhabitants, by the coming of the said honoured Major, and those with him. In whose so soon coming to us the good providence of God did marvellously appear; for the help that came to us by the honoured council's order (after the tydings they received by our post sent to them) came not to us till Saturday, August 7, in the afternoon, nor sooner could it well come in regard of their distance from us, i. e. if we had not had help before that time, we see not how we could have held out, the number of the Indians so encreasing, and they making so many assaults upon us, that our ammunition before that time would have been spent, and ourselves disenabled for any resistance, we being but few, and alwaies fain to stand upon our defence; that we had little time for refreshment of our selves either by food or sleep; the said honoured Major's coming to us so soon was thus occasioned; he had a commission from the honoured council (of which himself was one) to look after some Indians to the west-ward of

Lancaster and Groaton, (where he himself lived) and to secure them, and was upon his march towards them on the foresaid Wednesday in the morning, August 4th, when tydings coming to Marlborough by those that returned thither as they were going to Connecticut, concerning what they saw at Brookfield as aforesaid, some of Marlborough knowing of the said Major's march from Lancaster that morning presently sent a post to acquaint him with the information they had received; the Major was gone before the post came to Lancaster; but there was one speedily sent after him, who overtook him about five or six miles from the said town; he being acquainted, that it was feared, that Brookfield (a small town of about fifteen or sixteen families) was either destroyed, or in great danger thereof, and conceiving it to require more speed to succour them (if they were not past help) than to proceed at present, as he before intended, and being also very desirous (if it were possible) to afford relief to them, (he being then not above thirty miles from them) he immediately altered his course and marched with his company towards us: and came to us about an hour after it was dark as aforesaid; though he knew not then, either of our being there nor of what had befallen us at the swampe and in the house those two days before.

The merciful providence of God also appeared in preventing the danger that the honoured Major and his company might have been in, when they came near us, for those beastly men, our enemies skilful to destroy, indeavoured to prevent any help from coming to our relief, and therefore sent down sentinels, (some nearer and some further off) the furthest about two miles from us, who if they saw any coming from the bay they might give notice by an alarm. And there were about an hundred of them who for the most part kept at an house some little distance from us, by which if any help came

from the said bay, they must pass, and so they intended (as we conceive) having notice by their sentinels of their approach to way-lay them, and if they could, to cut them off before they came to the house where we kept.

But as we probably guess, they were so intent and buisy in preparing their instruments (as above-said) for our destruction by fire, that they were not at the house where they used to keep for the purpose aforesaid, and that they heard not their sentinels when they shot; and so the Major's way was clear from danger till he came to our house. And that it was their purpose so to have fallen upon him, or any other coming to us at that house, is the more probable in that (as we have since had intelligence from some of the Indians themselves) there were a party of them at another place who let him pass by them without the least hurt or opposition, waiting for a blow to be given him at the said house, and then they themselves to fall upon them in the reare, as they intended to have done with us at the swamp, in case we had fled back as before expressed. The Major and company were no sooner come to the house, and understood (though at first they knew not they were English who were in the house, but thought that they might be Indians, and therefore were ready to have shot at us, till we discerning they were English by the Major's speaking, I caused the trumpet to be sounded) that the said Captain Hutchinson, myself, and company with the town's inhabitants were there, but the Indians also discerned that there were some come to our assistance, whereupon they spared not their shot, but poured it out on them; but through the Lords goodness, though they stood not farr asunder one from another, they killed not one man, wounded only two of his company; and killed the Major's

son's* horse; after that, we within the house perceived the Indians shooting so at them, we hastened the Major and all his company into the house as fast as we could, and their horses into a little yard before the house, where they wounded five other horses that night; after they were come into the house to us, the enemies continued their shooting some considerable time, so that we may well say, had not the Lord been on our side when these cruel heathens rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. But wherein they delt proudly, the Lord was above them.

When they saw their divers designs unsuccessful, and their hopes therein disappointed, they then fired the house and barne (wherein they had before kept to lye in wait to surprise any coming to us) that by the light thereof they might the better direct their shot at us, but no hurt was done thereby, praised be the Lord. And not long after they burnt the meeting house wherein their fortifications were, as also the barne, which belonged to our house, and so perceiving more strength come to our assistance, they did, as we suppose, despair of effecting any more mischief against us. And therefore the greatest part of them, towards the breaking of the day, August the fifth, went away and left us, and we

* [It does not appear which of the Major's nine sons is referred to. Of a family which has afforded so many descendants, and some of them highly distinguished, it may be proper to give their names and the times of their births, so far as they have been ascertained after the most patient and diligent research.

1. Josiah Willard; (no record of his birth has been found.) He married Hannah Hosmer in 1657.
2. Simon Willard, born 31st January, 1640.
3. Samuel Willard: (The time of his birth has not been ascertained.) He married Abigail Sherman, and after her death, Eunice Tyag.
4. Henry Willard, born 4th June, 1655.
5. John Willard, born 12th February, 1657.
6. Daniel Willard, born 26th December, 1658.
7. Joseph Willard, born 4th April, 1660.
8. Benjamin Willard, born (time not ascertained.)
9. Jonathan Willard, born 14th December, 1669.

The first six were probably born in Concord, Ms.

The 7th and 9th and perhaps the 3th, were born in Lancaster. Further notices of this family may be found in *Farmer & Moore's Collections*, Vol. I.]

were quiet from any further molestations by them; and on that morning we went forth of the house without danger, and so daily afterwards, only one man was wounded about two dayes after, as he went out to look after horses, by some few of them sculking thereabouts. We cannot tell how many of them we killed, in all that time, but one, that afterwards was taken, confessed that there were killed and wounded about eighty men or more.—Blessed be the Lord God of our salvation who kept us from being all a prey to their teeth. But before they went away they burnt all the town except the house we kept in, and another that was not then finished. They also made great spoyle of the cat-tel belonging to the inhabitants; and after our entrance into the house, and during the time of our confinement there, they either killed or drove away almost all the horses of our company.

We continued there, both well and wounded, towards a fortnight, and August the thirteenth Captain Hutchinson and my self, with the most of those that had escaped without hurt, and also some of the wounded, came from thence; my son Thomas and some other wounded men, came not from thence, being not then able to endure travel so farr as we were from the next town, till about a fortnight after. We came to Marlborough on August the fourteenth, where Captain Hutchinson being not recovered of his wound before his coming from Brookfield and overytired with his long journey, by reason of his weakness, quickly after grew worse, and more dangerously ill, and on the nineteenth day of the said month dyed, and was there the day after buried, the Lord being pleased to deny him a return to his own habitation, and his near relations at Boston, though he was come the greatest part of his journey thitherward. The inhabitants of the town also, not long after, men, women, and children, removed

safely with what they had left, to several places, either where they had lived before their planting or sitting down there; or where they had relations to receive and entertain them. The honoured Major Willard stayed at Brookfield some weeks after our coming away, there being several companies of souldiers sent up thither and to Hadly and the towns thereabouts, which are about thirty miles from Brookfield, whither also the Major went for a time upon the service of the country in the present warr, and from whence there being need of his presence for the ordering of matters concerning his own regiment, and the safety of the towns belonging to it, he through God's goodness and mercy, returned in safety and health to his house, and dear relations at Groaton.

Thus I have indeavoured to set down and declare both what the Lord did against us in the loss of several person's lives, and the wounding of others, some of which wounds were very painful in dressing, and long ere they were healed, besides many dangers that we were in, and fears that we were exercised with; and also what great things he was pleased to do for us in frustrating their many attempts, and vouchsafing such a deliverance to us. The Lord avenge the blood that hath been shed by these heathen, who hate us without a cause, though he be most righteous in all that hath befallen there, and in all other parts of the country; he help us to humble ourselves before him, and with our whole hearts, to return to him, and also to improve all his mercies, which we still enjoy, that so his anger may cease towards us and he may be pleased either to make our enemies at peace with us, or more, destroy them before us. I tarried at Marlborough with Captain Hutchinson until his death, and came home to Concord, August the 21, (though not thoroughly recovered of my wound) and so did others that went with me. But since I am reason-

able well, though I have not the use of my hand and arm as before: my son Thomas, though in great hazard of life for some time after his return to Concord, yet is now very well cured, and his strength well restored! Oh that we could praise the Lord for his great goodness towards us. Praised be his name, that though he took away some of us, yet was pleased to spare so many of us, and adde unto our dayes; he help us whose souls he hath delivered from death, and eyes from tears, and feet from falling, to walk before him in the land of the living, till our great change come, and to sanctifie his name in all his ways about us, that both our afflictions, and our mercies may quicken us to live more to his glory all our dayes.*



INSTANCES OF LONGEVITY IN NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

A List of persons who have died in New-Hampshire of 90 years and upwards. (1)

[Where a star follows the name, the person was *known* to be a foreigner. Several not thus designated might have been such. Many females not distinguished as widows doubtless were such.]

<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
1686,	John Browne,*	Portsmouth,	98
1689,	Moses Cox,*	do.	93
1732,	William Perkins,* (2)	Newmarket,	116
1736,	John Buss,* (3)	Durham,	108
1739,	James Wilson,*	Chester,	100

* [The 21st October, 1675, was kept by Capt. Wheeler and those who returned with him, as a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable deliverance and safe return. when Rev. Edward Bulkley, of Concord, preached a sermon to them, from "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?" Psalm cxvi. 12.]

(1) A considerable part of this List was communicated to the Historical Society, of Massachusetts, and published in their Collections, Vol. X., 2d series, 176—180 and Vol. I., 3d series, 155—158. Of persons between 90 and 100, the list is very far from being complete.

(2) William Perkins was born in the west of England. Dr. Belknap informs us, that he was visited by Governor Burnet.

(3) John Buss was a preacher of the gospel 33 years. He was remarkably active and vigorous at a very advanced age.

1754, William Scoby,*	Londonderry,	110
1754, James Shirley,	Chester,	105
1760, Alexander Craige,*	do.	98
1765, Widow Elizabeth Hight, (4)	Newington,	100
1767, Widow Anna Glover,*	Pelham,	106
1772, Howard Henderson,* (5)	Dover,	100
1775, William Craige,*	Chester,	100
1775, Widow of Wm. Craige,*	do.	100
1775, Mrs. Lear,	Portsmouth,	103
1775, John Morrison,*	Peterborough,	98
1776, Mrs. Horn,	Dover,	92
1784, Rev. Joseph Adams, (6)	Newington,	95
1784, Widow McDuffee,	Rochester,	91
1787, Robert Macklin,*	Wakefield,	115
1787, Mrs. Stagpole	Dover,	102
1787, Widow Titcomb,	do.	94
1788, William Partridge,	Portsmouth,	92
1788, Madam Warner, (7)	do.	91
1789, Widow Lydia Ulrick,* (8)	Hollis,	105
1789, Widow Sarah Kemp,	do.	90
1790, Mercy Hanson,	Dover,	91
1790, Thomas Hayley, (9)	Exeter,	93
1790, Widow Eunice Hall,	Newmarket,	94
1790, Widow Mercy Varney,	Dover,	91
1791, Widow Davis, (10)	—————	102

(4) Mrs. Elizabeth Hight died 5th March, 1765.

(5) Howard Henderson, in the former part of his life, was a seaman, and served on board the fleet of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, at the taking of Gibraltar from the Spaniards, in 1704.

(6) Rev. Joseph Adams was born in June, 1688; grad. H. C. 1710; settled at Newington, 1715; died 26th March, 1783.—See *Kelly's Ecclesiastical Memoranda*.

(7) Madam Warner was relict of Hon. Daniel Warner, and a descendant of Gov. Eaton, of Connecticut.

(8) Mrs. Ulrick was a native of Ireland, and was able to labour past an hundred.

(9) Dr. Tenney, in his description of Exeter, in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. iv. page 92, says *Benjamin Hayley*; other accounts say *Mrs. Hayley*. I insert the name as found in the Massachusetts Magazine for 1789. He lived on the banks of the river, where it is many rods wide, and, till within three or four years of his death, was accustomed, once in every summer, to dive from a wharf, and swim across and back again. See *Dr. Tenney's account of Exeter*.

(10) She was the widow of Samuel Davis, a son of Capt. James Davis. See III. *Belknap*, 189.

Longevity in New-Hampshire.

25

1791, Jacob Green,	Hanover,	100
1791, Widow Perkins,	Rochester,	93
1791, James Shirley,	Chester,	100
1792, Mr. Breck,	—————	92
1793, James Wilson,	Chester,	100
1793, Widow Twombly,	Rochester,	90
1795, Dea. Joseph Bouttell,	Amherst,	90
1795, Miss Rebecca Bouttell,	do.	90
1795, Samuel Drown,	Rochester,	91
1795, Mrs. Pusley,	Gosport,	90
1795, Hugh Tallant* (11)	Pelham,	101
1796, Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, (12)	Chester,	92
1796, Benjamin Richards,	Atkinson,	96
1796, Mary Cate,	Portsmouth,	90
1796, Widow Taylor,	do.	95
1797, Mr. Jenkins,	do.	98
1798, Dea. Noah Johnson, (13)	Plymouth,	100
1798, Ebenezer Jones,	Rochester,	90
1798, Elizabeth Wells,	Portsmouth,	93
1798, Ann Langdon,	do.	93
1798, Daniel Gilman,	Kingston,	93
1798, Widow Harford,	Rochester,	91
1799, Widow Richards,	do.	99
1800, Jeremiah Towle,	Hampton,	94
1800, Mrs. Wingate,	Dover,	97
1800, Widow Eliz. Newmarch, (14)	Portsmouth,	100
1800, Thomas Wason,	Chester,	100
1800, Solomon Emerson, Esq.	Madbury,	91
1801, Dea. Benjamin Foster,	Walpole,	94
1801, Widow Deborah Hall,	Concord,	97
1801, Widow Hannah Smith,	Nottingham-West,	92
1801, Widow Sarah Lang,	Greenland,	96

(11) By some, his age is stated as high as 110.

(12) Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, grad. H. C. 1725; settled in Chester, 1736; died 14th November, 1796.

(13) Dea. Noah Johnson, a descendant from the author of *Wonder-working Providence*, was born in Woburn, Mass. March, 1699; died at Plymouth, August, 1798, in his 100th year. He was, probably, the last living of the brave men, who fought under Capt. Lovewell, at Pequawkett, in 1725. He was one of the first settlers of Pembroke in this state, where he was a Deacon of the church.

(14) Widow of John Newmarch, Esq. She was 100 yrs. 1 mo. 1 day.

1801, Widow Sarah Toppan, (15)	Hampton,	96
1801, Ezekiel Leathers,	Durham,	102
1801, Mary Caswell,	Isle of Shoals,	90
1801, John Banfill,	Portsmouth,	99
1801, Stephen Burnham,	Milford,	90
1801, Hannah Huse,	Portsmouth,	90
1802, Abednego Leathers,	Durham,	101
1802, Samuel Brown,	Chester,	93
1802, Widow Hannah Batchelder,	Weare,	94
1802, Philip Richardson,	Pelham,	90
1802, Widow Wright,	do.	97
1803, Widow Grace Towne,	Amherst,	96
1803, Widow Elizabeth Smith,	Sanbornton,	97
1803, Deborah Allen,	Deerfield,	95
1804, Eleanor Shackford,	Portsmouth,	91
1804, Widow Johnson,	Pelham,	90
1804, Widow Rachel Meloon, (16)	Salisbury,	94
1805, Widow Hannah Lovejoy,	Concord,	90
1805, Widow Hannah Lovejoy (17)	Amherst,	102
1805, Widow Hannah Giles,	Croydon,	94
1805, Widow Sarah York,	Lee,	92
1805, Widow Elizabeth Stebbins,	Springfield,	92
1806, Widow Mehitable Holt,	Mont-Vernon,	97
1806, Widow Sarah Burdet,	Amherst,	94
1806, Widow Lydia How,	Westmoreland,	91
1806, Widow Elizabeth Butler,	Pelham,	94
1806, Widow Rachel Wilson,	New-Boston,	93
1806, Dea. Francis Chase,	Newtown,	91
1806, Thomas Drew,	Rochester,	95
1807, Dea. Nathan Hall,	Mason,	92
1807, Widow Prescott,	Deerfield,	96
1807, Widow Bickford,	Rochester,	97

(15) Widow of Edmund Toppan. *See Alden's Collection of Epitaphs.*

(16) She was the widow of Nathaniel Meloon, and the second woman that moved into Salisbury. She, with her husband and family, was captured by the Indians in May, 1754, carried to Canada and sold to the French.

See Farmer & Moore's Gazetteer and Price's Hist. Boscawen.

(17) Widow Hannah Lovejoy, died 1st December, 1805. Her descendants amounted to 336.

1807, Isaac Smith,	Mont-Vernon,	91
1807, Thomas Livingston,	Henniker,	95
1808, Widow Hannah Bouttell,	Amherst,	95
1808, Widow Martha Chesmore,	Dunbarton,	101
1808, Widow Margaret Bacon,	—	101
1808, Widow McClench,*	Merrinack,	100
1808, Widow Martha Porter,	Lebanon,	100
1808, Wid. Catharine Sherburne,	Conway,	101
1808, Daniel Davis,	Allenstown,	105
1808, Samuel Allen,	Wakefield,	97
1808, Nathaniel Rolfe,	Concord,	95
1809, Joshua Foss, (18)	Barrington,	100
1809, Jonathan Hodgdon,	Rochester,	90
1809, Widow Abigail Jones,	—	93
1809, Widow Sarah Stewart,	Amherst,	92
1810, Widow Randall,	Rochester,	99
1810, Widow Catharine Sanborn,	Sanbornton,	100
1810, Widow Tabitha Bohonnon,	Salisbury,	101
1810, Widow Anna Sherburne,	Pelham,	93
1810, Mrs. Hixon,	Portsmouth,	100
1810, Nathaniel Green,	Concord,	92
1811, Benjamin Conner,	Exeter,	100
1811, Maj. Ezra Deolph, (19)	Hopkinton,	102
1811, Samuel Wingate,	Rochester,	90
1811, Nathan Blake, (20)	Keene,	100
1811, Widow McIntire,* (21)	Goffstown,	106
1811, Widow Mary Bean, (22)	Sutton,	100
1811, Anna Snow,	Salisbury,	93

(18) Joshua Foss died May 7, leaving 7 children, 47 grand-children, 95 great-grand-children, and 4 of the 5th generation.

(19) Major Deolph died 16th August, 1811. He was a native of Tolland, Conn.; was a brave officer in the Indian and French wars, and a revolutionary patriot.

(20) Nathan Blake was 99 years and 5 months. He was a native of Wrentham, Mass., and one of the first settlers of Keene, in 1736. He married his first wife at the age of 30; his second, at the age of 94. Two of his brothers lived to 90, and one of his sisters between 99 and 100.

(21) Widow M'Intire was 105 yrs. 7 months old. She was a native of Ireland, and left that country in 1720.

(22) Her descendants amounted to 233—10 children, 59 grand-children, 143 great-grand-children, and 21 of the 5th generation.

1811, Esther Scott,	Hollis,	94
1812, Widow Abigail Wright,	do.	96
1812, Hannah Curdy,	Chester,	98
1812, Dea. Abraham True,	Deerfield,	90
1812, Jonathan Duston, (23)	Canaan,	93
1813, Dea. Ichabod Palmer,	Orford,	97
1813, Lieut. John McCurdy,*	Dunbarton,	95
1813, Thomas Hay,	Merrimack,	90
1813, Joanna Hixon,	Newington,	105
1813, Mary Davidson,	Goffstown,	100
1813, Dye (a negro,)	Exeter,	105
1813, John Wardwell,	Londonderry,	96
1813, Widow Mary Butler,	Pelham,	90
1814, Widow Mary Wallace, (24)	Henniker,	95
1815, Abigail Sanborn,	Hampton,	94
1815, Abigail Mason,	do.	94
1815, Widow Rebecca Trickey,	Rochester,	93
1815, Hon. John Plumer,	do.	96
1815, Dr. John Crocker,	Richmond,	100
1815, John Shaw,	Holderness,	101
1815, Peter Folsom,	Gilmanton,	97
1815, Jonas Wheeler,	New-Ipswich,	90
1815, Widow Horn,	Dover,	95
1815, Widow Sarah Morse,	Salem,	100
1815, Dorothy Fuller,	Winchester,	94
1815, Anna Leavitt,	Hampton,	100
1815, Widow Mary Ball,	Temple,	98
1816, Widow of Dea. True,	Deerfield,	95
1816, Widow Mary Patten,	Bedford,	95
1816, Widow Joanna Gordon,	Epping,	95
1816, Widow Elizabeth Richards,	Newington,	101
1816, Phebe Dow,	Seabrook,	101
1816, Zeno, (a negro,)	Nottingham,	101
1816, William Taylor,	Milford,	98

(23) He was grandson of the intrepid *Hannah Duston*; was born at Haverhill, Mass. June, 1719; died 4th July, 1812.

(24) She was mother to the Hon. Robert Wallace and William Wallace, Esq.

Longevity in New-Hampshire. 29

1816, John Brown,* (25)	Amherst,	95
1816, Joseph Batchelder,	Wilton,	96
1816, Josiah Batchelder,	Deerfield,	91
1816, Barnabas Palmer,	Milton,	93
1816, Samuel Cate,	Loudon,	92
1816, Widow Lucy Place,	Rochester,	95
1817, Widow Hannah Badger,(26)	Gilmanton,	95
1817, Widow Grisel Patterson,(27)	————	95
1817, Widow Susan Harvey, (28)	Nottingham,	90
1817, Widow Mary Calfe,	Concord,	98
1817, Widow Elizabeth Darling,	Portsmouth,	102
1817, Wid. Elizabeth Pitman,(29)	Epsom,	100
1817, Widow Abigail Craig, (30)	Rumney,	105
1817, Widow Bunker,	Barnstead,	105
1817, Mary Fernald,	Portsmouth,	100
1817, Samuel Webb,	Exeter,	90
1817, Joseph Kidder,	Temple,	92
1817, Col. John M'Duffee,	Rochester,	94
1818, Widow Hannah Foss, (31)	Gilmanton,	103
1818, Widow Peggy Kimball,	Pelham,	93
1818, Widow Mary Kent,	do.	92
1818, Dorcas Rowe,	Meredith,	100
1818, Corydon, (a negro,)	Exeter,	100
1818, John Hoyt,	Chester,	93
1818, Robert Alexander,	Dunbarton,	93
1818, Robert M'Clure,*	Acworth,	97

(25) He deserted the British service early in the American Revolution, and changed his name from Benjamin Searle to John Brown, by which he was ever after known.

(26) She was a native of Lynn, Mass. Her descendants were 177—25 of the fifth generation.

(27) She died June 29, leaving 7 children, 47 grand-children, and 65 great-grand-children.

(28) Her descendants amounted to 220.

(29) She died July 27, and wanted 7 days of 100 years complete—was a native of Portsmouth.

(30) She lived 100 years without having recourse to medical aid.

(31) Widow Foss left 220 descendants, among whom was a grandchild of 56 years.

1818, Elizabeth Hayes,	Atkinson,	97
1818, Widow Elizabeth Straw,	Salisbury,	94
1818, Deborah Hoit,	Stratham,	93
1818, Deborah Ball,	Portsmouth,	92
1818, Charles Huntoon, Esq.	Unity,	93
1818, Widow Jemima Goffe,	Bedford,	90
1818, Widow Margaret Combs,	Merrimack,	90
1818, Joseph Sylvester,	—————	91
1819, Jane Woodward,	Greenfield,	96
1819, Robert Starkweather,	Chesterfield,	91
1819, Widow Hannah Bradford,	Milford,	96
1819, Widow Mary Cavis,	Bow,	90
1819, Phebe Lord,	Surry,	93
1819, Daniel Emerson,	New-Chester,	96
1819, Archibald Stark,	Hopkinton,	90
1819, Samuel Farrington,	Washington,	94
1819, James Steel,	Antrim,	95
1819, Paul Pinkham,	Dover,	91
1819, Widow Hannah Daniels,	Keene,	97
1819, Wid. Elizabeth Moody, (32)	Pelham,	90
1819, Widow Abigail Whitaker,	Marlborough,	96
1819, Widow Molly Cromwell,	Dover,	94
1819, Widow Heard,	Concord,	91
1819, Widow Eleanor Pike,	Meredith,	101
1819, Widow Heard,	Rochester,	92
1819, Jacob Davis,	Sutton,	105
1819, William Prescott, (33)	Gilford,	102
1820, Widow Long,	Chester,	94
1820, Samuel Downs,	Somersworth,	100
1820, Patience Sibley,	Poplin,	101
1820, Benjamin Hopkins,	Milford,	95
1820, Widow Webster,	Deerfield,	94
1820, Thomas Wheat,	Groton,	98

(32) She was the widow of Rev. James Hobbs, the first minister of Pelham, and afterwards of his successor, Rev. Amos Moody.

(33) William Prescott was 102 yrs. 45 days. He lost a leg in the engagement of Cape Breton.

1820, Widow Abigail Corson,	Rochester,	93
1820, Josiah Folsom,	Exeter,	95
1820, Widow Jenny Smith,	Hancock,	98
1820, Dea. John Harriman, (34)	Plaistow,	97
1821, Nathaniel Danforth,	Salisbury,	96
1821, Nathaniel Woodman,	Salem,	92
1821, Ephraim Gile,	Sutton,	90
1821, Widow Spaulding,	Claremont,	91
1821, Widow Sarah White,	Walpole,	91
1821, Cæsar Noble, (negro)	Portsmouth,	90
1821, Cæsar Seavey, (negro)	Rye,	90
1821, Widow Sarah Fisher,	Fitzwilliam,	94
1821, Charles Rice,	Keene,	91
1821, Alexander Wilson,	—————	91
1821, Jonathan Foster, (35)	Mason,	100
1821, Joanna Aplin,	Keene,	100
1821, Jane McLellan,*	Wentworth,	100
1821, Widow Godfrey,	Deerfield,	101
1821, Mary Smith,	Salem,	101
1821, Amos Abbot, (36)	Concord,	93
1822, Reuben Abbot, (36)	do.	100
1822, Widow Hannah Bayley, (37)	Chesterfield,	104
1822, Widow Elizabeth Ham,	Rochester,	97
1822, Daniel Jones,	South-Hampton,	92
1822, Widow Lydia Beard,*	New-Boston,	92
1822, John Durgin,	Northwood,	96
1822, John Brown,	Pittsfield,	90
1822, David Flanders,	Plaistow,	94
1822, Widow Mary Ham, (38)	Deerfield,	94

(34) John Harriman [so stated in the newspapers,] was the first man in New-Hampshire, who embraced the sentiments of the Baptists.

(35) Jonathan Foster died in Ashby, March 31, though he belonged to Mason. Rev. Mr. Hill says, "he was always poor and temperate." He appeared at the Pension Court at Amherst in Aug. 1820, with 50 or 60 others, and marched with them in a company, commanded by one of their number, "firm and erect."

(36) Amos and Reuben Abbot were brothers, both natives of Andover, Mass. and early settlers of Concord.

(37) Formerly the widow Cephas. She died Nov. 1822, leaving 4 children, and 133 other descendants.

(38) She was sister to Elizabeth Pitman, who died at Epsom, July 27, 1817, aged 100. She left 3 descendants of the 5th generation.

1822, Major Gen. John Stark,	Manchester,	94
1822, Capt. William Marshall,	Hampstead,	97
1822, Lieut. Joseph Kimball,	Plainfield,	91
1822, Daniel Albert,	Dublin,	96
1822, Benjamin Davis,	Amherst,	98
1822, Thomas Walker,* (39)	Sutton,	103
1822, Susannah Thompson,	Lee,	91
1822, Martha Batchelder,	Loudon,	99
1822, John Abbot,	do.	95
1822, Abigail Watts,	Alstead,	91
1822, Experience Barrus,	Richmond,	92
1822, Dorcas Clark,	Keene,	95
1822, Widow Submit Sanderson,	Chesterfield,	93
1822, Widow Lucy Ames,	Lempster,	91
1823, Lieut. Samuel Estabrook,	Lebanon,	94
1823, John Boyes,	Londonderry,	97
1823, Abigail Roberts,	Durham,	104
1823, Samuel Welch, (40)	Bow,	112
1823, Sarah Dame,	Newington,	101
1823, Widow Mary Barnard, (41)	Amherst,	101
1823, Widow Elizabeth Prince,	do.	98
1823, Samuel Badger,	do.	90
1823, Thomas Woolson,	do.	93
1823, Capt. Nathl. Woodbury,	do.	94
1823, Widow Kezia Morse,	Marlborough,	90
1823, John Eaton,	Hopkinton,	90
1823, Widow Elizabeth Tyler,	Claremont,	92
1823, Widow Sarah Wheat,	Groton,	93
1823, Widow Hannah Parker,	Pembroke,	97

(39) Thomas Walker was a native of Wales—was a soldier of the revolution and took a part in several important battles, such as at Saratoga, White Plains, Brandywine, &c.

(40) Samuel Welch was born at Kingston, N. H. September 1, 1710; son of Samuel Welch, and grandson of Philip Welch, of Ipswich. He married his second wife in June, 1792, at the age of 82. His father lived between 80 and 90 years. His mother to about 100. One brother lived about 90 years, and a sister to about 100.

(41) She was mother of Rev. Jeremiah Barnard, of Amherst, and was born in Massachusetts, April, 1722; died 13th October, 1823. She retained her faculties until the close of life.

1823, Widow Lydia Bean,	Weare,	93
1823, Widow Sarah Messer,	New-London,	90
1823, Widow Joanna Pool,	Plainfield,	92
1823, Widow Sarah Blanchard,	Déering,	99
1823, Widow Beulah Philbrick,	Weare,	93
1823, Widow Sarah Moulton,	Gilmanton,	91
1823, Widow Meder,	Rochester,	92
1823, Moses Foster,	Pembroke,	95
1823, Deac. John Lock,	Sullivan,	90
1823, Hon. John Duncan,	Antrim,	90
1823, Lieut. Richard Herbert,	Concord,	94
1823, Robert Davis,	do.	90
1823, John Kennedy,	Unity,	97
1823, Perry Hixon,	Strafford,	99
1823, Nathaniel Bacon,	Chesterfield,	96
1823, Daniel Hawkins,	Winchester,	95
1823, David Hale,	New-Boston,	93
1823, Simeon Wiggin, Esq.,	Stratham,	90
1823, Lieu. Job Kidder,	Geffstown,	100
1823, Nathaniel Pallote,* (42)	Canterbury,	102
1824, Widow Mary Avery,	Mason,	94
1824, Widow Abigail Owen	Winchester,	102
1824, Widow Sarah Gay,	Swanzey,	93
1824, Widow Swain,	Barrington,	91
1824, Widow Rebecca Shaw,	Sanbornton,	96
1824, Widow Joanna Woolson,	Amherst,	96
1824, Widow Elizabeth Adams,	Plainfield,	93
1824, Widow Anna Draper,	Keene,	90
1824, Widow Tryphena Stiles,(43)	Somersworth,	102
1824, Widow Rebecca Parker,	Portsmouth,	92
1824, Widow Sarah Smart,	Sanbornton,	101
1824, Widow Lakeman,	do.	94
1824, Widow Elizabeth Beede,	Gilmanton,	92
1824, Widow Hannah Wheeler,	Keene,	103

(42) Mr. Worcester, in his valuable Memoir on Longevity, in the transactions of the American Academy, puts his age at 105.

(43) She was born 22d Feb. 1722. She was 102 years, 5 months.

1824, Mrs. Elizabeth Gilman,	Meredith,	97
1824, Mrs. Potter,	Concord,	90
1824, Mrs. Mehitabel Colburn,	Temple,	93
1824, Hannah Richardson,	Pelham,	92
1824, Mrs. Hannah Merriam,	Walpole,	92
1824, Thomas Perkins, (44)	Wakefield,	91
1824, Benjamin Blake,	Wolfeborough,	93
1824, Jonathan Cressy,	Chesterfield,	92
1824, Asa Carlton,	Pelham,	95
1824, John Twombly,	Milton,	97
1824, John Buxton,	Nelson,	96
1824, Warren Snow,	Chesterfield,	90
1824, Jonathan Marston,	Springfield,	92
1824, Francis Como,	Sutton,	100
1824, John Fifield,	Salisbury,	91
1824, Nathaniel Wiggin,	Stratham,	97
1824, Ensign Ebenezer Colcord,	Brentwood,	99
1824, Col. William Gregg,	Londonderry,	93
1825, Col. Cutting Cilley, (45)	Northfield,	90
1825, Col. Robert Wilson,	Londonderry,	92
1825, Hon. John Bell, (46)	do.	96
1825, Dea. Thomas Farwell,	Washington,	91
1825, Dea. William M'Kean,	Deering,	92
1825, Capt. Nathan Brown,	Poplin,	91
1825, Jonathan Beede, (47)	do.	90
1825, Capt. Asa Pattee, (48)	Canaan,	91
1825, Capt. John Sloan (49)	Lime,	94
1825, Moses Jewett,	Unity,	91
1825, Samuel Norris,	Portsmouth,	94

(44) A great-grandson of William Perkins, who died at New-Market in 1732, aged 116.

(45) Brother to Major Gen. Joseph Cilley, of Nottingham.

(46) Father of Hon. Samuel Bell, Senator in Congress, and Hon. John Bell, Sheriff of Rockingham.

(47) Jonathan Beede was for many years a "noted preacher" among the Friends.

(48) Captain Asa Pattee was in the battle of Quebeck, under General Wolfe, and served in the war of the revolution. By two wives, he had 22 children.

(49) Captain John Sloan was one of those who commenced the settlement of Lime, 20th May, 1764.

1825, Dustin Cheney,	Plaistow,	95
1825, John Collamore,	Kensington,	90
1825, Timothy Favour,	Newtown,	93
1825, John Morgan,	New-London,	93
1825, John Burns,	Milford,	92
1825, William Burroughs,	New-Ipswich,	98
1825, James Chase,	Gilmanton,	90
1825, Widow Hannah Parker,	Hollis,	95
1825, Widow Abiah Lincoln,	—————	93
1825, Widow Mary Locke,	Rye,	91
1825, Widow Dorothy Berry,	Dover,	93
1825, Widow Anne Kimball,	do.	90
1825, Widow Abigail Lowell,	Epping,	97
1825, Widow Jennet Cochran,	New-Boston,	97
1825, Widow Spear,*	Acworth,	99
1825, Widow Lydia Bouttell,	(formerly of Amherst)	98
1825, Widow Elizabeth Ferguson,	Portsmouth,	92
1825, Mary Noble,	do.	91
1825, Widow Mary Straw (50)	Hopkinton,	95
1825, Widow Sarah Crosby,	Milford,	94
1825, Widow Martha Lamprey,	Rye,	94
1825, Widow Pearson,	Pelham,	92
1825, Widow Martha Thurston,	Candia,	95
1825, Widow Mary Wilson,	Peterborough,	90
1825, Martha March,	Greenland,	92
1826, Widow Hoit, (51)	Chester,	100
1826, Widow Joanna Dearing,	Bartlett,	101
1826, Widow Mary Bean,	Conway,	100
1826, Widow Sarah Alexander,	New-Boston,	96
1826, John Bailey,	Weare,	92
1826, Major John Demerit,	Madbury,	97
1826, Ephraim Ham,	Rochester,	90
1826, Joseph Emerson,	Lee,	90
1826, Widow Abigail Eaton,	Goffstown,	94
1826, Thomas Saltmarsh,	do.	90

(50) She had been a member of the church 76 years. The number of her descendants amounted to 324.

(51) She wanted 2 months of a complete century.

1826, Capt. Samuel Cumings,	Cornish,	96
1826, Widow M. Lampson,	Mont-Vernon,	95
1826, Lieut. Ephraim Boynton,	Sullivan,	90
1826, Widow Sarah Magoon,	New-Hampton,	92
1826, Widow Rebecca Smith,	Deering,	93
1826, Cornelius Sturtevant,	Keene,	91
1826, Widow Dinah Abbot,	Concord,	94
1826, Robert Convers,	Amherst,	91

OF UNCERTAIN DATE.

Zaccheus Lovewell,	Dunstable,	120
James Otterson,	Chester,	103
Mrs. Belknap,	Atkinson,	107
Mrs. Beals,	Keene,	100
Mrs. Tucker,	Rye,	100
Mrs. Ela or Healy,	Chester,	100
Abigail Marston,	Canaan,	91

Those persons in possession of any instances of longevity in this State of 90 years and upwards, would confer a favor by communicating them to the Historical Society for publication in their Collections.

*Instances of Longevity in Pelham since 1798.**

[Communicated by Rev. Dr. CHURCH.]

1799, Jan. 29, Mr. James Sherburne,	aged 83.
1802, March 21, Mr. Philip Richardson, about	90
April 29, Mr. Rapha Hall,	85
July 21, Widow Wright,	97
1803, January 26, Widow Stickney,	86
1804, April 22, Widow Johnson,	90

* In 1767, died Widow Anna Glover, aged 106 Dec. 1, 1795, died Mr. Hugh Tallant, supposed by some to be not far from 100; by others, to be about 110.

Longevity in Pelham.

37

1805, August 8, Widow Ruth Butler,	aged 82
1806, June 7, Widow Martha Gordon,	83
July 10, Widow Elizabeth Butler,	94
July 21, Widow Lydia Coburn,	80
October 3, Mrs. Hannah Coburn,	83
November 19, Mr. Philip Hardy,	86
1807, December 29, Mr. Isaac Kent,	81
1809, January 26, Mr. Edward Coburn,	87
July 8, Mr. Joshua Atwood,	85
1810, July 21, Widow Mary Goodhue,	88
July 31, Widow Anna Sherburne,	93
1811, January 17, Widow Hannah Hardy,	87
1812, February 13, Mr. Griffin,	84
December 4, Widow Hutchinson,	83
1813, July 19, Mr. James Barnard,	85
December 14, Widow Mary Butler,	90
1814, September 20, Mr. Samuel Griffin,	82
1815, November 4, Mr. Daniel Tenney,	82
November 11, Mr. John Watson,	84
1816, December 16, Widow Burns,	84
1817, March 17, Mr. Amos Gage,	84
July 6, Mr. Jonathan Greely,	85
1818, January 30, Widow Peggy Kimball,	93
February 27, Widow Mary Kent,	92
October 15, Mr. Robert Young,	80
1819, May 8, Mrs. Hannah Carlton,	84
October 23, Mr. Mark Gould,	89
1820, March 23, Miss Mary Pearson,	81
July 25, Dea. Barnabas Gibson,	82
December 3, Mr. Benjamin Gage,	80
1822, January 8, Mr. Lot Spaulding,	83
1823, January 26, Captain Nathan Butler,	81
June 27, Widow Mary Butler,	94
1824, February 1, Widow Hannah Richardson,	92
July, Mr. Asa Carlton,	95

Deaths in Pelham in the last 25 years, are 355; in the first
• 12 years, 146; in the last 13 years, 209.

Committee of Safety in New-Hampshire,

FROM 1776 TO 1784.

[In the temporary constitution formed by New-Hampshire in 1776, to continue during the war, there was an important defect in the want of an executive branch of government. To obviate this difficulty, the Council and House, during their session, assumed executive as well as legislative duty; and, at every adjournment, appointed a *Committee of Safety* to sit in the recess, who were considered as the supreme Executive of the State, and their orders and recommendations had the same effect as the acts and resolves of the Council and House, while in session.* The number of this Committee varied from six to sixteen. The President of it was the Hon. MESHECH WEARE, who was also President of the Council. The names of this committee have been collected from their records, and are here published.]

- Matthew Thornton, of Merrimack, from May 19, 1775 to January 20, 1776; and from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777.
- Josiah Bartlett, of Kingston, from May 19, 1775, to January 20, 1776; and from January 20, 1777, to May 28, 1778; and from January 5, 1779, to May 29, 1781.
- William Whipple, of Portsmouth, from May 19, 1775, to January 20, 1776.
- Nathaniel Folsom, of Exeter, from May 19, 1775, to January 20, 1777; and from January 5, 1779, to January 20, 1780; and from January 2, 1783, to January 8, 1784.
- Ebenezer Thompson, of Durham, from May 19, 1775, to January 31, 1781.
- Israel Morey, of Orford, from May 24, 1775, to January 20, 1776.
- Samuel Ashley, of Claremont, from May 24, 1775, to January 20, 1776.
- Josiah Moulton, of ———, from May 24, 1775, to January 31, 1781.
- Samuel Webster, of Temple, from May 24, 1775, to January 20, 1776.
- Meshech Weare, of Hampton-Falls, from July 6, 1775, to May 29, 1784.
- Phillips White, of South-Hampton, from January 20, 1776, to January 20, 1777; and from December 27, 1781, to autumn, 1782.
- Peirce Long, of Portsmouth, from January 20, 1776, to January 20, 1777.
- John Dudley, of Raymond, from April 2, 1776, to May 29, 1784.
- Robert Wilson, of Chester, from April 2, 1776, to July 5, 1776.
- Stephen Evans, of Dover, from April 2, 1776, to July 5, 1776.
- Wyseman Clagett, of Litchfield, from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777.

* Vide Belknap's history of New-Hampshire.

- Timothy Walker, of Concord, from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777.
- Benjamin Barker, of Stratham, from July 5, 1776, to April 15, 1777.
- Matthew Patten, of Bedford, from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777.
- Nathaniel S. Prentice, of Alstead, from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777.
- Otis Baker, of Dover, from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777.
- John Smith, of Durham, from July 5, 1776, to January 20, 1777; and from April 15, 1777 to June 20, 1777; and from January 31, 1781, to December 27, 1781.
- Samuel Cutts, of Portsmouth, from September 24, 1776, to December 14, 1776.
- Nicholas Gilman, of Exeter, from January 20, 1777, to April 7, 1779.
- George Gaines, of Portsmouth, from January 20, 1777, to January 31, 1781; and from autumn 1782, to January 2, 1783.
- Thomas Odiorne, of Exeter, from January 20, 1777, to January 5, 1779.
- Levi Dearborn, of North-Hampton, from January 20, 1777, to April 15, 1777.
- Nathaniel Peabody, of Atkinson, from January 20, 1777, to August 27, 1776; and from January 5, 1779, to April 7, 1779.
- John Wentworth, jr. of Dover, from January 20, 1777, to April 15, 1777; and from June 20, 1777, to May 28, 1778.
- John M'Clary, of Epsom, from April 15, 1777, to May 28, 1778; and from August 26, 1778, to January 20, 1780; and from January 31, 1781, to January 2, 1783.
- Ebenezer Potter, of ———, from April 15, 1777, to June 20, 1777.
- Jonathan Lovewell, of Dunstable, from June 20, 1777, to January 5, 1779.
- Benjamin Giles, of Newport, from June 20, 1777; did not attend.
- Jonathan Blanchard, of Dunstable, from January 6, 1778; did not attend.
- Thomas Bartlett, of Nottingham, from May 28, 1778, to January 5, 1779.
- John Calfe, of Hampstead, from May 28, 1778, to June 5, 1779; and from January 22, 1780, to May 29, 1784.
- Samuel Gilman, of New-Market, from May 28, 1778, to April 7, 1779.
- Hercules Mooney, of ———, from May 28, 1778, to August 26, 1778; and from January 5, 1779, to April 7, 1779.
- Samuel Philbrick, of Weare, from May 28, 1778, to January 5, 1779.
- Samuel Hobart, of Hollis, from April 7, 1779, to May 20, 1780.

John T. Gilman, of Exeter, from January, 31, 1781, to December, 1781.

Ephraim Robinson, of Exeter, from January 1782, to January, 2, 1783.

Joseph Gilman, of Exeter, from January, 8, 1784, to May 29, 1784.



Biographical Notice of Major Richard Waldron.

[From the Grafton Journal, lately published at Plymouth, N. H.]

Major WALDRON was a native of Somersetshire, Eng., and was born about the year 1609. At the age of twenty-six he came to this country with, his brother William, and settled at Dover.

The first settlers of New-Hampshire were neither distinguished for literature or religion. They were patient, hardy, enterprising men. An unvarnished account of their sufferings, their dangers, and exploits, would appear to us like the tales of romance. But such an account is not preserved. They had not leisure, if they had ability, to write history. They were much more conversant with the axe, the fire-lock, and the sword than with books and the pen. It was often their business to fight and conquer a savage enemy; but very seldom to give any other or more durable history of their engagements than what they gave to their children and neighbors around those very firesides which they had fearlessly exposed their lives to protect and defend. Their children were educated as, under such circumstances, might be expected—not for exhibition, but usefulness. Scholars were less wanted, and less regarded, than soldiers. The most enterprising and the bravest man was the most popular and the most respected.

Waldron was enterprising and brave. About the year 1652, he was elected a representative from Dover to the General Court, of which he con-

tinued a member for twenty-five years successively, and was sometime Speaker of the House, in Boston, where the Assemblies of the two united Provinces were holden. In those days, the militia had something more to do than meet twice a year, show their arms, drink rum and disperse. Waldron was early at the head of the military establishment, with the rank of Major. His command, to be sure, was not very extensive. There was one foot company in each town, besides a company of artillery at the fort, and one troop of horse. The authority of the commander was almost unlimited. The eastern Indians looked upon him as the great warrior of the country, whose friendship was safety; and in the war of 1675, having made with him a treaty of peace, supposed they had nothing more to fear from that quarter. They had no idea that killing a few whites at a distance from Dover, and burning their dwellings, was any infringement of their treaty with Waldron, so long as they made no attack upon him or his immediate neighborhood. They had never heard of the sage writers on the law of nations—and if they had, would have valued their scalps much higher than their books—which, it must be confessed, have rather served to make war between diplomatists than to preserve peace between nations.

In the next year, (1676,) as a military force from Massachusetts was marching against the eastern Indians, they found on their arrival at Dover, several hundreds of the savages collected there to visit the Major and trade with the people. The Massachusetts men were disposed to destroy them.—Waldron was unwilling to attack them, knowing their reliance on his protection; but he was a soldier, and bound to obey the orders of government. In this disagreeable situation, he took the only course which he could devise to discharge his duty to his country, without sacrificing those whom

he wished to preserve. This was making prisoners of the Indians, and leaving them to the disposal of the government on his representation of their case. To effect this, was no easy matter; but he did effect it by stratagem. He invited them to a sham fight, and thus surrounded and secured them. They were sent to Boston, where some were hanged, some sold into slavery, and some dismissed. There is no reason to believe, that Waldron was pleased with this disposal of the enemy; but he was unable to prevent it. The Indians laid all the blame at his door, and laid up in their own breasts such a stock of revenge as was never expended till they washed their hands in his blood. Their malignity towards him was undoubtedly increased the next year at Pemaquid, where, in a conference with a company of Indians, on a suspicion of their treacherous designs, (apparently well-founded,) he fell upon them, slew several, put the rest to flight, and secured their arms and provisions.

On the separation of this Province from Massachusetts, in 1679, Waldron was named in the royal commission as one of the Council under President Cutts, and with the other gentlemen of the Council reluctantly accepted the appointment. On the organization of the new government, he was nominated by Cutts as Vice President. The President died in the spring of 1681, and Waldron was at the head of the government till the arrival of Cranfield, in October, 1682. Cranfield, by his commission, had authority to suspend any of the Council at his pleasure; and those whom he suspended were declared ineligible to the Assembly. Waldron was again named of the Council in this commission; but the motive for naming him was soon made obvious; for in six days after Cranfield's arrival, he suspended Waldron, and Martyn, and thus excluded them as well from the Assembly as the

Council. The Major, before this, had taken an active part against Mason, whose claims were favored by the Governor as well as by those in power in the mother country; and this was probably the cause of his suspension. Cranfield, however, soon found that it would be unsafe thus unprovokedly to wage war against the most popular and influential man in the Province; and on the meeting of the Assembly the next month, he thought it expedient to restore the Major to his seat at the Council board, declaring that he had examined the charges against him and found them insufficient. But when all things were prepared for Mason to commence his suits, Waldron was again suspended and required to take a lease from the Proprietor; and upon refusing to do it, was impleaded by Mason. He protested in open Court against the jury as being interested, and made no defence. Judgment was rendered against him, and he was fined "for mutinous and seditious words."* Many other suits were commenced and terminated in the same way. But Mason, though recovering in law, found it impossible to get and keep possession of the lands.--In attempting to levy one of his executions in Dover, the Sheriff was forcibly resisted and repelled; and afterwards, in his endeavor to arrest some of the rioters in time of publick worship, a young woman knocked him down with her bible, and he was again obliged to retreat without effecting his object.

Major Waldron was distinguished not only in his civil and military capacities, but also in the judicial departments. At different periods of his life, he sustained almost every important office in the

* "At the Quart. Sessions of ye Peace and Goal Deltivory, held at Great Island the 6th of November, 1693,

"Richard Waldron, sen. Esqr. being presented for his Mutinous words in court at a Tryall between Robert Mason, Esqr. and the said Waldron, (which words were sworn in Court against him) is Sentenced to pay five pounds in money in a fortnight and fees.

Teste, R. CHAMBERLAIN, Prothon."

Province. He was commander of the militia, and what was then the army of the country; Speaker of the Assembly, Counsellor, acting Governor, and the only Chief Justice, who, from the first settlement of New-Hampshire to this day, has passed upon any person sentence of death on a charge of High Treason. Edward Gove, of Hampton, in 1683, was indicted for this offence, and was tried before Waldron as Judge, with Vaughan and Daniel, assistants. The prisoner had been a member of the Assembly, and was hurried on by his violent opposition to Cranfield into some gross irregularities, which no reasonable man could approve or justify. Waldron probably loved the Governor no more than the prisoner; but as a magistrate he was resolved to discharge his duty with impartiality and firmness. It was a painful duty, for Gove was convicted, and Waldron wept while pronouncing the sentence, that "he should be carried back to the place from whence he came and from thence be drawn to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck and cut down alive, and that his entrails be taken out and burnt before his face, and his head cut off, and his body divided into four quarters, and his head and quarters disposed of at the king's pleasure."

It is gratifying to know, that this sentence was not carried into execution. After several years imprisonment, here and in London, Gove was pardoned and returned home with an order for the restoration of his estate, which had been seized as forfeited to the crown.

Another sentence of Waldron's as a magistrate, when viewed in connexion with its partial execution, is still more disgusting. In 1662, while this Province was under the government of Massachusetts, and the laws against Quakers were rigidly executed, three women of that denomination visited Dover to denounce woe upon the people

and make proselytes. They were arrested and carried before Waldron, who, after trial, made the following order, as preserved in Sewell :—

“To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Windham, Linn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are out of this jurisdiction.

“You and every one of you are required, in the King’s Majesty’s name, to take these vagabond Quakers Anna Colman, Mary Tompkins, and Ahie Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart’s tail, and drawing the cart through your several towns, to whip them upon their naked backs not exceeding ten stripes apiece on each of them in each town; and so to convey them from Constable to Constable till they are out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril; and this shall be your warrant.

Per me,

RICHARD WALDRON.”

“At Dover, dated Dec. 22, 1662.”

In Dover, Hampton and Salisbury this disgraceful order was executed, but in the last named town, Walter Barefoot performed almost the only praiseworthy act that stands to his credit in history, by taking these persecuted females from the Constables, under the pretence of delivering them to the Constables of Newbury, and securing them from further cruelty by sending them out of the Province. It is worthy of remark, that in Dover, where only within this Province the Quakers were persecuted, that sect has flourished perhaps to a greater extent than in any other town in New-Hampshire.

“There is no man that liveth and sinneth not.”— After reading the foregoing order, it is unnecessary to say, that Maj. Waldron was not faultless.

The persecuting spirit which prevailed at that period had seized him. He erred in common with our forefathers of the age in which he lived. It would be well for their posterity, if, while lamenting, condemning, and avoiding their *faults*, we as earnestly study and imitate their fortitude, perseverance, patriotism and moral virtues.

No reader of our history can have forgotten the tragical death of Maj. Waldron. On the 27th of June, 1689, the Indians satisfied their revenge and "crossed out their accounts" against the Major in his blood.* He was killed at the age of eighty.—Probably no man of his day was more beloved by his country, or had served it better in so many various offices as it was his lot to fill. His posterity are numerous and respectable. His son Richard, his grandson Richard, and his great grandson Thomas Westbrooke Waldron, (father of the late

* A braver heart than Waldron's none could hear ;—
 Professing love, and shunning open fight,
 The red men trapped the lion in his lair.

* * * * *

Each one exclaimed, "*I'll cut out my account.*"
 Then spear, or tomahawk, with vengeance rise,
 Gashed in, as if 'twere of a large amount ;
 And thus they held the cruel, bloody strife,
 And practised on the famous Waldron's life.
 One cut him on the breast, one on the head,
 One through the arm run his long, glistening knife,
 From hands and face he prodigally bled,
 And o'er his sable coat, the gore was streaming red.

The lightning glances faded from his eye,
 Down from his looks the living spirit fell,
 E'en the dark foemen trembled to see him die.
 While round their feet, as from a gushing well,
 They viewed the torrents from his bosom swell.
 No sigh, no groan, no tear-drop found its way,
 All calmly from its earthly citadel,
 "Its broken walls and teneament of clay,"
 The spirit took its flight far to the realms of day.

Upham's Sketches.

Daniel Waldron, Esq., of Dover,) were successively members of the Royal Council for this Province.

NOTE.

Maj. Waldron was twice married. Two of his sons died at Harvard College. Two of his daughters married Gerrishes—another had four husbands, and died in New-Jersey. RICHARD, his only surviving son, was born in 1650, married a daughter of President Cutt, by whom he had one son *Samuel*, who lived about one year. Mrs. W. died in 1692. Maj. W. again married in 1693, Eleanor, daughter of Maj. William Vaughan, who was born March 5, 1690; she died in Sept. 1727. Their children were.

1. *Richard*, born Feb. 21, 1694; graduated H. C., 1712; married a daughter of Thomas Westbrooke; was a counsellor from 1728 for many years, and secretary of the province to about the time of his death in 1753. His son *Thomas Westbrooke Waldron* was a captain in the expedition against Louisbourg, afterwards a commissioner at Albany, a counsellor in 1782, and died 3 April, 1785.
2. *Margaret*, born Nov. 16, 1695, who married Eleazer Russell May 18, 1721, and died May 19, 1753.
3. *William*, born 4 August, 1697, was educated a clergyman; married in Boston Elizabeth Allen, from Martha's Vineyard, and died Sept. 11th, 1727.
4. *Anna*, born 1699, married Henry Rust in 1719, and died at Stratham in 1736.
5. *Abigail*, born 1702, married Judge Saltonstall in 1726, and died 1735.
6. *Eleanor*, born 1704, died Aug. 1726, from drinking cold water after dancing at Portsmouth.



REV. LEMUEL WADSWORTH, BROOKLINE.

[By Rev. Ebenezer Hill]

The REV. LEMUEL WADSWORTH was born of respectable parents at Stoughton, Massachusetts, March 9th, 1769. In the early part of life he had no more advantages of education than what were common, at that time, to all classes of people. His circumstances did not allow him to follow his strong inclination to obtain a collegiate education, until his time was his own. Then under many forbidding circumstances and embarrassments, he applied himself to study with resolution. With little charitable aid, principally by his own exertions, he maintained himself when fitting for college, and through the course of his studies. While a member of college, he conducted himself with such regularity, sobriety, meekness, unassuming manners,

and close application, as to gain the esteem of the officers, and of his fellow students. At the age of 24 years, he graduated at Brown College in Providence, in the year 1793, and, without delay, applied himself to the study of divinity. He soon became a candidate for the gospel ministry; the object for which he labored to qualify himself. Divine Providence directed him to this place; and after preaching a suitable time for the people to be acquainted with his gifts, a church being formed, he received the almost unanimous call of the church and town to settle with them as their minister.--- Their call he accepted, and was ordained October 11, 1797. From that time he continued to labor among them, and to enjoy, in a degree, very remarkable at this day, the high esteem of his people, until suddenly removed by death on the twenty-fifth instant, [25 November, 1817, aged 48.]

It was in the milder virtues, meekness, humility, gentleness, condescension, filial piety, brotherly love and christian kindness, Mr. WADSWORTH shone with distinguished brightness. He was exemplary in his life, and a pattern of christian forbearance and forgiveness. He always appeared contented with the allotment of Divine Providence, for he did not seek great things for himself here. Philanthropy and kindness were congenial to his heart. He was at all times ready with whatever he possessed, to administer relief to the distressed, and comfort to his friends; and all men were his friends. Not only was the law of kindness on his lips, but all who had occasion for it, experienced his kindness. His liberality to the poor was extended to the utmost of, if not beyond his ability. And even the vicious he sought to reclaim rather by kindness than by severity. His filial piety, and brotherly affection shone brightly in his tender care and liberal support of an aged mother, and a helpless sister, to the close of their life. His

brethren in the ministry he loved, and, diffident of himself, and modest in his manners, he in honor preferred others to himself. On every occasion they experienced the kindness of his heart.

For several of the last years of his life he was exercised with many bodily infirmities; but not so as often, or for a long time, to take him off from his stated labors. His increasing infirmities and disorders he viewed with calmness, as harbingers of early death. His pains he bore with firmness of mind, and with patience and resignation, as coming from the hand of God. As the time of his departure evidently approached, his hopes were strong and full of immortality.

It is desirable that all his people should hear his dying words. While he manifested a readiness to depart, his only hope was in a crucified Saviour. He said, "I have coveted no man's silver or gold, I have labored with my hands to supply my necessaries, and have had *a little* to give to the poor, and I gave it cheerfully. But I have no merit. I have endeavored," as he modestly expressed himself, "to convince others, that there is salvation for sinners only in Christ. I have no other hope, and I desire no other way."



Attack of the Indians at Walpole in 1755.

[The following interesting article, found in the *Cheshire Gazette*, published at Walpole, is deemed worthy of preservation.]

History is the grand spy-glass which enables us to take a view of a variety of interesting objects of antiquity at once, and generally the more distant the object, the more wonderful and interesting they appear when brought within the field view of intelligence. Hence it is, that, while the ingenuity of historians has been employed in pry-

ing into the most rare foreign productions, on the catalogue of human exploits, many equally worthy the attention of the patriot and philanthropist, in our neighborhood, slumber in the tomb of oblivion unnoticed and unknown. Some of our own forefathers, whose bones quietly repose beneath the sods of our own valleys, and whose achievements live only in the memories of their children can boast of deeds that will be the theme of admiration to historians some thousand years hence.— Their hardships, their sufferings, their preservation and prosperity in a wilderness of enemies, their heroic defence against surrounding multitudes of hostile savages, are subjects which excite very little attention among those who are now enjoying the “milk and honey” of the land, but which ought to be enrolled among the deeds of Theban and Spartan valour.

We have made these remarks prefatory to the following sketch of one of the most chivalrous exploits the annals of our country can produce.

In the year 1749, John Kilburn, the hero of the following story, came to Walpole, N. H. The large and fertile meadows at the mouth of Cold River, slightly covered with butternut and elm, presented an inviting prospect to the new settlers, and an easy harvest to the hand of cultivation.— Here he built a log hut, and for two years lived in the solitude of the forest without any intercourse with friend or foe. He often sought opportunities to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, but on every occasion they studiously avoided him. During this time his life was one continual scene of danger and hardship, constantly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the secret attacks of an insidious foe. And what rendered his situation still more uncomfortable, he was obliged to camp out at different places each night, “the cold earth his bed,” with a bear skin for a covering, and

a cartridge box for his pillow, in order to avoid the midnight prowling of the savages, who were watching in concealment for an opportunity to strike the deadly blow, and who often paid their nocturnal visits at his dwelling, and took from him such articles as might contribute to their convenience or the gratification of their wanton disposition. Very different is the situation of those, who are now cultivating the same soil, planting at their leisure the luxuriant corn, and reaping in ease and affluence the fruits of their labors.

In 1751, Col. Benjamin Bellows obtained the charter of Walpole, and began a settlement on the land about a mile south of Kilburn's, the site now occupied by the out buildings of Esq. T. Bellows. There was a fort also at Charlestown, then called Number Four. This addition to the strength of the white settlers, induced the Indians to treat them with more respect. About this time a company came down the river, landed their boats above the falls, and invited Kilburn to trade with them. He visited their boats, bought some skins, and made some presents of flints, flour and fish-hooks. From this time the Indians continued to hunt and encamp about the neighborhood, and the report of their guns and the smoke of their wigwams were mingled with the familiar occurrences of life.

The affairs of the settlers continued to prosper till 1758, when the first alarming incident occurred to disturb the happiness and security of the whites. Two men by the name of Twitchell and Flint, who had gone back to the hills about a mile east to procure some ash timber for oars, were shot by the Indians; one of them was scalped, the other they cut open, and took out his heart, cut it in pieces and laid it on his breast.

This was the first christian blood spilt in Walpole. Their bodies were buried near where they were found; and a ridge of land the west side of

the road, about two miles north of Walpole village, towards Drewsville, points out the spot hallowed by the remains of the first victims of Indian massacre. The solemn impression this occurrence made upon the minds of the new settlers was not soon effaced. It is said the guardian spirit of Twitchell continued to hover over his friends, warning them of the wiles and hostile intention of the Indians, as long as his murderers continued to live. A remarkable rock in Connecticut river, where he used to fish with never failing success, was for a long time held in religious veneration; and to this day such is the propitious influence of the presiding spirit, that few of the angling votaries who come to worship on the "Twitchell Rock," return without taking from the limpid stream a generous fry.

The massacre of Twitchell and Flint was the first harbinger of the rupture of the negotiation for peace between England and France, and the commencement of those horrid scenes of Indian barbarity that ensued.

In the spring of 1755, an Indian by the name of Philip, who had acquired just English enough to be understood, visited Kilburn's house pretending to be on a hunting excursion in want of provisions. He was treated with kindness, and furnished with every thing he wanted, such as flints, flour, &c.—Soon after he was gone, it was ascertained that the same Indian had visited all the settlements on Connecticut river about the same time, and with the same plausible pretensions of hunting. Kilburn had already learned a little of the Indian finesse, and suspected, as it proved, that this Philip was a wolf in sheep's clothing. Not long after, the following intelligence was communicated to all the forts, by a friendly Indian, sent by General Shirley, from Albany. He stated that four or five hundred Indians were collected in Canada, whose object it was to butcher the whole white population on Con-

necticut river. Judge then of the feelings of a few white settlers, when they learned the impending danger. To desert their soil, cattle and crops of grain, would be leaving their all, and to contend with the countless savages of the Canadian regions, was a hopeless resort. But accustomed to all the hardships and dangers of life, they boldly resolved to defend themselves or die in the cause. Kilburn and his men now strengthened their defence with such fortifications as their rude implements would allow, which consisted in surrounding their habitation with a pallisado of stakes stuck into the ground.

Col. Benjamin Bellows had at this time about 30 men under his command at the fort about a mile south of Kilburn's house, but this could afford Kilburn no protection while attending to his cattle and crops.

They were now daily expecting the appearance of the Indians, but the time of their attack no one could foresee or prevent. Before their arrival perhaps we may have time to describe the situation of Kilburn's house, and the surrounding scenery.

Passing down Connecticut river from Bellows Falls on the east bank, the eye is feasted with an endless variety of the most romantic scenes in nature. On the left, Fall mountain presents his terrific and almost perpendicular front more than five hundred feet high, which threatens to crush the traveller as he follows the narrow pass, or hurl him into the foaming abyss below. On the right, the rolling surges of the angry Connecticut keep up a ceaseless struggle with the stubborn, jagged rocks; it seems a sublime war of the elements.— Pass along and view the rent rocks, the huge broken fragments which have been precipitated either by their own weight or some convulsion in nature, quite into the bed of the river; some just adhering to the sloping side of the mountain, some sus-

pended as by enchantment almost over your head. Along this narrow defile was the great Indian tract from Charlestown to Walpole meadows; here was the head of shad navigation, the great fishing ground from time immemorial; here was the spot so congenial to their wild natures, so fruitful for the projection of warlike exploits and murderous excursions.

As we emerge from this narrow pass, we come to the site of an ancient Indian village, now occupied by Wightman's tavern, where they celebrated their sepulchral rites, and where the plough and harrow are annually exposing to view their various implements of war and mouldering remains. Cold River, half concealed with the shady maple and lofty graceful elm, detains us a short time with her gentle whispers. After crossing this stream and passing on the turnpike towards Walpole village about fifty rods, we find before us an open meadow about half a mile across. Near the centre of this meadow was planted the first corn in Walpole; here was erected the first dwelling for civilized man; here four men boldly defended themselves against as many hundred Indians, and here moulder the bones of their slaughtered enemies.— We are now on consecrated ground, within a few rods of the spot where stood Kilburn's hut; we instinctively stop, turn our face to the east and view one of nature's most perfect amphitheatres, seemingly designed for deeds of noble doings. On the brow of that circular eminence to the east, which rises about 40 feet, and from which now issues a medicinal spring, were stationed 200 Indians when the little garrison in the log house were summoned to surrender. But we must no longer dwell on the descriptive; the Indians are coming just behind us, and have already crossed Cold river and are now in ambush.

Kilburn and his son John, in his eighteenth year, a man by the name of Peak, and his son, were returning home from work about noon, August 17th, 1755, when one of them discovered the red legs of the Indians among the alders "as thick as grasshoppers." They instantly made for the house, fastened the door, and began to make preparations for an obstinate defence. Beside these four men, there were in the house, Kilburn's wife and his daughter Hitty, who contributed not a little to encourage and assist their companions, as well as to keep a watch upon the movements of the enemy. In about 15 minutes, the Indians were seen crawling up the bank east of the house, and as they crossed a foot path one by one, 197 were counted; about the same number remained in ambush near the mouth of Cold river.

The Indians had learned that Col. Benjamin Bellows with his men were at work at his mill about a mile east, and that it would be best to waylay and secure them before disturbing those who had taken refuge in the log house. Bellows and his men (about 30) were returning home with each a bag of meal on their backs, when their dogs began to growl and betray symptoms of an enemy's approach. He well knew the language of his dogs, and the native intrigue of the Indians. Nor was he at loss in forming his opinion of their intention to ambush his path, and conducted himself accordingly. He ordered all his men to throw of the meal, advance to the rise, carefully crawl up the bank, spring upon their feet, give one whoop and instantly drop into the sweet fern. This manœuvre had the desired effect; for as soon as the whoop was given the Indians all arose from their ambush in a semicircle around the path Bellows was to follow.

This gave his men a fine chance for a shot, which they improved *instantly*. The first shot so

disconcerted the plans and expectations of the Indians that they darted away into the bushes without firing a gun. Bellows finding their number too numerous for his, ordered his men to file off to the south and make for the Fort. The Indians next appeared on the eminence east of Kilburn's house when the same "old devil" Philip, who had visited him the summer before, came forward and securing himself behind a tree called out to those in the house to surrender. "Old John, young John," says he, "I know you, come out here—We give ye good quarter." "Quarter," vociferated old Kilburn, with a voice of thunder, that rang through every Indian heart, and every hill and valley, "You black rascals, begone, or we'll *quarter* you."

Who would have anticipated this more than Spartan reply from four men, when called upon by as many hundreds to deliver up their arms.

Philip then returned to his companions, and after a few minutes consultation, the *war whoop* commenced, as if (to use the expression of an ear witness) "all the devils in h—ll had been let loose."—Kilburn was so lucky as to get the first fire before the smoke of the enemies' guns obstructed his aim; and was confident he saw an Indian fall, which from his extraordinary size and other appearances must have been Philip. The Indians rushed forward to the work of destruction; and probably not less than 400 bullets were lodged in Kilburn's house at the first fire. The roof was a perfect "riddle sieve." Some of them fell to butchering the cattle, others were busily employed in wantonly destroying the hay and grain, while a shower of bullets kept up one continual pelting against the house. Meanwhile Kilburn and his men were by no means idle. Their powder was already poured into hats for the convenience of loading in a hurry, and every thing prepared for a spirited defence or glorious death. They had several guns in the house

which were kept hot by incessant firing through the port holes, and as they had no ammunition to spare, each one took special aim, to have every bullet tell. The women, with true Grecian firmness, assisted in loading the guns, and when their stock of lead grew short, they had the forethought to suspend blankets in the roof of the house to catch the enemies' balls, which were immediately run into bullets by them, and sent back to the savages with equal velocity. Several attempts were made to burst open the doors, but the bullets within scattered death with such profusion, that soon compelled them to desist from the rash undertaking. Most of the time the Indians endeavored to keep behind stumps, logs and trees, which evidently evinced, that they were not insensible to the unceremonious visits of Kilburn's bullets.

All the afternoon one incessant firing was kept up till nearly sundown, when the Indians began to disappear; and as the sun sunk behind the western hills, the sound of the guns and the cry of the war whoop died away in silence. This day's encounter proved an effectual check to the expedition of the Indians, and induced them immediately to return to Canada; and it is within the bounds of reason to conclude, that this matchless defence was instrumental in rescuing hundreds of our fellow citizens from the horrors of an Indian massacre. Thus did our intrepid Leonidas, not with 300 but only three followers, repulse the congregated forces of the Canadian savages.

Seldom has it fallen to the lot of any of our forefathers, by personal courage and valor, to reap a more brilliant crown of laurels than that won by Kilburn on that memorable day. Only one of this invincible band of heroes was wounded. Peak by exposing himself too much before the port hole, received a ball in his hip, which for want of surgical aid proved fatal the 5th day.

During the whole of the Indian and French war, that continued till 1763, the Indians never afterwards made their appearance in Walpole.

Kilburn lived to see the town of Walpole populous and flourishing, his fourth generation on the stage, and reciprocate with them all the comforts and enjoyments of civilization. He possessed an honest heart, manifested in his upright deportment, a christian temper, and died in the expectation of seeing that country where wars and fightings never come. A substantial, plain, unpolished stone, indicative of the character which he maintained, points out the spot in Walpole burying ground, where sleep his mortal remains with this inscription :

“ In memory of
JOHN KILBURN, who departed
this life for a better, April 8th, 1789, in
the 85th year of his age. He was
The first settler of this Town,
in 1749.”

His son “ young John ” for the last time revisited the field of his youthful exploits in 1814. After that he resided in Shrewsbury, Vt. with his children, till he died, which was in 1822.



*Journal of Proceedings of the Convention at Dracut,
in November, 1776.*

State of the } At a Convention of the Committees
Mass. Bay. } and Agents of sundry towns and dis-
tricts, belonging to said state, and the state of New-
Hampshire, held at the house of Major Joseph
Varnum, in Dracut, in the state of the Mass. Bay,
aforesaid, Tuesday the 5th day of November, 1776,
present,—

For Dracut, Mr. William Hildrake, Capt. Timothy Colburn, Mr. Samuel Colburn, Lieut. Ephraim Colburn, Mr. Parker Varnum, Mr. Abraham Coburn.

For Methuen, Capt. John Bodwell.

For Haverhill, Capt. Richard Ayer, Dn. Jonathan Shepperd.

For Londonderry, Dr. Samuel Fisher.

For Pelham, Dn. Barnabas Gibson, Dr. John Mussey, Mr. Aaron Wyman.

For Hampstead, Samuel Little, Esq., Lieut. William Moulton.

For Plaistow, Mr. Peter Clement.

For Atkinson, Capt. Thomas Noyes, Nathaniel Peabody, Esq.

For Bedford, Major J. Goffe.

For Goffstown, Mr. James Moore.

For Merrimack, Capt. Thomas Barns.

1. Voted, and chose Capt. John Bodwell Chairman of this Convention.

2. Voted, that Nathaniel Peabody be Clerk of this Convention.

3. Whereas, it hath been represented, to this Convention, that such is the alarming situation of our public affairs, at this time, on account of the exorbitant prices, that are demanded and taken in consideration for many of the necessaries of life, by which means our paper currency is daily depreciating in its value, and the honest mechanick and labourer, very much distressed, by the extortion of the trader and farmer,—whereby many good and valuable men are much discouraged from engaging in the service of these states, to the great damage of the Continental Army, upon which under God, the future safety and well being, of these states, very much depend. Therefore, resolved, that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it is necessary, there be a Convention of the committees, or agents, of all such towns and districts, as shall, (upon hav-

ing notice thereof,) see cause to attend, held at this place, on Tuesday the 26th day of November, current, at ten of the clock, A. M. in order to take the premises, or any other matter, under consideration, that may then be judged expedient.

4. Resolved, that Mr. Hildrake be desired to give notice to the towns, or committees, of Tewksbury, Billerica, Bedford, Concord, Acton, Chelmsford, Westford, Groton, and Dunstable. That Dr. Shepperd be desired to notify the towns, or committees of Bradford, and Boxford. Lieut. Moulton, Newbury, Newburyport, Amesbury, and Salisbury. Capt. Barns, Dunstable, Hollis, Amherst, Wilton, Mason, and Lyndeborough. Major Goffe, Litchfield, Derryfield, and Pembroke. Esq. Little, Chester, Sandown, Hawke, Kingstown, and Exeter. Capt. Bodwell, Andover, and Salem, N. H. Dr. Mussey, Windham, and Nottingham-West. N. Peabody, Newtown, Kensington, and South Hampton,—and Mr. Moore, Dunbarton, Weare, and New Boston—that they may have opportunity to send agents, to meet at the time, place, and for the purposes mentioned in resolve 3rd.

Resolved, also, that it be recommended to each member of this Convention, to give notice of the above proposed convention, to all such other towns and districts, as they may have opportunity therefor.

Per order,

JOHN BODWELL, *Chairman.*

Voted, that this Convention be adjourned to Tuesday the 26th instant, at ten of the clock, A. M. then to meet at this place—and adjourned accordingly.

Per order,

JOHN BODWELL, *Chairman.*

At a Convention of the Committees and Agents of sundry towns and districts, belonging to the state of Massachusetts and the state of New-Hampshire, held at the house of Major Joseph Varnum, in Dracut, in the state of Massachusetts Bay, aforesaid, on Tuesday, the 26th day of November, Anno Domini, 1776, present,—

For Billerica, Capt. Josiah Bowers, Dn. Davis, Mr. Isaac Foster.

For Chelmsford, Oliver Barron, Esq. Dn. Chamberlain, Mr. Samuel Howard, Capt. Stevens, Mr. William Pierce.

For Andover, Capt. Henry Ingalls, Capt. N. Abbot.

For Dracut, Major William Hildreth, Messrs. Samuel Colburn, Ephraim Coburn, Abraham Coburn, Parker Varnum.

For Dunstable, Ebenezer Bancroft, Esq. Capt. Reuben Butterfield, Mr. Asa Kendall.

For Tewksbury, Messrs. Nathaniel Clarke, John Flint.

For Westford, Capt. Amos Fletcher, Capt. Pelatiah Fletcher, Mr. Nathaniel Boynton, Mr. Roger King.

For Haverhill, Mr. Thomas West, Dn. Jonathan Sheppard.

For Methuen, Capt. John Bodwell, Mr. John Huse.

For Londonderry, Dn. Samuel Fisher.

For Hampstead, Samuel Little, and Benjamin Little, Esqr's.

For Plaistow, Mr. Peter Clement.

For Atkinson, Lieut. Enoch Noyes, N. Peabody.

For Pelham, Dn. Barnabas Gibson, Dr. J. Mussey, Mr. R. Wyman.

For Dunstable, Capt. Benjamin French, Capt. Noah Lovewell, Joseph Ayres.

For Merrimack, Capt. Thomas Barns.

For Bedford, Major John Goffe.

For Derryfield, Samuel Boyd.

For Goffstown, Lieut. Enoch Sawyer.

For Hollis, Ensign Stephen Eames.

For Mason, Lieut. Samuel Brown.

For Raby, Dr. Alexander Mackintosh.

For N. Ipswich, Josiah Walton.

For Peterborough, Capt. Jotham Blanchard.

For Wilton, Jonathan Martin.

For Lyndeborough, Capt. John Stephenson.

For Rindge, Morrystown, Bath, Landaff, Haverhill, Piermont, Hanover, Lebanon, Plainfield, Jaffrey, Cardigan, Canaan, Enfield, Cockermouth, Orford, Lyme.—Mr. Edward Jewett.

Nottingham-West, Major Greeley.

1. Voted, That Capt. John Bodwell be chairman of this convention.

2. Voted, and chose Nathaniel Peabody, clerk of this convention; and being duly formed into a convention and the order of the day being called for, a motion was made and seconded, that the proceedings of the late convention in this place be read, which being done and properly understood, thereupon

3. Voted, that it is the opinion of this convention, that the unhappy difficulties arising on account of the exorbitant prices that are demanded and taken for many of the necessaries of life, as mentioned in their third resolve, is a matter worthy our consideration; and that it be a subject of enquiry at this time.

Upon a fair enquiry into the subject matter of the premises, it has been made to appear to this convention, that such is the advantage, taken by the merchant, trader, farmer, and others, of those who are obliged to purchase the necessaries of life from them, that unless some speedy and effectual remedy take place, it is the opinion of this convention, that those unrighteous practices will prove the in-

evitable ruin of these states—therefore, resolved, that

4. This convention will petition the Legislative authority of the states of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, therein requesting that they would be pleased to take the premises under consideration, and so to regulate the purchases and sales of the necessaries of life, as to obviate the evils we imagine will otherwise ensue.

5. Voted, that there be two committees, consisting of three men, each to prepare separate draughts to petition the states aforesaid, and exhibit the same to this convention as soon as may be in order for approbation and choice.

6. Voted, that N. Peabody, Mr. Abbot and Dn. Chamberlain, be the first committee, and that Capt. Blanchard, Esq. Barron, and Capt. Bowers, be the second committee to make draughts as above.

Then a motion was made and seconded, that Mr. Jewett have liberty to relate certain grievances that many of the back settlements in the state of New-Hampshire, are laboring under; which was voted and then chose Major Bancroft, Dn. Fisher, Capt. Lovewell, Mr. Ayers, Dn. Gibson, Mr. Isaac Foster, and Capt. Stevens, a committee to hear Mr. Jewett upon the matter, and make report to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. Then voted, this convention be adjourned till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Dies Mercurii, Nov. 27, A. D. 1776. The members met and the convention being opened according to adjournment. It was moved, that the list of members be called, and which being done, found a member or members from every town and district present.

A motion was made, and voted, that the proceedings of yesterday be read, which being done, it was moved that the two committees chosen yesterday,

to prepare draughts of a petition, be desired to make report ; upon which, each committee reported accordingly, and the said draughts after having been several times respectively read, it was motioned, that the draught, as reported by the first committee, be again read, in order for approbation, which being read and debated by paragraphs, it was approved, and is as follows :

STATE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

To the Honourable Council and House of Representatives of the State of the Massachusetts Bay, aforesaid, in General Court, assembled and held at Boston, within and for said State.

The petition of a convention, of the committees or agents of the several towns of Billerica, Chelmsford, Andover, Dunstable, Dracut, Tewksbury, Westford, Haverhill and Methuen, in the State of the Massachusetts Bay, aforesaid. Also, of the committees or agents of the several towns or districts of Londonderry, Hampstead, Plaistow, Atkinson, Pelham, Dunstable, Merrimack, Bedford, Derryfield, Goffstown, Hollis, Mason, Raby, New-Ipswich, Peterborough, Wilton, Lyndeborough and Nottingham-West, in the state of New-Hampshire, and also of Mr. Edward Jewett, agent in behalf (of a convention of the committees) of the several towns of Rindge, Morristown, Bath, Landaff, Haverhill, Piermont, Hanover, Lebanon, Plainfield, Jaffrey, Cardigan, Canaan, Enfield, Cockermouth, Orford, and Lyme, in the state of New-Hampshire, aforesaid, held at the house of Major Joseph Varnum in Dracut, aforesaid, on Tuesday, November the 26th, A. D. 1776--

Humbly sheweth, That, notwithstanding the association, and sundry other resolves and recommendations of the Hon. Continental American Congress, by the letter and spirit of which, and their proceedings, in general, we apprehend they intended that no unreasonable advantage should be taken in

the purchase or sale, either of foreign commodities, the produce of our farms, or our own manufactures, but that all should be sold upon reasonable terms, and by their said association, did agree, and expressly determine, that such as are venders of goods and merchandize, should sell at the same rates they had been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months, then last past; many persons, in the states aforesaid, altogether disregarding the said proceedings of Congress and the weal of these United States, from mercenary, or worse views, have augmented the price of by far the greater part of the necessaries of life, to an enormous degree, many articles of which, are more than double the usual prices, they were respectively sold for, before the commencement of the present unhappy war. That some persons have been so lost to all virtue and the love of their country, as to engross the most necessary and saleable articles, purchasing them at retail price, and immediately advancing upon that retail price, at least cent per cent., thereby endeavouring to depreciate the value of our paper currency. That the soldiers and others, not concerned in this unrighteous commerce are groaning under their burthens, and we fear cannot endure them much longer. That great discontent, and uneasiness, is already prevailing, in many parts of these states, on account of these detestable practices. That we are greatly alarmed, lest tumults, disorders, and even a disunion and backwardness, in, or defection from the common cause of America, will appear in many places, and great difficulties arise in recruiting and supporting the American Army, (upon the success of which, under God, we look for political salvation,) unless some method can be found out and speedily applied, to relieve the oppressed and remedy those evils, the fatal consequences of which, are too numerous to be inserted, and too obviqus to need mentioning. But



not to trouble this Honourable Court with a long detail of our grievances, and the probable consequences of their continuance, which must be founded upon facts, so notorious that the observation and experience of each day, would make it needless to mention. Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray this Honourable Court to take the premises under consideration, and to enact such laws and make such provision and regulations, as, in their operation, may speedily and effectually remedy the evils, of which we so justly complain, or otherwise relieve the petitioners and others, as in your wisdom and prudence, it shall seem good, and the petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Signed by order and in behalf of the convention.

JOHN BODWELL, *Chairman.*

Upon a motion made, &c. *Resolved*, That there be two petitions made out, agreeable to the above reported draught, (reserving only for the necessary variations) the one directed to the General Court in the State of the Massachusetts Bay, and the other to the General Court of the State of New-Hampshire, and that the chairman sign the same, in the name and behalf of this convention, and that the clerk of this convention attest the same, in order that said petitions may be preferred to the said Courts.

Voted, the Oliver Barron and Nathaniel Peabody, Esqr's. be a committee in behalf of this convention to prefer the aforementioned petition to the Honourable General Court of the state of the Massachusetts Bay, and that they pursue the same so far as shall be reasonable, in order to have the prayer thereof granted.

Voted, that Deac. Samuel Fisher and Mr. Thomas West be a Committee in behalf of this Convention to prefer the afore mentioned Petition to the Hon. General Court of the state of New-

Hampshire and that they pursue the same, so far as shall be reasonable, in order to obtain the prayer thereof, and that each of said two last mentioned committees take the earliest opportunity to give notice of the success they shall respectively meet with in their said undertakings.

Voted also that it shall be in the power of the two last mentioned committees, or the major part thereof, jointly to notify a meeting of the committees or agents of the towns and Districts now present and such others as shall upon having notice thereof see cause to join and to be held at this place at any future time when they shall adjudge the same expedient.

Signed per order,

JOHN BODWELL, *Chairman.*

Moved, that this convention be adjourned for one hour, and adjourned accordingly per vote.

P. M. Convention opened, &c. then resumed the consideration of the affair of Mr. Edward Jewett, agent in behalf of several towns in the back part of the state of New-Hampshire—and it was moved that major Bancroft and others being the Committees appointed by this convention yesterday to take the premises under consideration, be desired to make report; upon the hearing of which report, and the said Jewett's account of affairs, requesting our advice upon the matter, the convention express their opinion thereof, as follows, viz. That having deliberated the matters of grievance, complained of, by Mr. Jewett, agent in behalf of certain towns in the back part of the State of New-Hampshire, setting forth, that many of those towns are deprived of an equal and fair representation in the general assembly of that state, (the convention apprehending themselves unauthorized to give advice in matters of such a nature at this time) can only, in their several private capacities say, that we applaud the vigilance of those towns in endeavoring

to procure a just, fair and equal representation of all parts of the state to which they belong, without which, there can be no security either of person or property; and allowing Mr. Jewett's representation of facts to be just, we do, by no means, censure or disapprove of the conduct of those towns in that behalf, so far as it has been made known to us.

Voted, that this convention be adjourned without day, and adjourned accordingly.

Per order,

JOHN BODWELL, *Chairman.*

Attest, NATHANIEL PEABODY, *Clerk.*



Letter from Hon. Meshech Weare to Messrs. Langdon and Peabody, Delegates to Congress.

EXETER, NOV. 17, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,—

You are very sensible of the alarming situation of our currency, and the great danger there is that our military operations, which at present are greatly embarrassed, will be finally and totally destroyed, through the enormous demands which are made for the necessaries of life.

Congress have wisely adopted the method of taxing, for supplying the treasury, and thereby take off the necessity of further emissions, which may tend to appreciate the value of our money, and bring things to a better regulation. But this measure does not operate at present, and the most exorbitant demands are still made for almost every essential article. In order to remedy the growing evil, several states, in addition to what Congress have done, have come into the measure of regulating the prices of the most necessary articles, but

This is found to be attended with many difficulties, and it is feared will have little or no good effect, unless it be general. And what effect it may then have is problematical. But every method that appears to have a tendency to remedy the evils which threaten the ruin of our currency, must be attempted.

Agents were appointed from this State, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and New-York, who met at Hartford in October last, to consider these matters, who reported as follows, viz. “ Resolved, that it is the opinion of this convention, “ the circumstances of the States being duly considered, that a limitation of the prices of the “ principal articles of merchandize and produce, “ will have a tendency to prevent the further de- “ preciation of our currency ; that to render such “ limitation permanent and salutary, it is expedient “ that all the States, or all of them as far westward “ as Virginia inclusive, should agree thereto. That “ a convention of commissioners, from the States of “ New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, “ Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsyl- “ vania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, be “ requested to meet at Philadelphia, on the first “ Wednesday of January next, for the purpose of “ considering the expediency of limiting the prices “ of merchandize and produce, and if they judge “ such a measure to be expedient, then to proceed “ to limit the prices of such of said articles as they “ think proper, in their several States, in such man- “ ner as shall be best adapted to their respective “ situations and circumstances, and to report their “ proceedings to their respective legislatures.”

The General Court here, upon considering said report, passed the vote empowering you to appear and act in said convention, copy of which I herein inclose. I doubt not you will, in every thing,

exert yourselves, that may appear likely to remedy our perplexing difficulties: And wish the convention may be directed to such measures as may have a tendency to so desirable an end.

*I am, Gentlemen, with much respect,
your humble servant,*

M. WEARE.

Hon. Woodbury Langdon, Hon. Nath'l Peabody, Esq'rs.

Letter from President Weare to Col. Peabody.

HAMPTONFALLS, MARCH 28, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,—

* * * * * I am in pain when I consider at what an enormous rate every thing has now got, 12 or 1300 dollars for a cow, 40 dollars per bushel for corn, 80 for rye, £100 per yard for common broadcloth, from 50 to 100 dollars per yard for linen, &c. &c. and still daily increasing.— This being the case, scarce any body will put money into the Loan Office, and the money we raised last year for the use of the State was not a quarter part sufficient to provide for our officers and soldiers. We have been under a necessity of taking what was raised for the continent, and all that, is no ways sufficient for the demands, so rapid has been the depreciation. The Assembly have ordered a tax, for the ensuing year, of 2,160,000 dollars, one half in compliance with the order of Congress, and the other half for the use of the State. But whether this prodigious sum will be sufficient to answer the demands, and pay what we are in arrears, I know not. * * * * *

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

M. WEARE.

Col. PEABODY.

ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF KEENE,

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, IN 1734, TO THE YEAR 1790.

BY SALMA HALE.

KEENE, which is one of the shire towns in the county of Cheshire, was first settled under the authority of Massachusetts. At the time of its settlement, the line between that colony and New-Hampshire had not been surveyed, nor its direction ascertained, and it was generally supposed that the valley of the Ashuelot* would fall within the boundaries of the former.

1732.

In June, Gov. Belcher, in his speech to the "Great and General Court" of Massachusetts, recommended, that "care be taken to settle the ungranted land." In the House of Representatives, it was thereupon voted, "that there be seven towns opened, of the contents of six miles square; one west of the Narraganset town, that is near Wachusett Hill; one between the equivalent lands and Rutland, on or near the road lately laid out from Swift River to Rutland; one at Poquaig, (Athol) on Miller's river; one west of the town called Northtown; two on Ashuelot river, above Northfield; and the other in the eastern country, at the head of Berwick: that committees be appointed to admit settlers and lay out house lots, so that the settlements may be made in a defensible manner, and to direct in the drawing thereof, but not to lay out any further division without directions from this court; that there shall be sixty-three house lots, laid out in each township, one for the first settled minister, one for the ministry, one for the school, and one for each of the sixty settlers, who shall set-

* In the Indian language, the word Ashuelot is said to mean a collection of many waters.

tle thereon, in his own person, or by any of his children; the rest of the land to be allotted or divided equally into sixty-three parts; that one year from the survey be allowed for the admission of settlers, and that the committee be directed to demand and receive, from each settler, at his admission, five pounds,* part of which shall be employed for reimbursing the province the money to be advanced for paying the committees, and the charges of the survey, the remainder to be employed for building houses of publick worship, or otherwise, as the General Court shall order; that each settler actually live on his land within three years after his admission, and continue there for the space of two years after, in person and with his family, if such he have; that he do, within five years from his admission, build a house on his land, of eighteen feet square and seven feet stud, at the least, and within the same time do sufficiently fence and till, or fit for mowing, eight acres of land; and in case any settler fail of performance, his right to be forfeited; and the committee for admitting settlers are directed to take of each, at the time of admission, a bond for twenty pounds for the use and benefit of the settlers, in case he fail of performing the conditions mentioned; and the settlers, in each town, shall be obliged to build a suitable

* This was probably of the paper money then current in Massachusetts. Like the continental money of later times, it was at par when the first issues were made, but afterwards depreciated greatly. The following table, shewing its value at different periods, will enable the reader to calculate the value of the sums hereafter mentioned in this history. The second and fourth columns shew the value, in paper, (old times) of an ounce of silver, which was equal to six shillings and eight pence, *lawful money*.

	s.	d.	q.		s.	d.	q.
1702	6	10	2	1728	18		
1705	7			1730	20		
1713	8			1737	26		
1716	9			1741	28		
1717	12						
1722	14			1749	60		

Soon after 1749, old tenor rose to fifty shillings the ounce, the General Court of Massachusetts having engaged to redeem it at that rate with the money received from the British parliament, as a reimbursement for the expenses incurred in taking Louisbourg. At 50s. the ounce, 100 pounds were equal to £13, 6s. 8d. lawful; and 45 shillings were equal to one dollar.

meeting house, and settle a learned and orthodox minister, in such town, within five years from their admission."

1733.

On the first of July, this vote was concurred by the Council, and "consented to" by the Governor; but the committee appointed to make the survey not attending to their duty, it was, Oct. 19, 1733, voted, that another committee, consisting of Joseph Kellog, Timothy Dwight, and William Chandler, be appointed, with directions, forthwith to lay out the townships at Poquaig and on Ashuelot river, "unless they find that, by reason of laying out the township granted to Col. Willard and others, (Winchester,) the land remaining at Ashuelot river will not well serve for two townships, in which case, they are directed to lay out only one on that river."

1734.

In February, the committee made a return to the General Court of a "Plat of two townships, each of the contents of six miles square, situated on each side of Ashuelot river above the tract of land lately granted to Col. Josiah Willard and others, beginning at a spruce or white pine tree, standing about midway between the south and east branches of said river, about five perch east of the bank of the main river, and thence running each way as described on the plat." This is the dividing line between the upper and lower townships. The plat was accepted, and the lands contained in said townships were declared to lie in, and constitute a part of, the county of Hampshire.

In March, a committee was appointed to lay out house lots, in the townships mentioned, who, in June, made a report of a plat of the house lots in the upper township on Ashuelot river. Of these lots, fifty-four were laid out on the village plain,

twenty-seven on each side of the main street, and the other nine upon the plain, on Swanzey line, north of the factory. They were 160 rods long, and eight wide, each containing eight acres. The surveyors reported, that near the spruce or white pine tree, above mentioned, they made their first *station*. Hence originated the name, *Statia*, which has been applied to an excellent farm in that quarter of the town. The lots owned by Daniel Watson, and Dr. Twitchell, are the most northerly of the house lots.

This committee being also authorized to admit settlers, they notified all persons, desirous of taking lots, to meet at Concord, in Massachusetts, on the 26th of June. A few days previous to that time, the General Court voted, that, after the sixty persons for each township shall have drawn lots, given bonds, and paid their five pounds, according to the order of this Court, passed July, 1732, they forthwith assemble, at Concord, Mass. and then and there choose a moderator and proprietors' clerk, agree upon rules and methods for the fulfilment of their respective grants, for making further divisions, and for calling other meetings, and attend to any other matters or things necessary for the speedy settlement of said townships. No charter was ever granted to the proprietors by Massachusetts, and their title to the lands rested wholly upon these several votes of the General Court.

Agreeably to the notice given by the committee, a meeting was held at Concord, on the 26th June, when the sixty settlers, for the upper township, on Ashuelot river, were admitted. Among them are found the names of Jeremiah Hall, John Hawks, William Smeed, Isaac Heaton, John Guild, Joseph Ellis, John Nims, Josiah Fisher, Mark Ferry, and Stephen Blake.

The next day, a full meeting of the proprietors was held at Concord; Samuel Sady was chosen

Moderator, and Samuel Heywood, proprietors' Clerk, "who was sworn before the worshiptul Justice Goddard;" and the meeting was adjourned to the 18th of Sept. then to be held on the township.

In the succeeding September, seven persons, proprietors, or sons of proprietors, whose names were Jeremiah Hall, Daniel Hoar, Seth Heaton, Elisha Root, Nathaniel Rockwood, Josiah Fisher, William Puffer, set out for the township. None of them having previously visited it, they were accompanied by Deacon Alexander, of Northfield, as a pilot. They did not arrive at the line of the township until late in the evening of the 18th, the day to which the meeting was adjourned; and as soon as their pilot informed them they had passed it, they opened the meeting, and adjourned to the next day.

At the meeting held the next day, a vote was passed, that the whole of the interval land in the township should be surveyed, and that half of it should be lotted out in two enclosures, one so situated as to accommodate the 54 house lots, laid out on the village plain, the other so as to accommodate the 9 house lots, laid out on Swanzey line. A committee was also appointed "to search and find out the best and most convenient way to travel from the upper unto the lower township."

At this period, Upper Ashuelot was a frontier settlement, in the bosom of the wilderness. It was of course most exposed to savage incursions, and was liable to suffer, in their extremity, all those distresses and calamities, which may be alleviated, if not prevented, by the assistance and good offices of others. Its nearest neighbor was Northfield, twenty miles distant; Winchester, which was first granted, not being then settled, or containing at most not more than two or three huts.

1735.

The next meeting of the proprietors was held at Concord, Mass. on the last Wednesday of May. The committee appointed to survey the interval land made a report. The lots they had laid out contained eight acres ; and as they were not all equal in quality, the proprietors voted that certain enumerated lots should have *qualification*, or allowance, to consist of from two to four acres each, and appointed a committee to lay out these allowances. The practice of *qualifying* lots, thus introduced, was afterwards pursued, and occasioned great irregularity in the future allotments of land.

At this meeting, a committee was also appointed "to join with such as the lower town proprietors shall appoint, to search and find out whether the ground will admit of a convenient road from the two townships, on Ashuelot river, down to the town of Townshend."

At a subsequent meeting, held in September of the same year, on the township, the proprietors were assessed in the sum of sixty pounds, and a committee was "appointed to *bill out* this money according to the proprietors' directions." It appears by the record, that the mode of *billing out* the money remaining in the treasury was often practised. A committee was also appointed to lay out a road to the Saw-mill place, which is about three quarters of a mile north from the house lots, and where the lower Saw-mill on Beaver brook now stands. A vote was also passed, offering one hundred acres of "middling good land," and twenty-five pounds, to any person or persons who would engage to build a saw-mill, and saw boards for the proprietors, at twenty shillings per thousand, and slit work for £3, 10s. per 1000. John Corbett and Jesse Root, appeared and undertook to build the mill, and a committee was thereupon appointed to lay out the land. The mill was to be finished by the first

day of July, 1736. Under date of May, 1735, appears a record of the expense of laying out the second division of lots. The surveyor was allowed 15 shillings, (70 cts) four others were allowed 12 shillings and two others 10 shillings per day.

1736.

On the 30th day of September, a meeting of the proprietors was opened, according to appointment, at the *house lot* of Joseph Fisher, but was immediately removed to the *house* of Nathan Blake. This house was probably the first erected in the township. A committee was appointed "to agree with a man to build a great mill," and they were authorized to offer "not exceeding forty pounds encouragement therefor." The proprietors also voted to build a meeting-house, at the south end of the town street, at the place appointed by the General Court's committee, (near where Mr. Carpenter's house now stands) to be forty feet long, twenty feet stud. and thirty-five feet wide, and to lay boards for the lower floor—the house to be finished by the 26th day of June, 1737.

At the same meeting, a vote was passed to widen the main street, which was originally but four rods wide. It provided that, if the proprietors of the house lots, on the west side of the street, would surrender four rods in depth, on the end of their lots adjoining the street, they should have it made up in quantity, in the rear. This proposition was acceded to; and to this measure the village is indebted for its broad and elegant main street.

No person had hitherto attempted to remain through the winter on the township. Those who came in the summer to clear their lands, brought their provisions with them, and erected temporary huts to shelter them from the weather. In the summer of 1736, at least one house was erected; and three persons, Nathan Blake, Seth Heaton and

William Smeed, the two first from Wrentham and the last from Deerfield, made preparations to pass the winter in the wilderness. Their house was at the lower end of the street. Blake had a pair of oxen and a horse, and Heaton a horse. For the support of these, they collected grass in the open spots; and in the first part of the winter, they employed them in drawing logs to the saw-mill, which had just been completed. Blake's horse fell through the ice of Beaver brook and was drowned. In the beginning of February, their own provisions were exhausted, and to obtain a supply of meal, Heaton was despatched to Northfield. There were a few families at Winchester, but none able to furnish what was wanted. Heaton procured a quantity of meal; but before he left Northfield, the snow began to fall, and when, on his return, he arrived at Winchester, it was uncommonly deep, and covered by a sharp crust. He was told "that he might as well expect to die in Northfield and rise again in Upper Ashuelot, as ride thither on horse-back." Recollecting the friends he had left there, he nevertheless determined to make the attempt, but had proceeded but a short distance when he found that it would be impossible to succeed. He then returned, and directed his course towards Wrentham. Blake and Smeed, hearing nothing from Heaton, gave the oxen free access to the hay, left Ashuelot, and on snow shoes proceeded either to Deerfield or Wrentham. Anxious for their oxen, they returned early in the spring. They found them near the Branch, south-east of Carpenter's, much emaciated, but feeding upon twigs and such grass as was bare. The oxen recognised their owner, and exhibited such pleasure at the meeting as drew tears from his eyes.

1737.

At a meeting of the proprietors, held May 12, they voted to assess sixty pounds on the proprie-

tors of the house-lots, for the purpose of hiring a gospel minister, and chose a committee to agree with some meet person to preach the gospel among them. This meeting was adjourned, to be held at the meeting-house place, on the 20th of May. On the day appointed, it was there opened, but was immediately removed to the interval land, and there a vote was passed, that another division of meadow land should be made. A committee was also chosen to "represent this propriety in applying to, and receiving of the Honourable the General Court's committee, for this township, the money granted to said proprietors when they shall have the frame of a meeting-house raised, and forty proprietors settled on the spot."

The next meeting was held at the meeting-house frame, June 30. Jeremiah Hall was recompensed for his services in searching for, and laying out, a road to Townsend, and two others were added to the committee appointed to apply to the General Court's committee "for the one hundred pounds," mentioned in the proceedings of the last meeting. It was also voted, "that no meeting of the proprietors be held, for the future, but at this place, so long as there shall be seven proprietors inhabiting here."

At a meeting held October 26, a vote was passed, that "the *worthy* Mr. Jacob Bacon should draw for the second division of meadow land, for the whole propriety." This is the first time that the name of Mr. Bacon, who was the first settled minister of the town, is mentioned in the records.

At the same meeting, a vote was passed, to lay out one hundred acres of upland to each house-lot or right. The proprietors were to draw lots for choice, and he who drew No. 1, was to make his pitch by a certain day; and those who drew the successive numbers on successive days, excluding Sundays, thus "giving every man his day." Each lot was surveyed by a committee, in such plan and

in such shape as the proprietor drawing it directed. Some of the plans recorded in the proprietors' records, exhibit figures which Euclid never imagined, and probably could not measure. Common land was left in every part of the township, in pieces of all sizes and shapes. In this manner, great confusion in lines was introduced, by which the owners of real estate are yet perplexed and embarrassed.

1738.

On the 7th February, Jacob Bacon, A. M. was chosen proprietors' Clerk and Treasurer. A vote was passed, raising 240 pounds to support the preaching of the gospel, and other necessary charges, and a committee appointed to provide preaching. A committee was also appointed "to procure an anvil, bellows, vice, sledge-hammer and tongs, fit for the work of a blacksmith, and to let the same to a blacksmith, as long as he shall use and improve them in the proprietors' business, by faithfully doing their work, at their request, before any other business or work, for any other person or persons whatsoever."

At a meeting of the proprietors, held at the meeting house in the township, May 1, the proprietors proceeded to the choice of a suitable person to settle in the ministry, and Mr. Jacob Bacon was unanimously chosen. A vote was also passed, offering Mr. Bacon, as a settlement, 150 pounds, (in bills of credit of the old tenor,) provided he accept the call of the proprietors. By another vote, he was offered a yearly salary of 130 pounds (old tenor) for ten years, with an addition of ten pounds yearly afterwards, so long as he continued the minister of the place, and a committee was appointed to lay these proposals before him.

The proposals were accordingly laid before him by a letter from the committee. On the 5th of August, Mr. Bacon, by letter, accepted the call on condition that the town would furnish him "a yearly supply of fire wood, at his door."

At a meeting, held Oct. 2, the proprietors voted "to add ten pounds to Mr. Bacon's salary, at the end of ten years after his settling among them, and thereby raise his salary to 150 pounds, money of the present currency; and to find him so much good fire wood as he shall need, ready drawn to his door."

Although the whites were, at this time, at peace with the Indians, yet, deeming it not prudent to remain without some means of defence, the proprietors, at this meeting, voted, that they would finish the fort, which was already begun, and that every one that should work, or had worked, at said fort, should bring in his account to the surveyor of highways, and should be allowed therefor, on his highway tax bill. This fort was situated on a small eminence, a few rods north of the house of Dr. Adams. When completed, it was about 90 feet square; there were two ovens, and two wells in the enclosure. It was built of hewn logs. In the interior, next to the walls, were twenty barracks, each having one room. On the outside, it was two stories high, in the inside, but one, the roof over the barracks inclining inwards. In the space above the barracks, were loop-holes to fire from with muskets. There were two watch houses, one at the south-east corner, and one on the western side, each erected on four high posts set upright in the earth. And for greater safety, the whole was surrounded by pickets.

On the 18th of October, a church was gathered, and Mr. Bacon ordained, the churches represented being those of Wrentham, Sunderland, Northfield and Medway.

December 4, the proprietors voted, "to finish the meeting house, on the outside, workman-like, viz. to cover it with good sawed clapboards, well planed, good window frames well glazed, and handsome-

ly to case the doors ; and so far to finish the inside as to lay the lower floor and build the body of the seats, the pulpit, one pew, the table and deacon's seat, all completely, workman-like."

About this time, John Andrews came from Boxford to settle in Upper Ashuelot. He sent back Ephraim Dorman and Joseph Ellis, with a team of eight oxen and a horse, to bring up his furniture. The route they came, which was probably then the best, if not the only one, led through Concord, Worcester, Brookfield, Belchertown, Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield, Winchester, Swanzey, and on the bank of the Ashuelot to the house lots. When they passed through Swanzey, it rained hard, and they did not reach the station until night. As it continued to rain, was very dark, and as the water, which already covered the meadows, rose rapidly, they, apprehensive of being drowned, unyoked their oxen, chained their cart to a tree, and hastened to the settlement, then a mile distant. As soon as day light appeared, the next morning, a boat was despatched in search of the cattle and furniture. When passing over Bullard's island, a man cried to them for help. It was Mark Ferry, the hermit. Wearied with the noise and bustle of the settlement, he had retired to a cave, which he had dug into the bank of the river, where he constantly resided. The water had now driven him from his dwelling, and compelled him to seek refuge on a stump, where he then sat, with a calf in his arms, over which he had drawn a shirt. The boatman answered, " we must take care of the *neat cattle* first," and passed on. They soon came to the cart which was afloat. Proceeding further, and guided by the sound of the bells, which the cattle as usual wore, they found them on several little hillocks, some with only their heads out of water. They forced them into the water, and guided them, swimming, to high land, where they left them until

the flood subsided. Hearing cries for help below them, they proceeded to Crissen's house, in the borders of Swanzey, to the chamber and to the top of which, the family had been driven. These, they took off, and, on their return home, took Ferry and his calf into the canoe. This, which was known by the name of Andrews' flood, was the highest ever known in the township. The water came within a few feet of the street, north of Capt. Blake's old house.

Mr. Andrews was the father of ten children, nine of whom he brought with him. Between September, 1744, and September, 1745, every one of the nine died of the throat distemper, and he then returned disconsolate to his former residence.

1740.

January 7, a meeting of the proprietors was held. In the warrant calling it, an article was inserted, "To make such grant or grants of land, to such person or persons as they shall think deserve the same, for hazarding their lives and estate by living here to bring forward the settling of the place." Upon this article, the following vote was passed, which probably gives the names of nearly all the men then residing in the township, and the number of dwellings erected. "Voted, to grant ten acres of upland to each of the persons hereafter named, viz. Jacob Bacon, clerk, Josiah Fisher, Joseph Fisher, Nathan Blake, William Smeed, Seth Heaton, Joseph Ellis, Ebenezer Nims, Joseph Guild, Joseph Richardson, Isaac Clark, Edward Dale, Jeremiah Hall, Ebenezer Force, Daniel Haws, Amos Foster, Ebenezer Day, Beriah Maccancy, Jabez Hill, Obed Blake, Jeremiah Hall, jr. David Nims, Timothy Puffer, Ebenezer Daniels, Nathan Fairbanks, John Bullard, David Foster, Solomon Richardson, Abner Ellis, Benjamin Guild, Asa Richardson, Ebenezer Hill, Samuel Fisher, Ephraim Dorman, Timothy Sparhawk, Jonathan Underwood, John Andrews,

Samuel Smith, Samuel Daniels, (39) and to such other persons, having an interest here, who, from the first of next March, to March 1742, shall make up the quantity or space of two years in living here, and build a legal dwelling house, to the number of sixty, including those before mentioned."

A rumor of war having reached the township, the proprietors, February 25, voted that they would build another fort, whenever seven of the proprietors should request it. It is not known, that this fort was ever built. They also voted that there should be allowed, for every man who should work upon the forts, eight shillings, and for every pair of oxen, four shillings, per day.

The long and spirited contest, between the provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, respecting the divisional line between them, had been carried before the King in council, and in 1740, a decision was made, that from a point three miles north of Pawtucket falls, the line should run due west until it reached his majesty's other governments. This left Upper Ashuelot far within the boundaries of New Hampshire. Upon this subject, the proprietors, on the 3d day of October, held a meeting, and the following proceedings appear upon their records.

"The proprietors being informed that, by the determination of his majesty in council respecting the controverted bounds between the province of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire, they are excluded from the province of the Massachusetts Bay, to which they always supposed themselves to belong.

"Therefore, unanimously voted, that a petition be presented to the King's most excellent majesty, setting forth our distrest estate, and praying we may be annexed to the said Massachusetts province.

"Also unanimously voted, that Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. be empowered to present the said peti-

tion to his majesty, and to appear and fully to act for and in behalf of this town, respecting the subject matter of said petition, according to his best discretion."

Mr. Hutchinson had previously been appointed the agent of Massachusetts, to procure an alteration of the order in Council. He made a voyage to England, but failed to accomplish the object of his agency. It is remarkable that, in his history of Massachusetts, he makes no mention of his appointment.

1741.

At a meeting, held September 7th, the proprietors voted, "that the meeting-house be removed from the place where it now stands, to the most convenient place on the hill, over against the house of Mr. Isaac Clark." This *hill*, which has entirely disappeared, was a conical eminence in the street, one or two rods south of the old Ralston tavern. The meeting-house was accordingly removed thither, and was placed near the centre of the street, the travelled path being east of it.

At the same meeting, it was voted, "that if the collectors shall be obliged to go through a course of law, to recover their collections, and the Massachusetts law, by which we are, or have been supported, should fail, they should be remunerated for their expenses, from the proprietors' treasury."

1742.

July 27, the proprietors voted, that, "whereas there was a vote passed by this propriety, December 4, 1738, to glaze the meeting-house, and set the glass in lead, and to cover the outside with sawed clapboards, we do now, having thought sedately upon it, agree, and vote, to set the glass in wood, and to cover the outside with shingles, for the following reasons: 1, because we judge it stronger; and 2, because we can do it at less expense of money,

which is no small article, not easy to be obtained by us, at this day. And, whereas the proprietors agreed, with the first committee, to make the doors plain, we now agree to have them done otherwise, even framed, or pannel doors, and the north door to be a double folding door, and that the committee agree with a man to do it well, and decently, as becomes such a house."

1744.

January 16, a vote was passed, allowing Jeremiah Hall eight pounds, old tenor, "for getting that 100 pounds, at Boston, of Col. Dudley." This was probably the sum, which the General Court of Massachusetts had directed should be paid to the proprietors, on the erection of a meeting-house.

In March, of this year, war was declared by Great-Britain, against France and Spain, which was soon followed by a war between the colonists and Indians. The dread of savage incursions, increased the labors and distresses of the frontier settlements. The attention of the whites was diverted from the cultivation of their lands, to the defence, and protection, of themselves and families. They dared not perform their usual labors in the field, nor even go far from their forts, without carrying arms, and being accompanied by a guard; and they lived in perpetual apprehension of a sudden attack.

Upper Ashuelot was also visited by a distressing sickness. Between August 1744, and October 1745, a great number died in the township, most of them of the throat distemper.

1745.

At a meeting, held February 5, the proprietors voted, "that the support granted to the Rev. Mr. Bacon, for the year 1744, being 154 pounds, old tenor, (£130 for salary, and £24 for fire wood) and which, by reason of war and sickness, was neglect-

ed, and not assessed, be brought into the assessment of this year."

In the warrant, calling this meeting, an article was inserted, "to see if the proprietors will seek any further protection, in case the war continues; and if so, to agree upon some method how they will do it." The proprietors "voted, not to act upon this article."

On the 10th of July, deacon Josiah Fisher was killed, as he was driving his cow to pasture. The road leading up the river, then left the main street, by Mr. Samson's tan yard, led along the margin of the meadow, back of his house, crossed West street a few rods west of Aaron Hall's house, and continued up the river, near the adjoining low land, until it came upon the route of the present turnpike above deacon Wilder's house, now occupied as a tavern. Fisher was found dead, and scalped, in the road, near where Mr. Samson's back house stands; and it was supposed that the Indian who shot him, was concealed behind a log, which then lay within the present limits of Mr. Samson's garden. He had a brass slug in his wrist, which, at the time, was conjectured to have been cut from a warming pan, that had lately been lost by one of the inhabitants.

1746.

March 19, the proprietors agreed to raise the sum of forty pounds, lawful money of New-England, (\$133, 33) or one hundred and sixty pounds, old tenor, for the Rev. Mr. Bacon's support the present year. From this vote, it appears that, at this time, old tenor, in comparison with lawful money, was as four to one.

Here occurs a chasm in the proprietors records, which the following relation of events will sufficiently account for.

In the early part of the year, 1746, the General Court of Massachusetts sent a party of men to Canada, for what purpose, is not now recollected,

and perhaps was not generally known. On their return, they passed through Upper Ashuelot. On arriving in sight of the settlement, they fired their guns. This, of course, alarmed the inhabitants, and all who were out, and several were in the woods making sugar, hastened home. From some cause or other, suspicion was entertained, that a party of Indians had followed the returning whites; and for several days the settlers were more vigilant, and more circumspect in their movements; seldom leaving the fort, except to look after their cattle, which were in the barns, and at the stacks, in the vicinity.

Early in the morning of the 23d of April, Ephraim Dorman left the fort to search for his cow. He went northwardly, along the borders of what was then a hideous and almost impervious swamp, lying east of the fort, until he arrived near to the place where the turnpike now is. Looking into the swamp, he perceived several Indians lurking in the bushes. He immediately gave the alarm, by crying, "Indians! Indians!" and ran towards the fort. Two, who were concealed in the bushes, between him and the fort, sprang forward, aimed their pieces at him, and fired, but neither hit him. They then, throwing away their arms, advanced towards him, one he knocked down by a blow, which deprived him of his senses; the other he seized, and being a strong man, and able wrestler, tried his strength, and skill, in his favorite mode of "trip and twitch." He tore his antagonist's blanket from his shoulders, leaving him nearly naked. He then seized him by the arms and body, but as he was painted and greased, he slipped from his grasp. After a short struggle, Dorman quitted him, ran towards the fort and reached it in safety.

When the alarm was given, the greater part of the inhabitants were in the fort; but some had just left it, to attend to their cattle. Capt. Simons, the

commander, as was the custom every morning before prayers, was reading a chapter in the bible. He immediately exclaimed, "rush out, and assist those who are out to get in." Most of the men immediately rushed out, and each ran where his interest or affections led him; the remainder chose positions in the fort, from which they could fire on the enemy.

Those who were out, and within hearing, instantly started for the fort; and the Indians, from every direction, rushed into the street, filling the air with their usual horrid yell. Mrs. M'Kenny had gone to a barn, near where Miss Fiske's house now stands, to milk her cow. She was aged and corpulent, and could only walk slowly. When she was within a few rods of the fort, a naked Indian, probably the one with whom Dorman had been wrestling, darted from the bushes, on the east side of the street, ran up to her, stabbed her in the back, and crossed to the other side. She continued walking, in the same steady pace as before, until she had nearly reached the gate of the fort, when the blood gushed from her mouth, and she fell and expired. John Bullard was at his barn, below Dr. Adams'; he ran towards the fort, but the instant he arrived at the gate, he received a shot in his back. He fell, was carried in, and expired in a few hours. Mrs. Clark was at a barn, near the Todd house, about 50 rods distant. Leaving it, she espied an Indian near her, who threw away his gun, and advanced to make her prisoner. She gathered her clothes around her waist, and started for the fort. The Indian pursued; the woman, animated by cheers from her friends, outran her pursuer, who skulked back for his gun. Nathan Blake was at his barn, near where his son's house now stands. Hearing the cry of Indians, and presuming his barn would be burnt, he determined that his cattle should not be burnt with it. Throwing open his

stable door, he let them loose, and presuming his retreat to the fort was cut off, went out at a back door, intending to place himself in ambush at the only place where the river could be crossed. He had gone but a few steps, when he was hailed by a party of Indians, concealed in a shop between him and the street. Looking back, he perceived several guns pointed at him, and at this instant several Indians started up from their places of concealment near him, upon which, feeling himself in their power, he gave himself up. They shook hands with him, and to the remark he made, that he had not yet breakfasted, they smiling replied, that "it must be a poor Englishman, who could not go to Canada without his breakfast." Passing a cord around his arms above the elbows, and fastening close to his body, they gave him to the care of one of the party, who conducted him to the woods.

The number of Indians, belonging to the party, was supposed to be about 100. They came near the fort, on every side, and fired whenever they supposed their shot would be effectual. They, however, neither killed nor wounded any one. The whites fired whenever an Indian presented himself, and several of them were seen to fall. Before noon, the savages ceased firing, but they remained several days in the vicinity. The guns first fired were heard at the fort in Swanzey, the commander of which immediately sent an express to Winchester, with information that the Indians had made an attack upon Upper Ashuelot. From Winchester an express was sent to the next post, and so on from post to post to Northampton, where Col. Pomeroy commanded. Collecting all the troops, and militia there, and pressing all the horses in the place, he instantly, at their head, set out for Upper Ashuelot, and on his way added to his number all the disposable force in the intermediate settlements. In little more than 48 hours from the time the ex-

press started from Swanzey, he, with 400 or 500 men, arrived at Upper Ashuelot, the distance down and back, being, at least, ninety miles. The arrival, so soon, of this relief, was as unexpected, as it was gratifying to the settlers. The next morning, Pomeroy sent out his men to scour the woods in search of Blake. While these were absent, the Indians again shewed themselves on the meadow, southeast of the fort, where they killed a number of cattle. To recall the troops, an alarm was fired, but was not heard. In the afternoon, they returned unsuccessful, and that evening Mr. Bullard, and Mrs. M'Kenny were buried. The next morning, they found the track of the Indians, and followed it, until they came to the place of their encampment at night. This was east of Buck hill, not far from the present residence of Capt. Chapman. It appearing that they dispersed, when departing from this place, they were pursued no farther. Col. Pomeroy, on his way back to the fort, found that a house, belonging to Mr. Heaton, and standing near the place where his son's house now stands, had been burnt. Among the ashes, they discovered human bones, and the leg of an Indian unconsumed. As it is known to have been the custom of the Indians to take the most effectual means in their power, to conceal the amount of their loss, they had doubtless placed in this house, before they set it on fire, the bodies of such of their party as had been killed, which they had not otherwise concealed. The number, as near as could be ascertained, was nine, and one or two were burnt in the barn of Mr. Blake.

The next day, enquiry was made for Mark Ferry, the hermit. As he did not reside among them, and had never performed the duties of relation, friend or companion to any of the settlers, they felt little solicitude for his fate; but Col. Pomeroy offering to send a party of men, they agreed to

send a pilot to the place where they supposed he might be found. This was Ferry meadow, on the stream called Ferry brook, within the present limits of Sullivan, whither he had repaired, as to a place of safety, when driven by the flood from his cave on Bullard's island. They found his horse confined under the shelter of the root of a fallen tree, and, looking further, espied him perched high upon the limb of a large tree, mending his clothes. His personal appearance indicated that he had not received the benefit of shaving, nor ablution, for months. They compelled him to descend, brought him to the fort, led him to the officers' quarters, and, with mock formality, introduced him to all the officers, and gentlemen of the party.

Apprehending no farther danger to the settlers, Col. Pomeroy and his men returned to their homes.

In the early part of May, the same, or another party of Indians, hovered about the settlement, watching for an opportunity to make prisoners, and to plunder. For several successive nights, the watch imagined that they heard some person walking around the fort. When it came to the turn of young M'Kenny, whose mother had been killed, to watch, he declared he should fire, on hearing the least noise without the fort. In the dead of night, he thought he heard some person at the picket gate, endeavoring to ascertain its strength. Having loaded his gun, as was usual among the first settlers of the country, with two balls and several buck shot, he fired through the gate, which was made of thin boards. In the morning blood was discovered on the spot, and also a number of beads, supposed to have been cut, by the shot, from the wampum of the Indian.

The inhabitants remained in the fort until March, or April, 1747. About this time, they passed an informal vote, releasing Mr. Bacon, their minister, from all his obligations to them, and resolved to

abandon the settlement, which resolution was immediately executed. Soon after, a party of Indians visited the place, and burnt all the buildings, except the mill on Beaver brook, and the house in which the miller had resided.

It has been already mentioned, that Mr. Blake, when captured, was pinioned, and conducted by an Indian into the woods. After travelling about two miles, they came to a small stony brook. The Indian stooped to drink, and as Blake's hands were not confined, he thought he could easily take up a stone, and beat out his brains. He silently prayed for direction; and his next thought was, that he should always regret that he had killed an Indian in that situation, and he refrained.

No particulars of his journey to Canada have been obtained, except that he passed by Charlestown. At Montreal, he, with another prisoner of the name of Warren, was compelled to run the gauntlet. Warren, receiving a blow in the face, knocked down the Indian who gave it; upon which, he was assaulted by several, who beat him unmercifully, making him a cripple for life. Blake, exhibiting more patience and fortitude, received no considerable injury. He was then conducted to Quebec, and thence to an Indian village, several miles north of that place, called Ccnissadawga. He was a strong, athletic man, and possessed many qualities, which procured him the respect of the savages. He could run with great speed, and in all the trials to which he was put, and they were many and severe, he beat every antagonist.

Not long after his arrival at the village, the tribe lost a chief by sickness. As soon as his decease was made known, the women repaired to his wigwam, and with tears, sobs, and clamorous lamentations, mourned his death. The funeral ceremonies performed, the men sought Blake, dressed him in

the Indian costume, and invested him with all the authority and privileges of the deceased, as one of the chiefs of the tribe, and as husband of the widow. In the family to which he now stood in the relation of father, there were, as he has often remarked, several daughters of uncommon beauty.

Yet, notwithstanding this good fortune, he still had difficulties to encounter. The tribe was divided into two parties, his friends and his enemies. The former consisted of the great mass of the tribe, who respected him for qualities, to which, they had not equal pretensions; the latter, of those who were envious of his success, and had been worsted in their contests with him. These, to humble his pride, sent far into the northern wilderness, and procured a celebrated Indian runner, to run against him. At the time assigned, the whole tribe assembled to witness the race; and a Frenchman, from Quebec, happened to be present. Perceiving the excitement among them, he advised Blake to permit himself to be beaten, intimating that fatal consequences might ensue, if he did not. The race was run, and Blake, as advised by the Frenchman, permitted his antagonist to reach the goal, a moment before he did. He persisted, however, after his return from captivity, in declaring that he might have beaten him, if he had tried. The event of the race, restored harmony to the tribe, and Blake was permitted to live in peace.

But, remembering the family he had left, he felt anxious to return to his home. After much intercession, the tribe proposed, that, if he would build a house, like those of the English, he should be permitted to go to Quebec. Presuming, that, when there, he could more easily obtain his liberty, he gladly acceded to the proposition. With such tools as the Indians possessed, he prepared the necessary timber, splitting the boards from the tree, and soon completed the task. He then went to Que-

bec, and gave himself up to the French. He had been there but a short time, when his Indian wife came in a canoe to reclaim him. He refused to return; but she soliciting and even demanding it, he declared to her, that, if he should be compelled to set out with her, he would overturn the canoe, and drown her; upon which, she concluded to return without him. In the fall, the French commandant gave Blake his election to pass the winter, as a laborer, with a farmer, in the vicinity of Quebec, or be confined in the common gaol. He chose the latter, and had no reason to regret his choice, as he had a comfortable room, and sufficient rations assigned him. He remained in confinement until spring, when his liberation was procured in the manner, which will now be related.

Among the numerous parties, which the love of war, and of adventure, brought upon the frontier settlements, was one consisting of a small number of Indians, commanded by lieutenant Pierre Rambout, a young Frenchman. In the autumn of 1747, this party penetrated the wilderness, as far as the southern bank of the Ashuelot, in Winchester, about two miles below the village. They then halted, and the commander, taking his gun, passed alone over a neighboring hill, which descended abruptly to the southward. While standing near a road, which led along the foot of the hill, he saw, and, at the same moment, was seen by a scout, consisting of Mr. Alexander, and Mr. Willard, of Northfield, and Dr. Hall, of Keene, who were then travelling this road, in a direction towards Northfield. Perceiving that he could not escape, he, in French, asked for quarter. Not understanding him, Alexander fired, and he fell. On examination, they concluded his wound was mortal, took his arms, and presuming he had a party near him which would be drawn to the spot, by the report of the musket, they hastened to Northfield. The Indians

repaired immediately to the spot, and finding their commander wounded, but yet alive, they removed him to the bank of the river, where he had left them. Supposing his wound was mortal, and alarmed for their own safety, they then left him, and returned precipitately to Canada, informing his father, a wealthy old gentleman, who resided near Quebec, that his son had been killed by the English.

Rambout remained as he was left, until the next morning. Feeling his strength revive, he then attempted to rise, and, after several efforts, succeeded. Prompted by the love of life, he then determined to endeavor to reach some settlement, and give himself up. Wandering about, he at length came to the road leading to Northfield, then about five miles distant. This road he followed, and with much difficulty reached that place. The man whom he first saw, was Alexander, who had shot him, and to him he surrendered himself. Alexander immediately conveyed him to the house of Mr. Doolittle, who was then surgeon, physician, and clergyman, of the place, where he was carefully attended to, and his wound completely cured. He was an interesting young man, and, by his behavior, gained the respect, and affection of the inhabitants.

During the winter, he made a visit to Boston. He was very anxious to return to Canada; and the relatives and friends of Samuel Allen, a young man, who had been captured, at Deerfield, in 1746, were desirous of procuring his release, in exchange for Rambout. Application was therefore made to the governor of Massachusetts, who consented to send a party, with a flag, to Canada, to negotiate the exchange. Rambout also engaged, that some other English prisoners should be released, in exchange for him. As he was an officer, considerable reliance was placed upon this engagement; and



it was agreed that, should it be ratified by the governor of Canada, the other prisoner should be Mr. Blake.

The party consisted of John Hawks, Matthew Elisson, and John Taylor. Hawks was one of the proprietors, though not an inhabitant of Keene; he commanded fort Massachusetts, near Hoosack, when it was taken, in 1746, and had just returned from captivity; he was an active officer in all the Indian wars of this period, and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel, in the war of 1756.

Considering it possible that the French governor might refuse to ratify the engagement of the lieutenant, Mrs. Blake furnished Hawks with funds to redeem her husband. The party, accompanied by Rambout, set out from Deerfield, for Canada, in February, 1748. The season was inclement, and the snow was deep. They travelled on snow shoes, and carried their provisions on their backs. At night, they encamped on the snow, in the Indian mode, and often, without shelter or covering. Their route led up the Connecticut, to Charlestown; thence up Black river, to the present town of Ludlow; thence over the highlands, in Mount Holy, to a branch of Otter Creek; thence down Otter Creek, about twenty-four miles; thence a westerly course, until they struck a stream, which they followed to its junction with Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga; thence on the ice of the lake, by Crown-Point, to Canada.

At Montreal, Rambout was delivered to the French commander, and search was made for young Allen, who was at length found among the Indians; and though he had resided with them only eighteen months, yet, unaccountable as it may appear, he had become strongly attached to their mode of life, displayed great aversion to returning home, and even attempted to avoid his deliverers. When brought into the presence of Col. Hawks,



he acknowledged, with reluctance, that he recognized him, though he was his uncle, and had been well known to him, at Deerfield—nor would he converse in English. Various means were used to weaken his strange predilection, but all without effect, and his obstinacy was only conquered by threats, and force. Nor did his Indian attachments cease in his old age; and he often declared, that the Indian mode of life was the most happy.

After obtaining Allen, Hawks, and his party, proceeded to Quebec. On their way, they stopped at the house of old Rambout, whose feelings may be imagined, when he saw, standing before him, that son whom he believed to be dead. Unwilling to be delayed, Hawks promised to visit him again, on his return. Arriving at Quebec, he made application for the release of Blake, according to the engagement of Rambout. The governor refused, alleging that the lieutenant had no authority to make such an engagement. Hawks persisted in urging his claim, as a matter of right. He also appealed to his feelings, as a man, representing to him the forlorn situation of Mrs. Blake, and the expectations she had been permitted to indulge, and prayed that he might not be sent back to her, the messenger of disappointment. The governor still refusing, he declared that he could not return to her without her husband; and requested to know what sum was required as his ransom, adding that he would endeavor to pay it. The governor, pausing a moment, replied, "take him, and keep your money."

Expressing his gratitude, Hawks hastened to the prison, and gave to Blake the glad tidings of his release. On their way to New-England, the party again stopped at the house of old Rambout. The neighbors were invited; a sumptuous feast was prepared; "wine," to use the language of Blake, "was as plenty as water;" the evening, and the

night, were spent in dancing; the happy father and mother opening the ball, and displaying all the liveliness of youth. Quebec, it should be remembered, had then been settled nearly a century and a half, and was far in advance of all the English colonies in refinement of manners. To the rough and sedate Englishmen, who had seldom been out of the woods, the whole scene was novel, and excited emotions, to which they had not been accustomed.

Hawks, and his party, then proceeded on their journey. Apprehending that the savages would pursue them, and attempt to release young Allen, which they had shewn a strong inclination to do, lieutenant Rambout accompanied them a part of the way. In the beginning of May, 1748, they arrived at their homes.

In October, 1748, peace was declared between England and France. The Indians, however, continued their depredations until June, 1749, and a treaty of peace was not made with them, until September of that year.

On the restoration of peace, the settlers who had been driven from their lands, by the war, made preparations to return. The exact time when Upper Ashuelot was again occupied, has not been ascertained. It was, probably, some time in 1750; certainly as early as 1751; as it is within the recollection of Thomas Wells, now living, who came to reside here in 1752, that eight or ten dwelling houses had then been erected.

1753.

On the 11th of April, the proprietors, on application to Benning Wentworth, then governor of New-Hampshire, obtained a charter, granting them the land embraced in the original limits of Upper Ashuelot, and a small additional strip on the eastern side. The preamble recites that, "Whereas sundry of our loving subjects, before the settlement

of the dividing line of our Province of New-Hampshire, and our other government of the Massachusetts Bay, had by permission of our said government of Massachusetts Bay, begun a settlement of a tract of land on Ashuelot river, and made sundry divisions of, and improvements upon, said tract, and there remained until the Indian war forced them off, and being desirous to make an immediate settlement upon the premises, and having petitioned our governor in council for his majesty's grant of the premises to be so made as might not subvert and destroy their former surveys;" therefore a grant is made to them of the said tract, they are constituted a corporation by the name of KEENE, and the inhabitants are declared entitled to all the privileges, and immunities, that other towns in the province, exercise and enjoy. A reservation is made of all white, and other pine trees, fit for masting the royal navy, and of a rent of one ear of Indian corn, annually, until 1763, and afterwards, of one shilling, proclamation money, for every hundred acres. And Benjamin Bellows is authorized to call the first meeting of the proprietors, and inhabitants.

The first meeting of the proprietors, under this charter, was held at Keene, on the first Wednesday of May. Votes were passed, granting to Benjamin Bellows 122 Spanish milled dollars, for his services and expenses, in obtaining the charter; and to Ephraim Dorman 8 dollars for going to Portsmouth—raising 122 pounds, old tenor, to procure preaching; and granting to Theodore Atkinson, the secretary of the Province, three hundred acres of land.

On the same day, a town meeting was held, and various town officers were chosen.

The inhabitants immediately directed their attention to the concerns of religion. As a place for public worship, they erected a building, on a green plat, near the house of Aaron Appleton. It was

built of slabs, the earth serving as a floor. And, with the inhabitants of Swanzey, they made a joint arrangement for the settlement of a pastor.

In the warrant, calling a town meeting, to be held June 13, is the following article: "to see if they (the freeholders, &c.) will make choice of the Rev. Mr. Carpenter for our minister." From the expressions, here used, it is probable that the church had already acted on the subject. At the meeting, Mr. Carpenter was chosen; the sum of "fifty pounds, silver money, at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, or equivalent in our own province bills," was offered him as a settlement; and the town engaged to find him, yearly, twenty cords of fire wood. A contract was subsequently made with Mr. Carpenter, which was to continue in force three years, and, in which, it was stipulated that he should receive, from Keene, a salary of twenty-six pounds, lawful money. He also officiated as the minister of Swanzey.

In December, the inhabitants voted, to build a meeting house, 45 feet long, and 35 wide; and agreed to set it at "the crotch of the roads, so called, one road leading up the river, and the other across the river to Ash swamp." This place must have been several rods west of Aaron Hall's house.

1754.

In January, of the next year, "in consideration of the unfitness of the ground, and the exposedness to fire, and to the enemy, in case of a war," they voted, to set the house "on the road that goeth from the town street to the mills, on the highest ground, between the causeway, by William Smeed's, and the Bridge, by the clay pits." Smeed lived where Dr. Twitchell now does, and the bridge was north of Col. Perry's store.

In this year, the savages again committed acts of hostility. Sometime in the fall, an express arrived at

Keene, bringing information, that a party of the enemy had appeared in the vicinity of Penacook, (Concord,) where they had killed, and captured, several whites. This was in the afternoon. The inhabitants immediately assembled, and appointed several persons to keep guard, through the night, directing them to walk, continually, from the house of David Nims, (near Lewis Page's house, in prison street,) to the meadow gate, (near Mr. Carpenter's;) and agreed immediately to complete the fort, the re-building of which had already been commenced. The next day every one able to labor, went to work upon the fort, and soon prepared it for the reception of the settlers.

1755.

When traces of Indians were discovered, near any of the frontier posts, it was the custom to fire, as an alarm to all within hearing, three guns in regular and quick succession. If heard at any of the posts, it was answered in the same manner; if not answered, the alarm was repeated. In June, the people at Westmoreland, discovering traces of Indians, fired an alarm, which was heard at Keene. A body of men was immediately sent to their relief; but they returned without discovering the enemy. That they were lurking in the vicinity, and that they followed home the party from Keene, is probable, as, the next day, they captured Benjamin Twitchell. He had been to Ash swamp; on his return, he took with him a tub, which, it is supposed, he carried upon his head. This tub was afterwards found, on the east bank of the river, near where the mills now stand; and there the Indians probably seized him. He was conducted up the river; in the meadows, west and north of deacon Wilder's, the Indians killed several oxen, a horse and colt. The colt was cut up, and the best pieces of meat carried off. In this meadow, they left a bow, made of lever wood, and several arrows. They encamped, for the night,

in M'Curdy's meadow, in Surry, where four crotched sticks were discovered driven into the ground, in such positions, as led to the belief, that to each was confined one of the limbs of the prisoner. The party then proceeded to Quebec, where Twitchell met with Josiah Foster and his family, who were captured at Winchester. For the honor of Foster, the particulars of his capture should be recorded. Returning home, one evening, he found his house in the possession of Indians, who had captured his wife and children. He could have escaped, but he determined to give himself up, that he might share their fate, and have an opportunity to alleviate their sufferings. He accompanied them to Quebec, carrying his wife on his back, a great part of the way. There they remained until, being ransomed, they were sent, by water, to Boston. Twitchell was put on board the same vessel, but, being taken sick, he was set on shore, and died in a few days.

A month or two afterwards, a party of Indians were discovered in the meadow, south of the town line, by the people of Swanzey. They, with four soldiers to guard them, were coming, in a body, and armed, to work in their north meadows. The soldiers who were in advance, heard a rustling in the bushes, and one, supposing it caused by a deer, fired his musket at the spot. The Indians, supposing they were discovered, rose, and fired at the soldiers, who, frightened, ran to the quarter, now called Scotland. The people, coming up, saw the Indians, attacked them and drove them to the plain, west of the factory. An express was instantly sent to Keene; and a party of 15 men, under Capt. Metcalf, went out to meet them. This party went first to the foot of the hill, beyond Mr. Heaton's, supposing the Indians would there cross the branch. Remaining there a short time, without discovering any Indians, a Mr. Howard proposed to go to an-

other ford still farther up. Josiah French, a shrewd man, observed, "those who wish to meet with the Indians, had better stay here : I feel no desire to see them, and will go over the hill with Howard." It was agreed to go over the hill ; but no sooner had they reached the top of the nearest eminence, than they discovered nine Indians crossing at the ford they had left. They lay in wait for them, a few hours, but did not see them afterwards. Returning to the fort, Howard received no mercy from the men, women and children within it. Several days afterwards, the men went, in a body, and armed, to hoe Mr. Day's corn, near Surry, and discovered that an old house, in that neighborhood, had been burnt ; it was supposed to have been set on fire by the same party of Indians.

Afterwards, but in what year is not recollected, another, and the last party of Indians made a visit to Keene. The inhabitants had cleared and fenced a large common field consisting of about two hundred acres, laying southwardly of Mrs. Lanman's house. This field was used as a cow pasture, and the access to it was by a path which led southwardly along the high ground east of the place where the turnpike and Baker's lane unite. When driving their cows to this pasture, it was the custom of the inhabitants not to go in the path, for fear of a surprise, but on one or the other side of it. Early one morning, they came suddenly upon a party of Indians, concealed in thick bushes, and busily engaged in mending their moccasins. They instantly started up and escaped. It was afterwards ascertained that the leather, with which they were mending their moccasins, had been stolen, the night before, from a tannery at Walpole or Charlestown.

1756.

The term for which Mr. Carpenter was settled having expired, the town October 5, 1756, voted

“to carry on and maintain the worship and ordinances of God in unity with the people of Swanzey, in the manner we have for three years past, for the space of one year to come.”

1760.

A similar vote was annually past until 1760, when the town “voted not to join with the people of Swanzey in maintaining and carrying on the worship and ordinances of God.”

In the warrant calling for a town meeting to be held the 31st day of December, 1760, an article was inserted, to see if the town will give a gentleman a call in order to settle in the work of ministry among us.” The proceedings of this meeting, and also of another meeting held February 16, 1761, are lost. But from the proceedings of a meeting held March 26, 1761, it appears that the town had given a call to the worthy Mr. Clement Sumner.” His salary was fixed at thirty-five pounds sterling and his fire-wood, with an annual increase of one pound ten shillings sterling, until fifteen pounds should be added. The amount of his settlement is not known.

1761.

In April, the town voted, “that the Rev. Mr. Sumner’s salary be stated on commodities as they be now and so from year to year. Commodities as they be now : wheat at 3s. 2 1-2d. sterling per bushel; pork at 3d. per pound; beef at 2d. per pound; Indian corn at 1s. 8d. per bushel; rye at 2s. 6d. per bushel; labour in the summer at 2s. per day.” This was afterwards rescinded upon the suggestion of Mr. Sumner, that the article of beef was stated above the market price.

Mr. Sumner accepted the call, and the ordination took place on the 11th of June.

For several years from this period, but few interesting facts can be gleaned from written documents, or from oral tradition.

Amos Foster, an inhabitant of the town died this year. In his will he bequeathed one half of his estate to the town. The value of the legacy is not known; but in August the town voted that Mr. Sumner's settlement, and his salary for the first year, should be paid from this fund.

In September, the town voted to build a house for sick soldiers.

1762.

Among the town officers chosen this year was a clerk of the market, and a deer reif. Whether the former had any duties to perform is not known. It was the duty of the latter to enforce the laws against killing deer in the spring. The first office was annually filled for the succeeding ten years, and the latter until 1782.

1764.

At the annual meeting this year, the town voted six pounds sterling to defray the charges of a school.

1765.

By a vote of the town, each man was to be allowed for labour on the highway, two shillings and six-pence (probably lawful money) per day, until the last of September, and afterwards, two shillings per day; one shilling for a yoke of oxen, and six-pence for a cart.

1766.

The following votes are found on the records of this year.

“ Voted, that Benjamin Hall be agent to represent the town in behalf of a shire town.

“ Voted, that the security for the money given to the town by Capt. Nathaniel Fairbanks, deceased, the interest of which was for the use of a school in this town, be delivered to the care of the town treasurer, and his successors in office for the time being.”

1767.

According to an enumeration made the 7th of October, the number and description of inhabitants were as follows :

Unmarried men from 16 to 60	51
Married men from 16 to 60	66
Boys from 16 and under	84
Men upwards of 60	4
Females unmarried	146
Married women	68
Widows	8

Total, 427

1768.

Josiah Willard was chosen to represent the town in the General Assembly at Portsmouth. He was the first representative chosen.

1770.

The town was now first divided into school districts, being four in number.

1771.

This year, the state, which before consisted of but one county, was divided into five, and Keene was made one of the shire towns for the the county of Cheshire. The Inferior Court held its first session here, in October, 1771, and the Superior Court, in September, 1772.

1772.

The inhabitants, having become dissatisfied with the Rev. Clement Sumner, he was this year dismissed, in pursuance of a vote of the town, his own consent, and the result of an ecclesiastical council.

1773.

The following muster roll has been handed to the compiler, by a veteran of the revolution :

A List of the Foot Company in Keene.

Lieut. Benjamin Hall,
 Ensign, Michael Metcalf,
 Clerk, Simeon Clark,
 Serj. Elijah Blake,
 Serj. Thomas Baker,
 Serj. Isaac Esley,
 Serj. Jedidiah Carpenter,
 Corp. Dan Guild,
 Corp. Joseph Blake,
 Corp. Abijah Metcalf,
 Benjamin Archer,
 Jonathan Archer,
 Asael Blake,—
 John Brown,
 Elisha Briggs,
 John Balch,
 Benjamin Balch, jr.
 Luther Bragg,
 Samuel Bassett,
 John Burt,
 Nathan Blake, jr.
 Obadiah Blake, jr.
 Rial Blake,
 Naboth Bettison,
 Thomas Baker, jr.
 John Pray Blake,
 Cephas Clark,
 Seth Clark,
 Eliphalet Carpenter,
 Ebenezer Carpenter,
 Samuel Chapman,
 Silas Cook,
 Isaac Clark,
 Simeon Clark, jr.
 Jonas Clark,
 John Day, jr.
 John Daniels,
 Reuben Daniels,
 John Dickson,
 Adington Daniels,
 Ebenezer Day, jr.
 Jacob Day,

James Dean,
 Timothy Crnsfield,
 Joseph Elles, jr.
 Gideon Elles, jr.
 Simeon Elles,
 Timothy Elles, 3d.
 William Elles,
 Caleb Elles,
 Stephen Estey,
 James Eady,
 Henry Elles,
 Benjamin Elles,
 Benjamin Elles, jr.
 Joshua Elles,
 Jabez Fisher,
 Silas French,
 David Foster, jr.
 Peter Fiskin,
 Aaron Gray, jr.
 William Goodenow,
 John Griggs,
 Joseph Gray,
 Samuel Hall,
 Jesse Hall,
 Peter Hubbert,
 Seth Heaton, jr.
 John Houghton,
 Joseph Hills,
 Davis Howlett,
 Ziba Hall,
 Jonathan Heaton,
 Luther Heaton,
 Nathaniel Kingsbury,
 Daniel Kingsbury,
 Stephen Rarrabee,
 Daniel Lake,
 Ezra Metcalf,
 Jonathan Metcalf,
 Moses Marsh,
 Eli Metcalf,
 Daniel Metcalf,
 William Nelson,

David Nims, jr.
 Ebenezer Nuton,
 Asael Nims,
 Eliakim Nims,
 Zadock Nims,
 Alpheus Nims,
 Joshua Osgood,
 Benjamin Osgood, jr.
 Amos Partrige,
 Jonathan Poud,
 Abiather Poud,
 Nathan Rugg,
 Josiah Richardson,
 Eleazer Sanger,
 Abner Sanger,
 Robert Penser,
 Jeremiah Siles,
 Richard Smith,
 John Swan,
 Jacob Town,
 Joseph Thacher,
 Abraham Wheeler, jr.
 Joseph Willson,
 William Woods,
 Oliver Wright,
 Jedidiah Wellman,
 David Willson,
 Daniel Willson,
 Thomas Wells,
 John White,
 James Wright,
 Zadock Wheeler,
 Walter Wheeler,
 Samuel Wadsworth,
 Abijah Wilder,
 Jonathan Wheeler,
 Thomas Wilder,
 Thomas Morse,
 Epraim Leonard,
 Peter Daniels,
 Luke Metcalf,
 Isaac Wyman, jr.

To Col. JOSIAH WILLARD.

EPHRAIM DORMAN, C.

Keene, August 7, 1773.

Errors Excepted.

The Alarm List belonging to Keene.

Lieut. Seth Heaton,
 Dea. David Foster,
 John Day,
 Abraham Wheeler,
 Nathan Blake,
 Joseph Ellis,
 Uriah Willson,
 Ebenezer Nims,
 David Nims,
 Gideon Ellis,
 Lieut. Andrew Balch,
 Aaron Gray,
 Ebenezer Day,
 Eliphalet Briggs,
 Benjamin Archer,

Capt. Isaac Wyman,
 Doct. Obadiah Blake,
 Lieut. Timothy Ellis,
 Thomas Frink, Esq.
 Doct. Josiah Pomeroy,
 Doct. Gideon Tiffany,
 Elijah Williams,
 Israel Houghton,
 Samuel Woods,
 Samuel Daniels,
 Jesse Clark,
 Joseph Brown,
 Robert Gillmore,
 Obadiah Hamilton,
 Peter Rice,

Elisha Ellis,
 Isaac Billings,
 Josiah Ellis,
 Timothy Ellis, Jun.
 Ichabod Fisher,
 William Gray,
 Benjamin Hall, Jun.
 Benjamin Osgood,
 Nathaniel Hall,
 Samuel Woods, Jun.
 John Coulee,
 Samuel Colhoun,
 Ebenezer Cooke,
 Daniel Snow,
 Eliphalet Briggs, Jun.

From votes of the town, it appears that Nathaniel Niles and Augustine Hibbert preached this year, as candidates for settlement; and that, in

1774,

William Fessenden and Elias Jones preached also as candidates. To the latter, the town unanimously gave a call, and offered him £133 6s. 8d. as a settlement, and seventy five pounds as an annual salary. What answer he gave to the call does not appear.

Elijah Williams, Esquire, an attorney at law, who came to Keene, in 1771, was, this year, appointed a justice of the peace, as appears from the following precept.

Province of New-Hampshire, }
Portsmouth, 28th May, 1774. }

To Mr. Simeon Jones, Clerk of his majesty's court of General Sessions of the peace, for the county of Cheshire, in said Province.

I am commanded by his Excellency the Governor, to direct that you enter, in the general commission of the Peace, for said county, the name of Elijah Williams, Esquire, who is appointed, by his Excellency, a Justice of the peace, for said county. You'l, therefore, hereby take order accordingly.

By his Excellency's command,
THEODORE ATKINSON, *Sec'ry.*

The discussions and excitement, which preceded the revolutionary war, began, about this time, to extend to the interior towns. In Keene, nearly all the inhabitants were decided whigs; but a few were neutral or silent, and a very small number were avowed tories. Against the two last classes, the popular indignation was often directed, and sometimes with such irregular violence, as called for the interposition of the sober and considerate citizens.

In a warrant, calling a town meeting, to be held the 26th of September, the following articles were

inserted: "To see if it be the mind of the town to provide ammunition for a town stock, and grant money for the same." And "to see if it be the mind of the town to sign the covenant and engagement, which was sent and recommended, by the committee of correspondence, relating to the non-importation agreement."

Upon the first article, the town "voted, to get a stock of ammunition for the town, viz. 200lbs. of good gun powder, 400lbs. of lead, and 1200 flints; and to raise twenty-four pounds, lawful money, for providing said articles."

Upon the other article, the following preamble and vote were adopted: "Whereas the towns, in this province, have chosen members to represent them in a General Congress of all the colonies, now sitting, at the city of Philadelphia, to consult and determine what steps are necessary for the colonies to adopt, voted, therefore, not to sign the non-importation agreement, until we hear what measures said congress have agreed upon for themselves and their constituents."

October 17th, Capt. Isaac Wyman, and Lieutenant Timothy Ellis, were chosen delegates to attend the county congress, at Walpole. No information, concerning the object or proceedings of this congress, has been obtained.

1775.

On the 4th of January, at a legal town meeting, the inhabitants voted, "to come into the measures recommended by the Continental Congress, in their association agreement." They chose, agreeably to said advice, Isaac Wyman, Timothy Ellis, Thomas Baker, Dan Guild, and William Ellis, a committee of Inspection. They also chose Isaac Wyman to represent the town, at the meeting, to be held at Exeter, on the 21st day of said January, for the choice of delegates to the Continental Congress.

At a town meeting, held February 23, Captain Isaac Wyman was chosen "to represent the town

in the general assembly, holden at Portsmouth, on said 23d day of February, and so, day by day, during their sessions."

On the 19th of April, was fought the battle of Lexington. An aged gentleman, then an inhabitant of Keene, gives the following account of the proceedings of the citizens, on that occasion. The instant that news of the battle arrived in town, which was in the forenoon, Capt. Dorman, who then commanded the militia, called upon Capt. Wyman. "The regulars," said he, "have come out to Concord, have killed six men, and the battle was raging when the messenger started. What shall be done?" "Send expresses," said Capt. Wyman, "to every part of the town, notifying the inhabitants to meet, forthwith, on the green, and be governed by their decision." Expresses were sent, the citizens met, in the afternoon, and a vote was unanimously passed, that a body of men should be sent to oppose the regulars. The question was asked, who shall lead them? Capt. Wyman was nominated, was chosen, and though far advanced in years, cheerfully consented to go. Volunteers were then called for, and about thirty presented themselves. Capt. Wyman directed them to go home immediately, and prepare provisions for their use, for, said he, "all the roads will be full of men, and you can procure nothing on the way; and he appointed sunrise, the next morning, the time, and his house, the place of rendezvous. At sunrise they met, and immediately started for Concord. In the afternoon, Gen. Bellows, Col. John Bellows, and Thomas Sparhawk arrived from Walpole, and riding to his house, enquired for Capt. Wyman. Being answered, that he started at sunrise, at the head of a company of men, they exclaimed, "Keene has shown a noble spirit!" and hastened onwards. They were soon followed by a party of men from Walpole.

At an informal meeting of the inhabitants, held the 27th of April, they chose Timothy Ellis a delegate to meet the committee, at Exeter, and to sit, as a member, in the provincial congress, whenever they convene. He expressed his willingness to accept the office, but declared that he had not, and could not, in season, procure money enough to bear his expenses. The inhabitants, thereupon, voted, that he might draw from the treasury four pounds, lawful money.

Soon after the battle of Lexington, several Tories, among whom was Elijah Williams, Esq. left this vicinity, and joined the British, in Boston.

In the warrant calling a town meeting, on the 7th day of December, one of the articles was, "to see if it be the mind of the town, that the names of those persons, who buy, sell, or make use of bohea tea, be advertised in the public prints." At the meeting, held on the day appointed, this article passed in the negative; but a committee of inspection was appointed to see that the resolves of the Continental Congress be complied with. After dismissing two other articles, relating to the troubles of that period, the town unanimously adopted the following Resolves, which may be termed the Statute Law of Keene. And here it may be proper to state, that no judicial courts were held in the county, from 1774 to 1778.

"Whereas, by the unhappy disputes now subsisting between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, the laws of several of them have been entirely subverted, or wholly neglected, to the great detriment of society, and of individuals, whereby, many disorderly persons, taking undue advantage of the times, and taking upon them the name of liberty, as a cloak to put their revengeful designs in execution, do wickedly and maliciously threaten to abuse and destroy the persons and property

of many of the good and wholesome inhabitants of the land, and the Executive power being thrown by; and the Congresses, neither Continental or provincial, have, as yet, found out, or published, any method or system of government, for the security of our persons or property; and until such a system as they in their wisdom shall see fit, or some other, be proposed—

“ We, the inhabitants of the town of Keene, in the County of Cheshire, and province of New-Hampshire, legally convened, being desirous of order and good government, and for the security of our lives, persons, and property, do pass the following Resolves :

“ *1st.* It is resolved, that a committee of three good and steady men of the town, be chosen to act upon, and a proper officer appointed, to prosecute the Resolves hereafter mentioned.

“ *2d.* Whereas, profane cursing and swearing are highly provoking to Almighty God, and offensive to every true christian, which we fear, if not discountenanced, will provoke the Divine Majesty to bring heavy judgments upon us, and still heavier, deliver us up to the desire of our enemies; to prevent cursing and swearing, be it Resolved, that if any person, or persons, shall profanely curse or swear, and shall be thereof convicted, before the committee, by sufficient witnesses, or by confession of the party, every such offender shall forfeit, and pay to the committee, for the use of the poor of said town, a sum not exceeding three shillings, nor less than one; according to the repeatedness of the offence; and pay cost of prosecution, which cost shall be ascertained by the committee, before whom the person shall be convicted; and in case any person, convicted as aforesaid, shall refuse to pay the sum or sums, so forfeited and adjudged, he, she or they shall be immediately committed to the com-

mon goal, not exceeding ten days, nor less than three, for said forfeiture, and until he pay all just costs.

“ 3d. Whereas, it is highly necessary that every person, of able body, should betake himself to some honest calling, and not misspend their time, in loitering and tipping, in licensed houses, or elsewhere, in this town; to prevent which,

“ Be it resolved, that if any person or persons, fit and able to work, shall refuse so to do, but loiter and misspend his or their time, wander from place to place, or otherwise disorder themselves, by drinking or tipping in any of the licensed houses, or elsewhere, in this town, after nine o'clock at night, or continue in any of the aforesaid houses above the space of one hour, unless on necessary business, all such persons, being convicted of any of the aforesaid articles, before said committee, by sufficient witnesses, shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay to the said committee, for the use of the poor of said town, the sum of two shillings, and all just costs of trial, which shall be adjudged by said committee, and in case any person, convicted as aforesaid, shall refuse to pay the sum or sums, so forfeited and adjudged, he, or they, shall be committed to the common goal, there to remain not exceeding ten days, nor less than three days for said forfeiture, and until he pay all just costs.

“ 4th. Whereas, personal abuse tends to promote ill blood and discord among society, to prevent which, be it Resolved, that if any person or persons shall smite, or strike, or threaten to abuse, or destroy, the person or property of another, he or they, so offending, shall, for the first offence, pay to the said committee, for the use of the poor of said town, the sum of five shillings, and costs of prosecution, and double that sum for the second offence; and for the third, or any after offence, shall be imprisoned, or publicly whipt, according to the judg-

ment of the committee, before whom they are convicted ; and in case any person, being convicted as aforesaid, shall refuse to pay the sum or sums, so forfeited and adjudged, he or they shall be committed to the common goal, there to remain, not exceeding ten days, nor less than four, for said forfeiture, and until he pay all just costs.

“ *5th.* Further, be it Resolved, that if any person, or persons, shall presume to purchase, or bring into this town, any teas, of what sort soever, until the minds of the Congress, respecting that article, shall be fully known, shall, forthwith, deliver up such teas to one or more of the committee, to be stored by them and kept for the owner, until the minds of the Congress be known respecting that matter ; and in case any person shall refuse to deliver up said teas, the committee have power to imprison him until he does.

“ *6th.* And for the better execution of all and every the foregoing articles, it is resolved, that all and each of the said committee shall have full power and authority to bring before them any of the inhabitants of this town, or any person residing in said town, that shall offend in any of the foregoing resolves, and upon his or their own views, or other sufficient conviction of any such offence, to impose the fine and penalty for the same, and to commit the offender until it be satisfied.

“ *7th.* It is likewise Resolved, that the officer appointed shall have power and authority to carry any person, that shall be found trespassing in any of the foregoing particulars, before said committee for trial, and if need be, may command aid and assistance in discharging his trust ; and any person refusing to give aid or assistance, as aforesaid, he or they shall forfeit the sum of three shillings for every offence, and have their names inserted in the public Gazette, as unfriendly to good order.

“ And all masters and heads of families, in this town, are hereby directed to take effectual care that their children, servants, and others under their immediate government, do no trespass, in any of the foregoing particulars.”

“ Chose Thomas Baker, Eliphalet Briggs and Dan Guild, as a committee to judge, determine, and act upon said Resolves, and put them in execution, and chose Elijah Blake officer for the purpose mentioned in said Resolves.”

The town voted, 37 to 27, to give Mr. John Remele a call to settle as a minister. They offered him £133 6s. 8d. as a settlement, and 75 pounds as a salary. His reply was, “ that the town had offered generously enough for his support, but he could not think it his duty to settle in any place, where there was so much opposition.”

The population of Keene, this year, was 756.

1776.

The representatives of the General Assembly, having desired their constituents to nominate justices of the peace, the inhabitants, April 3d, “ voted, unanimously, that it is the mind of this town that Col. Isaac Wyman be appointed.”

August 2d, “ Capt. Eliphalet Briggs was chosen a delegate, to meet with other delegates, at Walpole, to consult and agree upon such methods as shall be thought necessary for the general good, and our mutual defence and safety.” This convention was called by order of a sub-committee of the several committees of safety in the county.

The small pox having been introduced into the town, hospitals had been erected, where such persons as chose to resort to them, were inoculated. This disease, it seems, had been spread by persons leaving the hospitals without being sufficiently cleansed; whereupon, at a town meeting, held September 27, eleven resolves were passed, prescribing strict regulations for the government of the

hospitals. Eliphalet Briggs, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a worthy citizen, and staunch whig, died of this disease, and was buried at the foot of the hill, on the road leading to Roxbury. In December, Jeremiah Stiles was chosen one of the committee of safety in his stead.

1777.

In the beginning of this year, Samuel Whitman preached as a candidate.

January 14, the town nominated Jeremiah Stiles as a justice of the peace. They also voted to raise sixteen pounds for ammunition.

The following memorandum is copied from the records of this year :

“ Whereas orders were sent from the court to the selectmen, desiring them to assist the commanding officers of the militia in the town, by causing a town meeting to be called, in order to raise men for the continental army during the war, in obedience to which, a legal meeting was warned, and the town met on the 31st of March, made several proposals for encouragement, and voted thirty pounds to each man, if a sufficient number would turn out, but as not any appeared, the meeting was dismissed and nothing voted, that was conclusive or valid.”

In May or June, a court, appointed by the committees of safety in the county, was held at Keene, before whom were brought the principal tories in the county, to be tried for their offences or opinions. It has not been ascertained who were members of this court, but Benjamin Giles, of Newport, and Col. Hammond, of Swanzey, were probably two. The tories were guarded by a body of men, of whom Mr. Floyd, of Walpole, was commander. The court sat nearly two weeks, before they came to any decision ; and it was supposed by some, at the time, that the object of this delay

was, that the violent whigs, by whom they were surrounded, might become weary and disperse, and leave them at liberty to give a more lenient judgment than was demanded. In the end, the court decided that the tories should be confined to their farms, and give bonds for their good behaviour.

At a town meeting, held June 11, a committee was chosen "to state the price of articles, labor, &c. as a late law directs." The town voted to pay to each man that has or shall enlist into the continental army, for the term of three years, or during the war, to make up the quota of this town, the sum of thirty pounds, exclusive of the bounty given by this State; and also to allow those that have done service in the war heretofore, in the same proportion as fifty-six pounds is for three years; and a committee was chosen to make an exact proportion of what every man had done in the war in time past, in order that an exact assessment may be made for the above said charge.

In December, in town meeting, Capt. Stiles, Capt. Howlet, and Jabez Fisher were successively chosen representative, and each declined accepting the office; Timothy Ellis was then chosen, and consented to serve. The town voted "to empower the representative to act in behalf of the town, in the choice of delegates to the continental congress. A similar vote was afterwards annually passed, from which it may be inferred, either that the town did not consider their representatives had authority, or that the latter were unwilling to take upon themselves the responsibility of acting in this behalf, without such a vote.

At the same meeting, the town "voted unanimously to give Mr. Aaron Hall, who has been preaching among us, a call to settle in the work of the gospel ministry in this town." They also voted to give him as a settlement £133 6s. 8d., and an annual salary of eighty pounds, both sums "to be

made equal in value to what the same sums were four years ago, when silver and gold were current among us."

The committee, chosen for the purpose, laid the proceedings of the town before Mr. Hall, who accepted the call. The ordination took place on the 18th of February, 1778. Mr. Hall was a beloved and popular minister to the time of his death, in 1814.

1778.

At a meeting, held January 17th, the inhabitants, "after reading and conferring upon the articles of confederation of the continental congress, voted that it is the minds of the town that they be established by this State."

"Voted further to instruct the representative to use his influence, in the General Assembly, that a free and full representation of every town in this State take place to a convention, to meet at such time and place as the General Assembly shall appoint," to form a plan of government for said State.

Chose Capt. Stiles, Maj. Ellis, and Capt. Griswold, delegates to meet at Surry, and consult with the delegates of the other towns.

April 27, Jeremiah Stiles was chosen a delegate to meet in the convention to be held at Concord for the purpose of forming a constitution and plan of government for the State.

It must be well remembered, by those at all acquainted with our history, that the territory now constituting the State of Vermont, was originally claimed by New-Hampshire; and that long before the revolution, the executive of this State granted many townships within its limits. It was subsequently claimed by New-York, the government of which in many instances made grants of the same townships. This produced an animated, and in some

instances a virulent contest, between those who claimed the same land under these conflicting grants; and between the officers appointed by the different States and their adherents. At a convention of delegates from most of the towns in this territory, then called the New-Hampshire Grants, held at Westminster, in 1777, it was declared an independent State, by the name of Vermont.-- Against this proceeding, New-York protested, and brought the subject before the Continental Congress. In June, 1778, sixteen towns, lying on Connecticut river, in New-Hampshire, were, at their request, made to the legislature of Vermont, admitted a part of the new State; and, in October, proposals were made to New-Hampshire, that all the towns lying west of the Masonian or curve line, should also be admitted to a union. With subsequent proceedings of the Vermont legislature, not only these sixteen towns, but most of the towns lying on the west bank of the river were dissatisfied, and the project was started of so extending the acknowledged boundaries of New-Hampshire as to embrace the dissatisfied towns in Vermont. And many were in favor of erecting a new State, to be composed of the western half of New-Hampshire, and the eastern half of Vermont. To determine on the course to be pursued, a convention of delegates from the towns on both sides of the river was appointed, to be held at Cornish, on the 19th of December. In the warrant calling a town meeting to be held at Keene, Dec. 7th, an article was inserted, "to see if it be the mind of the town to choose a delegate to meet at Cornish, to take into consideration matters relating to the State of Vermont." At the meeting, this article was dismissed.

1779.

At a meeting, held March 2d, the town voted "that the selectmen be a committee to give the representative instructions to use his influence that the delegates from this State to the Continental Congress lay claim to the New-Hampshire grants, so called, provided that Congress will not confirm the same into a new State."

In this year, Capt. Mack, of Gilsum, probably incited by some of the zealous whigs in Keene, collected a party with a view of apprehending several tories, who resided here, and who were suspected of furnishing the enemy with provisions. On the evening of the 30th of May,* they assembled at Pattridge's tavern, near Wright's mills, on the road to Surry. In the night, Mack sent forward several men, with directions to place themselves separately at the doors of those houses where the tories resided, and prevent their escape. At sunrise he rode into Keene, at the head of his party, with a drawn sword; and when he came to the house of a tory, he ordered the sentinel, standing at the door, to "turn out the prisoner." The prisoner being brought out, and placed in the midst of his party, he proceeded onward. Having gone through the street, collected all of them, and searched their cellars for provisions, of which he found little, he returned to the tavern of Mr. Hale, situated where Dr. Twitchell's house now stands, and confined them in a chamber.

But when he first made his appearance, information was sent to Mr. Howlet, who then commanded the militia, of the commotion in the village.

* The first lines of a song, remembered by an aged citizen, fixes the day when this party visited Keene.

" Upon the thirty-first of May,
" Appear'd in Keene, at break of day,
" A mob both bold and stout."

Those who lived in these times, well remember that the muses were not silent amid the din of arms.

He instantly sent expresses to warn his company to appear forthwith in the street, with their arms and ammunition. About noon, they assembled, were paraded before the tavern, and ordered to load their muskets with powder and ball. Col. Ellis, a firm patriot, and frequently the representative of the town, came also. He asked Capt. Mack if he intended to pursue his object? I do, replied he, at the hazard of my life. Then, said Ellis, emphatically, you must prepare for eternity, for the people of Keene will not permit you to pursue this irregular mode of wreaking vengeance on any men, even if they are tories. Hearing this resolute speech, and perceiving the militia prepared to resist them, the followers of Mack were intimidated, and, one by one, deserted him. Finding himself alone, he went off himself, and the tories left their confinement.

At a meeting, held July 7, the town chose a committee to hire and agree with five men to serve in the continental army, on the best terms they can; and the same committee were empowered to hire two men for the Rhode-Island service, at the town's charge.

Sept. 7, the town, "after hearing the plan of government, lately formed by the convention at Concord, read, and the several articles therein debated, voted unanimously to reject the same, for the following reason, viz. :—That the mode of representation is not agreeable to the sentiments of the town."

"Voted, further to instruct our delegate to use his influence,) if the convention proceed to amendments,) that the mode of representation be as follows :—That every town, consisting of one hundred families, shall be entitled to send a representative; that larger towns send one for each hundred families, and smaller towns be classed together

so as to send one for each hundred families, and the whole to be paid out of the public chest."

At the same meeting, the following preamble and vote passed :—"Whereas the selectmen of Portsmouth sent an address to this and the rest of the towns in this State, desiring their presence and assistance, by their delegates, to meet at Concord, in convention, to see if they can come into some agreement to state the price of the several articles bought and sold in this State ; therefore, voted, that Capt. Jeremiah Stiles attend said convention, as a delegate from this town."

Oct. 20, the town voted to raise three hundred and thirty pounds for paying the charge of raising men for the defence of the State of Rhode-Island, and the sum of £431 for the charge of raising men for the continental service.

1780.

March 7, the town voted, "that the singing in public worship be performed without reading line by line as they sing."

In the warrant calling a town meeting, to be held July 20, the following article was inserted :—"Whereas, by an act of the General Assembly of this State, each town is obliged to provide monthly a quantity of beef for the use of the continental army, for the space of five months ; therefore, to see what method the town will take to procure said quantity of beef." At the meeting, the town voted "to raise 11,309 pounds of beef ; each person to have liberty to pay his equal proportion thereof in beef. or to pay so much money in lieu thereof as he was taxed in the last State and continental tax."

In a warrant calling a town meeting, is the following recital : "Whereas the selectmen have received letters from some of the principal gentlemen in this county, who think it advisable, in this

critical juncture, that a county convention of delegates from the several towns, be called, to meet at Walpole, the 15th of November, to consult on matters relating to the jurisdiction of the New-Hampshire Grants ;"—and then a meeting is warned to choose one or more persons to represent the town in said convention. At the meeting, held Nov. 13, pursuant to the warrant, Daniel Newcomb and John Houghton were chosen delegates.

The following proceedings of this convention are extracted from the "Vermont State Papers," an interesting volume lately published by the authority of that state.

"At a Convention of Delegates from the several towns in the County of Cheshire, in the State of New-Hampshire, held at Walpole, in said County, on the 15th day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

VOTED, That Dr. Page, Col. Hunt, Capt. Holmes, Daniel Jones, Esq. and Col. Bellows, be a committee to confer with gentlemen from any parts of the territory, called the New-Hampshire grants, concerning the jurisdiction of the said grants, and to consider what is proper to be done by the inhabitants thereof, relative to their jurisdiction ; that the same may be ascertained and established. Which committee, after due enquiry and consideration, report as follows, viz. The committee appointed by the convention, held at Walpole, November 15th, 1780, do report, that we have conferred with the several gentlemen present, who were committees from the different parts of the territory, called the New-Hampshire grants, viz Cumberland, Gloucester and Grafton counties, and do find, that many matters lately agitated, with respect to the jurisdiction of the New-Hampshire grants, render a union of the inhabitants of that territory indispensably necessary. The said inhabitants received the grants of their lands from the same jurisdiction, and settled them while a union was extant ; which was an implicit engagement of authority, that it should be continued. But we were unjustly deprived of the advantages resulting from it, in the year 1764, by an arbitrary decree of Great Britain, to which we never acceded ; which decree, however, cannot be esteemed efficacious, since the declaration of independence ; it being one of those iniquitous measures, by which they were attempting to oppress the colonies ; and for which we have since thrown off subjection. This being the case, the union re-exists. And shall we throw it off ? God forbid. The situation of the territory aforesaid, by reason of

their being a frontier, as well as many other matters, which are obvious, respecting commerce and transactions of a public nature, makes it expedient that they be united in all their interests, in order to make their efforts, in that quarter, against the common enemy, more vigorous and efficacious. In respect to government, great disadvantages may arise by a division. In that case, delinquents may easily evade the operation of justice, by passing from one state to another, and thereby be induced more readily to practice iniquity in that part where the body of inhabitants, and the principal traffick, centre. And we imagine that a union of public interests, is the only means by which the contentions and animosities, now subsisting among the inhabitants of the territory aforesaid, can be brought to a happy issue; for, so long as the course of justice is in different channels, where people are so nearly allied, disturbances will arise. From authentic information, we cannot but apprehend, that the state of New-Hampshire is greatly remiss, if not grossly negligent (to call it by no harsher name) in trusting affairs of such great importance as the settlement of their western boundary, to a committee, some of whom, we conceive, would risk the loss of half the state, rather than New-Hampshire should extend their claim west of Connecticut river. And, from the best authority that can be obtained, it appears that the agent of the state aforesaid, is endeavoring to confirm a division of the grants, contrary to their true interests; which has given the people, on the grants, just occasion to rouse and exert themselves in support of an union of the whole. We, therefore, earnestly recommend, as the only means to obtain an union, preserve peace, harmony, and brotherly love, and the interest of the community in general, that a convention be called from every town within the said grants, to be held at Charlestown, on the third Tuesday of January next, at one of the clock, in the afternoon; and that one or more members be appointed from each town, with proper instructions to unite in such measures as the majority shall judge most conducive to consolidate an union of the grants, and effect a final settlement of the line of jurisdiction.

B. BELLOWS,	} Committee.
S. HUNT,	
D. JONES,	
L. HOLMES,	
W. PAGE,	

In Convention, at Walpole, November 16, 1780.

The above report being repeatedly read,—Voted,

That it be accepted; and a sufficient number of copies be printed and transmitted to the several towns on the New-Hampshire grants, on both sides of Connecticut river, for their notice,

to appoint one or more members to attend the said general convention ; which shall be deemed a sufficient notification.

By order of the Convention,

BENJAMIN BELLOWS, *Chairman.*

A true Copy—Attest, DANIEL NEWCOMB, *Clerk.*"

At a meeting, held Dec. 11, the town "chose Timothy Ellis and Daniel Newcomb delegates to represent this town in the convention to be holden at Charlestown, the third Tuesday in January next, to act relating to the jurisdiction of the New-Hampshire Grants ;" and they voted "to instruct the delegates to come into a union with said grants, in case they (the said grants) be annexed to the state of New-Hampshire, and not otherwise."

1781.

The convention was held at Charlestown, on the day appointed, and was attended by delegates from forty-three towns. A majority voted in favor of uniting with the state of Vermont.

On the 24th of January, the selectmen, reciting that, "by a late act of the General Assembly, each town is obliged to furnish their quota of men for the continental army as soon as possible," called a meeting to be held February 7, "to see what method the town will take to raise their quota."

At the meeting, thus called, the following votes were passed :

Voted, to choose a committee to make an average of what service each man has done heretofore, as to hiring men or going personally into the service of the United States.

Upon further consultation and consideration, voted to postpone the average to some future time ; and

Voted, to divide the rateable inhabitants of the town into twelve equal classes, and each class to procure a man to serve in the continental army the space of three years, or during the war, upon their own charge, as soon as may be.

And a committee was chosen to divide the town into classes, and proceed as is directed in the aforesaid act.

At a meeting, held March 26, the town voted not to unite with the New-Hampshire Grants, on the west side of Connecticut river, 58 being against, and 29 in favor of the union. The town stood almost alone in this vote; Hinsdale, Walpole, Surry, Gilsum, Alstead, Charlestown, Acworth, Lempster, Wendell, Claremont, Newport, Cornish, Croydon, Plainfield, Grantham, Marlow, Richmond, Chesterfield, and Westmoreland voting in favor of the union.

By virtue of a precept from the General Assembly, a town meeting was called, and held on the 30th day of May, at which Daniel Newcomb was chosen a delegate to a convention, to be held at Concord on the first Tuesday of June, for the purpose of forming a plan of government.

At the same meeting, the town voted, that Thomas Baker stand in nomination for a justice of the peace, in order to be put in said office by the General Assembly.

At a meeting, held December 11, the plan of government, which had been agreed on by the convention at Concord, was laid before the town. "After hearing it read, and consulting upon the same," Josiah Richardson, William Banks, Ichabod Fisher, Major Howlet, and Daniel Newcomb were chosen a committee "to make such remarks upon it, in writing, as they think agreeable to the town," and make report at a future meeting.

At a meeting subsequently holden, this committee reported, that "it appears to them that the following paragraph in said form of government, viz. "and to prevent an undue influence in this state, which the first magistrate thereof may acquire by

the long possession of that important office, as also to stimulate others to qualify themselves for the service of the public in the highest station, no man shall be eligible, as governor of this state, more than three years in any seven," is inconsistent with the rights of the people of New-Hampshire, as declared in the eleventh article, in the first part of said constitution; and that when a person hath governed the state three years faithfully, and successfully, his fidelity and experience ought rather to recommend him as a proper person to be elected governor the next year, than to disqualify him from governing within four years. The committee, therefore, report, as their opinion, that the foregoing paragraph of the said constitution ought to be expunged therefrom, and that the inhabitants of this town ought then to approve and accept of said constitution, without any further alteration or amendment; and rather than said constitution should be rejected by reason of the foregoing objection thereto, or be again sent for the examination of the people, the committee are of opinion that the said constitution ought to be approved, accepted and established as it now stands."

This report was unanimously accepted, thirty-two voting in favor of it, and none against it.

1782.

The town, March 5, voted a premium of 40 shillings, to be paid to any inhabitant of the town, for killing a grown wolf, and 20 shillings for killing a wolf's whelp, in this or any circumjacent town.

At a meeting, held April 16, the town voted to choose a committee to make an account of the service each man has done in the present war, and make an average, so that each man may have credit for what he has already done; and also to divide or class the inhabitants into twelve equal classes, (credit for what each man has done to be given

him,) and each class to provide, or hire, a man for the space of three years, or during the war, upon their own cost; said classes to be so made, that each pay equal taxes.

A vote was also passed to reconsider a former vote of the town, on the plan of government, and take the same into further consideration; and a committee was chosen to propose amendments.

At an adjourned meeting, "the committee on the constitution," recommended the following amendments, which were adopted, 53 yeas, 3 nays:

1st. That an exception be subjoined to the 17th article in the bill of rights, in the following words, viz. "except in cases where it shall appear that an impartial trial cannot be had in such county, and the Legislature shall, by act, order the trial to be in some adjacent county."

2d. That the 23d article, in the bill of rights, be expunged, and the following article be substituted: "Retrospective laws are, in most cases, oppressive and unjust, and ought not to be made for the decision of civil cases, or the punishment of offenders, unless in cases of persons absconding and going over to the enemy, as at the late revolution, where the laws prior to the offence were imperfect."

3d. As to the mode of representation, let it be as mentioned in the constitution, in all respects, excepting the following amendments, viz. that fifty members for the House of Representatives be the present number; and the county of Rockingham having their equal proportion according to the number of ratable polls; said number in that county not to increase or diminish; and the other counties as they increase in number of ratable polls, to increase in number of Representatives, until they arrive to as great a number as the county of Rockingham; and that the delegates, at their first meeting, divide the counties into districts, and then

the delegates of each district, by themselves, vote for a representative for their own district, out of their own body; and after each district is set off, the delegates to meet for the future in some convenient place, in their own district, and annually elect a member for said district.

4th. That all persons who have now a right by law to be voters in town affairs, be considered as qualified for electors of Governor, Senators, or any other officer, to be chosen by the people at large, as mentioned in the constitution, and that those who are elected have the same qualifications mentioned in the constitution.

5th. That the Governor be prohibited from erecting permanent fortifications without the advice of counsel; and from demolishing such as have been, or may be, constructed by order of the Legislature, or advice of council, without their assent.

6th. That annual elections are a sufficient security against every abuse of power; such parts of the constitution as limits the number of years for which a person shall be eligible to any office, be expunged from the constitution.

The votes of this and of the other towns were transmitted to the state convention, which held an adjourned meeting in the summer of this year. By them a new draft was prepared, which was also submitted to the people. On the fifth of November, the town of Keene voted unanimously "to receive the bill of rights as it now stands." A vote was also passed not to receive the other part of the constitution, except there be some amendments. And a committee was chosen to propose amendments.

At an adjourned meeting, the town voted to accept the constitution with the amendments proposed, which were as follows:

1. That the mode pointed out in said constitution for discharging the wages of the Representatives by the towns, will have a tendency to lessen the number, and by that means produce an injury to the State; they, therefore, think it advisable that each Representative be paid, not only for his travel, but also his wages, from the Treasury of the State.

2. That the General Court appoint all Judicial officers, instead of their being appointed by the Governor and Council, and that the Governor, of course, commission them.

The disputes, which originated in the claim of the inhabitants of Vermont to be acknowledged as a separate State, still continued to disturb the repose of the county. The new State had commissioned civil and military officers on this side of Connecticut river, between whom, and the officers commissioned by New-Hampshire, contests sometimes arose, which the militia were once called out to terminate. In September, when the inferior court, acting under the authority of New-Hampshire, assembled at Keene, a mob, headed by Samuel Davis, of Chesterfield, and composed of persons favorable to a union with Vermont, assembled also for the purpose of preventing the court from transacting business. As disturbances were expected, a large number of the opposite party came into the village. At the opening of the Court, Davis, followed by his party, entered the Court house, went up to the clerk, laid his hand upon the docket, and declared it should not be opened. At this moment, a Mr. Fairbanks, of Swanzey, addressed the Court, praying them to adjourn for an hour, that the people present might assemble on the common, and the strength of both parties be ascertained. The Court adjourned; the two parties paraded separately, Davis at the head of one, and Fairbanks, of

the other. The former being much the smallest, their courage failed, and the Court proceeded in their business without further molestation.

Davis and several others were arrested, by a warrant from the Court, and gave bonds to appear at the next term of the Superior Court, and to keep the peace. He then went out, and addressed his followers, advising them to be cool and orderly, as the most likely mode of obtaining their object. When the Superior Court assembled, an attempt was also made to prevent it from proceeding to business, which entirely failed. Davis and two others were indicted, "for that they, with others, committed an assault upon the Justices of the Inferior Court and their clerk, and compelled them to desist from executing the lawful business thereof." They pleaded guilty, and threw themselves upon the mercy of the Court, who, "having taken matters into consideration, forgave them, and ordered them to be discharged." At the same term, Robert Wier was indicted, for that he at said time, at Keene, to encourage the rioters, did openly and publickly, with a loud voice, in the English language, speak the following words, viz. "Col. Ashby (meaning the first Justice of said Inferior Court) is for arbitrary power, and arbitrary power he shall have; damn the Court, and their authority." He also pleaded guilty, was forgiven and discharged.

1783.

At a town meeting, held June 19, the town "voted unanimously that the Representative be instructed to use his influence, that all who have absented themselves from any of the United States of America, and joined with, or put themselves under the protection of, the enemies of the United States, be utterly debarred from residing within this State." This vote was passed at the request of the Representative, Daniel Kingsbury, to be instructed on the subject.

The Continental Congress having proposed and recommended such an alteration in the eighth article of the Confederation, as to make the population of the several States, instead of the value of the granted land therein, the rule for the apportionment of national taxes, the town, September 2, voted to accept of the alteration of said article, as recommended by the Continental Congress.

In the warrant calling a town meeting, to be held October 17, is found the following article: "To choose a suitable person to represent the town at a convention, to be holden at Peterborough, the 23d instant, to consult upon matters of public grievance, viz. a multiplicity of lawsuits, pensioning the officers of the army, and many others not named, in order to take some suitable measures for the redress of said grievances." At the meeting, held on the day appointed, Maj. Davis Howlet was elected, and a committee was appointed to give him instructions. These instructions were as follows: "That the said delegate use his influence, in convention, that the following matters of grievance be laid before the General Court: distress by law-suits; that all sorts of neat cattle and grain be made a lawful tender for the payment of debts, (in case of suits only,) the same to be appraised by judicious men under oath; to regulate the fee table, especially attorneys' fees, that they may not draw pay for the travel and attendance of their clients in court, except in cases where it is necessary for clients to attend; that the officers of the continental army be not allowed five years pay; that State securities be made a lawful tender in case of suit."

At an adjourned meeting, the doings of this convention were read, but "the town, not fully agreeing to approve thereof, voted to dismiss the meeting."

1784.

The treaty of peace with Great-Britain having secured to the tories the privilege of returning to this country, to collect their debts and settle their affairs, Elijah Williams, Esq. came to Keene, for that purpose, in the beginning of this year. His appearance here so exasperated the zealous whigs, that they seized him and carried him before Thomas Baker, Esq. a Justice of the peace. What were the charges against him, or whether any charges were exhibited, has not been ascertained. The Justice, perhaps with a view to protect him from outrage, ordered him to recognize for his appearance at the Court of Sessions, to be held at Charlestown, in April, and committed him to the custody of the sheriff. With this, the populace were not satisfied, and they discovered an intention of assaulting and beating him; but he was surrounded and guarded to his lodgings by the old and the young men who happened to be present.

The animosity of the whigs, aggravated probably by the arts of those who were indebted to him, was, however, so great that they determined he should not thus escape their vengeance. On the day before that appointed for the sitting of the Court, a party concealed themselves in the pines near Fisher brook, intending, when he passed with the sheriff, to get him into their power. The sheriff passed without him, relying upon the promise he had made to appear at Court the next day. This circumstance excited their suspicions; they came immediately into the street, seized Williams at his lodgings, and, placing him in the midst of them, repaired to a tavern in Ash Swamp. When he arrived there, two bundles of black-birch rods were produced, from which it appeared that a place had been concerted to compel him to run the gauntlet, with the view, probably, of inducing him, by

such harsh treatment, again to leave the country. But by this time, a large number of considerate citizens had assembled and arrived at the tavern. A proposition was made, that the whole subject should be referred to a committee. A committee was appointed; their report was too favorable to Williams, to suit the majority, and was rejected. Another committee was appointed, who reported that he should leave the town the next day, and leave the state the next week. This report was agreed to; but the minority, still dissatisfied, privately sent out messengers, to collect more of their friends. This being communicated to those who were disposed to protect Williams, they advised him to retire immediately. An attempt was made to prevent him from mounting a horse, which had been offered him by a friend. A conflict ensued, in which the horse was overthrown, and several persons were knocked down with clubs. He at length, however, mounted, with the assistance of his friends, and rode through the crowd, which continued to oppose him.

The next day, he repaired to Charlestown, and presented himself to the Court, which, thereupon, passed the following order: "that Elijah Williams, Esq. now in the keeping of Isaac Griswold, by virtue of a mittimus from Thomas Baker, Esq., continue in the custody of the said Isaac, until he shall have transacted the business upon which he came into this part of the country, and then be permitted to leave this State, upon his good behaviour, without further molestation." After settling his affairs, Williams repaired to Nova-Scotia. Shortly after, in consequence of ill health, he returned to Deerfield, his native town, died, and was buried by the side of his ancestors.

1786.

At a meeting, held January 12, the town chose a committee to take an account of all the services done by the town during the late war, that the same may be sent to the committee of claims in said State.

1788.

January 7th, the town chose the Rev. Aaron Hall a delegate to sit in convention, to be held at Exeter, "for the full and free investigation, discussion, and decision upon, the proceedings of the Federal Convention," which framed the constitution of the United States. After a short session, the Exeter convention, on the 23d of February, adjourned to the 21st of June.

February 8th, the town "voted, that they will not, at present, shew their minds whether they will accept or refuse the new constitution."

1790.

The number of inhabitants this year was 1314.

After this period, but few, if any, events have occurred, which would be interesting or instructive. The adoption of the National and State constitutions, and the regular administration of the laws, have calmed the agitations which once were too common, and compelled the restless and discontented to engage in the quiet occupations of productive industry. Society has improved, the town has prospered, and now presents one of the fairest evidences of the benign effects of a regular government and of free institutions.

To the Publishing Committee of the 2d Vol. of Collections.

GENTLEMEN,

The Committee of Publication for the first volume of the Collections of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, in publishing the ancient deeds from Wehangnonaway and others to Rev. John Wheelwright and others, page 147, were unable to determine from the deeds themselves, whether they were authentic or spurious, or whether they were copies or originals. Having now the means of establishing their authenticity, I need offer no apology for this note. William Gibbs, Esq. of Salem, Massachusetts, has lately communicated to me the testimony of Rev. John Wheelwright and Edward Colcord, two of the original grantees named in the deed, respecting the grant they obtained from the Indians when they "first sat down at Exeter" in 1638. This testimony is of undoubted authority, being copied from a paper filed in the records of the ancient Norfolk County Court, and attested by the recorder, and proves conclusively that a purchase from the Indians, similar to the one expressed in the deeds, was actually made, and I think there can be little or no doubt that the deeds, from which the copies in our Collections were printed, are the originals. The purchase appears to be the same mentioned by Governor Winthrop, sub anno, 1638, which first led the Hon. James Savage, of Boston, to detect and expose the forgery of the famous "Wheelwright deed" of 1629. If Mr. Savage had not fully proved the forgery, and completely settled the controversy which has been agitated, the following testimony would do it.

I am respectfully, Yours,

JOHN FARMER.

Messrs. *Bartlett, Plumer & Moore.*

Testimony of Rev. John Wheelwright.

“ I John Wheelwright, pastor of the church of Salisbury, doe testify that when I, with others, first came to sit downe at Exeter, we purchased of the Indians, to whom (so far as we could learne) the right did belong, a certen Tract of land about thirty miles square, to run from Merimack river Eastward, and so up into the Country, of wch. lands we had a graunt in writing signed by the[m.]

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT.”

April 15, 1668.

Edward Colcord's Testimony.

“ Mr. Edward Colcord testifieth to all above written, and further saith that one northerly bound mentioned in our agreemt. with Wehahnonowet, the chiefe Sagamore was, the westerly part of Oyster River, called by the Indians Shankhassick, wch. is about foure miles northerly beyond Lampereele River.

“ We the abovesaid witnesses doe further testefy yt. they of the town of Exeter, did dispose of and possesse divers parcels of land about Lamprel River by virtuee of sd. Indian Right before such time as it was actually taken in by the Jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, without interruption of Dover, or any other.”

Rev. Samuel Dudley's Testimony.

“ Mr. Samuel Dudly doth testifie that he did see the argreemt. in writing betweene the towne of Exeter and the Sagamores for that land wch. is above mentioned, and the said Sagamores' hands to the same.”

“ Sworn before the Court ye 14th : 2d mo : 1668.

THOMAS BRADBURY, *Rec.*”

Note. Sameb, one of the Indian witnesses, 2d deed, p 149, ought to have been James, and Edward Colcord should have been Edward Colcord.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.



[The following interesting papers, relating to the War of Independence, are copied from the originals on file in the Office of the Secretary of State of New-Hampshire.]

Circular Letter from President Hancock to the Assembly of New-Hampshire.

Baltimore, January 31, 1777.

Gentlemen,—

As there is not a more distinguished event in the history of America, than the declaration of her Independence; nor any, that, in all probability, will so much excite the attention of future ages, it is highly proper that the memory of that transaction, together with the causes that gave rise to it, should be preserved in the most careful manner that can be devised.

I am, therefore, commanded by Congress to transmit you the enclosed copy of the act of Independence, with the list of the several members of Congress subscribed thereto, and to request that you will cause the same to be put upon record, that it may, henceforth, form a part of the archives of your state, and remain a lasting testimony of your approbation of that necessary and important measure. I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presidt.*

*Honourable Assembly of the
State of New-Hampshire.*

*Letter from M. Hillegas to President Weare.**Philadelphia, August 20, 1781.*

Sir,—The importance of preserving the history of the present revolution, and transmitting authentic records to posterity is evident, and ought doubtless to be attended to, while we have the means of doing it in our power. Sensible of this, the assembly of this state have lately ordered that all the proceedings of the *public bodies* (*committees and conventions*;) from the commencement of the present contest, until the organization of government amongst us be collected and published; whereby the different steps taken to *secure our liberty* and establish our *independence* will be clearly seen, and the chain of our history completed. It was with difficulty some of the minutes of committees could be collected, notwithstanding their transactions were of so recent a date, which I apprehend evinces the necessity of attending to this matter immediately, as the loss of any such papers must occasion a chasm in the history.

I beg leave therefore to suggest to your Excellency the propriety of each legislature in the Union adopting measures similar to those taken by this state for the above purpose; and should your Excellency view the matter in the same light that I do, I have no doubt of its being communicated, and warmly recommended to the House of Representatives of your state.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

M. HILLEGAS.

His Excellency Meshech Weare, Esqr.

President of the State of New-Hampshire.

Letter from Rev. Eleazar Wheelock to the Provincial Congress, at Exeter.

Dartmouth College, June 28, 1775.

Much respected gentlemen,—Yesterday Mr. Dean returned from his tour to Canada, where I sent him in the capacity of a Missionary last March, with a view to strengthen and perpetuate that friendship which has lately commenced between the Indian tribes in that quarter, and this seminary—attach them to these colonies, and secure these frontiers from an invasion from that quarter. And on hearing his narrative, the intelligence appeared so interesting, and the authority so good, that I thought best to send him forward immediately to the Honorable Continental Congress, whose measures I thought would probably be governed in some important respects by his accounts.

The tribes of Indians near Montreal and Quebec, are doubtless well affected towards these colonies and the cause we are engaged in. But about forty savages from a great distance came into Montreal with a profession of coming to a congress or treaty, he understood at the desire of the Governor, who ordered the commissary to make provision for the entertainment of three hundred more, by which he supposed that number was expected soon. The neighboring tribes will none of them join with the Governor, excepting that the Caghnawagas, to save themselves from being destroyed, have engaged to assist in defending him at Montreal, but to go no further, and gave the fullest confidence that this concession was only for self-preservation; and Mr. Dean, is confident that the governor can't persuade an Indian there so much as to conduct those foreigners through the woods to our settlements. He further informs that the inhabitants of Canada were much alarmed at our people's taking the forts on the

lake, and that upon it they, the regulars, exerted themselves much in preparing themselves for an attack from our soldiers, and that this appeared to be their grand object when he left the place. But my son who comes on purpose can give you a more full and particular account of this, and the present state of Oswego. And I would humbly propose to your consideration, gentlemen, whether it be not expedient, and of the first and greatest importance to the safety of the whole, that all those frontier towns be well and speedily supplied with fire-arms and ammunition, and, as much as they can, put themselves into a posture of defence. And that in order hereto, some method to procure such stores be pointed out to them by the Honorable Congress, and also, some means be provided, to make it practicable by such as are poor, and unable to purchase for themselves.

I most heartily pray the Father of Lights to direct you in your consultations and determinations on this most interesting affair; and am, much respected gentlemen,

Your most obedient
and very humble servant,
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

P. S. My Son can inform you of the measures used by the Canadian Indians, to engage all their allies not to join against us.

Since I wrote the foregoing letter, I have seen a man direct from Albany, and late from Mount Johnson, who informs me that Col. G. Johnson, has lately received presents to the amount of £3,000, from the King, to be disposed of to engage the Indians, within his jurisdiction against the colonies, and that all his endeavors for that purpose have been fruitless, that not one of the Indians would go to receive the presents; that said superintendant is

withdrawn with his family and presents by the way of Oswego, but where he is going is not known; that the Mohawks and Oneidas are firm for the colonies, which also agrees with other accounts.

Letter from the Committee of Safety, in Massachusetts, to the Provincial Congress of New-Hampshire.

Cambridge, April 22, 1775.

Gentlemen,

On Wednesday, the 19th inst., early in the morning a brigade of General Gage's army marched into the country, to Lexington, about thirteen miles from Boston, where they met with a small party of our militia, exercising, who had no intention of doing injury to the regulars, but they fired upon our men without any provocation, killed eight of them, and wounded two others; then they marched to Concord, where they destroyed part of our magazines and stores; however, our people collected as soon as possible, and repulsed the troops, pursuing them quite down to Charlestown, where they encamped on a place called Bunker's Hill. The first division, which consisted of about one thousand men, went to Concord; and the second division, about the same number, who took the same route, and supported the first division as well as they could, but all were obliged to retire. Our loss is supposed between twenty and thirty killed, and a few wounded; their loss is much larger. As the troops have now begun hostilities, we think it our duty to exert our utmost strength to save our country from absolute slavery, and we pray you to afford us all the assistance in your power, and we shall be glad that our brethren who may come to

our aid, may be supplied with all necessary provisions and military stores, as we have no more of either than what is absolutely necessary for ourselves; we pray God to direct you to such measures as shall tend to the salvation of our common liberties. We are, gentlemen, with great respect, your distressed friends and brethren.

By order of the committee of safety.

J. PALMER.

To the Hon. John Wentworth, Esq. Chairman of the Provincial Congress of New-Hampshire. Pr. favor of Mr. John Griffin.

Letter from Col. John Stark to the Provincial Congress.

Medford, June 19, 1775.

Sir,—I embrace this opportunity, by Colonel Holland, to give you some particular information of an engagement in battle, which happened on the 17th inst., between the British troops and the Americans. On the 16th, at evening, a detachment* of the Massachusetts Forces marched, by the general's order, to make an intrenchment on a hill in Charlestown, called Charlestown Hill, near Boston, where they intrenched that night without interruption; but were attacked on the 17th, in the morning, by the shipping in Charlestown river and batteries in Boston, very warmly; upon which I was required by the General to send a party consisting of two hundred men, with officers, to their assistance; which order I readily obeyed, and appointed and sent colonel Wyman, commander of the same: and about two o'clock in the afternoon, express or-

* About two thousand five hundred.

ders came for the whole of my regiment to proceed to Charlestown, to oppose the enemy who were landing on Charlestown point. Accordingly, we proceeded, and the battle soon came on, in which a number of officers belonging to my regiment were killed, and many privates killed and wounded.

The officers who suffered were major M'Clary, by a cannon ball, capt. Baldwin and lieut. Scott, by small arms.

The whole number, including officers, who were killed and missing,

15

Those who were wounded,

45

Killed, wounded and missing,

60

By col. Reed's desire, I transmit the account of the sufferers in his regiment who were in battle.

Killed,

3

Wounded,

29

Missing,

1

In both regiments are

93

But we remain in good spirits as yet, being well satisfied that where we have lost one, they have lost three. I would take it as a favour, if the committee of safety would immediately recommend to the several towns and parishes in the province of New-Hampshire, the necessity of their stopping, and sending back all the soldiers (belonging to the New-Hampshire forces, stationed at Medford,) that they may find from the army, not having a furlough from the commanding officer.

I am, sir, with great respect,

your's and the country's, to

serve in the common cause,

JOHN STARK.

To the Hon. Matthew Thornton, Esq.,
at Exeter.

*Letter from Gen. Folsom to the Committee of Safety in New-Hampshire.**Medford, June 22, 1775.*

Gentlemen,—I arrived here Tuesday morning, and immediately waited on the Capt. General, who chose to fix the New-Hampshire troops in this quarter, and Winter Hill. Yesterday was taken up in providing barracks for the companies just come in.

I am informed our troops behaved gallantly in the late engagement. The continent has sustained a heavy loss in Dr. Joseph Warren, who is missing, and it is said, was killed in the trench beyond Bunker Hill. Maj. M'Clary was killed by an accidental shot from one of the ships, sometime after our people had made their retreat. The whole loss, sustained by the Provincials, is about seventy-five killed and taken; about one hundred and twenty-five wounded; about twenty-five of them mortally. I enclose you an account of loss sustained by Col. Reed's regiment, and request that the sufferers may be immediately supplied with their necessary clothing, &c. Col. Stark was requested to make a like return of his regiment, but he has not yet done it. He tells me, he had fifteen men killed, and forty-five wounded. I shall send as many of Col. Poor's regiment, on duty, to Winter Hill, this morning, as intrenching tools can be found for. There is great scarcity of those things here. It is highly necessary our troops should have their tents as soon as possible. They have no shelter from the rain on Winter Hill. What tents are finished, if but few, should be sent forward immediately, with as many spades, shovels and pick-axes as can be got in readiness, and some bullets and flints. I can get no regular account of the loss the King's troops sustained. One Mr. Bradford writes to Col. Lincoln from Hingham, the 19th inst. He says, "yesterday

I came out of Boston, at 2 o'clock, A. M. I heard the officers and soldiers say, that they were sure that they had a thousand or more killed and wounded; that they were carrying the wounded men from 4 o'clock Saturday, till I came away. Gen. Howe commanded the troops. They buried their dead at Charlestown. Among their dead was Maj. Pitcairn; a great many other officers are dead. There were five thousand soldiers went from Boston. The soldiers and officers exult very much upon taking our lines."

A messenger I sent to head quarters for intrenching tools is just returned, and informs me he cannot get one; therefore, must farther urge the necessity of forwarding them immediately.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

NATH'L FOLSOM.

*To the Committee of Safety
at Exeter.*

P. S. According to your direction, I enquired at head quarters the rank of the general officers, and inform you that Mr. Ward is Capt. General, Mr. Thomas, Lieut. General, and the other Generals are Major Generals. I am farther informed by Major Osgood that the Congress have voted, in addition to the above, a Brigadier General to each battalion.

A PROCLAMATION,

*By Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, commanding an
army and fleet of Great-Britain against the re-
volted provinces in America.*

To the inhabitants of Castleton, Hubberton, Rutland, Tinmouth, Powlet, Wells, Granville, with the neighboring districts; also the districts bordering on White Creek, Cambden, Cambridge, &c.

You are hereby directed to send from your several townships, deputies, consisting of ten persons or more from each township, to meet Col. Skeene, at Castleton, on Monday, July 15, at 10 in the morning, who will have instructions, not only to give further encouragement to those who complied with the terms of my late manifesto, but also to communicate conditions upon which the persons and properties of the disobedient may yet be spared.

This fail not to obey, under pain of military execution.

Head quarters, at Skeenesborough House, July 10, 1777.

J. BURGOYNE.

By order of his Excellency the Lieut. General.

B. Kimpton, Sec'y.

A PROCLAMATION,

By Philip Schuyler, Esq. Major General in the army of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief in the Northern Department.

To the inhabitants of Castleton, Hubberton, Rutland, Tinmouth, Paulet, Wells, Granville, with the neighbouring districts bordering on White Creek, Cambden, Cambridge, &c. &c.

Whereas Lieutenant General John Burgoyne, commanding an army of the British troops, did, by a written paper, by him subscribed, bearing date at Skeenesborough House, on the 10th day of July instant, require you to send from your several townships, deputations, consisting of ten persons or more from each township, to meet Col. Skeene at Castleton, on Wednesday, July 15, at ten in the morning, for sundry purposes in said paper

mentioned, and that you were not to fail in paying obedience thereto, under pain of military execution.

Whatever, my countrymen, may be the ostensible reasons for such meeting, it is evidently intended by the enemy, then to prevail on you by threats and promises to forsake the cause of your injured country; to assist them in forcing slavery on the United States of America, and under the specious pretext of affording you protection, to bring on you that misery, which their promises of protection, drew on such of the deluded inhabitants of New-Jersey who were weak enough to confide in them, but who soon experienced their fallacy, by being treated indiscriminately with those virtuous citizens, who came forth in defence of their country, with the most wanton barbarity, and such as hitherto hath not even disgraced Barbarians. They cruelly butchered without distinction to age or sex; ravished children from ten to women of eighty years of age; they burnt, pillaged, and destroyed whatever came into their power; nor did those edifices dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, escape their sacrilegious fury. Such were the deeds, such they were incontestibly proved to be, which have marked the British arms with the most indelible stains. But they, having by the blessing of Divine Providence on our arms, been obliged totally to abandon that State, they left those that were weak or wicked enough to take protection under them, to bemoan their credulity, and to cast themselves on the mercy of their injured countrymen. Such will be your fate, if you lend a willing ear to their promises, which I trust, none of you will do. But lest any of you should so far forget the duty you owe to your country, as to join with, or, in any manner of way assist or give comfort to, or hold correspondence with, or take protection from the enemy; be it known to each and ev-

ery of you, the inhabitants of said townships, or any other the inhabitants of the United States, that you will be considered and dealt with as traitors to said States, and that the laws therof will be put in execution, against every person so offending, with the utmost rigor. And I do hereby strictly enjoin and command all officers, civil and military, to apprehend or cause to be apprehended all such offenders. And I do further strictly enjoin and command such of the Militia of said townships, as have not yet marched, to do so without delay, to join the army under my command or some detachment thereof.

Given under my hand at Head-Quarters, Fort Edward, July 13th, 1777.

PH. SCHUYLER.

By the General's command.

HENRY B. LIVINGSTON, A. D. C.

WASHINGTON'S LETTERS.

Cambridge, 23d Dec'r. 1775.

SIR,—Notwithstanding the great pains taken by the Quarter-Master General to procure blankets for the army, he finds it impossible to provide a number sufficient; he has tried the southern provinces without success; as what were there are engaged to supply the wants of the troops in each place.

Our soldiers are in great distress, and I know of no way to remedy the evil, than applying to you. Cannot some be got from the different towns? Most houses could spare one, some of them many. If your honorable Convention will please to take this affair under their immediate consideration and by some means procure as many as can be spared from the housekeepers, you will do an infinite ser-

vice to the Army, and very much oblige
Sir, your most obedient servant,
G. WASHINGTON.
President of the New-Hampshire Convention.

Cambridge, Jan. 16th, 1776.

SIR,—The alarming and almost defenceless state of our lines, occasioned by the slow progress in raising recruits for the new Army, and the departure of a great number of the militia, which had been called in for their support till the 15th instant, rendered it necessary for me to summon the general officers in council, to determine on proper measures to be adopted for their preservation.—For this purpose they met at Head Quarters yesterday and to-day, and finding that it was with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, that such of the latter as are now here, have been prevailed on to continue till the last of the month, after which there is not the remotest probability of their staying a moment, they have judged it expedient and absolutely necessary, that thirteen regiments should be forthwith raised, equal to those of the new establishment, to be officered according to the usual mode of their respective governments; which are to repair to this Camp by the last instant if possible, to be in readiness to act in such manner, till the 1st of April, as circumstances may require.—Of this number they apprehend, the Massachusetts should furnish seven, Connecticut four, and your government two, being agreeable to the proportion settled by Congress.

In order that each regiment may consist of a proper number of officers and men, I have inclosed you a list for their regulation, and of the Continental pay.

I must earnestly solicit your attention and re-

gard, to arms, ammunition, blankets, kettles, and clothing, that they may come as well provided with these necessaries as possible, particularly the first; as from the amazing deficiency here I shall not have it in my power to supply them.

The situation and exigency of our affairs calling for this assistance, I have the most pleasing assurance, that your honorable body will exert themselves for complying with this requisition with all possible dispatch.

I am sir,

with much esteem and regard,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. Matthew Thornton.

Camp above Trenton falls, Dec. 22d, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—The accounts received from New-York respecting the distresses of our prisoners, induce me to recommend to your honorable body, that measures should be taken to effect an exchange as soon as possible, or as far as circumstances will admit of. Ever since the cartel has been settled between Gen. Howe and myself, I have been endeavouring to accomplish it, but my attempts have been attended with but little success. For the prisoners belonging to the British army and who have been sent from Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, Gen. Howe, or rather his commissary has undertaken of his mere motion, and contrary to my express requisition, to return a number belonging to us, who were not called for, and whose releasement should have been postponed till after that of others. I have wrote to Gen. Howe on the subject, and presume in future that none will be sent out but those who are named by me. That this business may not remain an object of further delay, I

would advise, that all the prisoners in your state be immediately sent to the commanding officer of the British troops on the island of Rhode-Island, taking two exact lists of the names, corps, and ranks of the officers, and the number of privates, signed by the officer of the highest rank; one to be sent with him accompanied by a line to Gen. Howe, that the particular prisoners belonging to us, and to be received in exchange, will be required by me, to which end I must request that the other list be immediately transmitted to me, that the requisition may be made.

I have the honor to be

with great respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Committee of New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, Morristown, January 23, 1777.

The situation to which I am reduced for want of a regular body of troops on whom I can depend for a length of time, makes it indispensably necessary for me to call upon you and intreat you to exert yourselves in levying and equipping the number of battalions allotted to your State by the resolution of Congress in September last.

You must be fully sensible of the hardships imposed upon individuals, and how detrimental it must be to the public, to have her Farmers and Tradesmen frequently called into the field as Militia-men, whereby a total stop is put to the arts and agriculture, without which we cannot possibly long subsist. But great as this inconvenience is, we must put up with it, or submit to a greater, the total loss of our liberties, until our regular Continental Army can be brought into the field.

The above reasons alone I hope will be sufficient to induce you to exert yourselves; for if our new army are not ready to take the field early in the spring, we shall lose all the advantages which I may say, we have providentially gained this winter. While our dependance is upon militia, we have a full army one day and scarce any the next; and I am much afraid, that the enemy one day or other, taking advantage of one of these temporary weaknesses will make themselves masters of our magazines, of stores, arms, and artillery. Nothing but their ignorance of our numbers protects us at this very time. When, on the contrary, had we six or eight thousand regular troops, or could the militia who were with me a few days ago, have been prevailed upon to stay, we could have struck such a stroke, as would have inevitably ruined the army of the enemy in their divided state.

I am not without hopes, that by creating a powerful diversion on the side of New-York, we may still keep their force divided between that province and this; if so, and a good body of troops could be thrown in to me before the roads will be in a condition for the enemy with their reduced waggon and artillery horses, to move out, it perhaps may not be out of my power to strike a decisive blow before spring. This is another and a forcible reason to induce you to send your new levies forward with all expedition. While the men are raising, I beg you will spare no pains to make collections of all things necessary for their equipment; not only of such as they convey with them into the field, but for their use and convenience while they are there, such as spare shoes, stockings and shirts; the want of which has been the ruin of the old army.

If these articles are provided and put into the hands of the Regimental Quarter-Masters, they can always be delivered out when wanted, and stoppages made by the paymasters. I expect the Clothier General will be with the army in a few days, when

I shall give him directions to allot a portion of the clothing, lately taken and purchased for the public, to each state.

I am yr. mo. ob. hl. ser.

G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. President of the Convention of
New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, Morristown, Jan. 31st, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,—The great countenance and protection shewn and given to deserters, by persons in the different neighborhoods from whence they originally came, has made that vice so prevalent in the army, that unless some very effectual means are fallen upon to prevent it, our new army will scarcely be raised, before it will dwindle and waste away, from that cause alone.

I know of no remedy so effectual, as for the different States, immediately to pass Laws, laying a very severe penalty upon those who harbour, or fail to give information against deserters, knowing them to be such, and strictly enjoining all Justices of the Peace, and officers of the militia, to keep a watchful eye over, and apprehend all such persons as shall return from the army without a discharge.

In order that this most salutary measure may be carried speedily into execution, I have not only desired Congress to recommend it to the different States, but have myself wrote circular letters to them all, pressing their compliance with my request. Desertion must cease, of course, when the deserters find they have no shelter.

I am, Gentlemen,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Speaker and Assembly of New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, Morristown, Feb. 7th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,—As the arrival of a sufficient quantity of small arms from Europe in time to arm the continental troops is a matter of great uncertainty, proper steps should be taken immediately in your state to collect all that can be purchased from private people.

The custom of hiring them for the campaign is attended with many bad consequences; the owners take little care of them and carry them away, or sell and change them when they please.

Particular attention should be paid to the quality of the firelock; no trash or light arms should on any account be received in the public store. If they are not substantial both in stock, lock, and barrel, they should be thrown upon the hands of the commissary who purchased them.

I am, with the greatest esteem and regard,
your most obedient, humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. Convention of New-Hampshire.

Morristown, July 7th, 1777.

SIR,—I make no doubt but you will have heard before this that the Enemy have evacuated Jersey. This information, I should have done myself the pleasure of transmitting you by the first opportunity after the event, had not my attention been employed in making a new disposition of the army, and had I apprehended it materially interesting that it should come immediately from myself.

When General Howe withdrew his forces from this State, and went to Staten Island, from the intelligence received at that time from General St. Clair at Tyconderoga, that the Canada army were on the Lake and approaching that post, and from every other circumstance, it appeared extremely

probable, nay, almost certain to me, and to all the General and other officers possessed of the facts, that General Howe's first and immediate movement would be up the North river, and that the two armies meant to co-operate and favour each other's attack. This, I say, was my opinion, and that of my officers at that time, from a full consideration of the intelligence we then had. But I confess, however satisfied I then was upon this subject, I am now in extreme doubt, respecting his intended operations. Having heard nothing from Tyconderoga since the 26th ult., nor any further accounts of the enemy's approach, we are left to conjecture, whether their appearance on the lake was with a view to a serious and real attack, or whether to amuse and draw our attention that way, whilst a stroke is meditating against some other place.— This uncertainty is rendered considerably greater by the concurrent accounts of deserters who have escaped from New-York and Staten Island in the course of a few days past. From their information and a variety of circumstances, such as, that births are fitting up for the light horse, on board the transports—provender taking in and providing for three or four weeks—the embarkation of the officers' baggage, with their names and corps indorsed—the ships watering, &c., it would seem more probable that General Howe has in contemplation some other object than the North river.— Whether he has, or what it is, however, is yet entirely unknown. I have thought it my duty, however, to give you this information, that if he should once more turn his arms against the eastern States, you may not be surprised, and that matters may be put in the best train, circumstances will admit, to receive him. On my part, no exertions in my power shall be wanting, to counteract his plans where-soever they are directed, and to render every ser-

vice compatible with our general line of defence and the interest of the States at large.

I have the honor to be
with great respect,

Sirs,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. the Convention or Council of
Safety of New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, Valley-Forge, Dec. 29th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,—I take the liberty of transmitting you the inclosed return, which contains a state of the New-Hampshire regiments. By this you will discover how deficient, how exceedingly short they are of the complement of men, which of right, according to the establishment, they ought to have. This information, I have thought it my duty to lay before you, that it may have that attention which its importance demands; and in full hope, that the most early and vigorous measures will be adopted, not only to make the regiments more respectable, but complete. The necessity and expediency of this procedure are too obvious to need arguments. Should we have a respectable force to commence an early campaign with, before the enemy are reinforced, I trust we shall have an opportunity of striking a favorable and an happy stroke. But if we should be obliged to defer it, it will not be very easy to describe with any degree of precision, what disagreeable consequences may result from it. We may rest assured, that Britain will strain every nerve to send from home and abroad, as early as possible, all the troops it shall be in her power to raise or procure. Her views and schemes for subjugating these States, and bringing them under her despotick rule will be unceasing and unremitted. Nor should we, in my opinion, turn our expecta-

tions to or have the least dependence on the intervention of a foreign war. Our wishes on this head have been disappointed hitherto, and perhaps it may long be the case. However, be this as it may, our reliance should be wholly on our own strength and exertions. If in addition to these, there should be aid derived from a war between the enemy and any of the European powers, our situation will be so much the better. If not, our efforts and exertions will have been the more necessary and indispensable. For my own part, I should be happy if the idea of a foreign rupture should be thrown entirely out of our scale of politicks, and that it may not have the least weight in our public measures. No bad effects, could flow from it, but on the contrary many of a salutary nature. At the same time I do not mean, that such an idea ought to be discouraged among the people at large, because the event is probable.

There is one thing more to which I would take the liberty of soliciting your most serious and constant attention, to wit. the cloathing of your troops, and procuring of every possible supply in your power from time to time, for that end. If the several states exert themselves in future in this instance, and I trust they will, I hope that the supplies they will be able to furnish in aid of those, which Congress may immediately import themselves, will be equal and competent to every demand. If they do not, I fear—I am satisfied the troops will never be in a situation to answer the public expectation, and perform the duties required of them. No pains—no efforts on the part of the States can be too great for this purpose. It is not easy to give you a just and accurate idea of the sufferings of the army at large—of the loss of men on this account. Were they to be minutely detailed, your feelings would be wounded, and the relation would probably be not received without a degree

of doubt and discredit. We had in camp, on the 23d inst. by a field return then taken, no less than 2898 men unfit for duty, by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked. Besides this number, sufficiently distressing of itself, there are many others detained in hospitals and crowded in farmers' houses for the same causes. In a most particular manner, I flatter myself the care and attention of the states will be directed to the supply of shoes, stockings, and blankets, as their expenditure, from the common operations and accidents of war, is far greater than of any other articles. In a word, the united and respective exertions of the states, cannot be too great—too vigorous in this interesting work, and we shall never have a fair and just prospect for success, till our troops (officers and men) are better appointed and provided than they are or have been. We have taken post here for the winter, as a place best calculated to cover the country from the ravages of the enemy, and are now busily employed in erecting huts for the troops. This circumstance renders it the more material, that the supplies should be greater and more immediate, than if the men were in comfortable quarters.

Before I conclude, I would also add, that it will be essential to inoculate the recruits or levies, as fast as they are raised, that their earliest services may be had. Should this be postponed, the work will be to do most probably, at an interesting and critical period, and when their aid may be very materially wanted.

I have the honor to be

with great respect,

Gentlemen,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Committee of New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, Morristown, Feb. 24th, 1780.

SIR,—You will have received I make no doubt a copy of an act of Congress of the 9th instant, ascertaining the quotas of the non-commissioned officers and privates to be furnished by the respective states for the ensuing campaign, and directing the men in the additional corps—the guards, artillery, and the horse, and the regimented artificers in the departments of the quarter-master-general and commissary general of military stores, as well as those of the battallions in the state levies, whose services do not expire before the last of September next, to be counted as part of the quotas of the states to which they respectively belong. The quota of the state of New-Hampshire is fixed at 1215 and I have now the honor to inclose you a special return of the non-commissioned officers and privates in her three battallions, and of those belonging to her in Jackson's and Hazen's regiments, and Lamb's regiment of artillery, designating in a particular manner, the proportion engaged for the war and the periods when and in what proportion the services of the rest will expire. You will be pleased to observe that by the act, men whose engagements expire before the last of September next, as I have already taken the liberty to mention, are not to be computed as part of the 1215; and therefore according to the return inclosed, the deficiency of men to be raised is 695. There are one or two corps besides those I have mentioned, of which I have not yet obtained returns; in which possibly there may be a few men belonging to the state. When I procure these, if this should be the case, I shall take the earliest occasion to communicate it and their number. I would observe before I conclude, that this return bears the fullest number of men under every description the state can have in her three battallions and the other corps which it comprehends, and they would most probably be found, if an actual inspection could

take place, to fall a good deal short of the complement, as there is always a material difference between an army on paper and its real strength. A comparative view between the total of an army, as borne upon every general return and the column of present fit for duty, and the absentees that can be accounted for as certainly existing, demonstrates this beyond question.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect and esteem,

Sir,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. the President of the Council of
the State of New-Hampshire.

Ramapough, June 30, 1780.

SIR,—I send Brigadier General Stark to your state, to collect and forward the drafts for your battalions, and the levies for three months to the appointed place of rendezvous. The zeal, which the State of New-Hampshire has always manifested gives me the fullest confidence, that they have complied with the requisitions of the committee of Congress in all their extent; though we have not yet heard from thence what measures have been taken. This is the time for America, by one great exertion, to put an end to the war; but for this purpose the necessary means must be furnished. The basis of every thing else, is the completion of the continental battalions to their full establishment. If this is not done, I think it my duty to forewarn every state, that nothing decisive can be attempted, and that this campaign, like all the former, must be chiefly defensive. I am sorry to observe, that some of the states have taken up the business on a less extensive scale. The consequences have been represented

with candour and plainness, and I hope for the honor and safety of America, the representation may have the weight it deserves.

The drafts cannot be forwarded with too much expedition ; but as to the militia, under present appearances, I think it advisable to suspend the time fixed for their rendezvousing to the 25th of the next month, at which period, I shall be glad they may be without fail at the place appointed ; and it would be my wish, that they should come out under the command of General Stark.

I entreat your excellency to employ all your influence to give activity and vigor to the measures of your state. Every thing depends on the proper improvement of the present conjuncture ; we have every thing to hope on one side, and every thing to fear on the other.

With perfect respect,

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Meshech Weare, Esq.

President of the State of New-Hampshire.

P. S. The suspension of the period for assembling the militia, is founded on the French fleet not being arrived ; if this event should have taken place before this reaches your excellency, the suspension is not to have effect. The militia cannot be too soon at the place of rendezvous, after the fleet arrives.

Head Quarters, 26th July, 1780.

SIR,—I have been honored with your favor of the 15th.

The particular and spirited exertions of the state of New-Hampshire, to fulfil the objects which

we have in view, cannot but meet the warmest applause of every lover of their country. It has mine in a very high degree, but not more than it has deserved.

I could wish the loan of powder to be forwarded as soon as practicable, to Springfield, and lodged there in the public magazine. With regard to the supplies of cattle, the bearer of this carries full instructions from the commissary of purchases for their disposal.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect, sir,
your most obedient
and humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

*Head Quarters, near Passaic Falls,
18th October, 1780.*

[CIRCULAR.]

SIR,—In obedience to the orders of Congress, I have the honour to transmit you the present state of the troops of your line, by which you will perceive how few men you will have left after the first of January next. When I inform you also, that the regiments of the other lines will be in general as much reduced as yours, you will be able to judge how exceedingly weak the army will be at that period, and how essential it is the States should make the most vigorous exertions to replace the discharged men as early as possible.

Congress are now preparing a plan for a new establishment of their army, which, when finished, they will transmit to the several States with requisitions for their respective quotas. I have no doubt it will be a primary object with them to have the levies for the war, and this appears to me, a

point so interesting to our independence, that I cannot forbear entering into in the motives which ought to determine the states without hesitation or alternative to take their measures decisively for that object.

I am religiously persuaded, that the duration of the war and the greatest part of the misfortunes and perplexities we have hitherto experienced, are chiefly to be attributed to the system of temporary enlistments. Had we in the commencement raised an army for the war, such as was within the reach of the abilities of these States to raise and maintain, we should not have suffered those military checks which have so frequently shaken our cause, nor should we have incurred such enormous expenditures as have destroyed our paper currency, and with it all public credit. A moderate compact force on a permanent establishment, capable of acquiring the discipline essential to military operations, would have been able to make head against the enemy without comparison better than the throngs of militia, which at certain periods have been, not in the field, but in their way to and from the field; for from that want of perseverance which characterizes all militia, and of that coercion which cannot be exercised upon them, it has always been found impracticable to detain the greatest part of them in service, even for the term for which they have been called out, and this has been commonly so short, that we have had a great proportion of the time two sets of men to feed and pay, one coming to the army and the other going from it. From this circumstance, and from the extraordinary waste and consumption of provisions, stores, camp equipage, arms, clothes, and every other article incident to irregular troops, it is easy to conceive what an immense increase of public expense has been produced from this source, of which I am speaking. I might add the diminution of our agriculture, by

calling off at critical seasons the labourers employed in it, as has happened in instances without number.

In the enumeration of articles wasted, I mentioned clothes. It may be objected that the terms of engagement of the levies do not include this, but if we want service from the men, particularly in the cold season, we are obliged to supply them notwithstanding, and they leave us before the clothes are half worn out.

But there are evils still more striking that have befallen us. The intervals between the dismissal of one army and the collection of another, have more than once threatened us with ruin, which humanly speaking, nothing but the supineness or folly of the enemy could have saved us from. How did our cause totter at the close of '76, when with little more than two thousand men we were driven before the enemy through Jersey, and obliged to take post on the other side of the Delaware, to make a shew of covering Philadelphia, while in reality nothing was more easy to them, with a little enterprise and industry, than to make their passage good to that city, and dissipate the remaining force which still kept alive our expiring opposition? What hindered them from dispersing our little army and giving a fatal blow to our affairs during all the subsequent winter, instead of remaining in a state of torpid inactivity, and permitting us to hover about their quarters when we had scarcely troops sufficient to mount the ordinary guards? After having lost two battles and Philadelphia in the following campaign, for want of those numbers and that degree of discipline, which we might have acquired by a permanent force in the first instance, in what a cruel and perilous situation did we again find ourselves in the winter of '77, at Valley Forge, within a day's march of the enemy, with a little more than a third of their strength, unable to defend our

position, or retreat from it, for want of the means of transportation? What but the fluctuation of our army enabled the enemy to detach so boldly to the southward in '78 and '79, to take possession of two States, Georgia and South Carolina, while we were obliged here to be idle spectators of their weakness, set at defiance by a garrison of six thousand regular troops, accessible every where by a bridge which nature had formed, but of which we were unable to take advantage from still greater weakness, apprehensive even for our own safety? How did the same garrison insult the main army of these States the ensuing spring and threaten the destruction of all our baggage and stores, saved by a good countenance more than by an ability to defend them? And what will be our situation this winter, our army by the first of January diminished to a little more than a sufficient garrison for West Point, the enemy at full liberty to ravage the country wherever they please, and, leaving a handful of men at New-York, to undertake expeditions for the reduction of other States, which for want of adequate means of defence, will, it is much to be dreaded, add to the number of their conquests, and to the examples of our want of energy and wisdom?

The loss of Canada to the union and the fate of the brave Montgomery, compelled to a rash attempt by the immediate prospect of being left without troops, might be enumerated in the catalogue of evils that have sprung from this fruitful source.

We not only incur these dangers and suffer these losses for want of a constant force equal to our exigences, but while we labour under this impediment it is impossible there can ever be any order or economy or system in our finances. If we meet with any severe blow, the great exertions which the moment requires to stop the progress of the misfortune, oblige us to depart from general principles,

to run into any expence, or to adopt any expedient, however injurious on a large scale, to procure the force and means which the present emergency demands. Every thing is thrown into confusion, and the measures taken to remedy immediate evils, perpetuate others. The same is the case if particular conjunctures invite us to offensive operations; we find ourselves unprepared, without troops, without magazines, and with little time to provide them. We are obliged to force our resources by the most burthensome methods to answer the end, and after all, it is but half answered; the design is announced by the occasional effort, and the enemy have it in their power to counteract and elude the blow. The prices of every thing, men, provisions, &c., are raised to a height to which the revenues of no government, much less ours, would suffice. It is impossible the people can endure the excessive burthen of bounties for annual drafts and substitutes increasing at every new experiment; whatever it might cost them once for all to procure men for the war, would be a cheap bargain.

I am convinced our system of temporary enlistments has prolonged the war, and encouraged the enemy to persevere. Baffled while we had an army in the field, they have been constantly looking forward to the period of its reduction, as the period to our opposition and the season of their successes. They have flattered themselves with more than the event has justified; for they believed when one army expired, we should not be able to raise another; undeceived however in this expectation by experience, they still remain convinced, and to me evidently on good grounds, that we must ultimately sink under a system which increases our expense beyond calculation, enfeebles all our measures, affords the most inviting opportunities to the enemy, and wears and disgusts the people. This has doubtless

had great influence in preventing their coming to terms and will continue to operate in the same way. The debates on the ministerial side have frequently manifested the operation of this motive, and it must in the nature of things have had great weight.

The interposition of neutral powers may lead to a negociation this winter. Nothing will tend so much to make the court of London reasonable as the prospect of a permanent army in this country, and a spirit of exertion to support it.

'Tis time we should get rid of an error, which the experience of all mankind has exploded, and which our own experience has dearly taught us to reject—the carrying on a war with militia, or, (which is nearly the same thing,) temporary levies, against a regular, permanent, and disciplined force. The idea is chimerical, and that we have so long persisted in it, is a reflection on the judgment of a nation so enlightened as we are, as well as a strong proof of the empire of prejudice over reason. If we continue in the infatuation, we shall deserve to lose the object we are contending for.

America has been almost amused out of her liberties. We have frequently heard the behaviour of the militia extolled upon one and another occasion, by men who judge only from the surface, by men who had particular views in misrepresenting, by visionary men whose credulity easily swallowed every vague story in support of a favorite hypothesis. I solemnly declare, I never was witness to a single instance that can countenance an opinion of militia or raw troops being fit for the real business of fighting. I have found them useful as light parties to skirmish in the woods, but incapable of making or sustaining a serious attack. This firmness is only acquired by habit of discipline and service. I mean not to detract from the merit of the militia—their zeal and spirit upon a variety of occasions have entitled them to the highest ap-



plause ; but it is of the greatest importance we should learn to estimate them rightly. We may expect every thing from ours that militia is capable of, but we must not expect from any, services for which regulars alone are fit. The late battle of Camden is a melancholy comment upon this doctrine. The militia fled at the first fire, and left the continental troops surrounded on every side and overpowered by numbers, to combat for safety instead of victory. The enemy themselves have witnessed to their valor.

An ill effect of short enlistments which I have not yet taken notice of, is that the constant fluctuation of their men is one of the sources of disgust to the officers. Just when, by great trouble, fatigue, and vexation, (with which the training of recruits is attended,) they have brought their men to some kind of order, they have the mortification to see them go home, and to know that the drudgery is to recommence the next campaign. In regiments so constituted, an officer has neither satisfaction nor credit in his command.

Every motive which can arise from a consideration of our circumstances, either in a domestic or foreign point of view, calls upon us to abandon temporary expedients and substitute something durable, systematic, and substantial. This applies as well to our civil administration as to our military establishment. It is as necessary to give congress, the common head, sufficient powers to direct the common forces, as it is to raise an army for the war ; but I should go out of my province to expatiate on civil affairs. I cannot forbear adding a few more remarks.

Our finances are in an alarming state of derangement. Public credit is almost arrived at its last stage. The people begin to be dissatisfied with the feeble mode of conducting the war, and with the ineffectual burthens imposed upon them, which though

light in comparison with what other nations feel, are from their novelty heavy to them. They lose their confidence in government apace. The army is not only dwindling into nothing, but the discontent of the officers as well as the men have matured to a degree that threatens but too general a renunciation of the service, at the end of the campaign. Since January last, we have had registered at Head Quarters, more than one hundred and sixty resignations, besides a number of others that never were regularly reported. I speak of the army in this quarter. We have frequently in the course of the campaign experienced an extremity of want. Our officers are in general indecently defective in clothing—our men are almost naked, totally unprepared for the inclemency of the approaching season. We have no magazines for the winter—the mode of procuring our supplies is precarious, and all the reports of the officers employed in collecting them are gloomy.

These circumstances conspire to show the necessity of immediately adopting a plan that will give more energy to government, more vigor and more satisfaction to the army. Without it we have every thing to fear. I am persuaded of the sufficiency of our resources if properly directed.

Should the requisitions of Congress by any accident not arrive before the legislature is about to rise, I beg to recommend that a plan be devised, which is likely to be effectual, for raising the men that will be required for the war, leaving it to the executive to apply it to the quota which Congress will fix. I flatter myself, however, the requisition will arrive in time.

The present crisis of our affairs appears to me so serious as to call upon me as a good citizen to offer my sentiments freely for the safety of the re-

public. I hope the motive will excuse the liberty I have taken.

I have the honor to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

your most obedient
and humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.
New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, Dec. 10th, 1780.

SIR,—You will, I presume, have received, before this reaches you, an act of Congress of the fourth of last month, calling on the several states for specific quantities of fresh and salt provisions, flour, salt and rum for the army, and directing all of the above articles, except the fresh meat, to be collected and deposited at such places in each of the States, as should be judged most convenient by me. This communication, I should have done myself the honor of making somewhat earlier, had not the greater part of my time, since the receipt of the act, been taken up in visiting the hospitals and winter cantonments of the army.

Upon considering the point with respect to the supplies required of your state, I beg leave to inform you that it appears to me they should be deposited in the following places and proportions :

1st, 2d, and 3d deposits of rum to be at Charlestown No. 4. The last deposit to remain at Portsmouth for further orders. The salt meat to be deposited at Portsmouth and Charlestown No. 4, in the following proportions : all on the east side of Merrimack river, to be carried to Portsmouth, and all on the west side to Charlestown, No. 4.

The Commissary General, as he is directed, will inform you from time to time of the quantities of live cattle which will be necessary, and where they are to be delivered.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.
President of State of
New Hampshire.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, Jan'y 5th, 1781.

SIR.—It is with extreme anxiety and pain of mind, I find myself constrained to inform you, that the event I have long apprehended would be the consequence of the complicated distresses of the Army, has at length taken place.—On the night of the 1st instant, a mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Pennsylvania line, which soon became so universal as to defy all opposition. In attempting to quell this tumult in the first instance, some officers were killed, others wounded, and the lives of several common soldiers lost. Deaf to the arguments, entreaties, and utmost efforts of *all their officers*, to stop them, the men moved off from Morristown, the place of their cantonment, with their arms, and six pieces of Artillery: and from accounts just received by General Wayne's Aid de Camp, they were still in a body, on their march to Philadelphia, to demand a redress of their grievances. At what point this defection will stop, or how extensive it may prove, God only knows: at present the troops at the important posts in this vicinity remain quiet, not being acquainted with this unhappy and alarm-

ing affair. How long they will continue so, cannot be ascertained, as they labour under some of the pressing hardships with the troops who have revolted.

The aggravated calamities and distresses that have resulted from the total want of pay, for nearly twelve months, the want of cloathing at a severe season, and not unfrequently the want of provisions, are beyond description. The circumstances will now point out much more forcibly what ought to be done, than any thing that can possibly be said by me, on the subject.

It is not within the sphere of my duty to make requisitions without the authority of Congress from individual states: but at such a crisis as this, and circumstanced as we are, my own heart will acquit me, and Congress and the States (eastward of this) whom, for the sake of dispatch, I address, I am persuaded will excuse me, when once for all I give it decidedly as my opinion, that it is vain to think an army can be kept together much longer, under such a variety of sufferings as ours has experienced; and that unless some immediate and spirited measures are adopted to furnish at least three months pay to the troops, in money which will be of some value to them—and at the same time ways and means are devised to clothe and feed them better, (more regularly I mean,) than they have been—the worst that can befall us may be expected.

I have transmitted Congress a copy of this letter, and have in the most pressing terms requested them to adopt the measure which I have above recommended, or something similar to it, and as I will not doubt of their compliance, I have thought it proper to give you this previous notice, that you may be prepared to answer the requisition.

As I have used every endeavour in my power to avert the evil that has come upon us, so will I con-

tinue to exert every mean I am possessed of, to prevent an extension of the mischief, but I can neither foretell or be answerable for the issue.

That you may have every information that an officer of rank and abilities can give, of the true situation of our affairs, and the condition and temper of the troops, I have prevailed upon Brigadier General Knox to be the bearer of this letter: to him I beg leave to refer you, for many matters, which would be too tedious for a letter.

I have the honor to be,
with great regard and esteem,

Sir,
your most obedient,
humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Mesheam Weare, Esq.
President of New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, Jan. 22nd, 1781.

SIR,—I have received the disagreeable intelligence, that a part of the Jersey line had followed the example of that of the Pennsylvania; and when the advices came away, it was expected the revolt would be general. The precise intention of the mutineers was not known, but their complaints and demands were similar to those of the Pennsylvanians.

Persuaded that without some decisive effort, at all hazards, to suppress this dangerous spirit, it would speedily infect the whole army, I have ordered as large a Detachment as we could spare from these posts, to march under Major General Howe, with orders to compel the mutineers to unconditional submission—to listen to no terms while they were in a state of resistance, and on their re-

duction, to execute instantly a few of the most active, and most incendiary leaders. I am not certain what part the troops detached for this purpose will act, but I flatter myself they will do their duty. I prefer any extremity to which the Jersey troops may be driven to a compromise.

The weakness of the garrison, but still more its embarrassing distress for want of provisions, made it impossible to prosecute such measures with the Pennsylvanians, as the nature of the case demanded—and while we were making arrangements, as far as practicable to supply these defects, an accommodation took place which will not only subvert the Pennsylvania line, but have a very pernicious influence on the whole army. I mean however by these remarks, only to give an idea of the miserable situation we are in, not to blame a measure which perhaps in our circumstances was the best that could have been adopted. The same embarrassments operate against coercion at this moment, but not in so great a degree; the Jersey troops not being, from their numbers, so formidable as were the Pennsylvanians.

I dare not detail the risks we run from the scantiness of supplies. We have received few or no cattle for some time past, nor do know of any shortly to be expected. The salted meat we ought to have reserved in the garrison, is now nearly exhausted. I cannot but renew my solicitations with your state to every expedience for contributing to our immediate relief.

With perfect respect,

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient

and humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, Jan. 22d, 1781.

SIR,—In the letter which I did myself the honor of writing you the 22d instant, I informed you of the revolt of the Jersey troops, and of the measures I intended to pursue in consequence. I have now the pleasure to inform you that Major General Howe, with the detachment under his command, surrounded the mutineers in their quarters on the morning of the 27th, brought them without difficulty to an unconditional surrender, and had two of the most active instigators, immediately tried and executed.—It was judged unnecessary to extend the example further, and there was every appearance of genuine contrition. I hope this will completely extinguish the spirit of mutiny, if effectual measures are taken to prevent its revival, by rendering the situation of the soldiery more tolerable than it has heretofore been. It is not to be expected, that an army can be permanently held together by those ties on which we have too long depended.

I cannot omit doing justice to the detachment which was sent on this service. There was in its behaviour every mark of fidelity, obedience, disapprobation of the conduct of the mutineers, and a conviction of the necessity of bringing them to submission and punishment. They made a long march over mountainous roads and through a deep snow with the greatest patience, and obeyed every order with alacrity.

I have the honour to be,

with the greatest respect and esteem,

Sir,

your most obedient and
humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

*Head Quarters, New Windsor.**

SIR,—I have received the letter which you did me the favor to write on the 20th ult., and am pleased to find the state of New-Hampshire is determined to make such exertions in favor of its troops. If this spirit is not suffered to relax, we may expect the happiest consequences from it. Justice on the part of the country will produce satisfaction in the army; and contentment there, will promote the recruiting service more effectually than any bounty or encouragement. It is of such infinite consequence, that the regiments should be completed before the opening of the campaign, that I cannot forbear to continue to recommend it in the strongest terms.

Should the army be complete on the present establishment, the force will be but moderate, as there are so many men belonging to one state, who are in the service of another, and consequently credited to both. This is the case with the men you mention, in the regiments of Col. Jackson, &c. None of these men are by the resolution of Congress to join the regiments of their own state, except such as were in the independent corps, which have been reduced.

I am,

With the greatest esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and

Humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, May 10th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—Major General Heath, second in command, and an officer whose high rank and consid-

* Without date, but marked as "received Feb, 23d, 1781," by Pres. WEARE.

eration entitle him to very particular notice and attention, is prevailed upon to proceed to the several eastern states, to represent the present distresses of the army for want of provision, and the consequences which must inevitably ensue, unless a more regular system and more vigorous measures for affording supplies, are immediately adopted.

From the post of Saratoga to that of Dobbs' ferry inclusive, I believe there is not (by the returns and reports I have received) at this moment one day's supply of meat for the army, on hand. Our whole dependance for this article is on the eastern states: their resources of it, I am persuaded are ample—to request and urge that they may be drawn forth regularly, and to be informed with precision and certainty, what may be absolutely depended upon through the campaign, are the objects of this application.

I have already made representations to the states of the want of provisions, the distress of the army, and the innumerable embarrassments we have suffered in consequence, not merely once or twice, but have reiterated them, over and over again. I have struggled to the utmost of my ability, to keep the army together—but all will be in vain without the effectual assistance of the states. I have now only to repeat the alternative, which has been so often urged, that supplies, particularly of *beef cattle*, must be speedily and regularly provided, or our posts cannot be maintained, or the army kept in the field much longer.

I entreat that this representation may be received in the serious light it is meant, and deserves, or that I may stand exculpated from the dreadful consequences which must otherwise inevitably follow in a very short time.

I enter not into the detail of matters, as General Heath will be able to give you every necessary

information, and lay the proper estimates of supplies for the campaign before you.

I have the honor to be,
with great regard,
your most obedient,
humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, 15th June, 1781.

SIR.—I have been honored with your favor of the 4th instant. In the calculation which I made at Wethersfield, of the aid of militia which would be necessary to support the operation which we have in view, I included sixteen hundred from Pennsylvania; but that state having been since called upon to embody and march two thousand four hundred men, immediately to the assistance of Virginia, I am obliged to add the number which I shall be disappointed in from Pennsylvania, to the quota required from the other states; your proportion of them will be two hundred and fifty, which, with the requisition of the 24th May, will make in the whole six hundred and fifty.

I need not enter into a repetition of the arguments which were made use of in my letter of the 24th May, to induce the most strenuous exertions to fill up the continental battalions. I will only say, that our success will depend upon that being done. Without it, there is not a chance—with it, we have the fairest prospect. These men must be sent forward as fast as they are raised.

I am in hopes that the assembly will, at their present meeting, take effectual measures for supplying the quota of beef, called for in the requisitions which were laid before you by Major General

Heath. You must be fully sensible that our whole dependence for provisions, is upon the exertions of the states, and that without the punctual compliance with the demands made upon them, the force which will be collected, must soon disband, whereby the immense expense which we are now incurring, will be so much dead loss, and the consequences, in a political view, of a most serious and alarming nature.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and

Humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

President New-Hampshire.

P. S. By a general return, of the 9th instant, the total amount of your two regiments, was five hundred ninety-eight, in which are included ninety-eight recruits—being all that had joined, up to the 1st instant.

Head Quarters, near Dobbs' Ferry, July 8th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—I have been informed by Colonel Dearborn, and some others, that the state of New-Hampshire has procured and put up the greater part of the salted provisions required by Congress of that state, for the use of the army. Although I have been so unfortunate as not to have received any exact account or official return of the quantity that may be expected from thence, yet I will presume upon a considerable supply, as the exertions of the state seem principally to have been confined to that article. Not more than thirty fat cattle having been received from your state, since the close of last campaign, it has now become ex-

tremely important, that all these salted provisions, (except those on Connecticut river,) should be forwarded, as expeditiously as possible, to some place within reach of the army. As it is impracticable to have this speedily effected by land transportation, I must therefore entreat, most earnestly, that you will be pleased to have transports provided, and send on the whole of the aforesaid salted meat, by water to Providence, in the state of Rhode-Island. Let me impress upon you the necessity of this business, of giving every necessary instruction and affording every aid to the Deputy, or Assistant Quarter-master of the state, and taking every possible precaution to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. The provision should be deposited at Providence, in the charge of the commissary of issues, state agent, or some careful person, who must be accountable for it. I wish all the rum, which has been purchased by the state for the continent, may be forwarded in the same manner and to the same place.

The French army has now formed a junction with us. We have advanced to this place—suffer me to add, that we must depend upon the exertions of the eastern states to furnish the supply of beef cattle, that has been called for, in order to enable us to keep the field.

I think it will be advisable to transport the provisions and rum, in small swift sailing coasters: the chance of loss by capture will not be so great—the matter also ought to be kept as much a secret as may be.

I shall anxiously expect your answer by the earliest opportunity.

I have the honor to be,

with great esteem and respect,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON;

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

President of New-Hampshire.

Head Quarters, near Dobbs' Ferry, Aug, 2d 1781.

SIR,—I regret being obliged to inform you, that I find myself, at this late period, very little stronger than I was when the army first moved out of their quarters. Of the militia, which were required of the state of New-Hampshire, and which were to have joined me by the 15th of last month, none have come in, and of the levies for the continental battalions, only thirteen in the course of the last month. The reinforcements from the other states have been very inconsiderable.

I leave you to judge of the delicate and embarrassed situation in which I stand at this moment. Unable to advance, with prudence, beyond my present position, while, perhaps, in the general opinion, my force is equal to the commencement of operations against New-York, my conduct must appear, if not blameable, highly mysterious, at least. Our allies, with whom a junction has been formed upwards of three weeks, and who were made to expect, from the engagements which I entered into with them at Weathersfield in May last, a very considerable augmentation of our force by this time, instead of seeing a prospect of advancing, must conjecture, upon good grounds, that the campaign will waste fruitlessly away. I shall just remark, that it will be no small degree of triumph to our enemies, and will have a very pernicious influence upon our friends in Europe, should they find such a failure of resource; or such a want of energy to draw it out, that our boasted and expensive preparations end only in idle parade.

I cannot yet but persuade myself, and I do not discontinue to encourage our allies with a hope that our force will still be sufficient to carry our intended operation into effect, or if we cannot fully accomplish that, to oblige the enemy to withdraw part of their force from the southward to support New-York, and which as I informed you in my letter from Weathersfield, was part of our plan.

You must be sensible, Sir, that the fulfilment of my engagements must depend upon the degree of vigor with which the executives of the several states exercise the powers with which they have been vested, and enforce the laws lately passed for filling up, and supplying the army. In full confidence that the means which have been voted will be obtained, I shall continue my preparations: but I must take the liberty of informing you that it is essentially necessary I should be made acquainted immediately on the receipt of this, of the number of continental levies and militia which have been forwarded and what are the prospects of obtaining the remainder.

I will further add, that it will be equally necessary to see that the monthly quota of provisions stipulated at the meeting of the commissioners at Providence is regularly complied with.

I am,

with great regard and esteem,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

Head Quarters, King's Ferry, August 21st, 1781.

SIR,—I feel myself unhappy in being obliged to inform you that the circumstances in which I find myself at this late period, have induced me to make an alteration of the main object which was at first adopted, and has hitherto been held in view, for the operations of this campaign. It gives me pain to say that the delay in the several states to comply with my requisitions of the 24th of May last, on which in a great measure depended the hopes of our success, in that attempt, has been one great and operative reason to lead to this alteration.—

Other circumstances, it is true, have had their weight in this determination, and it may, in the course of events, prove happy to the states, that this deviation from our main design, has been adopted.

The fleet of the Count de Grasse, with a body of French troops on board, will make its first appearance in the Chesapeake, which, should the time of the fleet's arrival prove favourable, and should the enemy under Lord Cornwallis hold their present position in Virginia, will give us the fairest opportunity to reduce the whole British force in the south, and to ruin their boasted expectations in that quarter:—to effect this desirable object, it has been judged expedient, taking into consideration our own present circumstances, with the situation of the enemy in New-York and at the southward, to abandon the siege of the former, and to march a body of troops, consisting of a detachment from the American army, with the whole of the French troops, immediately to Virginia. With this detachment, which will be very considerable, I have determined to march myself. The American troops are already on the west side of the Hudson, and the French army will arrive at King's ferry this day. When the whole are crossed, our march will be continued with as much despatch as circumstances will admit.

The American army which will remain in this department, excepting two light companies and some few detachments, consists of the two New-Hampshire regiments, ten of Massachusetts and five of Connecticut infantry, with Sheldon's legion, Crane's artillery, the state troops and militia, which with proper exertions of the states, will, it is expected, be sufficient to hold the enemy in check at New-York, and prevent their ravages on the frontiers. The command, during my absence, is given to Major General Heath, who will have the honor

to communicate with the states, on every occasion which may require their attention.

As the enemy's force in New-York has been for some time past very considerable, and it is reported with a good degree of certainty, that they have lately received a very considerable reinforcement of German recruits from Europe, it will be necessary still to send forward a great part, if not the whole of the militia requested from your state, in the same manner as though no alteration had taken place in our measures. You will therefore continue to send on at least 400 men from your state to the orders of General Heath, with as much despatch as possible, unless you should be informed from him that this number need not be completed.

On this occasion, I cannot omit to repeat to you my opinion, of the absolute importance of filling your continental battalions to their complete numbers, for the war, or three years. Not only our past experience for a course of years, but our present situation, should strongly enforce the necessity of this measure. Every campaign teaches us the increasing difficulty and expence of procuring short-termed levies, and their decreasing utility in the field. The large reinforcements which the enemy have this campaign sent to America, strongly indicate their expectations of the continuance of the war. Should this be the case, the best way to meet them is certainly with a permanent force, but should the war be drawing towards a close, a permanent and respectable army will give us the happiest prospects of a favourable peace. In every view, a permanent army should be the great object of the states to obtain, as they regard sound policy, prudence or economy.

I have the honor to be,

with very great regard and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

and humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

August 24th, 1781.

P. S. By your letter of the 13th inst. which is just come to hand, it seems that mine of the 15th June last, has not reached you; from that letter, had it come to your hand, you would have been acquainted with the time of the march of your militia to camp, and an additional number of 250 men, requested as your quota, to supply the deficiency from the state of Pennsylvania, their militia being ordered to go southward.

The Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq.

Philadelphia, 22d January, 1782.

SIR,—Although it may be somewhat out of my province, to address your excellency on a subject, not immediately of a military nature, yet, I consider it so nearly connected with, and so essential to the operations under my direction, that I flatter myself, my interference will not be deemed impertinent.

Upon applying to the superintendant of finance, to know how far I might depend upon him for the pay, feeding, and clothing of the army, for the current year, and for the sums necessary to put it and keep it in motion, he very candidly laid open to me the state of our moneyed affairs, and convinced me, that, although the assistances we had derived from abroad were considerable, yet they would be by no means adequate to our expenses. He informed me further, that to make up this deficiency, the states had been called upon, by Congress, for eight millions of dollars, for the service of the year 1782, and shewed me the copy of a circular letter from himself to the several legislatures, in which he had so fully and clearly pointed out the necessity of a compliance with the requisitions that it is needless

for me to say more on that head than that I entirely concur with him in opinion, so far as he has gone into the matter. But there are other reasons which could not be so well known to him, as they are to me, as having come under my immediate observation, and which, therefore, I shall take the liberty to mention.

Your excellency cannot but remember the ferment into which the whole army was thrown, twelve months ago, for the want of pay and a regular supply of clothing and provisions, and with how much difficulty they were brought into temper, by a partial supply of the two first, and a promise of more regular supplies of all in future. Those promises the soldiery now begin to claim, and although we shall be able to satisfy them tolerably in respect to clothing, and perfectly in regard to provisions, (if the financier is enabled to comply with his contracts,) yet there is no prospect of obtaining pay until part of the money required of the states can be brought into the treasury.

You cannot conceive the uneasiness which arises from the total want of so essential an article as money, and the real difficulties in which the officers, in particular, are involved on that account. The favourable aspect of our affairs, and the hopes that matters are in a train to afford them relief contribute to keep them quiet; but I cannot answer for the effects of a disappointment.

Enabling the financier to comply with his contracts, is a matter of the utmost consequence—the very existence of the army depends upon it. Should he fail in his payments, the contract ceases, and there is no alternative left, but to disband, or live upon the seizure of the neighbouring property. The saving to the public by feeding an army by contract is too well known to need any illustration, and that alone ought to be a sufficient inducement to the states, to find the means of adhering to it.

It will, perhaps, be urged that the sum called for is immense, and beyond the ability of the country to pay. There is one plain answer to that objection, should it be made—It is, that if the war is carried on, a certain expense must be incurred, and that such expense must be drawn from the people, either by a partial, cruel, and I may say illegal seizure of that property which lays most convenient to the army, or by a regular and equitable tax in money or specific articles.

Money, if it can be procured, is to be preferred, because it is neither liable to waste, nor is it expensive in the mode of collection or transportation. Whereas, I think I may venture to say, that a great proportion of the specific articles have been wasted after the people have furnished them, and that the transportation alone, of what have reached the army, has, in numberless instances, cost more than the value of the articles themselves.

To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion, must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country, and sure I am, that no means are so likely to effect these, as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether then we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor, are, of all things, to be avoided. Conduct of that kind, on our part, will produce fresh hopes and new exertions on that of the enemy; whereby the war, which has already held beyond the general expectation, may be protracted to such a length, that the people, groaning under the burthen of it, and despairing of success, may think any change, a change for the better.

I will close with a request, that your Excellency will be good enough to take the first opportunity of laying these, my sentiments, before the legislature of your state. From the attention they have ever

been pleased to pay to any former requisitions or representations of mine, I am encouraged to hope, that the present, which is equally important with any I have ever made, will meet with a favorable reception.

I have the honor to be,
with the greatest respect,
your Excellency's
most obedient and humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. The return of troops called for by resolve of the 10th of December, is collecting, and will be forwarded very soon. The remote situation of some of the corps has made it a tedious business, but such is the nature of it, that an accurate return cannot be digested until the returns of all the legionary corps and those of artillery are obtained, that credit may be given for the men serving in them.

His Excellency President Weare.

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, Jan. 31, 1782.

SIR,—I have the honour of transmitting herewith returns of the number of men now actually in service, from your state, in order that measures may be adopted for completing the regiments to the full establishment, agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the 10th of December. I cannot omit so favourable an opportunity of expressing to you my sentiments on this subject, and of entreating in the most earnest manner, that there may be a speedy, pointed, and effectual compliance with those requisitions.

It will, I flatter myself, be unnecessary to recapitulate all the arguments I made use of, in the circular letter I had the honor to address to the

several states, at the close of the campaign of 1780, in which, it must be remembered, I took the liberty to urge, from the knowledge I had of our affairs, and a series of experience, the policy, the expediency, the necessity of recruiting the army as the only probable means of bringing the war to a speedy and happy conclusion;—if these arguments had any influence at that time—if the consequent exertions were crowned with any success—if the present crisis exhibits new and more forcible inducements for still greater efforts; let me point you and your legislature to these considerations, and especially let me recommend, in the warmest terms, that all the fruits of the successes, which have been obtained the last campaign, may not be thrown away by an inglorious winter of languor and inactivity.

However, at this advanced stage of the war, it might seem to be an insult upon the understanding to suppose a long train of reasoning necessary to prove, that a respectable force in the field is essential to the establishment of our liberties and independence; yet, as I am apprehensive, the prosperous issue of the combined operation in Virginia, may have (as is too common in such cases) the pernicious tendency of lulling the country into a lethargy of inactivity and security; and as I feel my own reputation, as well as the interest, the honor, the glory, and the happiness of my country, intimately concerned in the event, I will ask the indulgence to speak the more freely on those accounts, and to make some of those observations, which the present moment seems to suggest;—that the broken and perplexed state of the enemy's affairs, and the successes of the last campaign, on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous preparations for the next—that, unless we strenuously exert ourselves to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all the solid advantages that might be de-

rived from them, but we shall become contemptible in our own eyes, in the eyes of our enemy, in the opinion of posterity, and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us as a nation unworthy of prosperity, because we know not how to make a right use of it—that, although we cannot, by the best concerted plans, absolutely command success; although the race is not always to the swift, or the battle to the strong, yet without presumptuously waiting for miracles to be wrought in our favour, it is our *indispensable duty*, with the deepest gratitude to Heaven for the past, and humble confidence in its smiles on our future operations, to make use of all the means in our power for our defence and security—that this period is particularly important, because no circumstances since the commencement of the war, have been so favourable to the recruiting service; and because it is to be presumed, from the increase of population, and the brilliant prospects before us, it is actually in our power to complete the army before the opening of the campaign—that, however flattering the prospects may be, much still remains to be done, which cannot probably be effected unless the army is recruited to its establishment; and consequently the continuance or termination of the war seem principally to rest on the vigour and decision of the states in this interesting point. And finally, that it is our first object of policy, under every supposable or possible case, to have a powerful army early in the field; for we must suppose, the enemy are either disposed “to prosecute the war,” or “to enter into a negotiation for peace”—there is no other alternative—on the former supposition, a respectable army becomes necessary, to counteract the enemy and to prevent the accumulating expences of a lingering war; on the latter, nothing but a decidedly superior force can enable us boldly to claim our rights, and dictate the law at the pacification.—

So that whatever the disposition of the enemy may be, it is evidently, our only interest and economy, to act liberally and exert ourselves greatly during the present winter, to cut off at once all the expences of the war, by putting a period to it.

And soon might that day arrive, soon might we hope to enjoy all the blessings of peace, if we could see again the same arimation in the cause of our country inspire every breast, the same passion for freedom and military glory impel our youths to the field, and the same disinterested patriotism pervade every rank of men, as was conspicuous at the commencement of this glorious revolution; and I am persuaded, only some great occasion was wanting, such as the present moment exhibits, to rekindle the latent sparks of that patriotic fire into a generous flame, to rouse again the unconquerable spirit of liberty, which has sometimes seemed to slumber for a while, into the full vigour of action.

I cannot now conclude this letter, without expressing my full expectation, that the several states, animated with the noblest principles, and convinced of the policy of complying faithfully with the requisitions, will be only emulous which shall be foremost in furnishing its quota of men; that the calculation of the numbers wanted to fill the deficiency may be so ample, as (allowing for the casualties and deductions) will be sufficient certainly to complete the battalions; that the measures for this purpose, may be so explicit, pointed, and energetic, as will inevitably furnish the recruits in season; and that such checks may be established, to prevent imposition as to the quality of the men, that no recruits may be accepted, but those who are in fact able-bodied and effective—should any of a different description be sent to the army, they must be rejected, the expences thrown away, and the service injured, though others are required to supply their places; for it is only deceiving our-

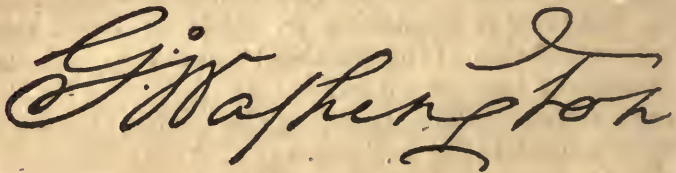
selves, with having a nominal instead of a real force, and consuming the public provisions and clothing to no effect, by attempting to impose decrepid and improper men or boys upon us as soldiers.

The returns before alluded to, being but this moment collected, I regret that it was not possible they should have been forwarded sooner; to prevent a miscarriage or delay, in so important a communication, I have committed them to Colonel Dearborn, who will have the honor of delivering these dispatches, and explaining my ideas very perfectly; as he is charged solely with this business he will return as soon as it is negociated, but he is instructed to wait until he can bear such official accounts from you to me, as will fully inform me, what aid may absolutely be relied upon from your state, which, in conjunction with the other reports of a similar nature, must serve as a basis, on which we may build our final plans and arrangements for the ensuing campaign.

I have the honour to be,

with very great esteem and regard,

your most obedient humble servant,



The Honorable the President of the
State of New-Hampshire.

NOTE.

The remainder of Washington's letters, in the Secretary's office in this State, will be published by the Rev. JARED SPARKS, in his forthcoming edition of *Washington's Works*.

Depositions of Barefoote, Mason, &c.

[Referred to in Belknap's His. N. Hamp. Vol. I. p. 224, and found by one of the publishing committee, in the Office of the Register of Deeds, at Exeter, March, 1827. Thomas Wiggin and Anthony Nutter, mentioned in these depositions, had been members of the Assembly, and it appears, from minutes of the General Assembly, held at Great Island, October 5th, 1685, that "Lieut. Ant. Nutter" was then a Deputy from Dover. This Thomas Wiggin was probably a son of Capt. Thomas Wiggin, mentioned in Belknap, Vol. I. p. 17.]

In the later end of February last, at wh. time our honorable Governor, Ed. Cranfield, Esqr. resided at my house on ye Great Island in Portsmouth, in ye province of New-Hampshire, came Wm. Walderne to my said house, and enformed me his Unckell Walderne was getting a party of men to come to said island, and bid me to looke to ourselves by reason of a paper which our Governor had caused to be sett vp at Dover, concerning Mr. Masson's tittle—And at another time said Wm. Walderne came as above to my house, and told me it was reported at Dover he had taken an oath against his said Unckle, and Mr. Pike came to him, said William, and chid him for soe doeing, to all which I affirm to be trueth, ye said William Walderne did enforme me all ye above—Witnes my hand this 30th of July, 1683.

WALTER BAREFOOTE.*

The above written Walter Barefoote was sworn to ye truth of ye above written at ye Quarter Sessions of ye Peace, held at Great Island ye 7th of August, 1683.

R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Cl. of ye Peace.*

I, Robert Mason Esqr. Propr. of ye Province of New-Hampshire doe make oath, that upon ye 30th, day of Decemb. last, being in my lodgings at ye

* This deposition is from the original, in the hand-writing of Walter Barefoote.

house of Walter Barefoot Esqr. Dept. Governr. & seeing Thomas Wiggins & Arth. Nutter of ye sd Province yeoman, talking with ye Dept. Governr. I bid them welcome & invited them to stay supper, after supper, upon some discourse Wiggins said, he & others had read the papers I had set up, but they did not regard them or value them at a rush, for I had nothing to doe in ye Proviuce, nor had one foot of land therin, nor ever should have, & withall did give very abusive & provoking language, so that I commanded Wiggins to goe out of ye room, which he did not, but asked ye Dept. Governr. whose ye house was, Barefoots or Masons, the Dept. Governr. told him yt ye house & servants were mine, & intreated him to be gone, & not to make a disturbance. I then opened ye door & took Wiggins by ye arm to put him forth, saying he should not stay there to affront me in my own house, Whereupon Wiggins took hold of my cravat & being a big strong man pulled me to ye chimney & threw me upon ye fire, & lay upon me, & did endeavour to strangle me by griping my windpipe, that I could hardly breath, my left foot was much scorched & swelled, my coat perriwig & stockings were burnt, and had it not been for ye Dept. Governr. who was all yt time endeavouring to pluck Wiggins off from me, I doe verily believe I had been murdered. I was no sooner got out of ye fire but ye sd. Wiggins laid hands on ye Dept. Governr. and threw him into ye fire, & fell upon him so yt two of ye Dept. Governrs. ribs were broke, I did with much difficulty pull Wiggins off ye Dept. Governr. Wiggins being risen upon his feet did again assault me & ye Dept. Governr. & threw ye Dept. Governr. down, thereupon I called to a maid servant to fetch my sword, saying ye villain would murder ye Dept. Governr. the servant coming with my sword in ye scabbard, I took hold thereof, but it was snatched out of my

hands by Anth. Nutter who was present in ye room & did see ye assault made both upon ye Dept. Governr. & myself, & hindred me from releiving ye Dept. Governr. Nor did ye sd. Nutter give any help or assistance to the Deputy Governor.

ROBERT MASON.

Taken upon the 8th March, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, before me,
R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Just. P.*

I, Walter Barefoot, Esqr. Dept. Governr. of the Province of New-Hampshire doe make oath, that upon ye 30th of Decemb. last, Thomas Wiggins & Anthony Nutter yeomen, being at my house, Wiggins did give Robert Mason Esqr. Propr. of ye Province very provoking language, so yt Mr. Mason bid him several times to go out of ye house, & I did also intreat ye sd. Wiggins to be gone, fearing some mischeif might else ensue, telling him that Mr. Mason had ye use of the house during his stay in ye countrey, & ye servants were his, but Wiggins would not goe out, being encouraged to stay by ye sd. Nutter, who did speak to Wiggins not to goe, but to stay, then Mr. Mason opened ye door & took Thomas Wiggins by ye arm bidding him be gone, for that he should not stay there, thereupon Thomas Wiggins laid hands upon Mr. Mason & threw him upon ye fire & by force kept him down, so that I had great difficulty to pluck him off, and I do verily beleive Mr. Mason had been murdered had it not been for me. And Thomas Wiggins did also assault me & threw me into the same fire & fell upon me, so that two of my ribs were broken, and one of my teeth came out.

WALTER BAREFOOTE.

Taken upon oath the 8th March, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, before me,
R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Just. P.*

Prudence Gatch aged sixteen years servant to Robert Mason Esqr. maketh oath, that Thomas Wiggins & Anthony Nutter being in her masters kitchin Thomas Wiggins did give her master ill language, that her master bid Tho. Wiggins severall times to be gone out of the house, & one Mrs. Hall who was then present did beg of Tho. Wiggins to goe out, but he would not, that she seing Tho. Wiggins laying hold of her Master by the cravat & hair, did run forth to call the neighbours, crying out that her master would be murdered, & when she came back into the kitchen, she did see fire sticking to her masters clothes, & his Perriwig burned. And she did also see Tho. Wiggins fighting with the Deputy Governr. who was thrown down upon the floor, that at the same time Anthony Nutter did walk about the room in a laughing manner.

The mark of

✕
Prudence Gatch.

Taken upon oath ye 9th March

1688⁵, before me

R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Just. P.*

Joan Carter wife of Edward Carter, and Wilmot Martin wife of John Martin of Great Island, doe make oath, that they hearing Mr. Masons servant maid crying out that her master would be murdered, did run into Capt. Barefoots house, & did see Thomas Wiggins, Capt. Barefoot & Mr. Mason fighting, & a tall big man called Anthony Nutter was walking about the room in a laughing manner; that the Depont. Carter did say to Nutter, for Gods sake part them, will you stand by and see men murdered, pray put Wiggins out of the room. Nut-

ter said to the Depont. Carter, will you save me harmless then, but the said Nutter did not give any assistance to the Deputy Governr. nor did endeavour to part them, and the Depont Carter did take up Capt. Barefoots velvet cap which lay behind the fire.

The mark of
X
Joan Carter

Taken upon oath the 9th
March, 1688⁵/₆, before me,
R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Just. P.*



Employment of Seneca and Mohawk Indians.

New-Hampsh. in New-England.

By His Ma'ts Council.

Seal of ye Province.	There being an appearance of an Insurrection of ye Indians in this & other His Ma'ts Colonies of New-England, with an intent to destroy His Ma'ts Subiects; It is therefore humbly desired by us of His Ma'ts Council, That the Hon'ble Edward Cranfield Esqr. the Govern'r & Capt'n General of this sd Province, will be pleased to take upon him the trouble, to go to ye Hon'ble Colonel T. Dungs, Govr.—[illegible]— and treat with him for procuring such a number of Mohauck, Senacar, or other Indians to march into this sd Province, for defence & security thereof as the Hon'ble Govern'r shall think needfull, and to make such Capitulacons & Agreement for their pay, as his Hon'r shall find reasonable, & what his Hon'r shall do therein we shall agree unto it, and that the sd Mohauck, Senacar, or other Indians, be paid out of such monies as shall be raised in the sd Province, in
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pursuance of the Powers granted by His Ma'ts Royal Commission. And His Ma'ts sd Council do ingage our selves to see the Mohaucks, Senacars, or other Indians (as his Hon'r shall iudg fit to be imployd) out of the Public monies that are now raising for that purpose. Given under our hands & the Seal of the Province the one & twentieth day of March, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, and in the 36th year of His Ma'ts Raighn.

ROBERT MASON,
W. BAREF,
R. CHAMB.
R. ELLIOT,
JO. HINKS.

NOTE.—The name of Mason *seems* to be in his own hand writing, while the other names are evidently written by one hand. In place of the seal, are the words, "Seal of ye Province" The body of the paper was written by R. Chamberlain, Clerk of the Council. Possibly the whole is but a copy or draft of the original.

Order of Gov. Cranfield—1684.

New Hampshire.

By the Governor.

(SEAL) Whereas there hath bin a petition & complaint lately preferred to His Maty. against me Edward Cranfield Esqr and Robert Mason Esqr wherein itt is alledged among other things that seuerall persons haue bin imprisoned out of disigne to obstruct Proofs for the making out of certain misdemeanours that we and others have bin charged withall ; and Colonel

Edw Cranfield

Richard Waldron and William Vaughan Esqrs are principally concerned in the said charge who now stand committed by His Mats: Justices of Peace for this Prouince for seuerall misdemeanours: Therefore to take away all ground of such false Allegacons as aforesd. and to giue them the better oppertunity to make out their charge against vs, I have thought fitt to sett at liberty the said Richard Waldron and William Vaughan, that they may bring their wittnesses before Richard Chamberlain Esqr one of His Mats. Council and Justice of Peace, to be deposed in order to making out their charge; and he hath order from my selfe to give them Copies of such affidauits or other records & papers to the end to give His Maty. & the Lords of the Comittee of Trade and Plantacons due satisfaction. And they the sd Richard Waldron and William Vaughan haue hereby full & free liberty to goe at large imediately, and farther for the space of two months from the arriuall of His Mats. Originall Letter, which is to direct in the premisses; and then they are to returne to prison, vnless they shall be discharged att the next Quarter Sessions of the Peace or Gaol deliuery, by due course of Law. And Richard Abbott Prison Keeper of Great Island, and John Souter Prison Keeper of Hampton are hereby required and comanded to take notice of this Order, and forthwith to giue obedience thereunto, and sett the sd Richard Waldron and William Vaughan at liberty accordingly, and for soe doing this shall be their sufficient Warrant. Given vnder my hand and Seal att Great Island the sixteenth day of Octor. in the six and thirtieth year of the Reign of Our Souereign Lord Charles the Second, King of England, &c. A'oq D'ini. 1684.

NOTE. This and the following order are copied from the originals, found in the Recorder's office in Rockingham, by one of the publishing committee.

New Hampsh.

BY THE GOVERNOR.

William Vaughan of Portsmouth Esqr. pretending (as I am informed,) That one of his witnesses, whom he desires may be deposed in relation to the Complaint of Nathaniel Weare, is sick, and cannot come to Great Island for that end and purpose: And there being no Directions in the Letter from ye Right Honble the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantacons but only for one of the Council or one Justice of Peace, to take such depositions: I have for the giving the Complain'ts the better opportunity to make out their Charge, directed this following order.

Whereas it hath bin represented to Richard Chamberlain Esqr. whom I have appointed to take Depositions (according to the Letter of the Right Honble the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantacons) against my Self, Mr. Mason, or for any matter relating to the Province, That some of the Witnesses are sick and incapable of coming down to the habitacon of the sd Richd. Chamberlain; To the intent that the Persons concerned may not be disappointed by ye infirmity of any intended Witness, in making out any of their Allegacons: These are therefore to empower any Justice of the Town or Place, where such Witness, so being sick, doth reside, to take the Depositions of the sd Witnesses, the Complaint first making Oath of such Witness's being sick or otherwise unable to travel or come to be deposed before the Person appointed.

Given under my hand ye 1^t. November, 1684.

EDW. CRANFIELD.

To be published at the several Meeting houses throughout the sd Province, by the Minister.

New-Hampsh.

By the Governor.

Being charged in the Peticon of Nathaniel Wear (among other things) for Erecting Courts seperate from the Assembly: And their Lordships, to whom His Ma'ty hath referred the consideration of the sd Wear's Peticon, having required me to give a speedy answer to the several Charges therein expressed, w'h I have already done by Capt'n Bolstor; I thought my self bound in modesty & duty both to His Ma'ty and their Lo'ps to suspend Execucons in Mr. Masons concerns or my own, untill such time as His Ma'ty and their Lo'ps Pleasure be signified, whether the Courts be legally constituted; w'h if they are not, the Proceeding had thereupon must consequently be illegal: The Maior part of the Inhabitants of the sd Province remaining of an opinion that the Assembly ought to be ioined with my Self in the constituting of Courts. Given under my hand and Seal at Great Island the Tenth day of Novembr. 1684.

*New-Hampsh. in New-England.**The Depositions of Peter Coffin & James Sherlock Esq's.*

These Depon'ts testify & say That Robert Mason Esq'r Proprietor of the sd Province being at Mr. Chamberlain's house & demanding Execucons of him, the Govern'r being prsent, gave order to him the sd Rich'd Chamberlain Prothon. not to make out any Execucons as in the Declaracon above written, untill His Ma'ts Pleasure shal be further knowh.

PET. COFFIN,
JAMES SHERLOCK.

'Taken upon oath the 10th of Novembr. 1684,
before me, R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Just. P.*

NOTE. The above is taken from a copy, in the hand writing of R. Chamberlain, found with the preceding order.

Rev. Seaborn Cotton.

To the Honorable His Maiestyes Council! for the
Province of New-Hampshire, The Petition of
Seaborne Cotton of Hampton In the Province
abovesaid,

Humbly Sheweth,

That whereas by an Act of His Maiestyes Council in this Province, bearing date as I conceive, dec: 10, 1683, The people in ye severall Townes, were left at thayre Liburty, whethar they would pay theyre ministers, or no, after ye first of January ensuing yt act, vnlesse theyre ministers would Administer Baptisme, and the Lords supper, to such as desired It, according to His Maiestyes Letter to ye Massachusetts which was never denyed by me, to any that orderly asked It: yet too many people have taken occasion thereby, both to withhold what was my due before that Act, for the yeare 1683, as also for the yeare 1684, & are likely to doe so for ye yeare 1685, except this Honorable Council see cause to passe an Act, & order to the Trustees of Hampton: that I may have my Dues according to the Townes Compact upon Record, & theyre Agreement with my selfe, many yeares since, The Time also drawing nigh, when for this instant yeare I should have my rate made, doth hasten mee to present this Adresse, & to request your Honors Favour therein: if your Honors send an Order to our Trustees, your Honors may possibly see cause, to omit ye naming my selfe as requesting It, all wch I leave to your Honors Generous Acceptance,

and am Your Honors Humbly devoted

SEABORNE COTTON.

Hampton, Sept. 5, 1685.

In answer to this Peticon, The Councel Order, that the Peticoner be left to the Law to have his remedy ag't the persons he contracted with, for his dues.

R. CHAMBERLAIN, *Cl. Councel.*

NOTE. This petition is copied from the original, found with the preceding deposition.

To the Publishing Committee of the N. H. Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN,—I enclose you a list of the civil government of Massachusetts from the time the Massachusetts colony charter was brought to this country in 1630, to 1641, and of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire colonies while united under the same government from 1641 to 1680, which is offered for publication in the volume of your collections now in the press, unless it shall exclude more important matter. With much care and patient perseverance it has been copied from the ancient colony records of Massachusetts by a gentleman of Boston, who is well acquainted with the chirography of those times, and well versed in the antiquities of our early history, so that we may have full confidence in receiving it as an authentick document. The representatives, or deputies, as they were then called, in the General Court are placed in the order in which they now stand in the records. The towns which they represented are not named until 1650, but by patient examination and comparison, they have been ascertained in most instances. It could not be expected that the residence of all the members should be rendered certain, where there was no clue to it in the records, and it is probable there may be some errors in assigning the residence of some of the earliest members. In a great many instances, the name of baptism was wanting, which has been generally supplied from the lists of freemen and other sources. The records have been followed in giving the title of "Mr." as far as 1643, in which year it does not appear at all, although it is afterwards resumed, but without much uniformity, often giving and withholding to the same person. It will be perceived that after 1650, several towns chose representa-

tives, who were not resident in the towns which they represented. This practice continued until 1694, when an act passed the General Court, "restraining towns from choosing any person to represent them in the General Court, other than freeholders and resident within such towns." It is a little remarkable that Exeter sent no representative while under Massachusetts, the reason of which we shall probably find in the minute and careful history of that town, now preparing by a gentleman fully competent for the undertaking.

I am, respectfully,

JOHN FARMER.

Concord, March, 1827.



GOVERNORS AND DEPUTY GOVERNORS.

Governors.	Years in office.	Deputy Governors.	Years in office.
1630 John Winthrop,	4	Thomas Dudley,	4
1634 Thomas Dudley,	1	Roger Ludlow,	1
1635 John Haynes,	1	Richard Bellingham,	1
1636 Henry Vane,	1	John Winthrop,	1
1637 John Winthrop,	3	Thomas Dudley,	3
1640 Thomas Dudley,	1	Richard Bellingham,	1
1641 Richard Bellingham,	1	John Endicott,	3
1642 John Winthrop,	2	"	
1644 John Endicott,	1	John Winthrop,	2
1645 Thomas Dudley,	1	"	
1646 John Winthrop,	3	Thomas Dudley,	4
1649 John Endicott,	5	"	
1650 "		John Endicott,	1
1651 "		Thomas Dudley,	2
1653 "		Richard Bellingham,	1
1654 Richard Bellingham,	1	John Endicott,	1
1655 John Endicott,	10	Richard Bellingham,	10
1665 Richard Bellingham,	8	Francis Willoughby,	6
1671 "		John Leverett,	2
1673 John Leverett,	6	Samuel Symonds,	6
1679 Simon Bradstreet, and		Thomas Danforth, who con-	
tinued in office until the dissolution of the Charter.			

ASSISTANTS.*

	Years in office.	Died.
Richard Saltonstall, Watertown,	1630	
Isaac Johnson, Boston,	1630	1630
Roger Ludlow, Dorchester,	1630 to 1634	
Edward Rossiter, Dorchester,	1630	1630
John Endicott, Salem,	1630 to 34 ; 1637 to 1640	1665
Increase Nowell, Charlestown,	1630 to 1655	1655
Thomas Sharp, Boston,	1630	
William Vassall,	1630	
Wm. Pynchon, Roxbury,(1)	1630 to 36 ; 1642 to 1650	
Simon Bradstreet, Ipswich,	1630 to 1678	1697
John Humphrey, Sagus (Lynn)	1632 to 1641	
William Coddington, Boston.	1630 ; 1632 to 1636	1678
Johu Winthrop, jr. Boston & Ipswich,	1632 to 1649	1676
John Haynes, Cambridge,	1634 & 1636	1654
Rich'd Bellingham, Boston, 1636 to 39 ;	1643 to 1652	1672
Richard Dummer, Roxbury.(2)	1635 & 1636	1679
Atherton Hough, Boston,	1635	1650
John Winthrop, sen. Boston,	1635, 1640 & 1641	1649
	[& 1653	1653
Th. Dudley, Cambridge,(3)	1635, 36, 41 to 44,	
Henry Vane, Boston,	1636	1662
Roger Harlakenden, Cambridge,	1636 to 1638	1638
Israel Stoughton, Dorchester,	1637 to 1644	1644
Richard Saltonstall, Ipswich,(4)	1637 to 49 ; 1664	1694
Thomas Flint, Concord,	1642 to 1653	1655
Samuel Symonds, Ipswich,	1643 to 1672	1678
William Hibbins, Boston,	1643 to 1654	1654
Herbert Pelham, Cambridge,	1645 to 1649 ab	1676
Robert Bridges, Lynn,	1647 to 1656	1656
Francis Willoughby, Charlestown;	1650, 51 ; 1664	1671
Thomas Wiggin, Dover, N. H.	1650 to 1664	
Edward Gibbons, Boston,	1651	1654
Daniel Gookin, Cambridge,	1652 to 1686	1687
John Glover, Dorchester,	1652, 1653	1654
Daniel Denison, Ipswich,	1654 to 1682	1682
Simon Willard, Concord,(5)	1654 to 1675	1676
Humphrey Atherton, Dorchester,	1654 to 1661	1661
Richard Russell, Charlestown,	1659 to 1676	1676

* The list of assistants is carried down to the year 1686, when the government had been dissolved.

(1) Afterwards of Springfield. (2) Afterwards of Newbury. (3) Afterwards of Roxbury. (4) Afterwards of Haverhill. (5) Afterwards of Groton.

	Years in office.	Died.
Thomas Danforth, Cambridge,	1659 to 1678	1699
John Leverett, Boston,	1665 to 1670	1679
William Hathorne, Salem,	1662 to 1679	1681
Eleazar Lusher, Dedham,	1662 to 1672	1672
John Pynchon, sen. Springfield,	1665 to 1686	1702
Edward Tyng, Boston,(1)	1668 to 1681	1681
William Stoughton, Dorchester,	1671 to 1686	1701
Thomas Clarke, Boston,	1673 to 1677	1683
Joseph Dudley, Roxbury,	1676 to 1685	1720
Peter Bulkley, Concord,	1677 to 1684	1688
Nathaniel Saltonstall, Haverhill,	1679 to 1682	1707
Humphrey Davy, prob. Boston,	1679 to 1686	
John Richards, Boston,	1680 to 1686	1694
John Hull, Boston,	1680 to 1683	1683
Samuel Nowell,(2)	1680 to 1686	
James Russell, Charlestown,	1680 to 1686	1709
Peter Tilton, Hadley,	1680 to 1686	
William Browne, sen. Salem	1680 to 1683	1683
Thomas Savage, Boston,	1680 & 1681	1682
Bartholomew Gedney, Salem,	1680 to 1683	1698
Samuel Appleton, Ipswich,	1681 to 1686	1696
Robert Pike, Salisbury,	1682 to 1686	1706
Daniel Fisher, Dedham.	1683	1683
John Woodbridge, Newbury,	1683 & 1684	1695
Elisha Cooke, Boston,	1684 to 1686	1715
William Johnson, Woburn,	1684 to 1686	1704
John Hathorne, Salem,	1684 to 1686	1717
Elisha Hutchinson, Boston,	1684 to 1686	1717
Samuel Sewall, Boston,	1684 to 1686	1730
Oliver Purchase, Lynn,	Declined to take the oath.	
Isaac Addington, Boston,	1686	1715
John Smith, Hingham,	1686	1695

DEPUTIES IN THE GENERAL COURT.

Those with double commas prefixed have the title of Mr. in the records.

1634.

14th May.

Mr. William Goodwin, Cambridge*
 " William Spencer, "
 " John Talcot, "
 " Robert Feakes, Watertown
 " Richard Brown, "

" John Oldham, "
 " Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 " Abner Palmer, "
 Robert Moulton, "
 " John Coggeshall, Boston
 Edward Quincy, "
 Capt. John Underhill, "
 John Johnson, Roxbury

(1) Afterwards of Dunstable, N. H. (2) Went to England.

* Then called Newtown.

William Heath, "
 " George Alcock, "
 " Israel Stoughton, Dorchester
 William Phelps, "
 George Hull, "
 Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Sagus*
 " [Thomas] Willis, "
 " Edward Tomlins, "
 " John Holgrave, Salem
 " Roger Conant, "
 Francis Weston, "
 Number, 24.

3d September.

Names omitted on the record at this court. Supposed to be 25 or 26.

1634-5.

2d March,

Mr. Richard Bellingham Boston
 Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Sagus
 Lt. Robert Feakes, Watertown
 Ens. William Jennison, Watertown
 Edward Gibbons, Boston
 Richard Brown, Watertown
 " John Coggeshall, Boston
 " John Talcot, Cambridge
 " William Spencer, "
 John Steele,
 " William Denison, Roxbury
 John Johnson, "
 Lt. Richard Morris, "
 " Abraham Palmer, Charlestown
 " William Colburn, Boston
 " [John] Woolridge, Dorchester
 Ens. Israel Stoughton, "
 " John Spencer, Ipswich
 " Timothy Tomlins, Sagus
 " Thomas Newbury, Sagus?
 John Kirman, Weymouth?
 " John Holgrave, Salem
 Charles Gott, "
 Peter Palfrey, "
 Capt. John Mason, Dorchester
 25

Nicholas Easton and Henry Short, Ipswich, were unduly chosen and dismissed.

6th May.

Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Sagus
 Lt. Robert Feakes, Watertown
 " Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 " Daniel Denison, Ipswich
 " John Talcot, Cambridge
 John Steele, "
 " William Hutchinson, Boston
 " John Coggeshall, "
 " William Colburn, "
 " John Holgrave, Salem
 " John Woodbury, "
 " John Wolcott, Dorchester?

Ralph Sprague, Charlestown
 Robert Moulton "
 " John Johnson Roxbury
 Samuel Wakeman, "
 William Parkes, "
 Ephraim Child, Watertown
 Edward Howe, Sagus
 " Thomas Newbury, Sagus?
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 " Wm. Phelps, Dorchester
 Henry Bartholomew, Salem
 Thomas Howlett, Ipswich
 " John Spencer, Ipswich?
 Thomas Smith Weymouth?
 26

2d Sept.

" John Talcot, Cambridge
 " John Steele,
 " Daniel Denison, Ipswich
 " Richard Brown, Watertown
 Ens. William Jennison, "
 " Edward Howe, Sagus
 " William Hutchinson, Boston
 " [John] Moody, Roxbury
 " William Colburn, Boston
 " William Brenton, "
 " George Alcock, Roxbury
 " Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 " William Parks, Roxbury
 John Monsall, Charlestown
 Ezekiel Richardson, "
 Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 Capt. John Mason, "
 William Gallard, "
 Joseph Metcalf, Ipswich
 Humphrey Bradstreet, "
 William Bartholomew,
 Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Sagus
 Edward Tomlins, "
 Thomas Stanley, "
 Capt. William Traske, Salem
 John Woodbury, "
 Jacob Barney, "
 " John Spencer,
 28

1635-6.

3d March.

Mr. Richard Saltonstall, Ipswich
 " Daniel Denison, "
 " John Spencer, "
 " Townsend Bishop, Salem
 Capt. William Traske, "
 " Thomas Scroggs, "
 Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Sagus
 " Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 Ralph Sprague, "
 Thomas Lynde, "
 " William Hutchinson, Boston
 " William Colburn, "

* Afterwards Lynn.

" William Brenton, "
 " Matthew Allen, "
 " William Spencer, Cambridge
 " John Talcot, "
 " John Johnson, Roxbury
 George Alcock, "
 Lt. Richard Morris, "
 " Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 William Gallard, "
 George Minot, "
 Ens. William Jennison, Watertown
 Lt. Robert Feakes, "
 " Bryan Pendleton, "
 William Bartholomew, Ipswich
 " William Woods.

27

25th May.

Mr. Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 [Edward] Gibbons, "
 Ralph Mousall, "
 " George Alcock, Roxbury
 John Johnson, "
 William Parks, "
 " Clement Chaplain,
 " George Cooke, Cambridge
 " John Talcot "
 " William Hutchinson, Boston
 " John Coggeshall, "
 " William Brenton, "
 Lt. Robert Feakes, Watertown
 Ens. William Jennison, "
 William Swan, Watertown ?
 George Hull, Dorchester
 William Gallard, "
 George Minot, "
 " Richard Saltonstall, Ipswich
 " Daniel Denison, "
 John Perkins, "
 " John Spencer, Newbury ?
 Capt. Nathaniel Tumaer, Sagus
 Lt. Daniel Howe, "
 John Upham, Weymouth
 John Bursley "
 Capt. William Traske, Salem
 " Townsend Bishop, "
 " John Blackleath, Hingham ?
 " Joseph Andrews, Weymouth
 " Nicholas Baker, Hingham ?

31

8th Sept.

Mr. John Spencer, Newbury ?
 " Edward Woodman, "
 " Richard Saltonstall, Ipswich
 " Thomas Boreman, "
 Capt. William Traske, Salem
 " Townsend Bishop, "
 " Thomas Scruggs "
 Lt. Daniel Howe, Sagus
 " Timothy Tomlins, "
 " Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 " Thomas Lynde "

Serj. Ralph Sprague "
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 " William Spencer, "
 Joseph Andrews, Weymouth
 " Nicholas Danforth, Cambridge
 " Thomas Mayhew, Watertown
 Lt. Robert Feakes, "
 " Edward Howe, Sagus
 " William Hutchinson, Boston
 " William Brenton "
 " John Coggeshall, "
 Israel Heath, Roxbury
 John Johnson "
 Joseph Welde "
 " Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 George Minot, "
 Richard Callicott, "
 William Smith, Weymouth
 " Thomas Walton, "

30

7th Dec.

Mr. Thomas Beecher, Charlestown
 Serj. Ralph Sprague, "
 Abraham Palmer, "
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 " Nicholas Danforth, "
 Lt. Robert Feakes, Watertown
 " Edward Howe, Sagus
 Simon Willard, Concord
 " John Coggeshall, Boston
 " William Colburn, "
 " William Benton, "
 " Joseph Welde, Roxbury
 " John Johnson, "
 Israel Heath, "
 Israel Stoughton, Dorchester
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 William Read, Weymouth
 John Kirman, "
 Capt. William Traske, Salem
 " Thomas Scruggs, "
 " Richard Saltonstall, Ipswich
 " Daniel Denison, "
 " John Spencer, Newbury
 " Thomas Walton, Weymouth

24

John Johnson, vice of Israel Heath.

1637.

April.

Capt. Israel Stoughton, Dorchester
 Mr. John Glover, "
 Richard Callicott, "
 " William Colburn, Boston
 " John Coggeshall, "
 " William Brenton, "
 " Richard Brown, Watertown
 Capt. William Jennison, "
 " Bryan Pendleton, "
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 " Nicholas Danforth, "
 Lt. William Spencer, "

Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Thomas Lynde, "
 John Mousall, "
 " Edward Woodman, Newbury
 " John Woodbridge, "
 " Richard Calhoun, Ipswich
 Capt. Daniel Denison, "
 Capt. William Tasker, Salem
 Lt. Richard Danforth, "
 Robert Moulton, "
 Timothy Tomlins, Sagus
 Lt. Daniel Howe, "
 " Simon Willard, Concord
 Thomas White,* Weymouth
 Joseph Andrews, Hingham
 Anthony Eames, "
 Isaac Heath, Roxbury
 John Johnson, "
 William Heath "

31

17th May.

George Minot, Dorchester
 " John Glover, "
 Richard Callicott, "
 Isaac Heath, Roxbury
 William Heath, "
 John Johnson, "
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Thomas Lynde, "
 John Mousall, "
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 " Nicholas Danforth, "
 Lt. William Spencer, "
 Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
 " Richard Brown, "
 " Thomas Mayhew, "
 Lt. Simon Willard, Concord
 Lt. Daniel Howe, Sagus
 " Timothy Tomlins, "
 Capt. William Trask, Salem
 Lt. Richard Danforth, "
 Edward Batter, "
 Samuel Appleton, Ipswich
 Joseph Metcalf, "
 Edward Woodman, Newbury
 John Woodbridge, "
 John Upham, Weymouth
 William Smith, "
 Anthony Eames, Hingham
 Joseph Andrews, "
 " Henry Vane, Boston
 " William Coddington, "
 " Atherton Hough, "

32

26th Sept.

Mr. John Glover, Dorchester
 Israel Heath, Roxbury
 John Johnson, "

Thomas Lynde, Charlestown
 John Mousall, "
 Nicholas Danforth, Cambridge
 William Spencer, "
 Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
 " Richard Brown, "
 " Thomas Mayhew, "
 Lt. Simon Willard, Concord
 Lt. Daniel Howe, Sagus
 Timothy Tomlins, "
 Samuel Appleton, Ipswich
 Joseph Metcalf, "
 Edward Woodman, Newbury
 John Woodbridge, "
 John Upham, Weymouth
 William Smith, "
 Anthony Eames, Hingham
 William Coddington, Boston
 Atherton Hough, "
 Joseph Andrews, Hingham
 William Hathorne, Salem
 Thomas Gardner, "
 Lt. Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 William Aspinwall, Boston

27

2d Nov.

Capt. Daniel Denison, Ipswich
 Lt. Edward Woodman, Newbury
 John Woodbridge, "
 " William Bartholomew, Ipswich
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 Townsend Bishop, "
 Edward Batter, "
 Lt. Daniel Howe, Lynn
 Timothy Tomlins, "
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, "
 Ens. Abraham Palmer, "
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 Richard Jackson, "
 John Bridge, "
 Richard Brown, Watertown
 Capt. William Jennison, "
 Thomas Mayhew, "
 Simon Willard, Concord
 Samuel Ward, Sagus
 Thomas Underwood, Concord
 Thomas White,* Weymouth
 Richard Adams, "
 Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 Richard Callicott, "
 " John Glover, "
 Ens. Joseph Welde, Roxbury
 " George Alcock, "
 William Parks, "
 William Coddington, Boston†
 William Colburn,† "

31

* Thomas White.—Is this one of the grantees of the famous Wheelwright deed?

† Vice William Aspinwall and John Coggeshall, dismissed. John Oliver was also dismissed.

1637-8.
12th March.

Mr. John Woodbridge, Newbury
 " William Bartholomew, Ipswich
 Robert Lord "
 " Edward Howe, Lynn
 " Timothy Tomlins, "
 " Richard Brown, Watertown
 " Thomas Mayhew, "
 " Bryan Pendleton, "
 " William Spencer, Cambridge
 " Joseph Cooke "
 " Richard Jackson, "
 " Joseph Isaac, "
 " John Johnson, Roxbury
 Ens. Joseph Weld, "
 William Parks "
 " Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 " John Glover, "
 " Thomas Jones, Concord
 " Atherton Hough, Boston
 " John Newgate, "
 " John Oliver, "
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, "
 Ens. Abraham Palmer, "
 Stephen French, Weymouth
 Richard Adams, "
 Samuel Ward, Sudbury
 Anthony Eames, Hingham
 John Woodbury, Salem
 Edmund Batter, "
 30

2d May.

Mr. Atherton Hough, Boston
 " Robert Keayne, "
 " John Oliver, "
 " Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, "
 Ens. Abraham Palmer, "
 Richard Brown, Watertown
 " Thomas Mayhew, "
 " Bryan Pendleton, "
 Isaac Heath, Roxbury
 John Johnson, "
 William Parks "
 Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 Richard Jackson, "
 John Bridge, "
 " Samuel Symonds, Ipswich
 " William Bartholomew, "
 " Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 " John Glover, "
 William Gallard "
 John Upham, Weymouth
 Henry Kingman "
 William Hathorne, Salem
 Edmund Batter, "
 Edward Howe, Lynn
 Timothy Tomlins, "

Thomas Flint, Concord
 Lt. Simon Willard, "
 " John Woodbridge, Newbury
 " Edward Rawson, "
 " Joseph Andrews, Hingham
 " Nicholas Baker, "
 32

6th Sept.

Mr. Joseph Hull, Hingham
 Anthony Eames " }
 Stephen French, Weymouth }
 William Read, " }
 Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 John Glover, "
 Humphrey Atherton, "
 Isaac Heath, Roxbury
 John Johnson, "
 William Parks, "
 Atherton Hough, Boston
 Robert Keayne, "
 John Newgate, "
 Ralph Sprague, Charlestown
 Abraham Palmer, "
 Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 John Bridge, "
 Gregory Stone, "
 Richard Browne, Watertown
 Thomas Mayhew, "
 William Jennison, "
 Thomas Flint, Concord
 Simon Willard, "
 Edward Howe, Lynn
 William Hathorne, Salem
 John Woodbury, "
 Jacob Barney, "
 William Hubbard, Ipswich
 Samuel Symonds, "
 Richard Lumkins, "
 Edward Rawson, Newbury
 31

Ralph Mousall dismissed.

1639.

22d May.

Mr. Joseph Peck, Hingham
 Edmund Hobart, "
 Edward Bates, Weymouth
 James Perkins, "
 John Glover, Dorchester
 Humphrey Atherton, "
 John Stowe, Roxbury
 William Heath, "
 Robert Keayne, Boston
 Edward Gibbons, "
 Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Ralph Sprague, "
 Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 Samuel Shepherd, "
 Richard Browne, Watertown
 Thomas Mayhew, "
 Edward Alleyn, Dedham

* Names omitted in Record.

Thomas Flint, Concord
 Simon Willard, "
 Edward Holyoke, Lynn
 Timothy Tomlins, "
 William Tráske, Salem
 William Hathorne, "
 Edward Rawson, Newbury
 Edward Woodman, "
 William Hubbard, Ipswich
 Richard Lumpkins
 Mr. Edward Howe* was sent after in
 room of Richard Brown.

27 or 28.

4th Sept.

Mr. Emanuel Downing, Salem
 " William Hathorne "
 " Edward Rawson, Newbury
 " John Clarke, "
 " John Moulton, Hampton
 " Samuel Symonds, Ipswich
 " Richard Lumpkin "
 " Edward Holyoke, Lynn
 " Edward Tomlins, Lynn
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, "
 " Thomas Flint, Concord
 " Richard Griffin, "
 " Edward Alleyn, Dedham
 " Ralph Wheelock, "
 Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
 " Thomas Mayhew, "
 " Samuel Shepard, Cambridge
 " John Bridge, "
 Capt. Edward Gibbons, Boston
 " William Tyng, "
 " John Stowe, Roxbury
 " William Heath, "
 " John Glover, Dorchester
 " Thomas Hawkins, Boston
 " Edward Bates, Weymouth
 " John Upham, "
 " Joseph Peck, Hingham
 " Edmund Hobart, "
 29

1640.

13th May.

Mr. Joseph Peck, Hingham
 " James Bates, "
 " Thomas Jenner, Weymouth
 " Edmund Bates, "
 " Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 " John Glover, "
 " William Heath, Roxbury
 " William Parks, "
 Capt. Edward Gibbons, Boston
 " William Tyng, "
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, "
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 " Samuel Shepard, "
 " Thomas Mayhew, Watertown
 Capt. William Jennison, "

" Thomas Flint, Concord
 " Richard Griffin, "
 " Peter Noyes, Sudbury
 " Edward Alleyn, Dedham
 " Ralph Wheelock, "
 " Timothy Tomlins, Lynn
 Ens. Richard Walker, Reading
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 " Townsend Bishop, "
 " Samuel Symonds, Ipswich
 Capt. Daniel Denison, "
 " John Woodbridge, Newbury
 " Thomas Nelson, Rowley
 " Christopher Battle, Salisbury
 " John Crosse, Hampton
 31

7th Oct.

" William Hibbins, Boston
 " William Tyng, "
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 " Thomas Coytmore, "
 " William Heath, Roxbury
 William Parks, "
 " Emanuel Downing, Salem
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 " Samuel Symonds, Ipswich
 John Whipple, "
 " Richard Dummer, Newbury
 " John Woodbridge, "
 Edmund Rice, Sudbury
 Christopher Battle, Salisbury
 " Joseph Peck, Hingham
 Edmund Hobart, sen. "
 John Crosse, Hampton
 " Thomas Flint, Concord
 Lt. Simon Willard, "
 " Ralph Wheelock, Dedham
 Eleazar Lusher, "
 " Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 " John Glover, "
 " Thomas Nelson, Rowley
 Francis Parrott, "
 " James Parker, Weymouth
 " Edward Bates, "
 Samuel Shepard, Cambridge
 " Joseph Cooke, "
 " Edward Holyoke, Lynn
 Timothy Tomlins, "
 William Cheesborough Braintree
 Stephen Kingsley, "
 Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
 " Thomas Mayhew, "
1641.
2d June.
 " William Hibbins, Boston
 " William Tyng, "
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 " Thomas Coytmore, "
 " Emanuel Downing, Salem
 " William Hathorne, "
 " John Whipple, Ipswich

* Howe was of Lynn after.

" George Giddings, "
 " Edward Holyoke, Lynn
 " Richard Walker, Reading
 " John Woodbridge, Newbury
 Matthew Boyes, Rowley
 Maximilian Jewett, "
 " Samuel Dudley, Salisbury
 John Crosse, Hampton
 Walter Haynes, Sudbury
 " Thomas Flint, Concord
 Lt. Simon Willard, Concord
 " Thomas Mayhew, Watertown
 Capt. William Jennison, "
 Richard Jackson, Cambridge
 John Bridge, "
 " Edward Alley, Dedham
 Eleazar Lusher, "
 " John Glover, Dorchester
 Humphrey Atherton, "
 John Johnson, Roxbury
 Joshua Hewes, "
 Samuel Bass, Braintree
 Stephen Kingsley, "
 Henry Smith, Springfield
 " Joseph Peck, Hingham
 " James Parker, Weymouth
 " William Carpenter, "
 34

7th Oct.

" Emanuel Downing, Salem
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 " William Tyng, Boston
 Capt. Edward Gibbons, "
 " Thomas Coytmore, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, "
 " Nicholas Brown, "
 " Samuel Symonds, Ipswich
 " William Bartholomew, "
 " Thomas Nelson, Rowley
 Matthew Boyes, "
 John Woodbridge, Newbury
 " Samuel Dudley, Salisbury
 " Christopher Battle, "
 William Hayward, Hampton
 " Joseph Cooke, Cambridge
 John Bridge, "
 Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
 " Simon Eyers, "
 " Peter Noyes, Sudbury
 " Thomas Flint, Concord
 Lt. Simon Willard, Concord
 Eleazar Lusher, Dedham
 Michael Powell, "
 " Joseph Weld, Roxbury
 William Heath, "
 Mr. John Glover, Dorchester
 Lt. Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
 Alexander Winchester, Braintree
 Stephen Kingsley, "
 James Parker, Weymouth
 Edward Bates, "
 Stephen Paine, Hingham
 Joseph Peck, "

Edward Holyoke, Lynn
 35

1642.

8th Sept.

Lt. William Hayward, Hampton
 Samuel Wensley, Salisbury
 Edward Rawson, Newbury
 Maximilian Jewett, Rowley
 Francis Parrott, "
 " Samuel Symonds, Ipswich
 " John Whipple, "
 George Norton, Gloucester
 " William Hathorne, Salem
 " Edmund Batter, "
 " Edward Holyoke, Lynn
 Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 " Francis Willoughby, "
 Capt. George Cooke, Cambridge
 " Nathaniel Sparhawk, "
 Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
 Edward Howe, "
 Walter Haynes, Sudbury
 Thomas Brooks, Concord
 Henry Chickering, Dedham
 " Edward Alleyn, "
 Capt. Edward Gibbons, Boston
 " William Tyng, "
 " John Johnson, Roxbury
 " William Heath, "
 " John Gluver, Dorchester
 Lt. Nathaniel Duncan, "
 William Cheesborongh, Braintree
 Samuel Bass, "
 James Parker, Weymouth
 William Perry, "
 Joseph Peck, Hingham
 Edmund Hobart, "
 Edward Callicott, Dorchester
 34

1643.

10th May.

Henry Chickering, Dedham
 Edmund Rice, Sudbury
 Thomas Brooks, Concord
 Edward Howe, Watertown
 Thomas Mayhew, "
 George Cooke, Cambridge
 Nathaniel Sparhawk, "
 Edward Gibbons, Boston
 William Tyng, "
 Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Richard Russell, "
 Hugh Prichard, Roxbury
 John Glover, Dorchester
 Humphrey Atherton, "
 Samuel Bass, Braintree
 Stephen Kingsley, "
 Bezoun Allen, Hingham
 Joshua Hobart, "
 William Torrey, Weymouth
 William Carpenter, "
 Edward Holyoke, Lynn

Edward Tomlins, "
 William Hathorne, Salem
 Edmund Batter, "
 William Hubbard, Ipswich
 Joseph Medcalf, "
 Matthew Boyes, Rowley
 Maximilian Jewett, "
 John Clarke, Newbury
 Edward Woodman, Newbury
 William Hayward, Hampton
 Edward Johnson, Woburn
 George Norton, Gloucester
 William Hook, Taunton
 Christopher Battle, Salisbury
 Edward Starbuck, Dover
 James Parker, Weymouth
 Joseph Weld, Roxbury

38
1643-4.

7th March.

William Hilton, Dover
 William Hayward, Hampton
 Samuel Dudley, Salisbury
 Edward Winslow ?
 John Leavitt, Hingham
 Henry Short, Ipswich
 Matthew Boyes, Rowley
 Edward Carleton, "
 Daniel Denison, Ipswich
 John Tuttle,
 Joseph Bachelor, Wenham
 George Norton, Gloucester
 Emanuel Downing, Salem
 William Hathorne, "
 Robert Bridges, Lynn
 Edward Tomlins, "
 Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Ralph Sprague, "
 George Cooke, Cambridge
 Samuel Shepard, "
 Thomas Mayhew, Watertown
 Hugh Mason, "
 Eleazer Lusher, Dedham
 Henry Chickering, "
 Simon Willard, Concord
 Walter Haynes, Sudbury
 John Johnson, Roxbury
 Thomas Hawkins, Boston
 William Tyng, "
 Edward Johnson, Woburn
 John Glover, Dorchester
 Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester

Samuel Bass, Braintree
 Peter Brackett, "
 William Torrey, Weymouth
 John Hollister
 Anthony Eames, Hingham
 Edmund Hobart, "
 Stephen Winthrop, for Portsmouth*

40

1644.†

29th May.

WILLIAM HATHORNE

William Hathorne, Salem
 Emanuel Downing, "
 Maj. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
 Lt. Ralph Sprague, Charlestown
 John Glover, Dorchester
 Lt. Nathaniel Duncan, "
 William Tyng, Boston (& Treasurer.)
 Thomas Hawkins, Boston
 Hugh Prichard, Roxbury
 William Parks, "
 Thomas Mayhew, Watertown
 Hugh Mason, "
 Robert Bridges, Lynn
 Edward Tomlins, "
 George Cooke, Cambridge
 Nathaniel Sparhawk, "
 William Hubbard, Ipswich
 Joseph Medcalf, "
 Edward Rawson, Newbury
 Lt. William Torrey, Weymouth
 Bozoun Allen, Hingham
 Lt. William Perkins, Ipswich
 John Porter,
 Thomas Brooks, Concord
 Francis Chickering, Dedham
 William Hayward, Hampton
 William Stowe, Hampton ?
 Richard Dummer, Salisbury
 Samuel Dudley, "
 Edward Carleton,
 Matthew Boyes, Rowley
 Stephen Kingsley, Braintree
 Thomas Mekins, "
 William Ward, Sudbury
 William Hilton, Dover
 Stephen Winthrop, for Portsmouth
 William Stevens, Gloucester
 Edward Johnson, Woburn
 Joseph Bachelor

39

* Then Strawberry Bank.

† Notice of the first election of a Speaker occurs at the General Court in May, 1644, when WILLIAM HATHORNE, of Salem, was chosen. From this year, the name of the Speaker in small capitals, will be put at the head of the list, for each year. In 1646, there were three Speakers in succession, viz William Hathorne, Robert Keayne, but only for one day and Robert Bridges. In 1648, Hathorne and Richard Russell, were Speakers at different sessions; in 1650, Hathorne and Russell; in 1651, Gookin and Denison; and in 1655, Edward Johnson, and Russell.

1645.
14th May.

GEORGE COOKE.

William Hathorne, Salem
Henry Bartholomew, Salem
Lt. Ralph Sprague, Charlestown
Thomas Lynde "
Lt. Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
Sert. Humphrey Atherton, "
Maj. Edward Gibbons, Boston
Capt. Robert Keayne, Boston
John Johnson, Roxbury
William Parks, "
Capt. William Jennison, Watertown
Lt. Hugh Mason, "
Capt. Robert Bridges, Lynn
Capt. George Cooke, Cambridge
Samuel Shepard, "
William Hubbard, Ipswich
Joseph Medcalf, "
Richard Dummer, Newbury
Edward Rawson, "
Lt. William Torrey, Weymouth
Bozoun Allen, Hingham
Joshua Hobart, "
Lt. Simon Willard, Concord
Samuel Wensley, Salisbury
Capt. Thomas Wiggin, Dover
Lt. William Hayward, Hampton
John Hayward,
Peter Brackett, Braintree
Samuel Bass, "
Edward Carleton, Rowley
Matthew Boyes, "
Edward Goodnow, Sudbury
Hugh Prichard, Roxbury
Lt. Edward Johnson, Woburn
Nathaniel Sparhawk, for Wenham
William Heath, for Dover

1646.

6th May.

WILLIAM HATHORNE.

Capt. William Hathorne, Salem
Henry Bartholomew, "
Richard Russell, Charlestown
Francis Willoughby, "
Capt. Humphrey Atherton, Dorchester
John Wiswall, "
Maj. Edward Gibbons, Boston
Capt. Robert Keayne, "
John Johnson, Roxbury
William Parks, "
Richard Brown, Watertown
Ephraim Child, "
Capt. Robert Bridges, Lynn,
Thomas Lawton, "

Nathaniel Sparhawk, Cambridge
Edward Goffe, "
William Hubbard, Ipswich
John Whipple, "
Edward Rawson, Newbury
Thomas Dyer, Weymouth
Bozoun Allen, Hingham
Joshua Hobart, "
Capt. Simon Willard, Concord
Lt. Eleazer Lusher, Dedham
Richard Dummer, Newbury
William English, Hampton?
Edward Carleton, Rowley
Sebastian Brigham, "
Peter Brackett, Braintree
Walter Haynes, Sudbury
Lt. Edward Johnson, Woburn
Nathaniel Duncan, Dorchester
William Waldron, Dover

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Tyng vice Gibbons in November.

1647.

26th May.

JOSEPH HILL,*

Lt. Thomas Lothrop, Salem
Jacob Barney, "
Lt. Francis Norton, Charlestown
Joseph Hill, Malden
John Glover, Dorchester
Lt. Roger Clap, "
Maj. Edward Gibbons, Boston
William Tyng, "
John Johnson, Roxbury
William Parks, "
Richard Brown, Watertown
Bryan Pendleton, Portsmouth?
Edward Holyoke, Lynn
Nathaniel Sparhawk, Cambridge
Edward Jackson, "
Robert Paine, Ipswich
William Bartholomew, Ipswich
Richard Dummer, Newbury
Edward Rawson, "
Thomas Dyer, Weymouth
Bozoun Allen, Hingham
Joshua Hobart, "
Richard Griffin, Concord
Henry Chickering, Dedham
John Kingsbury, "
William Hooke, Taunton
William English, Hampton
Edward Carleton, Rowley
Sebastian Brigham, Rowley
Stephen Kingsley, Braintree
Capt. Pelham, Sudbury
Obadiah Brewer, Gloucester
Lt. Edward Johnson, Woburn

*He belonged to Malden, and was, perhaps, a brother to Abraham Hill, who was admitted a freeman in 1640, and died at Malden, 13th February 1669-70. The latter is the ancestor to the Hills of Cambridge, and to the Hon. Isaac Hill of Concord.

William Fiske, Wenham
Robert Clements, Haverhill

35

1648.

10th May.

WILLIAM HATHORNE.

Emanuel Downing, Salem
Capt. William Hathorne, "
Maj. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
Richard Russell, "
Capt. Humphrey Atherton, Dorchester
John Glover, "
Capt. Robert Keayne, Boston
James Penn, "
John Johnson, Roxbury
William Parks, "
Richard Brown, Watertown
Bryan Pendleton, Portsmouth?
Edward Holyoke, Lynn
Thomas Lawton, Lynn
Edward Jackson, Cambridge
Richard Jackson, "
Maj. Daniel Denison, Ipswich
Robert Paine, "
Edward Rawson, Newbury
William Torrey, Weymouth
Nicholas Jacob
Thomas Underwood, Hingham
Richard Griffin, Concord
Michael Powell, Dedham
Lt. Robert Pike, Salisbury
William Estowe, Hampton
Thomas Nighill, Rowley
Maximilian Jewett, "
Walter Haynes, Sudbury
Stephen Kingsley, Braintree
Obadiah Brewer, Gloucester
John White, Hadley
Esdras Reed, Wenham
Robert Clements, Haverhill
Richard Walker, Reading

William Furber, Dover

36

1649.

2d May.

DANIEL DENISON.

Capt. William Hathorne, Salem
Henry Bartholomew, "
Maj. Robert Sedgwick, Charlestown
Francis Willoughby, "
John Glover, Dorchester
Thomas Jones, Concord
Robert Keayne, Boston
James Penn, "
Hugh Prichard, Dorchester
William Parks, Roxbury
Richard Brown, Watertown
Ephraim Child, "
Thomas Lawton, Lynn
Daniel Gookin, Cambridge
Edward Jackson, "
Maj. Daniel Denison, Ipswich
Robert Paine, "
Edward Rawson, Newbury
Lt. William Torrey, Weymouth
Nicholas Jacob,
John Beal, Hingham
Capt. Simon Willard, Concord
Anthony Fisher, Dedham
Lt. Robert Pike, Salisbury
William Estowe, Hampton
Humphrey Reyner
Edmund Goodnow, Sudbury
Capt. William Tyog, Braintree
Samuel Bass, "
Obadiah Brewer, Gloucester
Lt. Edward Johnson, Woburn
William Fiske, Wenham
Robert Clements, Haverhill
Richard Walker, Reading
John Johnson, Roxbury

35

REPRESENTATIVES IN THE GENERAL COURT

From the several towns in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire from 1650 to 1686.

	1650.	1651.	1652.
	WM. HATHORNE.*	DANIEL GOOKIN.†	DANIEL DENISON.
Salem	Capt. Wm. Hathorne	Capt. Wm. Hathorne	Capt. Wm. Hathorne
	Henry Bartholomew	Henry Bartholomew	Henry Bartholomew
Charlestown	Richard Russell	Richard Russell	Richard Russell
	Lt. Francis Norton	Ralph Mousall	Francis Norton
Dorchester	John Glover	John Glover	Lt. Roger Clap
	Humphrey Atherton	Humphrey Atherton	Hopestill Foster
Boston	Anthony Stoddard	John Leverett	John Leverett
	Thomas Marshall	Thomas Clark	Thomas Clark
Roxbury	John Johnson	John Johnson	John Johnson
	William Parks	William Parks	Edward Denison
Watertown	Richard Brown	Richard Brown	Richard Brown
	Ephraim Child	John Sherman	Ephraim Child
Cambridge	Edward Jackson	Edward Jackson	Edward Jackson
	Edward Goffe	Capt. Daniel Gookin	
Lynn	Thomas Lawton	Thomas Lawton	Thomas Lawton
Ipswich	John Whipple	Maj. Daniel Denison	Maj. Daniel Denison
	William Bartholomew	William Bartholomew	John Whipple
Newbury	Lt. William Gerrish	Capt. William Gerrish	Capt. William Gerrish
Weymouth	Thomas Dyer	John Holbrook	— Kingman
Hingham	Joshua Hobart	Capt. John Allen	Bezoun Allen
	Bezoun Allen	Jere Houchin	Jere Houchin
Concord	Capt. Simon Willard	Richard Griffin	Capt. Simon Willard
		Capt. Simon Willard	
Dedham		Henry Chickering	
	Capt. Eleazar Lusher	Capt. Eleazar Lusher	Capt. Eleazar Lusher
Salisbury	Christopher Batte*	Thomas Bradbury	Thomas Bradbury
Hampton	Jeffry Mingay	Roger Shew, or Shaw	Roger Shew
Rowley	Capt. Sebas Brigham	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett
	Matthew Boyes	Joseph Jewett	Joseph Jewett
Sudbury	Edmund Goodenow	Walter Haynes	Edmund Rice
	Peter Noyes		
Dover	Lt. John Baker		Valentine Hill
Braintree	Capt. William Tyng	Capt. William Tyng	
	Stephen Kingsley	Stephen Kingsley	Stephen Kingsley
Gloucester	Hugh Caulkin	Hugh Caulkin	
Woburn	Capt. Edward Johnson	Capt. Edward Johnson	Capt. Edward Johnson
Wenham	William Fiske	Esdras Reed	William Fiske
Haverhill	Robert Clements	Robert Clements	Robert Clements
Reading	Lt. Richard Walker	William Cowdry	
Springfield	Edward Holyoke	Henry Smith	William Davies
Malden	Joseph Hill	Joseph Hill	Joseph Hill
Andover		John Osgood	
Medfield			
Kittery			
York			
Wells			
	39	40	34

* October session, Richard Russell. † October session, Daniel Dennison.

‡ This name is spelt Batt, Batte, and Battles.

	1653.	1654.	1655.
	HUM. ATHERTON.	RICH'D RUSSELL	EDW. JOHNSON.*
Salem	(Thomas) Lothrop Jacob Barney	William Browne H. Bartholomew	Edmund Batter
Charlestown	Richard Russell Francis Norton	Richard Russell Francis Norton	Richard Russell Francis Norton
Dorchester	Roger Clap Hopestill Foster	Roger Clap John Wiswall	Roger Clap
Boston	John Leverett Thomas Clark	Capt. Tho's. Savage Thomas Clark	Capt. Thos. Savage Thomas Clark
Roxbury	John Johnson William Parks	Philip Eliot William Parks	Philip Eliot Edward Denison
Watertown	Michael Barstow John Sherman	Richard Brown Ephraim Child	Richard Brown Ephraim Child
Cambridge	Edward Jackson Richard Jackson	Edward Jackson Edward Collins	Richard Jackson Edward Collins
Lynn	Thomas Lawton	James Ainey	John Fuller Thomas Lawton
Ipswich	John Giddings John Whipple	John Giddings Joseph Medcalf	John Giddings Joseph Medcalf
Newbury	Capt. Wm. Gerrish	John Saunders	William Titcomb James Nash
Weymouth	Thomas Dyer	Thomas Dyer	
Hingham	Joshua Hobart Jeremiah Houchin	Joshua Hobart Jeremiah Houchin	Jeremiah Houchin Robert Meriam
Concord	Cap. Simon Willard	Simon Willard	
Dedham	Lt. Joshua Fisher Francis Chickering	Eleazar Lusher Thomas Macy	Eleazar Lusher Samuel Hall
Salisbury	Samuel Wensley	Anthony Stanyan	Henry Dow
Hampton	Roger Shew	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett
Rowley	Joseph Jewett	Joseph Jewett	
Sudbury	Edmund Rice	Edmund Rice	
Dover	Valentine Hill	Capt. R. Waldron Valentine Hill	Valentine Hill
Braintree	Peter Brackett Stephen Kingsley	Samuel Bass	Richard Brackett
Gloucester	William Stevens		
Woburn	Capt. Edw. Johnson	Capt. Edw. Johnson	Edward Johnson
Wenham	Phinehas Fiske	Charles Gott	
Haverhill	Robert Clements	John Clements	
Reading	William Cowdry		
Portsmouth	Bryan Pendleton	Bryan Pendleton	
Springfield	Capt. H. Atherton		
Malden	Joseph Hill	Joseph Hill	Joseph Hill
Andover			
Medfield	Ralph Wheelock		
Kittery	John Wincoll	John Wincoll	John Wincoll
York	Edward Rushworth	Edward Rushworth	Edward Rushworth
Wells		H. Gunnison	
	42	39	30

* Richard Russell for part of the year.

	1656.	1657.	1658.
Salem	RICH'D. RUSSELL. Maj. Wm. Hathorne	WM. HATHORNE. Maj. Wm. Hathorne	RICH'D. RUSSELL. H. Bartholomew Maj. Wm. Hathorne
Charlestown	Richard Russell	Richard Russell	Richard Russell
Dorchester	Ralph Mousall Roger Clap John Wiswall	Thomas Lynde Lt. Roger Clap Hopesill Foster	Francis Norton William Sumner John Wiswall
Boston	Capt. Tho. Savage Thomas Clark	Capt. Tho. Savage Thomas Clark	Cap't. E. Hutchinson Thomas Clark
Roxbury	Philip Eliot John Johnson	Philip Eliot John Johnson	John Ruggles John Johnson
Watertown	Ephraim Child	Charles Chadwick Ephraim Child	John Coolidge John Wincoll
Cambridge	Edward Jackson Edward Collins	Thomas Danforth Edward Collins	Thomas Danforth Edward Collins
Lynn	Thomas Lawton	Thomas Lawton	Thomas Lawton
Ipswich	William Hubbard Lt. John Appleton	William Hubbard Lt. John Appleton	William Hubbard Lt. John Appleton
Newbury	William Titcomb	John Pike	John Pike
Weymouth	Thomas Dyer	Thomas White	Thomas Dyer
Hingham	Joshua Hobart John Leavitt	Jeremiah Houchin	Joshua Hobart Jeremiah Houchin
Concord	Robert Meriam	Robert Meriam	Robert Meriam
Dedham	Eleazar Lusher	Eleazar Lusher	Lt. Joshua Fisher Daniel Fisher
Salisbury	Thomas Bradbury	Thomas Bradbury	Lt. Robert Pike
Hampton	Henry Dow	Roger Page	Lt. Christ'r Hussey
Rowley	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett
Sudbury			
Dover	Capt. R. Waldron	Capt. R. Waldron	Capt. R. Waldron
Braintree	Peter Brackett	Valentine Hill Samuel Bass	Peter Brackett
Gloucester			
Woburn	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson
Wenham			
Haverhill			
Reading			William Cowdry
Portsmouth			Bryan Pendleton
Springfield	Elizur Holyoke		
Malden	Joseph Hill		
Andover			
Medfield			
Kittery	Thomas Withers	Hum. Chadbourne	Lt. Charles Frost
York	Edward Rushworth		Edward Rushworth
Wells			
	31	30	34

NOTE.—The numeral (2) denotes that the person was chosen for the 2d session of the Court.

	1659. THOMAS SAVAGE	1660. SAVAGE & HATHORNE.	1661 WM. HATHORNE.
Salem	Maj. Wm. Hathorne William Browne	Maj. Wm. Hathorne H. Bartholomew	Wm. Hathorne Henry Bartholomew
Charlestown	Francis Norton Richard Sprague	Francis Norton Richard Sprague	Francis Norton Richard Sprague
Dorchester	Ens H. Foster Lt Roger Clap	Hopestill Foster Roger Clap	Hopestill Foster Roger Clap
Boston	Capt. Tho. Savage Anthony Stoddard	Thomas Savage Anthony Stoddard	Thomas Savage Edward Tyng
Roxbury	John Johnson William Parks	John Ruggles William Parks	John Ruggles William Parks
Watertown	Charles Chadwick Ephraim Child	Hugh Mason Ephraim Child	Hugh Mason Ephraim Child
Cambridge	Edward Collins Edward Oakes	Edward Collins Edward Oakes	Richard Jackson Edward Oakes
Lynn	Thomas Marshall	Thomas Marshall	Thomas Marshall
Ipswich	Lt. John Appleton George Giddings	Richard Hubbard George Giddings John Appleton (2)	George Giddings Joseph Metcalfe
Newbury	Edward Woodman	Edward Woodman Nicholas Noyes (2)	Henry Sewall
Weymouth	John Rogers	Thomas Dyer Edward Bates (2)	Thomas Dyer
Hingham	Capt. Joshua Hobart Jeremiah Houchin John Beale (2)	Joshua Hobart	
Concord	Capt Thos. Brooks	Thomas Brooks	Thomas Brooks
Dedham	Capt. Eleazar Lusher	Daniel Fisher (2) Eleazar Lusher	Daniel Fisher Eleazar Lusher
Salisbury	Lt. Robert Pike	Christopher Batt Thomas Bradbury	Thomas Bradbury
Hampton	Lt. Chris. Hussey	Christopher Hussey	William Fuller
Rowley	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett Joseph Jewett	John Pickard
Dover	Richard Waldron	Richard Waldron	Richard Waldron
Braintree	Samuel Bass	Peter Brackett	Peter Brackett
Woburn	Edward Johnson	Edward Converse Edward Johnson (2)	Edward Johnson
Haverhill		James Davis (2)	
Reading		Richard Walker (2)	William Cowdry
Springfield	Capt. J. Pynchon	Elizur Holyoke	Elizur Holyoke
Malden		Joseph Hill (2)	Joseph Hill
Medfield	Henry Adams		
Kittery	Hump. Chadbourne	Charles Frost (2) Peter Weare (2)	Charles Frost
York		Francis Littlefield Edward Rushworth	Edward Rushworth
Portsmouth		Henry Sherburne Bryan Pendleton (2)	Bryan Pendleton
Scarborough	Edward Rushworth	Henry Jocelyn	
Saco	Robert Booth	Richard Hitchcock	
Billerica		Lt. William French	Samuel Smith
Hadley			
	34	35	35

	1662	1663	1664
	THOMAS CLARKE.	JOHN LEVERETT.	JOHN LEVEEETT.
Salem		Wm Hathorne	William Hathorne
Charlestown	H Bartholomew	H. Bartholomew	Thomas Lathrop
	Francis Norton	Francis Norton	Francis Norton
Dorchester	Richard Sprague	Richard Sprague	Richard Sprague
	Hopestill Foster	Hopestill Foster	Hopestill Foster
	Roger Clap	Roger Clap	Roger Clap
Boston	Thomas Clark	John Leverett	John Jewett
	Edward Tyng	Thomas Clarke	Thomas Clark
Roxbury	John Ruggles	Lt Griffin Craft	Griffin Craft
		William Parks	William Parks
Watertown		Lt Richard Beers	Richard Beers
	Ephraim Child	Ens. John Sherman	Capt. Mason
Cambridge	Edward Collins	Edward Collins	Edward Collins
	"	Edward Winship	Edward Winship
Lynn		Capt. Marshall	Thomas Marshall
			John Fuller
Ipswich	John Appleton	George Giddings	George Giddings
		John Appleton	John Appleton
Newbury	Henry Sewall	Henry Sewall	Edmund Woodman
Weymouth	James Nash	Thomas Dyer	John Holbrook
Hingham	Joshua Hobart	Joshua Hobart	Moses Leavitt
		Thomas Savage	
Concord	Thomas Brooks	Timothy Wheeler	Timothy Wheeler
Dedham	Lt. Joshua Fisher	Lt. Fisher	Lt. Fisher
	Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher
Salisbury	Philip Chalice	Jeremiah Houchin	Jeremiah Houchin
		Capt. Robert Pike	
Hampton	Samuel Dalton	Capt. Wm. Gerrish	William Gerrish
			Samuel Dalton (2)
Rowley	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett	Maximilian Jewett
			John Dodge (2)
Dover	Richard Waldron	Richard Waldron	
Braintree	Peter Brackett	Samuel Bass	Samuel Bass
Woburn	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson
Haverhill			
Reading	John Pynchon	John Pynchon	
Springfield	Joseph Hill	Joseph Hill	Joseph Hill
Malden		William Lewis	
		Ralph Wheelock	Ralph Wheelock
Medfield		Roger Plaisted	Roger Plaisted
Kittery		Edward Rushworth	
York		Bryan Pendleton	
Portsmouth		William French	
Billerica		Lt. Samuel Smith	
Hadley	William Lewis	George Cleves	
Falmouth		Lt. William Clark	Lt. Samuel Smith
Northampton			William Lewis
Chelmsford		Ens. John Webb	Ens. John Evered
Sudbury			Thomas Noyes (2)
Casco			George Cleaves
	27	43	35

* It does not clearly appear from the copy whether Edward Oakes or Edward Jackson was the representative in 1662. The latter was representative at the 2d session in 1660.

Representatives in the General Court. 223

	1665	1666	1667
	THOMAS CLARKE	RICH'D WALDRON	RICH'D WALDRON
Salem	Wm. Hathorne Capt. W. Price	Wm. Browne George Corwin	Henry Bartholomew George Corwin
Charlestown	Francis Norton Richard Sprague	Francis Norton Richard Sprague	Francis Norton William Stiltson
Dorchester	Hopestill Foster Roger Clap	Hopestill Foster William Sumner	Hopestill Foster William Sumner
Boston	Anthony Stoddard Thomas Clarke	Anthony Stoddard Thomas Clarke	Anthony Stoddard Thomas Clarke
Roxbury	Griffin Craft William Parks	Griffin Craft William Parks	Griffin Craft William Parks
Watertown	Richard Beers Samuel Thacher	Richard Beers Samuel Thacher	Richard Beers Samuel Thacher
Cambridge	Edward Collins Edward Jackson	Edward Collins Edward Jackson	Edward Collins Edward Jackson
Lynn	Oliver Purchase Moses Pingrey	Oliver Purchase William Goodhue	Capt. Marshall William Goodhue
Ipswich	John Appleton	Thomas Bishop Henry Sewall	Lt. Appleton Joseph Hill
Newbury		Thomas Dyer	Capt. James Nash
Weymouth	Thomas Dyer	Joshua Hobart	Joshua Hobart
Hingham	Joshua Hobart	Lt. John Thaxter	
Concord	Timothy Wheeler	Timothy Wheeler	John Smeadley Joshua Fisher
Dedham	Peter Woodward Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher
Salisbury	Jeremiah Houchin	Thomas Bradbury	Jeremiah Houchin
Hampton	Samuel Dalton	Samuel Dalton	William Fuller
Rowley	Maximilian Jewett	Richard Swain	Richard Swain
Dover	Richard Waldron	Richard Waldron	Richard Waldron
Braintree	Richard Brackett	Ens. Moses Paine	Richard Brackett
Woburn	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson
Haverhill		Nath'l Saltonstall	Henry Palmer
Reading			
Springfield		Capt. Wm. Davis	Elizur Holyoke
Malden		Capt John Waite	John Waite
Medfield	Henry Adams	Ralph Wheelock	Ralph Wheelock
Kittery			
York	Peter Weare		
Portsmouth	Richard Cutt	Nathaniel Fryer	Elias Stileman
Billerica		Humphrey Davy	Humphrey Davy
Hadley	Peter Tilton Samuel Smith	Peter Tilton	Samuel Smith
Falmouth			
Northampton	William Holton	Lt William Clark	William Holton
	Daniel Wilson		
Chelmsford	John Evered	Thomas Hinchman	Peter Tilton Thomas Hinchman
Sudbury	Thomas Noyes	Thomas Noyes	
Casco			
Gloucester	William Stevens	William Stevens	
Wells	Francis Littlefield		
Wenham		Charles Gott	
Marlborough		William Ward	
Milton		Stephen Kingsley	
Andover		John Osgood	

	1668	1669	1670
	RICH'D WALDRON	THOMAS CLARKE	THOMAS CLARKE
Salem	John Corier Edmund Batter	George Corwin Henry Bartholomew	George Corwin Edmund Batter
Charlestown	John Allen William Stiltson	John Allen William Stiltson	John Allen William Stiltson
Dorchester	Lt. Hopedill Foster William Sumner	Hopedill Foster William Sumner	Hopedill Foster William Sumner
Boston	Anthony Stoddard Capt. Tho's Clarke	Anthony Stoddard Thomas Clarke	Anthony Stoddard Thomas Clarke
Roxbury	Lt. Griffin Craft William Parks	William Parks	William Parks
Watertown	Lt. Richard Beers Samuel Thacher	Richard Beers Samuel Thacher	Richard Beers
Cambridge	Edward Collins Edward Oakes	Edward Collins Edward Oakes	Edward Collins Edward Oakes
Ipswich	George Guidings Capt. John Appleton	Samuel Appleton John Appleton	John Appleton
Lynn	Oliver Purchase Capt. J. Hobart	Oliver Purchase Joshua Hobart	Oliver Purchase Joshua Hobart
Hingham	Henry Sewall	Joseph Hill	Henry Sewall
Newbury			Edmund Woodman
Weymouth	Thomas Dyer	Lt. John Holbrook	Thomas White
Dedham	Lt. Joshua Fisher Eus. Daniel Fisher	Peter Woodward Daniel Fisher	Peter Woodward
Concord	Capt. T. Wheeler	Timothy Wheeler	John Smeadley
Salisbury	Capt. Robert Pike		Robert Pike
Springfield	Lt. Thomas Coope	Serj. William Avery	Elizur Holyoke
Hampton	Robert Page	George Cotton Samuel Dalton	Samuel Dalton
Rowley	Richard Swan	Joshua Gilman Richard Swan	Richard Swan
Braintree	Eus. Moses Paine	Thomas Faxon	Lt. Edmund Quincy
Woburn	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson	Edward Johnson
Dover			Lt. Richard Cooke
York	Capt. R. Waldron	Richard Waldron	Richard Waldron
Portsmouth	Elias Stileman	Peter Weare Richard Cutt	Richard Cutt
Northampton	Capt. Aaron Cook Lt. William Clark	William Clark	William Holton
Kittery		Capt. Charles Frost	William Clark
Medfield	Capt. George Barber	George Barber	Edward Hutchinson
Falmouth		Richard Callicott	Capt. Francis Neal
Billerica	Humphrey Davy	Humphrey Davy	
Malden	Capt. John Wait	John Wait	John Wait
Hadley	Peter Tilton	William Holton	Peter Tilton
Sudbury	Lt. Samuel Smith	John White	Henry Bridgham
Haverhill		John Haynes	
Wenham	Capt. Wm. Davis	Nathan'l Saltonstall	Nathan'l Saltonstall
Milton	John Hull	John Fiske	
Andover		Robert Tucker	
Reading		Lt. John Osgood	Samuel Bradstreet
		Lt. John Smith	38
	40	46	Scarborough
			Westfield
			Lancaster
			Gloucester
			Chelmsford
			Saco
			Beverly
			Sudbury

1671	1672	1673	1674
THOMAS SAVAGE	THOMAS CLARKE	RICH'D WALDRON	RICH'D WALDRON
Henry Bartholomew	Henry Bartholomew	Henry Bartholomew	Henry Bartholomew
Edmund Batter	George Corwin	George Corwin	George Corwin
John Allen	John Allen	John Allen	John Allen
William Stiltson	Capt. L. Hammond	L. Hammond	Joseph Lynde
Capt. Roger Clap	William Sumner	John Capen	John Capen
Lt. John Capen	Lt. Foster	Hopestill Foster	Hopestill Foster
Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard
Thomas Clarke	Thomas Clarke	Thomas Clarke, jr.	Thomas Clarke, Jr.
Capt. Isaac Johnson	John Pierpont	Joseph Dudley	Joseph Dudley
	William Parks	William Parks	William Parks
	Richard Beers	Richard Beers	Richard Beers
Richard Beers		Thomas Hastings	Capt. Hugh Mason
Capt. Hugh Mason		Thomas Prentice	Capt. Th. Prentice
Joseph Cooke	Capt. T. Prentice	Edward Oakes	Edward Oakes
Edward Oakes	Edward Oakes	Samuel Appleton	John Whipple
Samuel Appleton	George Giddings	John Goodhue	Capt. J. Appleton
John Appleton	John Goodhue	Oliver Purchase	Ens. John Fuller
Oliver Purchase	Oliver Purchase	Joshua Hobart	Joshua Hobart
Joshua Hobart	Joshua Hobart	John Richards	
John Richards	John Richards		Arche. Woodman
Thomas Clarke	Thomas Clarke		Thomas Dyer
John Holbrook	John Holbrook	John Holbrook	
Lt. Joshua Fisher	Joshua Fisher	Thomas Fuller (2)	
Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher	Capt. Daniel Fisher.
Timothy Wheeler	Timothy Wheeler	Peter Bulkley	Peter Bulkley
Capt. William Davis	William Davis	E. Holyoke	Elizur Holyoke
George Colton			
Samuel Dalton		Samuel Dalton	Samuel Dalton
	Capt. Jos. Hussey	Richard Swan	Maximilian Jewett
	Maximilian Jewett	Edmund Quincy	Henry Allen
Richard Swan	Richard Swan	Humphrey Davy	Capt. R. Brackett
Capt. R. Brackett	Richard Brackett	Ed. Hutchinson	Humphrey Davy
Humphrey Davy	Humphrey Davy	Richard Waldron	Lt. Wm. Johnson
Edward Johnson	Capt. E. Hutchinson	Peter Coffin	Richard Waldron
Richard Cooke	Richard Waldron	Elias Stileman	Anthony Nutter
Richard Waldron	Lt. Peter Coffin		Edward Rushworth
Sam'l Wheelwright	Edward Rushworth		Capt. Richard Cutt
Elias Stileman	Richard Cutt		
	Richard Martyn		
William Holton			
William Clark	William Clark	William Clark	William Clark
Ed. Hutchinson	Ed. Hutchinson	Lt. Roger Plaisted	Capt. Charles Frost
			Henry Adams
Hezekiah Usher	Hezekiah Usher	Hezekiah Usher	
John Wait	John Wait	John Wait	John Wait
Holton	Peter Tilton	Peter Tilton	Peter Tilton
Samuel Smith	Henry Phillips	Lt. Samuel Smith	
Capt. N. Saltonstall	Lt. George Brown	Humphrey Davy (2)	Henry Palmer
Thomas Fiske	Thomas Fiske		
Capt. T. Savage	Thomas Savage		
Nicholas Brown	Nicholas Brown	Peter Brackett	Peter Brackett
Arthur Angier	Arthur Angier	John Hull	John Hull
John Hull	John Hull	Houghton	
Thomas Brattle	Thomas Beath	Lt. Syl. —	
William Sergeant	William Haskell	Thos. Adams (2)	
Thomas Hinchman			
	Richard Callicot	Thomas Lothrop	Thomas Lothrop
	Capt. T. Lothrop		Capt. E. Goodenow

	1675	1676	1677
	RICH'D WALDRON	PETER BULKLEY.	THOMAS SAVAGE.
Salem	Edmund Batter Samuel Browne	Henry Bartholomew George Corwin Thomas Graves	Graves? Edmund Batter
Charlestown	L. Hammond	L. Hammond	Jacob Greene
Dorchester	John Capen Hopestill Foster	John Capen Hopestill Foster	John Capen James Blake
Boston	Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard
Roxbury	Thomas Clarke, jr. Joseph Dudley William Gary	Thomas Clarke, jr. William Parker * Thomas Weld (2)	Capt. Thos. Savage William Parks * Thomas Weld
Watertown	Richard Beers		
Cambridge	Hugh Mason Edward Jackson Edward Oakes	Hugh Mason Edward Oakes (2) Joseph Cooke	Hugh Mason Edward Oakes Joseph Cooke
Ipswich	John Appleton George Giddings	William Goodhue Samuel Appleton	William Goodhue Maj. Appleton
Lynn	John Fuller	John Fuller	John Fuller
Hingham	Joshua Hobart	Nathaniel Beals Stephen Greenleaf	Nathaniel Beals
Newbury	Archel. Woodman	Samuel Plummer	Caleb Moody
Weymouth	Thomas Dyer	Thomas Dyer	John Bicknell
Dedham	Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher
Concord	Peter Bulkley	Hull (2) Peter Bulkley	John Flint
Springfield	Elizur Holyoke	William Davis	
Hampton	Samuel Dalton	Samuel Dalton	George Colton
Rowley	Maximilian Jewett Richard Swan	Maximilian Jewett	Thomas Marston
Braintree	Edmund Quincy	Samuel Tompson	Richard Swan
Woburn	Humphrey Davy	Humphrey Davy William Johnson	Samuel Tompson Humphrey Davy William Johnson Richard Waldron
Dover	Richard Waldron Anthony Nutter *	Anthony Miller *	
York	Edward Rushworth		Sam. Wheelwright
Portsmouth	Richard Cutt	Richard Cutt	Elias Stileman
Northampton	William Clark Capt. John Wincoll Henry Adams	William Clark James Emery	Peter Tilton William Clark John Wincoll John Barber
Kittery	John Wait	Job Lane (2)	John Wait
Medfield	Peter Tilton	John Wait	Philip Smith
Billerica	John Richards	Peter Tilton	
Malden	George Brown	Henry Palmer	Henry Palmer
Hadley			Dudley Bradstreet
Haverhill			Jonathan Pool
Andover			
Reading			
Scarborough		Peter Brackett	
Chelmsford		Lt. T. Hinchman	
Beverly	Thomas Lothrop	John Dodge	John West
Wells		William Simonds	
	38	37	39

* Parks and Parker from Roxbury, probably same person, and Nutter and Miller from Dover, also, probably.

Representatives in the General Court. 227

	1678	1679	1679 2d Session
	THOMAS SAVAGE	RICH'D WALDRON	JOHN RICHARDS.
Salem	Bartholo. Gedney	George Corwin	George Corwin
Charlestown	Edmund Batter	John Price	John Price
	Thomas Graves	James Russell	James Russell
Dorchester	Job Green	L. Hammond	Joseph Lynde
	Lt. John Capen		
Boston	William Sumner	William Sumner	William Sumner
	Capt. Th. Savage	Capt. J. Richards	John Richards
Roxbury	Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard	Anthony Stoddard
	Edward Morris	Edward Morris	Edward Morris
Watertown			William Parks
	Simon Stone	Simon Stone	Simon Stone
Cambridge	Edward Oakes	Edward Oakes	Edward Oakes
	Joseph Cooke		Joseph Cooke
Lynn	Ens. John Fuller	Richard Walker	Richard Walker
	Capt. J. Appleton	John Appleton	John Appleton
Ipswich		Capt. J. Whipple	John Whipple
		Nicholas Noyes	Richard Bartlett
Newbury	Caleb Moody	Samuel White	Torrey
	John Bicknel		Samuel White
Hingham	Thomas Andrews	Joshua Hobart	Joshua Hobart
	Thomas Battle	Thomas Brattle	John Flint
Concord		Lt. John Flint	Thomas Brattle
		Daniel Fisher	Daniel Fisher
Dedham			Thomas Fuller
Hampton	Samuel Dalton	Samuel Dalton	
	John Pierson	John Pierson	
Rowley	Samuel Tompson	Samuel Tompson	* Quincy
Braintree		Lt. Peter Coffin	
Dover	Lt. Wm. Johnson	William Johnson	William Johnson
Woburn	Humphrey Davy		James Convers
Portsmouth		Richard Martyn	
Haverhill	Henry Palmer	Henry Palmer	
Malden	John Wait	John Wait	John Wait
		John King	
Northampton		Peter Tilton	
Hadley			
Andover	Ens. Th. Chandler		Thomas Chandler
Kittery	Capt. John Wincol	Richard Waldron	
Wenham		Thomas Fiske	
York		Edward Rushworth	
Beverly	John Dodge	John Dodge	John Dodge
Sudbury		Peter Noyes	Capt. Goodenow
Salisbury			John Hull
Bradford			Samuel Worcester
Medfield			George Barber
Marlborough			Abraham Williams
Milton			Robert Tucker
Marblehead			Capt. Samuel Ward
Billerica			Job Lane
Chelmsford			Samuel Foster
Gloucester			William Haskell
			James Stevens
	29	34	

* Probably Edmund Quincy. A correction ought to be made page 208, where for Edward Quincy, read Edmund Quincy.

Extract from the Records of the House of Deputies of Massachusetts.

1 Nov. 1654. "Whereas it is judged most comely, convenient, and conducive to the dispatch of public service, that the deputies of the General Court should diet together, especially at dinner, it is therefore ordered that the deputies of the General Court the next ensuing year, viz. 1655, shall all accordingly dine together, and that Lieut. Phillips, the keeper of the said tavern, shall be paid for the same by the Treasurer for the time being by discounting the same in the custom of wine, payable by the said Phillips, and that the treasurer shall be repaid by the several towns according to the charges of their respective deputies, with their next country rate, by the same kind of payment, and it is further ordered for the prevention of unsettledness and other distractions for the future, that the deputies of the General Court shall yearly and every year, from time to time, before the dissolving of the last session thereof, accordingly take some effectual course in this case, in such sort as to themselves shall seem best that the deputies of the next succeeding Court may not be occasioned to seek their own settlement in this, and so retard public service; and it's further ordered, that the deputies shall give notice hereof to the deputies that shall be chosen for the succeeding year, from time to time. This is passed as an order respecting the House of deputies. An agreement was made with Lieut. Phillips by the deputies now assembled in the General Court, that the deputies of the next Court of Elections shall sit in the new Court Chamber, and be dieted with breakfast, dinner, and supper, with wine and beer between meals, with fire and beds, at the rate of 3s. per day—so many as take all their diet as aforesaid at the said house—but such as only dine, and not sup, to pay 18d. for their dinners with wine and beer betwixt meals, but by wine is intended a cup each man at dinner and supper, and no more."

Memoir of Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., Esquire.

NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, JR. was born at Portsmouth, N. H. on the 14th of January, 1790. He was the son of the Honorable Nathaniel A. Haven, and grandson of the Rev. Samuel Haven D. D. He commenced his early education at the well known school of Deacon Amos Tappan, in Portsmouth. At the age of ten years, he entered, as a student, at Exeter Academy; at which institution he remained three years. In August, 1803, he was admitted a member of the freshman class, at Harvard College, and took his first degree, in due course, in 1807. In noticing the character and pursuits of Mr. Haven, we must be permitted to avail ourselves of some parts of an Address, delivered before a literary society, of which he was a member, on the occasion of his death.

It is amid the institutions of intellectual and moral improvement, that we find the memorials of Haven's labours—in the affections of the community, the estimation of his life. While parents, generally, manifest extreme anxiety to place their children in affluence, it may, perhaps, be deemed rash to say, that such is a condition often unfavorable to high intellectual attainments.—It is true, that great energy of mind is called for, to contend with poverty in childhood—it is also true, that such energy is acquired by the very efforts of the struggle, while early unyielding principle alone is safe from the seductive influence of wealth. Its fascinating temptations and enervating indulgencies are, not unfrequently, serpents around the cradle, that require to be dealt with, by the hand of a Hercules. Born to opulence, Haven, from infancy, encountered and conquered those perils, to which human nature has been found least

capable of resistance. That employment, which, by many, is deemed an irksome task, he, from choice, engaged in, and after finishing his collegiate course, spent a year, as an assistant instructor, at Exeter Academy. The pecuniary compensation, could not, with him, have deserved a thought; but the duty has never been assumed, with a proper estimation of importance, when its discipline upon the mind and character of him, who performs it, has not been most salutary in all the future relations of life. The three succeeding years were devoted to the study of the law, in the office of that eminent jurist, the Honorable Jeremiah Mason. He was admitted at the bar, in February term, 1814, and commenced the practice in his native town. His constitution was delicate, and a too close application to study had so much impaired his health, that, to unite the means of its restoration with the acquisition of knowledge, he passed the year 1815 in travelling in England and upon the continent of Europe. That it was not idly spent, the rich stores of his mind bore ample testimony. On his return, he resumed his professional avocation and pursued it through life.

The profession, which he chose, has, at all times, been subjected to the reproaches of the illiterate and illiberal. The *science* of the law, they have represented as artifice, and its *practice* chicanery. To say, that unworthy members may have perverted its objects and abused its privileges, is no more, than with equal truth can be said of every institution, human and divine. To resist such imputation, we need only refer to its annals, in this state, and cast our eye upon a long roll of patriots, statesmen and literary champions, not less distinguished for purity and integrity of character, than for high mental endowments, where the name of Haven is itself a triumph.

The benefits of a strict adherence to *system* and *method*, which extended to all his pursuits, were early experienced in his professional studies. With untiring industry, he explored the fundamental principles of the science, and his perseverance soon divested the most forbidding topics of their difficulties. In *practice*, his intercourse with the court and bar was marked by that suavity of manner and gentlemanly deportment, which in all places has secured him respect and esteem. It probably has never fallen to the lot of any one, to preserve, through all the vicissitudes of the legal profession, a perfect equanimity of temper. Few, however, have succeeded better in acquiring such self control. His deliberation and calmness were not the result of indifference, or insensibility, but of difficult and severe discipline. His daily process exhibited the result of studious research in ascertaining the rights of his clients; integrity and skill in counsel, and diligent attention in the preparation and conduct of their suits. His multiplied and constantly increasing engagements, were the highest proofs of confidence and approbation. The little arts of little minds were no part of his practice. His principles prohibited them. A refined and cultivated taste had not best fitted him for the often too harsh extemporaneous collisions of the forum. His career was marked by no sudden burst of applause—no high demands on the voice of the multitude. On the broad foundations of deep and solid learning he rested his reputation, and lived to see it the object of admiration to the wise and good. His fame was not as the transient flash of the meteor, brilliant and momentary, but from the beginning of his course, as the gradual rising of the morning, its light continued to brighten to the fullness of meridian day. Those who felt a deep interest in the character of our judicial tribunals,

were looking to his future advancement to that place, which should be made worthy of the highest ambition of the profession—that place, which should ever be sacred to integrity, talents and learning.

High as was Haven in his profession, he had not given to a single science a mind that could compass the circle of them. To his literary character his own labors have erected durable monuments. His extensive acquirements in the law, with its multiplied and increasing labors—his many and highly finished literary productions, with an exact attention to all the cares and duties of society, should not mislead us, with a belief, that his knowledge was intuitive. So far from it, that even his *facility* of learning was the effect of rigid mental discipline, and the *extent* of his acquirements, the result of that systematick economy of time, which accomplishes, in youth, more than the labors of a long life of ordinary diligence. His literary productions, were strongly marked with the prominent features of his mind. Purity of sentiment, deep thought, extensive learning, sound and discriminating judgment and clearness of method were exhibited, in chaste and accurate language, with a plain and unostentatious manner. Among his publick exercises were orations before the citizens of Portsmouth on the 4th of July, 1811—before the New-Hampshire Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa, at Dartmouth, in August, 1816, and at Portsmouth, in May 1823, on the centennial celebration of the first settlement of the state. Although consent for the publication of these performances could not be obtained, during the life of the author, it is hoped, his objections were not such, as hereafter to deprive us from sharing in these acquisitions to his literary fame. From July, 1821 to 1825, four years, he superintended the editorial department of the Portsmouth Journal. During which time, he did much, where much

needs to be done, in elevating the character of newspaper publications and correcting the public taste. But, this, indeed was the mere pastime of his literary hours. The pages of the Anthology, a late periodical work of high character, bear the record of the successful results of his early efforts, while the North American Review and the Journal of Education bring proofs, that the multiplied calls of his profession had not checked his devotion to the cause of general literature. The interest he felt in the subject of Education had excited sanguine hopes of his future usefulness in that department, with many, very many, who believe, that we are on the eve of great and important changes in the system. It was a theme worthy of him. His literary labors were daily extending to a broader field of usefulness. Among other purposes contemplated, at the time of his last sickness, was that of publishing "a view of the history, politics, and literature of the country" in the form of an Annual Register. A work which, from his pen, would have been hailed with joy by the nation—would have aided in rescuing our character from transatlantick reproach, and, by the faithful records of our institutions, have secured for them, the admiration of future times.

Mr. Haven became a member of the Rev. Dr. Parker's church in 1812, and through life, and in death, exhibited the most unequivocal proofs of the sincerity of his faith. His religion was not an inoperative, abstract speculation—not a religion of opinion merely, which could atone for aberrations of practice, by the severity of its formulas of faith—not a religion, which could substitute, for self discipline, a vindictive, unforgiving censure of others—it was not a religion of fasts and of "tythes of mint and cummin"—It was a religion of life and practice—a religion of all places and all seasons—it dwelt with him in the happiness of the domestick

circle—was his companion to the abodes of poverty and distress—cheered him amid the busy scenes of labour, and forsook him not in the hour of festive joy. It was his comforter in affliction—his support in death.

In noticing traits of his professional, literary and religious life, we see, most imperfectly, parts only of what constituted his character, as exhibited in the social and domestic relations. It consisted not in the display of a single virtue—a single talent, but in the possession of many, and the discreet exercise of them. That industry, which gave him eminence in his professional and literary course, united with a practical illustration of christian sincerity, could not fail, in all the serious duties of society, to insure success to his efforts, and influence to his example, commended to us, as it was, by the unassuming mildness of his demeanor.

- “ His eye was meek and gentle, and a smile
- “ Played on his lips ; and in his speech was heard
- “ Paternal sweetness, dignity and love.
- “ The occupation dearest to his heart
- “ Was to encourage goodness.”

His purposes of benevolence were not wasted, in high, splendid and impracticable schemes, nor his charity exhausted in a heedless distribution of alms. He believed and practised, as Porteus had taught, that “the man of true charity would not content himself with giving alms merely—that he should give, what people are often more unwilling to give, his attention, his thoughts, his care, his friendship, his protection—that these were so many instruments of beneficence, which God had put into our hands for the benefit of others, and that they would often relieve distress, that wealth could never reach.” Six years he unremittingly discharged

the duties of superintendant of the sabbath school, connected with the parish, to which he belonged.

Mr. Haven was married on the 8th of January, 1816, to a daughter of John Haven, Esq. and has left five children.

He was elected and served as a member of the Legislature of the state from Portsmouth, the years 1823 and 1824, where his valuable services were justly appreciated. To his efforts the New-Hampshire Historical Society owes much for its existence, and among other institutions, to which he has rendered important aid, is the Portsmouth Atheneum. The last annual report of its Directors bears the following just tribute to his merits :

“We delight now to spread upon the records the evidence of the high esteem which the directors of this institution, in common with the whole community, entertain for Mr. Haven—to bear our willing testimony, that he was a man of high attainments, of eminent talents, of stainless virtue—that he was a learned lawyer, an enlightened and practical statesman, an amiable, an honest and a pious man.”

He died of scarlet fever, at Portsmouth, on the third day of June 1826.

INDIAN TREATIES, &c.

Treaty at Fort William Henry, 1693.

“Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England. The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians at Fort William Henry in Pemmaguid the 11th day of August, in the fifth year of our Sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France,

and Ireland, King and Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. 1693.”

[The submission, &c., with the above title, was signed by 13 Indian Chiefs 4 Indian Interpreters and 3 English, and may be found in Mather's *Magnalia*, Vol. II. p. 542 of the Hartford edition. The loss of the Provincial Records of New-Hampshire, from 1688 to 1698, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether this Province took any part in the conference at which the above Treaty was formed, or in any treaties with the Eastern Indians during the period which Mather calls the *Decennium Luctuosum*, viz. from 1688 to 1698. This submission is mentioned by Penhallow, see I. Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 111.]

Treaties or Conferences of 1702 and 1703.

“Att a Council and General Assembly held at Portsmo. on Saturday the 3rd. day of July 1703.”
 “Upon a vote and message of the Representatives, it was agreed in council that there be two hundred pounds paid out of the revenue of Impost to the Governour's orders severally in full for the charges and expence of the two treaties with the Indians in July 1702 and June 1703, and provision for the Gentlemen of the Councill and Gentlemen Souldjers, Servants and horses imployed therein, the whole Assembly being desirous to shew their duty to support the Governour.

Council Records, p. 62.

“Voted that Capt. Smith, Commander of her Majesties ffrigott the Gosper be desired to accept of forty peices of eight from the Treasurer of this Province as an acknowledgment of his respect to the Governour and gentlemen of the Councill of this Province on board on their voyage to Casco Bay.”

Council Records, p. 40.

[The Conference of June 20, 1703, is noticed I. Belknap's N. H. p. 330.—II. Holmes' Ann. p. 61:—I. Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 20, (Penhallow.)]

*Letter from Gov. Dudley to the Council of N. H.
Boston, April 6th, 1713.*

GENTLEMEN,—I am upon the most difficult poynt with the Indians Eastward in order to restore them to obedience to her Majesties Government and nothing cann prevent it soe much as vessels goeing thither to trade with them in which a bottle of Rumm will unavoidably make a new breach, and get somebody knoct on the head as heretofore happened more than once.

Mr. Secretary Addington carries to you with this a copy of the proclamation here which I desire *mutatis mutandis* you will publish in the province of New Hampshire.

You all know the cessation of arms wants much of a peace, and when that happily arrives, I must have a treaty with them to secure their obedience, and then persons for ffactors and proper places must be determined before we cann safely supply them ; And all that must be done in the province of Maine within the Government of Massachusetts and not by roving sloopes upon the coast who will make them drunk and murder will ensue, and if that should happen by your people out of their own province it will hazard their lives, besides a new trouble with the Indians ; I desire you to use all industry to prevent this great mischiefe soe plainly in view, and lett all vessels goeing Eastward be searched at the ffort going away and persons transgressing proceeded against.

I am, &c.

J. DUDLEY.

The Proclamation states, that “ some evil minded persons, regardless of,” &c. “ presume to correspond, trade with and supply the Eastern Indians, not considering the fatal consequences thereof nor the great disservice done thereby to the Govern-

ment in the present overtures on foot with reference to those Indians, for procuring the quiet and repose of her Majesties good subjects in general.”

Council Records, pp. 183-4.

Treaty at Pascataqua, July 13, 1713.

Gov. Dudley, in his speech to the General Assembly, at Portsmouth, July 13, 1713, says, “ And in pursuance thereof [news of peace] I have now attending me several of the Indian Sachems and Delegates making their submission and praying to be restored to Her Majesties favour and the friendship of Her Majesties Government of these provinces; the issue of their attendance I shall communicate to you.”

July 14th.—The Assembly answered, “ We are glad to see yo'r Excellency here with the welcome news of peace. Hope your Excellency will take such measures with the Sachims now attending you that our frontiers may be quietly settled without any danger ”

“ Ordered, that Mr. Treasurer Penhallow take care to provide for the Gentlemen Comm'rs that are appointed by his Excellency out of the Government of the Massachusetts and this Province who are going to Casco fort to the Eastward to publish the articles of Ratification of peace with the Indians; with all such provisions, wines, liquors and other necessarys as may be proper, and that the Treasurer keep a just and true account of the same in order to be laid before his Excellency and General Assembly in the Massachusetts Government, that they may justly pay their proportion to the charge thereof.”

July 15th. “The articles of pacification with the Indians was sent by his Excellency the Govern'rs

Order to the House of Representatives to be there read and communicated to them by Mr. Secretary Story, which accordingly was done. And the House of Representatives were all well satisfied with the said Articles, and returned his Excellency thanks for the same” In the humble Address of the General Assembly to the Queen, July 16th, 1713, it is said, “That whereas for many years past wee have suffered to the greatest extremity by a continual warr and more particularly by the barberous usage and unheard off cruelties of our rebellious neighbours the Indians, notwithstanding which with the expense of much of our blood and treasure wee have hitherto preserved and defended this your Majestie’s province against all opposers ; being always confident that the reiterated successes of your Majesties glorious arms in Europe would by your Majesties wise Councils and steady conduct produce at last an honorable and a lasting peace. And wee now with gratefull hearts congratulate your Majestie thereupon for that this peace affects the remotest parts of your Majesties dominions, and wee already taste the good ffruits and effects thereof in that the rebellious Indians are reduced to their obedience. Your Majesties Governor here by his good conduct in this as in all other the affaires of this Government has brought them to an entire submission to your Majestie and agreement to articles of pacification which now give us a fair prospect of sitting under our own vines and ffigg trees and none to make us afraid.”

Council Records, p. 180.

[The Articles of pacification of 1713 may be seen in Penhallow’s *Indian Wars*, published I. Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 82. Noticed also by Belknap, Vol. I. p. 357, and II. Holmes’ *Annals*, p. 86, Camb. edit.]

At a Council held at Portsmouth, Dec. 4, 1713.

Letter from Gov. Dudley to the Council.

“ Boston, 27th November, 1713.

“ GENTLEMEN,—By the Articles of pacification with the Indians in which you assisted to our joynt satisfaction I am engaged that they shall have trading houses for their supply, and without which I shall not be able to maintain the peace.

I have therefore with the advice of the Council of this province established Cascoe and Winter Harbour for this Province, and have projected one at Oyster River to be supplied by Capt. Wentworth and governed by Capt. Davis, and the instructions to Capt. Wentworth are inclosed. I hope you will see reason to agree the matter, and then lett Mr. Secretary Story countersigne and deliver them to Capt. Wentworth; if otherwise you have any objection you will please to represent it without delay for that the affair must be speedily proceeded in and General Nicholson will take the same measures in his Government and approves my measures here.

I am, &c.

J. DUDLEY.”

“ The said instructions were read, and John Wentworth, Esq'r acquainted this Board that at present he could give noe resolve, but would write his Excellency the Govern'r his opinion about what is above mentioned and then give his answer to the gentlemen of the Council.”

Council Records, p. 191.

*At a Council and General Assembly at Portsmouth,
May 10, 1714.*

“ Ordered that the Treasurer furnish Escumbuit an Indian Capt. and the other Indians (who come to consult his Excellency the Governour) with

necessary provisions and liquors to carry them to their several habitations, and that Peter Cloyce another Indian Captaine be presented with a pair of shoes." *Council Records*, p. 298.

May 11, 1714. "Capt. Giles brought an account of his attendance and expenses on ye Indians amo. to 9. 19. 2 on which is allowed three pounds which is more than ye proportion of this Prov." *Assembly Records*.

From Lt. Gov. Usher's Speech to the Council at Portsmouth, 17th July, 1714.

"The Indian Sachems that are coming here to treat with the Govern'r I think it proper to leave it to your discretions to consider proper quarters for them that they may not straggle abroad least mischief may accrue betwixt some of them and some of our people."—*Council Records*, p. 198.

Speech of Gov. Dudley to the Assembly at Portsmouth, July 22, 1714.

"GENTLEMEN,—I am here upon an interview and Speech with ye Indian Sachems of ye severall Eastern tribes to settle ye trade and Commerce between her Majesties good subjects of these Provinces and ye said Indians and have directed this extraordinary Session of the Assembly that I might have your assistance and advice in any thing that may occur of benefitt to the Province. You shall be present at the Indians' Attendance to discourse and have opportunity to offer any thing thereupon afterwards, and I am to acquaint you that the prorogation to the 11th. of August next is yet continued without interruption.

J. DUDLEY."

Treaty of 1717, at Georgetown.

George Town.

On *Arrowsick Island*, Aug. 9th. 1717.

Annoque Regni Regis GEORGHII Magnæ Britannia, &c.
Quarto.

A conference of his Excellency the GOVERNOUR with the Sachems and chief Men of the Eastern Indians.

HIS Excellency being Arrived here in His Majesty's Ship the *Squirrel*, the Indians sent a message to him from *Puddlestones-Island*, (where they were assembled) Desiring to know when it would be his Excellency's pleasure that they should attend him. His Excellency told them at Three a Clock this Afternoon, when he would order the Union Flag to be displayed at the Tent Erected near Mr. *Watts* his house, And ordered a British Flagg to be delivered to the Indians for them to wear when they came, in token of their Subjection to His Majesty King George. At the Time appointed, the Flagg being set up, the Indians forthwith came over, with the British Flagg in their headmost Canoo.

His Excellency being seated under a large Tent (Erected for the occasion.) Attended by *Samuel Sewall* Esq; *Penn Townsend* Esq; *Andrew Belcher* Esq; and *Edmund Quincey* Esq; of the council of the province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*. And *Samuel Penhallow* Esq; *Mark Hunking* Esq; *John Wentworth* Esq; *Shadrach Walton* Esq; and *Richard Waldron* Esq; of the Province of *New-Hampshire*, and several other English Gentlemen. Eight Indian Sagamores and Chief Captains, Namely *Moxus*, *Bommazeen*, *Wanudagumboit*, *Wiwurna*, and *Queguaroomanit* of *Kennebeck*. *Querenebuit* of *Ponobscut*. *Adeawando*, of *Pegwacket*, and *Sabbadis* of *Anmarescoggin*, Approached and made their reverence to his Excellency, who was pleased

to give them his Hand. And then directed that Capt. *John Gyles*, and Mr. *Samuel Jordan*, Interpreters of the Indian language, should be Sworn to be faithful in that Service, and Judge *Sewall* administered to them an Oath accordingly. And his Excellency was pleased to make a Speech to the Sagamores, &c. which was deliberately Recited and Interpreted to them. And is as follows. *viz.*

Interpreter. Tell the Sachems, 'That notwithstanding the great Fatigue and Danger of this Expedition, yet to comply with my own Word, and their Desire, I am now come to see them, and am very glad to find so many of them in Health.

Tell them, 'That I find by the Records of His Majesty's Government of *New-England*, which I have now the Honour to be Intrusted with, that there have been many Treaties between the English Government, and them, as there was occasion: And that the last Interview was at *Pascataqua* about four Years ago, and then my very worthy Predecessor, Governour DUDLEY accepted their Submission, and Ratified all former Treaties and Agreements with them; and that he gave them all possible Assurances of Justice, Friendship, Protection, and fair Commerce and Dealing upon their Fidelity, Peace and Obedience to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and that I shall Build on that Foundation.

Tell them, 'That since that good Treaty was made, the Crown of *Great Britain* is happily Descended to His Most Excellent Majesty KING GEORGE, and forever Established in His Royal Protestant Family, which GOD be praised, are many. That it is in the Name and by the Command of KING GEORGE, that I am now Speaking to them, and that they may, and should Esteem it as an Instance of the King's great Favour, that I have so soon visited them.

Tell them, ' That there is a very good agree-
 ' ment between KING GEORGE, and his Neigh-
 ' bours, more especially the *French Nation*, who
 ' have a Just and Great Esteem for His Majesty,
 ' And are very desirous of His Friendship, and
 ' Peace with Him : And that His Majesty's Sub-
 ' jects at home and abroad account themselves,
 ' very happy in His Majesty's Government, for that,
 ' It is Wise, Just and Kind ; His Majesty consul-
 ' ting the common Welfare of His People, as to
 ' their *Religion, Civil Liberties, Trade*, and every
 ' other thing.

Tell them, ' That this Great, Good and Wise
 ' Prince KING GEORGE, is their KING, as well
 ' as Ours, and that therefore we look upon them,
 ' and shall always Treat them as fellow Subjects ;
 ' and that they must likewise remember at all times,
 ' that they are KING GEORGE's Subjects, under
 ' His Allegiance and Protection, and they must
 ' by no means hearken to any contrary Insinuations,
 ' that will always find themselves safest under the
 ' Government of *Great Britain*.

Tell them, ' KING GEORGE, and the *British*
 ' *Nation*, are Christians of the Reformed Protes-
 ' tant Religion ; That the great and only Rule of
 ' their Faith and Worship, and Life, is contained in
 ' the BIBLE, [the Governour holding one in his
 ' hand] here in this Book which is the Word of
 ' GOD [*Sachems*] is contained our Holy Religion ;
 ' and we would gladly, have you of the same Relig-
 ' ion with us, and therefore we have agreed, to be
 ' at the Charge of a Protestant Missionary among
 ' you, to instruct you, and this is the Gentleman
 ' [shewing Mr. *Baxter* to them] And I hope also in
 ' a little Time, to appoint a Schoolmaster among
 ' you to teach your Children, and that I hope
 ' and expect that they Treat this Protestant Mis-
 ' sionary with all affection and respect, not only for
 ' the sake of the King's Government, but of his own

‘ Character, He being a Minister of *Jesus Christ* our
 ‘ only Lord and Saviour, who will Judge them and
 ‘ us at the last day.

‘ Tell them, ‘ That the English Settlements that
 ‘ have lately been made in these Eastern Parts, have
 ‘ been promoted partly on their accounts, and that
 ‘ they will find the benefit of them in having Trade
 ‘ brought so near them, besides the advantage of the
 ‘ Neighbourhood and Conversation of the English,
 ‘ to whom I have given strict Orders, that they be
 ‘ very just and kind to the Indians, upon all accounts,
 ‘ and therefore if at any time, they meet with any
 ‘ Oppression, Fraud, or unfair Dealing, from the
 ‘ English in any of their affairs ; let them make their
 ‘ Complaint to any of my Officers here, and then I
 ‘ shall soon hear of it , and take speedy and effectual
 ‘ care to do them right. Or if upon any great occa-
 ‘ sion, they chuse to send any of their Body to me
 ‘ directly they shall be very welcome. I shall al-
 ‘ ways be ready to protect and assist them. For I
 ‘ would have them look upon the English Govern-
 ‘ ment in *New-England* as their great and safe shel-
 ‘ ter.

‘ Tell them, ‘ That if they have any thing fit, or
 ‘ reasonable to ask of me, at this time, they shall be
 ‘ very welcome to lay it before me, and I shall give
 ‘ it all due consideration, and that I expect an An-
 ‘ swer from them to what I have said.

‘ Tell them, *Interpreter*, ‘ That in token of my great
 ‘ sincerity and affection to them, and as an ear-
 ‘ nest of my future Justice and Kindness to them,
 ‘ I here give my Hand to their Sachems, and Chief
 ‘ Captains.’

Then his Excellency taking an English and an
 Indian Bible in his Hand, bid the Interpreters tell
 them that he gave them those Bibles, and left them
 with Mr. *Baxter* their Minister, for their Instruc-
 tion, whenever they desire to be taught. The

Minister will reside here, or hereabouts, and so will the Schoolmaster to Instruct their Children, when they have a mind to send them.

Then his Excellency Drank King GEORGE's Health to the chief Sagamore *Moxus*, which he, and all the rest pledged.

Wiwurna stood up, and said he was appointed to speak in the Name of the rest.

Governour. Go on.

Wiwurna. We are very glad of this Opportunity, to see your Excellency, when the Sun shines so bright upon us; and hope the Angels in Heaven rejoyce with us; We have been in Expectation of this favour ever since we received your Excellency's Letter in the Winter.

We are not now prepared to answer what your Excellency has said to us; But shall wait on your Excellency again to Morrow.

Governour. It is well: at what time?

Wiwurna. We desire his Excellency to Appoint the time.

Gov. Let them come about Nine o'clock, when they will see the Flag set up. I will give them an Ox for dinner, and let them send some to Kill, and Dress it.

Wi. We are very thankful to your Excellency, for some of us have had little to eat for these two Days.

Then the Indians took leave and withdrew.

Aug. 10th. 1717.

THE eight Sachems, and chief Captains that Attended Yesterday appeared again with some other Principal Indians accompanying them.

Wi. It is a great favour of GOD we have this Opportunity to wait on your Excellency, and we have our Answers ready.

Gov. Let them Speak.

Wi. We have done with the Treaty at *Pascataqua*, and now proceed to a new one.

Gov. They Ratify, and Confirm former Treaties.

Wi. Yes, We do.

His Excellency Ordered the principal Articles of their Submission at *Pascataqua*, to be Read and Interpreted to them: And then Ask'd them, whether they did remember & acknowledge them?

And the Indians Answered, They did.

Wi. We have considered what his Excellency said Yesterday, and the first thing was for Love and Unity; and we admire it exceedingly. And believe it pleases GOD. And hope your Excellency will endeavour it shall be so.

Gov. I assure them of it, If they carry themselves suitably, with Duty and Allegiance to KING GEORGE.

Wi. We hope all hard thoughts will now be laid aside, between the English and Us, and that the Amity will be hearty.

Gov. Very well.

Wi. We are well pleased that his Excellency is Commander of *New-England*; and that altho' He is lately Arriv'd from *England*, He is acquainted with the Affairs of *New-England*, and hope all things will be well.

Gov. Tell them if they behave themselves well, I shall use them kindly.

Wi. We had the same Discourse from other Governours, as from your Excellency: and we have said the same, to them. Other Governours have said to us that we are under no other Government but our own.

Gov. How is that?

Wi. We pray leave to speak out. Your Excellency was pleased to say that we must be Obedient to KING GEORGE, which we shall if we like the Offers made us.

Gov. They must be Obedient to KING GEORGE, and all just Offers and Usage shall be given them.

Wi. We will be very obedient to the KING, if we are not Molested in the Improvement of our Lands.

Gov. They shall not be Interrupted in the Improvement of their lands; and the English must not be Molested by them in theirs.

Wi. We are pleased with the liberty your Excellency gives us, of making Mention of any wrong we have suffered.

Gov. They must Desist from any Pretensions to Lands which the English own.

Wi. We Pray leave to go on in order with our Answer.

Gov. Let them go on.

Wi. If any wrong happens to us we will not avenge our selves, but apply to your Excellency for Redress. If any Foreign Indians come upon us, We shall Acquaint your Excellency, but hope by our Young Men to defend our selves.

Gov. If they want help our Young Men shall assist them also.

Wi. If any Quarrel happens & blood should be shed, We will not avenge our selves, put apply to your Excellency. We Return Thanks to your Excellency for your favour in offering us Succors. & if there should be any Disturbance we shall not Complain without real proof, nor for any frivolous matter.

Wi. This Place was formerly Settled and is now Settling at our request: And we now return Thanks that the English are come to Settle here, and will Imbrace them in our Bosoms that come to Settle on our Lands.

Gov. They must not call it their Land, for the English have bought it of them and their Ancestors.

Wi. We Pray leave to proceed in our Answer, and talk that matter afterward. We desire there may be no further Settlements made. We shan't be able to hold them all in our Bosoms, and to take care to shelter them, if it be likely to be bad weather, and Mischief be Threatened.

As to the Ministers Instructing us :

All People have a love for their Ministers, and it would be strange if we should not love them, that come from GOD. And as to the Bibles your Excellency mentioned, We desire to be excused on that Point. GOD has given us teaching already, and if we should go from that we should displease GOD. We are not capable to make any judgment about Religion.

Your Excellency was not sensible how sick we were Yesterday to see the Man of War ashore, We were so faint we could not Speak out with strength, and we are now very glad the Ship is well.

We are very glad to wait on your Excellency, and to tell you, That we sent our Young Men early this Morning, to see if the Ship was well, and were very glad to hear she was.

Gov. Tell them, I accept their respects for His Majesty's Ship, and if the Ship can help them at any time, It shall be ready to do it.

Wi. We shall be very glad when we have concluded, that your Excellency may have good winds, and weather, and get safe down this River and home.

Gov. Tell them they must be sensible and satisfied that the *English* own this Land, and have Deeds that shew, and set forth their Purchase from their Ancestors. And we will not be molested in our Improvement of them. And they shall not be molested in the Improvement of the Lands that belong to them.

Tell them also, That Complaints are made to me that some of them have violently taken things from

some of the English, as the Meat out of their Pots, and other things which is contrary to the Law of GOD and Man, and that they had forbid the English Planting on their own Lands, and that the Night before last they killed some Young Cattel belonging to the English, (which indeed they had first informed of, and desired forgiveness) all which is contrary to their Articles.

Wi. We desire time to consult.

Gov. They may have it, but tell them I expect to see them again at Three a Clock, with a positive Answer about the Lands. And that they should always Muzzie their Dogs, when they come upon the English lands where their Cattle are.

Wi. We are very thankful that your Excellency gives us leave to consider, and shall attend your Excellency at the time appointed with our Answers, for it is not a jesting matter we are now upon.

3 a Clock in the Afternoon.

Wi. We are willing to cut off our Lands as far as the Mills, and the Coasts to *Pemaquid*.

Gov. Tell them we desire only what is our own, and that we will have. We will not wrong them, but what is our own we will be Masters of.

Wi. It was said at *Casco* Treaty, that no more Forts should be made.

Gov. Tell them the Forts are not made for their hurt, and that I wonder they should speak against them, when they are for the security of both, we being all Subjects of King GEORGE.

King GEORGE builds what Forts he pleases in his own Dominions, and has given me Power to do it here, and they are for their security as well as our's, and the French do the like. They build what Forts they please, and all Kings have that Power, and the Governours they appoint to do the same.

Wi. We can't understand how our Lands have been purchased, what has been Alienated was by our Gift.

His Excellency hereupon ordered a Deed of Sale of Lands on *Kennebeck River*, made by Six Indian Sagamores, to *Richard Wharton*, should be opened and exhibited to them, which was done and partly Read, and Interpreted to them.

Wi. As for the West side of *Kennebeck River* I have nothing to say, but am sure nothing has been Sold on the East side.

Gov. I expect their positive Answer and Compliance in this matter, that the English may be quiet in the Possession of the Lands they have purchased.

Wi. We don't know what to think of new Forts built.

Gov. I have spoke to that fully already, and told them they are for our mutual defence.

Wi. We should be pleased with King GEORGE if there was never a Fort in the Eastern Parts.

Gov. Tell them that wherever there is a new Settlement, I shall always order a Fort, if I think it proper, and that it is for the security of them and us, and so do the French. Are any People under the same Government afraid of being made too strong to keep out Enemies?

Wi. We are a little uneasy concerning these Lands, but are willing the English shall possess all they have done, excepting Forts.

Gov. Tell them we will not take an Inch of their Land: nor will we part with an Inch of our own.

Wi. We shall have Fishing and Fowling wherever we will.

Gov. It is freely consented to, and they are assured of it.

Then the Indians rose up at once & withdrew, in a hasty abrupt manner without taking leave, and

left behind them their English Colours, returning to their Head quarters at *Puddlestones-Island*.

And in the evening brought to His Excellency a Letter from *Sebastian Ralle*, their Jesuit, Dated the 17th of *Aug.* 1717. Wherein he says, that Governour *Vaudreville* had written to them, that when he was lately in *France*, he had enquired of the King of *France*, whether he had in any Treaty given away the Indians Lands to the English, and that the French King told him, he had not, but was ready to succour the Indians, if their Lands were encroacht upon. Which his Excellency read and rejected as not worthy of his Regard. And the Indians return'd.

August 11th. 1717.

His Excellency went on board the Squirrel Man of War, and Ordered the Fore-top-sail to be loosed. Whereupon a Canoo with two *Indians* hastened on board & acknowledged the rudeness & ill Manners they were guilty of Yesterday, and Pray'd that they might see his Excellency again.

His Excellency told them they should if they quitted their unreasonable Pretensions to the English Lands, and Complied with what he had said, but not otherwise. Which they promising to do, His Excellency Appointed to meet them at Six a Clock. And the Indians Desired they might have the British Colours again; which were given them and they returned.

And at the time appointed the Sachems, and Principal Men came over with the British Colours, leaving behind them *Wivurna*, because (as was said) he had behaved himself so improperly Yesterday.

And they appointed *Querebennit* their Speaker.

Quer. We are very sorry for our rude Carriage Yesterday, and Pray it may be forgiven. As your Excellency said if any thing should happen amiss, It should be rectified.

Gov. 'Tis well.

Quer. It was agreed in the Articles of Peace, that the English should Settle, where their Predecessors had done; And we agree to those Articles & Confirm them. And Desire the English may Settle as far as ever they have done. And then Presented His Excellency a Belt of *Wampum*. And said, we Desire to live in Peace.

Gov. Tell them, if they don't begin the Quarrel, they shall have no occasion from us.

Quer. We desire that by the favour of GOD, we may always live in Peace and Unity.

Gov. We pray the same.

Quer. If any of our People should happen to be out in Cold and Stormy Weather, we desire the English to shelter them.

Gov. As long as they behave themselves well kindness shall be shown them.

Quer. We shall always do the same for the English, and GOD Almighty hears us say it.

Gov. It is doing like Christians.

Quer. What I have said GOD Almighty hears, and presented another Belt of *Wampum*.

Gov. We say the same, what is done is done in the presence of GOD.

Gov. Tell them I hear more Complaints of some of them, that they have interrupted the English in their Affairs, Taken the Meat out of their Pots, &c. I expect that there be no more such Miscarriages; If any of our People should do so to them they should be punish'd severely.

Quer. We Pray supplies may be sent us.

Gov. Tell them that the Traders here shall supply them.

Gov. Ask them, What they want most?

Quer. In the Winter all necessaries are wanting, especially Provision and Amunition.

Gov. Tell them the Traders shall have order to supply them with what they want, at reasonable Rates.

Quer. We should be glad of one Trading House that may serve us all.

Gov. There shall be a place or 2, or 3, when I go home appointed, where they shall be supplied.

Quer. Mr. *Minot* is a good natur'd Man, and pleases us well.

Gov. There shall be here, and in other places supplies of Trade.

Quer. We Desire that Interpreter *Jordan* may be near us, to Represent to your Excellency any thing that may happen.

Gov. I desire no better man.

Quer. We should be glad of a Smith here, to mend our Guns.

Gov. Here is one that has work'd for you and Complains he is not paid for it.

Quer. As to that I don't know, but it is a long time before he will do our work, and then he won't do it well.

Gov. If you take care to pay for your work, I shall Endeavour you shall have a good Lock-Smith.

And tell them, that I thank them for their Present.

His Excellency Directed the following Instrument to be drawn up, and annex't to the Articles of their Submission, made at *Pascataqua*; which was Read, and Interpreted to them Paragraph by Paragraph by Interpreter *Jordan*, (Capt. *Gyles* having been ordered to his Command of the Fort at *Brunswick* Yesterday.)

And they all readily & without any Objection Consented to the whole.

August 12th. 1717.

Twenty of the Sachems, and Principle Men Sign'd & Seal'd & Deliver'd the said Instrument to

to his Excellency as their Act; being Witnessed by several English Gentlemen, and several of the Principal Young Men of the Indians. It is as follows, *viz.*

George Town on Arrowsick Island in His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, the 12th Day of August 1717, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE, by the Grace of GOD of Great Britain, France & Ireland, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.

We the Subscribers being Sachems & Chief Men of the several Tribes of Indians belonging to Kennebeck, Penobscut, Pegwacket, Saco, and other the Eastern Parts of His Majesty's Province aforesaid, having had the several Articles of the foregoing Treaty distinctly Read & Interpreted to us, by a Sworn Interpreter, at this time, Do Approve of, Recognize, Ratify & Confirm all, and every the said Articles, (excepting only the Fourth & Fifth Articles, which relate to the Restraint, and Limitation of Trade & Commerce which is now otherwise managed.)

And whereas some rash & inconsiderate Persons amongst us, have Molested some of our good fellow Subjects the English in the Possession of their Lands, and otherwise ill-Treated them, We do Disapprove & Condemn the same, and freely Consent that our English Friends shall Possess, Enjoy & Improve all the Lands which they have formerly Possessed, and all which they have obtained a Right & Title unto; Hoping it will prove of mutual and reciprocal Benefit and Advantage to them and us, that they Cohabit with us.

In Testimony, and Perpetual Memory whereof We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, in behalf of our Selves, and of the several Tribes of the

Indians, that have delegated us to appear for, and Represent them the Day and Year aforementioned.

This Affair being finish'd several Sachems that Supplies might be sent to *Winter Harbour Small Point*, and a Sloop with Supplies to *Pen* told them he would gratify them in. As hunt the Fowl with floats.

Mug. Complain'd he had left *Fifteen Sh* that he would not restore it to him.

And they Desired that Capt. *Lane* might ter, or some other Person sent in his room.

Sarumbamet Complained that Mr. *Nowel* for him an English Young Woman, a Captive succeeded, and £10 if he attempted, and did Endeavoured it without success, and said his bargain.

To all which his Excellency Replied that he should be done them.

Then all the Sachems and Chief Men came his Excellency their hands; one of them Peace might continue as long as the Sun

And his Excellency ordered then munition, which they accepted very thankfully, and Pray'd that their Young Men might be allowed to come over, and give his Excellency a dance, which his Excellency allowed of.

BOSTON: Printed by B. Green, Printer to His Excellency the GOVERNOR & COUNCIL: And Sold by Benj. Elliot, at his Shop below the Town-house, 1717.

[From Gov. Shute's Speech to the Assembly at Portsmouth, Oct. 8, 1717.

"I am glad I can informe you yt since I saw you last I have had an interview with ye Eastern Indians and have brought them into such measures as are for ye honor of my Mas'r King George and yt tend to ye quiet and peace of these Provinces, wch are ye two principal things I aime att in all my transactions. After ye treaty was concluded and ye former articles of peace and some new ones Sign'd and raty-

[These lines are torn or illegible in the copy.]

fied, ye Indians Complained to me about ye Englishmens fowling upon floats and desired yt where either of ye Provinces had any new settlements' yt persons might be appointed there to furnish them with all necessarys at a moderate rate. I promised them yt I would endeavour to redress their grievances and assist them; wch I recomend to your care since wt they desire is so very reasonable."

The House replied: "We rejoyce yr Excellency's interview with ye Eastern Indians was attended wth so much success and are ready and willing to fall in wth any measures yt ye good agreement wth them may be continued and any grievances may be redressed."

In Council—"Voted, that there be an Act past against guning in floats." The House refused to concur.

Assembly Records.

This Conference is noticed by Penhallow, I Coll. N. H. His. Soc. p. 111; II Holmes' Ann. p. 93; & II Hutchinson's Mass. p. 198.]

Of the Treaty of 1725, at Boston.

Prov. of New Hamp. In the House of Representatives.

Voted that whereas, the enemy Indians have made overtures of peace with the Governments with whom they have been at warr, and the place being at Boston appointed for a Treaty: Voted, that two persons be chosen out of this House to go to Boston to assist the Lieut. Governor att the said treaty in behalfe of this Government.

9 : 15th 1725. Sent up for concurrence.

Eod'm die. In the House of Representatives.

Voted, that Maj'r John Gillman and Mr. Theo. Atkinson are the persons chosen out of this house for the service aforesaid. And concurred with and by a message p. Mr. Clark Waldron, that Capt. Frost and Coll. Walton are appointed for yt end.

"Munday x. 27th. 1725. A message came down with the Gov'r Speech, and the cobby of the Treaty with the Indians at Boston was also sent down."

Assembly Records.

[See this Treaty in Penhallow, I Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. p. 123, and the Ratification of it, p. 130. Noticed in II Belknap, p. 81; and Hutchinson's II Mass. p. 286.]

"Fryday, Apr. 15th, 1726. In the House of Representatives.

Voted, that three of the members of this house waite upon his Hon'r the Liu't Governor to assist at the Ratification of the Peace with the Indians at Casco in ye behalfe of this Province when the time may be settled. And that Mr. Speaker Weare, Mr. Theo. Atkinson and Maj'r. John Gilman are the p'sons chosen out of this house for that service.

A messa. p. Mr. Clerk Waldron that the above vote was concurred wth and that Geo. Jaffrey, Coll. Sha. Walton and Richard Wibird Esqr. be a Committee from the Board to joyn the above Committee for yt end.

Eod'm die. Voted, that the Treasurer supply his Hon'r the Liu't Gov'r and those gent. appointed to waite on him to Casco to ratify the Peace with the Indians with the sume of twenty pounds to be used at their discretion for a present to the Indians.

Voted, that the treasurer supply his Hon'r the Liut. Governor and those Gent. appointed to waite on him with all such necess's as may be by them tho't convenient for their stores.

April 28, 1726. A message from the Board p John Frost Esq'r with a copy of a letter Liut Gov'r Dummer sent the Eastern Indians appointing the Ratification of the Treaty with them to be on the 20 of June next at Falmouth, tho. the Indians desired it might be at Pemaquid.

May 19, 1726. Voted that Coll. Walton, Majr John Gillman, John Frost Esq'r and Mr. Theo. Atkinson be allowed and paid out of the public treasury for their attenda. on the Gov'r at the Indian Treaty at Boston, the sum of five pounds each. Concurred."

Assembly Records.

Of the Treaty at Casco, 1727.

"Prov. of New-Hampshire.

"Tuesday, June the 27th, 1727. The House met by an especial order from the Liu't Gov'r, &c.

A message from the Board that it was his Hon'rs pleasure yt the house attend him at the Board. The House went up, and the Liu't Governor made a speech which was : yt he had rec'd a letter from Liu't Gov'r Dumer that came from the three Indian tribes that had not come into the former peace made with the Penobscot Tribe: and that he intended to meet them ye 10th July at Falmouth and desired his

company: a copy of the Letter and Mr. Dumer's Letter was sent down.

Eod'm die. In the House of Representatives.

The question being put whether this Government shall send to ratifie the Peace with those three tribes that hath now sent and are waiting at Tirionet, it passed in the affirmative.

Voted, that this Province send to Casco to ratify the peace with the three Tribes of Indians now on Kennebeck river in the manner as don with the Penobscut."

Wednesday, June the 28th. In the House of Representatives. Voted, that his Hon'r the Liu't Governor be desired to comissionate one pson or more, as his hon'r shall think convenient, to goe to Casco to treat with the Indians there, with power to ratifie the Peace already made with the Penobscut Tribe and to make peace with any other Tribe with whom we are at warr.

Eod'm die. A message was sent down with the above voat by Geo Jaffrey, Esq'r to be reconsidered."

"An addition to the Governor's Speech was sent down, viz.

"Gent. The vote you sent up desiring me to appoint Comiss'rs to represent this Government for the makeing peace with the three Tribes now waiting at the Eastward for our answer, I can by no means adhere to: It being inconsistent with the hon'r of this his Maj'ties Govern't so to do: therefore I advise you to reconsider your vote: We have now an op'tunity to make an hon'ble and lasting peace with those Indians that have so often laid wast our dwelling places and cruelly murdered many of our friends and neighbors: which I think cannot be forgotten by us: more especially you that live on our frontiers. It lies entirely with you Gent. of the house of Represent. this Board being all of opinion that it's highly reasonable and necessary that wee imbrace the season. Let us prefer ye peace, quiet, good settlement of our country and lives of our friends before money; for I find there the matter sticks.
J. WENTWORTH."

"Eod'm die. In the House of Representatives.

Voted, that it is our advice that his Hon'r take two of the Councill and one of the House (as shall be by them appointed) with him to Casco Bay or elsewhere; there to ratify and make any peace he shall think fit: and that the Treasurer supply him with what money or necessaries he shall think fit for that affaire, and that he make a present to Indians of 20l.

and that his Hon'r be desired to be as frugall as may be consistent with the hon'r of the Govern't in this affaire.

Eod'm die. A message from the Board p. Geo. Jaffrey, Esq'r that the above vote was approved off: only that the psent to the Indians of 20*l.* was too little: In the House it was amended and made about 25*l.* and sent up by the same messenger.

Voted, that Mr. Theo. Atkinson be appointed from this House to goe with his Hon'r the Li'ut Govern'r to Casco or elsewhere to ratify and make peace with the Indians.

Eod'm die. A message from the Board yt ye above voates was concur'd and yt Sha. Walton Geo. Jaffrey and R. W. bird, Esq'r's were appointed at ye Board.

Eod'm die. In the House.

Voted, that there be two hundred pounds of the money in the Committee's hands now signed off and put into the Treasury for the defraying the psent charges in going to Casco to meet the Indians.

A messa. from the Board p. Sha. Walton, arm. and the Clerk that the above voat was concurd with."

Assembly Records.

Journal of the Proceedings of the

General Assembly of the Province of

Massachusetts, from 1727 to 1780.

Indian Articles of Peace, July 25, 1727.

[From the original on Parchment.]

By the Parties to these Articles.

The following Article is unanimously and reciprocally agreed upon for the more effectually preserving The Peace, that if any Hostility shall be Committed or offered to be committed by any Indians on any of the English subjects, The Tribes who have entred into and Ratified the Peace Shall furnish and Supply fifty Indians with a Captain of their own and the English Two hundred and fifty and So in Proportion, A Greater or Lesser Number as Occasion shall Require. The forces to be paid and subsisted by English, and under ye Conduct of such a General Officer as the English Governour may judge proper—to pursue such refractory Indians, Either by Sea or Land and Compell them to live peaceably with their Neighbours.

And if any Other Tribes of Indians shall make Warr upon any of the Tribes now Entred into the Peace, In such Case the English shall assist Them at their own Cost and Charge withe the Like Proportion of men as may be Necessary.

DONE at the Conference at Casco bay, This Twenty-fifth Day of July in the Thirteenth Year of the Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lord King George Annoq. Domini 1727.

J. WENTWORTH.

Nathl Paine.	Jer. Moulton
Thomas Berry	Richard Bourne
John Quincy	Stephen Minot
Samuel Willard	Job Lewis
Joseph White	John Smith
Stepn. Eastwicke	Tho. Smith
Joseph Bane	Joseph Heath
John Alden	Henry Phillips
Peter Weare	Jno. Fitch
Amos [illegible]	Cyprian Jeffry
Johnson Harmon	Sam. Jordan
Edward Shove	John Gyles

Arresagontucook.

Accomowet x his mark [L.s.]	Saroom x for Amresscoggin [L.s.]
Bauguaret x Nathaniel [L.s.]	Joseph x xadewwando : son nia [L. s.]
Scaunwass [L. s.]	Muguaandook x [L. s.]
Paucaunumba x met : [L. s.]	Sabatists x [L. s.]

Waweenock.

Wassylssonon x bonett his mark [L. s.]	Namayeen x [L. s.]
Sawerramett x [L. s.]	Moxus x of Neridgwook [L. s.]
Wawoorra x of Neridgwook [L. s.]	Neridgwook x [L. s.]
John x Hegon [L. s.]	Moress x [L. s.]
Erremaumett x Penobscut [L. s.]	[L. s.]

Neridgwook.

Saossack x 2d Chieff [L. s.]	Naugus x cauwel alias Capt. John [L. s.]
Conuwass x [L. s.]	Madocawando x [L. s.]
Ogexando x [L. s.]	Edauweno x [L. s.]
Erremenissa x Jno. Hegonston	[L. s.]

Penobscut.

Bauterramew x	Secretary (L. s.)	Transwacksuce x	
		Juds Soroustou	(L. s.)
Augusteen x	(L. s.)	Adawaukenht x	(L. s.)
Victor x	(L. s.)	Acteon x	(L. s.)
Umbrooses x	(L. s.)	Toman x	(L. s.)
Pauterramett x	(L. s.)	Wammo x wett	(L. s.)
Espegueret x	(L. s.)	Saguaroom x Loron	(L. s.)
Squadook x alias Luce	(L.s.)	Cezar x Moxus	(L. s.)
Ayere x mett	(L. s.)	Joseph x	(L. s.)
Stonesseress x	(L. s.)	Pequesserss x Swan	(L. s.)
Transsuack x Savern	(L. s.)	Henquid x (L.s.)	Arexes x (L. s.)

The within written Articles Stipulated and agreed on, as within mentioned, by the within named delegates, (Viz.) Saguarom, alias Loron, Arexes, Francois Xavier and Maganumber, being distinctly read over and faithfully interpreted to us yesterday at a Public Conference, and by us well understood and having fully and maturely considered the same, We underwritten, (Viz.) Moxus chieff Sachem and Sagamore of the Neridgwock Tribe and Soossauck, 2d chieff of said Tribe, Together with the underwritten Chieffs and others of the said Tribe, for ourselves and in behalf of the Other Tribes, Auyammuet Captain and Counsellour of the Arresagontacook Tribe, in his Brother's absence, together with the underwritten Chieffs and others of the said Tribe, for ourselves and in behalf of the other tribes, Nemmagen and Watzaraboonett, Captains and Counsellours Two of the Chieffs of the Wawenock Tribes delegated by them Accompanied by Awemmonett the Chief Sachem's Son, together with the underwritten Chieffs others of the said Tribe for ourselves and in behalf of the other Tribes.

Do by these presents in a Publick and solemn manner, (The Penobscut Tribe being present) for our several Tribes Respectively Approve Consent to and Ratifie all and singular the said Articles; and

all and each of them to all intents and purposes shall be and abide good, valid and binding upon us and our heirs and successors respectively for ever.

Done at Falmouth, in Casco bay this Twenty-first day of July in the Thirteenth year of ye reign of our Rightfull Sovereign King George, Annoq. Domini one thousand seven hundred and twenty seven.

Wowenock Tribe.

Woofsaurraboonet x his mark (L. s.) Waherramet x his
 mark (L. s.)
 Nemadgeen x his mark (L. s.) Paleppamet x his mark (L. s.)
 Sauwarramet x his mark (L. s.) Quinooise x his mark (L. s.)

Arresagontacook Tribe.

Auyomowet x his mark (L. s.) Parresongok x his mark (L. s.)
 Lorin x his mark (L. s.) Backpaunumbaumett x his mark (L. s.)
 Saubabizt x his mark (L. s.) Stzabaucaum x his mark (L. s.)
 Magauwondoeek x (L. s.) Scaunwoss niæ (L. s.)
 Squaduke x (L. s.) Bauguaharet x Nathaniel (L. s.)
 Sauroom x (L. s.) Erremanessek x (L. s.)
 Shawasseen x (L. s.) Praussoway x (L. s.)
 Sussack x Son of Beauando (L. s.)

Neridgwock.

Moxus x Chieff (L. s.) Soopausuck x 2d Chieff (L. s.)
 Nagiscoig x alais Capt. John (L. s.) Suequantoemoug x (L. s.)
 Pum x son to Tenamaugus (L. s.) Wawoorna x (L. s.)
 Edauwena x (L. s.) Madockawando x (L. s.)
 Mendowet x (L. s.) Wawwheret x (L. s.)

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of us—

Stepn. Estwicke	John Quincy
Edw. Shove	Job Lewis
Jer. Moulton	John Smith
Jno. Fitch	Cyprian Jeffry
Stephen Minot	Joseph Heath
Wm. Brattle	Steph. Greenleaf
Thomas Berry	Peter Weare
John Pitts	John Gyles
	Theodore Atkinson, Cler. Con.

1747. *Extract from the message of Gov. B. Wentworth to the Assembly of New-Hamp. July 14, 1747.*

“This message accompanys Governor Shirley’s letter to me of the 29th June last, which principally relates to the appointing Commissioners to meet at a Congress to be held at New-York the second day of September next, to unite with the Commissioners of his Majesty’s other governments upon measures that may conduce to establish the six nations in his Majesty’s interest, and in the interest of the British Colonies, with other essential things therein mentioned. Upon which I shall be glad to receive your sentiments, and how far you will ingage in the expense, that I may appoint a commissioner or commissioners as the circumstances of this affair will require.”

Ms. in Secretary’s office.

Treaty of Falmouth, 1749.

This treaty with the Eastern Indians, begun and held at Falmouth in Casco Bay, October 14th. and concluded Oct. 16, 1749, may be seen *IX. Coll. Mass. His. Soc. 220, first series.* Commissioners on the part of Massachusetts; Thomas Hutchinson, John Choate Israel Williams, and James Otis. On the part of New-Hamp. Theodore A’kinson and John Downing. *Hutchinson II. Ch. 4, note, 3d edit. II. Holmes’ Ann. 180.*

The following letter is all that has been found in the Secretary’s office relative to this treaty.

Boston, June 3d, 1749.

SIR,—The occasion of this Letter is to acquaint your Excellency, that there are now in Boston nine Indians, six of the Penobscot Tribe and three of Norridgewalk, with whom I have had divers publick Conferences, who declare themselves to be sent hither by the Indian Tribes of St. Francois and St. John’s River, as well as their own, and impowered by those Tribes to assure us of their Disposition and Desire to make Peace with the English Governments, and to appoint a time of Meeting for such Treaty; And I have accordingly appointed the 27th of Sept’r next for the time of their meeting us at Falmouth in Casco Bay. And as this Gov-



ernm't apprehends that it will be of great Advantage for the Success of this Affair, that all the neighbouring Governm'ts concerned in the late War should be represented by their Commiss'rs at this Treaty, I desire that your Excellency would please to send Commissioners from New-Hampshire to join in these Negotiations in behalf of your Province. As it has always been the Custom to make Presents to the Indians upon the Conclusion of the Treaty, We have provided for such Presents as we judged necessary for our selves. I shall write to the Governours of Connecticut and Nova Scotia.

I am, &c.

W. SHIRLEY.

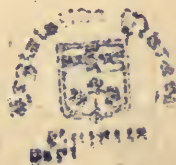
His Excellency Benning Wentworth, Esq.

Submission of 1698.

The renewed Submission of the Eastern Indians, and recognition of their obedience to the Crown of England.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

Whereas divers Sagamores, and chief Captains of all the Indians belonging to the several rivers of Penobscott, Kennebeck, Amarascoggin and Saco, parts of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, within the sovereignty and dominions of his most Excellent Majesty, William the Third, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. being assembled together at Fort William Henry, at Pemaquid, the eleventh day of August, in the fifth year of the reign of his said Majesty and the late Queen Mary, did then and there, by their submission and agreements, under their hands and seals, for themselves and each of them respectively, and in the name and with the free consent of all the Indians belonging to the several rivers aforesaid, and of all other Indians within the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, of, and from, Merrimack river, unto the most easterly bounds of said Province, lay down their armes, cast themselves upon his said Majesty's grace and favour, and acknowledged their hearty subjection



and obedience to the Crown of England, and did also solemnly covenant, promise and agree to, and with his Excellency Sir William Phips, Knight, then Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the aforesaid Province or Territory, on his said Majesty's behalf, in manner following, that is to say :

[For this agreement see II. Mather's *Magnalia*, 542.]

Whereas, notwithstanding the aforesaid submission and agreements, the said Indians belonging to the rivers aforesaid, or some of them, through the ill counsel and instigation of the French, have perpetrated sundry hostilities against his Majesty's subjects, the English, and have not delivered and returned home several English captives in their hands, as in the said submission they covenanted.

Wherefore we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, Sagamores, Captains and principal men of the Indians belonging unto the rivers of Kennebeck, Amarasoggin and Saco, and parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreements, and also of the sufferings and mischiefs that we have thereby exposed ourselves unto, do, in a humble and most submissive manner, cast ourselves upon his Majesty's mercy for the pardon of all our past rebellions, hostilities and violation of our promises, praying to be received unto his Majesty's grace and protection; and for, and on behalf of, ourselves and of all other, the Indians belonging to the several rivers and place aforesaid, within the sovereignty of his Majesty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge and profess our hearty and sincere obedience unto the Crown of England, and do solemnly renew, ratify and confirme all and every of the articles and agreements contained in the aforerecited submission.

In testimony whereof, we, the said Sagamores, Captains and principal men, have hereunto set our several marks and seals, at Casco Bay, near Mares point, the seventh day of January, in the tenth year of the reign of his said Majesty, King William the Third, Annoq. Domini, 1798-9.

Moxus, his mark x and a seal,

Turramuguos, al. Moses, his mark x and a seal,

Wanooson, his mark x and a seal,

Wasombamit, his mark x and a seal,

Essacombewet, his mark x and a seal,

Niminitt, his mark x and a seal,

Bomosin, and a seal,

Woworrane, al. Joseph, his mark x and a seal,
Mr. Speaker Herramaquin, his mark x and a seal
Paquarak, his mark x and a seal,
Nerenoah, for Nateombamit, his mark x and a seal,
Sampson Hegin his mark x and a seal
Aboomawa, his mark x and a seal.

The before written was several times read over to the Indians that have subscribed the same, and the several articles and paragraphs thereof plainly and distinctly interpreted unto them, who said they well and thoroughly understood and agreed to the same; and then was signed and sealed by them, in the presence of us,

James Converse, Cyprian Southack,
John Giles, Interpreter, Scadook, al. Sampson, his x mark.
A true Copy, examined—Pr. ISA. ADDINGTON, *Sec'y.*

[The foregoing copy is in the archives of the State of New-Hampshire, and was found after the residue of the article was in type.

A letter from *Samuel Moody*, giving an account of his meeting with several Eastern Indians, under an appointment from the government of New-Hampshire, Aug. 11, 1716, may also be found in I. Farmer & Moore's Collections, p. 58.]

An historical sketch of the Northern boundary of New-Hampshire.

“ ut si

“ Cæcus iter monstrare velit : tamen aspice, si quid

“ Et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur.”

Horace.

OF late years, as in ancient periods of the history of New-Hampshire, its boundaries, on the south, the east, and the north have all become subjects of controversy.

Those on the south have recently been examined by commissioners from this state and Massachu-

setts : and as a report was made concerning them, to the Legislature, in June, A. D. 1826, and as the dispute, if unadjusted, is to be carried on with only a single party, I shall defer its further consideration for the present.

Those on the east are so much in doubt as to have induced the Legislature of Maine, in the winter of A. D. 1827, to appoint commissioners for settling them; but from the last reason before named, and from some uncertainty as to the specific extent of the difficulties started on the part of Maine. I purpose to say nothing now concerning that line, except so far as it is connected with the nature and limits of our boundary on the north.

In this last direction, the doubts have assumed a graver aspect, the parties to the controversy are more numerous and formidable, and the extent of territory in dispute is not only larger, but both its title and jurisdiction are supposed to be involved in the question. On that frontier, usually described as contiguous to Canada, the claims of the state are opposed by a no less powerful antagonist than the British government—they are questioned also by our own general government, and have been strenuously resisted by a large association of purchasers and settlers, deriving title under some of the St. Francis tribe of Indians.

Under the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent, a commission has been held upon this line, without producing any adjustment; and legal proceedings have been for some years pending against some of the settlers before mentioned, without terminating as yet, in any full decision upon their claims.

The precise points in issue are these: New-Hampshire insists that her title and jurisdiction, extend northward as far as the height of land between the waters of the St. Lawrence and the

Connecticut; and that the line there runs westward and southwestward, from her northeast corner in the direction of that height till reaching the source of Hall's stream, and thence down that stream to the main branch of the Connecticut.

On the other hand, England contends, that the boundaries of the United "States," near our northern frontier, having been limited by the treaty of A. D. 1783, to "the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river," and thence down to the 45th degree of north latitude, Canada must, of course, extend as far southeastward as THAT head of Connecticut river; and furthermore, which alone is controverted, that the main branch of the river must be considered as the "northwesternmost head," or at least that this head cannot lie farther northwest than Indian stream. This would cut off from New-Hampshire, east of Hall's stream, as one or the other construction prevailed, from 30 to 80,000 acres of land.

The general government, while it claims title in itself, as far northward as the height of land and Hall's stream, seems to suppose, that New-Hampshire has no right to the soil, whatever may be her jurisdiction beyond the 45. of north latitude: and the association of purchasers and settlers above named, it is understood, question both her title and jurisdiction beyond that degree of latitude.

The quantity of land affected by these last claims probably exceeds 130,000 acres; enough for nearly six townships six miles square, and constituting more than one fiftieth of the whole territory of the State. It had been but little explored in A.D. 1792, but Belknap then estimated this tract at 124,800 acres.*

The quality of the soil has recently been ascertained to be much superior to many townships far-

* 3 Belk. N. H. p. 13.

ther south: indeed its surface is less hilly and the climate warmer than a large part of the country from 20 to 60 miles nearer the centre of the State.*

Under these circumstances it has been thought by me an useful offering to the public, whether it conduce, in the end, to the success of well grounded individual claims, or to a just vindication of the territorial rights of the State, if any one would aid towards a more thorough investigation of the history of her northern boundary, and to a wider dissemination of the facts already known in relation to it.

With a view to excite the attention of others—enjoying more leisure and better means, to accomplish these desirable objects, rather than with an expectation, under the pressure of travel and business, with being able myself to do much towards them, I have ventured to submit these hasty remarks.

The language used in different instruments and at different periods in respect to the northern boundary of New-Hampshire will be better understood, if it is borne in mind, that Canada was settled by the French as early as A. D. 1608, being some years before the British grants to Gorges of Maine, or to Mason of any part of New-Hampshire. That this fact was probably well known to so jealous and commercial a rival as England. That Canada always continued a province of France till conquered in A. D. 1759, and that for many years after the first settlement at Quebec, and even on the Pascataqua river, the distance between them was not supposed to exceed 90 or 100 miles.†

The general ignorance of the geography of this country at that time caused numerous mistakes concerning boundaries, and it cannot be a matter of

* Report to the House of Representatives of N. H. in Journal, Nov. 1824, Apx. page 340.

† I Belk. His. of N. H. p. 14, who cites Gorges' His. of Am. p. 43.

much surprise when we are told, that the Indians themselves "supposed New England to be an island."*

Some curious illustrations of this ignorance exist in the old geographies, one of which bearing upon the present question will suffice. In "Geography anatomized," "by Pat. Gordon," which had reached its 12th edition in A. D. 1730, the whole Atlantic frontier from Carolina to the polar circle is called "Terra Canadensis," (p. 352) and is divided into north and south, by "the river of Canada." The boundaries or names of the particular provinces in New-England are not given; but New-England itself is said to be bounded "on the West by some of *terra arctica*, and on the north by Arcadie or Nova-Scotia" (p. 353): and to leave no doubt of his meaning, "*terra arctica*" is described as "all those northern countries lying either entirely or mostly within the arctic polar circle." He is a very honest geographer and admits that the country is but "slenderly known," and not to be described like "the 52 counties in England": and hence devotes only three lines, constituting however a whole chapter, to "*Terra Canadensis propria*."

In the first grant of any part of New-Hampshire, dated March 9th, 1621, the northern boundary was limited by "the farthest head" of the Merrimack river, and was doubtless not intended to cover the tract now in controversy. Because it is described in I. Belk. Hist. of N. H. page 7, as "of all the land "from the river Naumkeag (now Salem) round "Cape Anne to the river Merrimack; and up each "of those rivers to the farthest head thereof; then "to cross over from the head of the one to the head "of the other," &c.

The river Merrimack was then supposed to run in its whole course south-eastwardly as from Dra-

* I Neale's Hist. New-England, p. 21.)

cut to its mouth :* and under that misapprehension, which has in the succeeding grants created so much difficulty for almost two centuries as to our southern boundary, the whole of this first grant to Mason, called Masonia, would be without the present limits of this State. But correcting the error, it would embrace only what is west of the Merrimack, and extend no farther north than its actual "head."

But the very next year, August 10th, 1622, a new grant was made to Mason and Gorges jointly "of all the lands between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahock extending back to the great lakes "and river of Canada."†

This was called Laconia, and, on any construction of the course of the river Merrimack, extended north over the whole territory now in dispute and even beyond the height of land as far as the St. Lawrence river. For we have seen by Gordon before cited, that this river was called the "river of Canada." The extent of it westward would also be farther than Hall's stream by one or two ranges of townships, if a line due north were run from the "farthest head" of Merrimack river as since explored. But at that time, the "farthest head" being supposed northwestward, the lakes intended were Champlain, and perhaps Ontario, Erie, &c. and the grant would thus embrace not only westward to Hall's stream, but a large part of Vermont, if not some of New-York. As farther evidence on this point, Champlain had some years before discovered Lake Iroquois, and given his name to it:‡ and Rob. Mason about A. D. 1660 says the land in this grant was "lying and bordering upon the great rivers "and lakes of the iroquois and other nations adjoining."§ The council of New-England, likewise,

* 1 Belk. Hist. N. H. p. 18 of Apx. 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 282. note.

† Adams' Annals of Ports. p. 9. 1 Belk. Hist. of N. H. p. 6.

‡ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 101.

§ 1 Belk. Hist. N. H. p. 18, Apx.

who made this grant, had authority to do it even farther, both North and West. Because, Nov. 3, 1620, they had received from the King a cession of "all the land in New-England in America, lying "and being in breadth of from 40 degrees north latitude from the equinoctial line to 48 degrees of "said north latitude inclusively, and in length of, "and within the breadth aforesaid from sea to sea."*

This would extend nearly a degree north of the St. Lawrence in the longitude of New-Hampshire, and westward to the Pacifick ocean. Laconia was thus clearly within the authority of the Council, and was as accurately limited as Massachusetts, Connecticut or Virginia, notwithstanding Hutchinson† rather sneeringly speaks of it as a place "Neale "spent three years in searching out," "but could "not find it.

After seven years joint title, Mason, Nov. 7, 1629, took out a separate patent, covering a part only of Laconia, and probably bounded in conformity to some parol agreement for partition between him and Gorges of all or of a portion of Laconia. Its language as to the boundary now in controversy is "for the land from the middle of Pascataqua river "and up the same to the farthest head thereof, "and from thence northwestward until 60 miles "from the mouth of the harbour were finished: also "through the Merrimack River to the farthest head "thereof and so forward up into the land westward "till 60 miles were finished and from thence to "cross over land to the end of the 60 miles accounted from Pascataqua river," &c.‡ It is added, that "said portions of land with the appurtenances "the said Capt. John Mason with the consent of the President and Council *intends* to name New-

* 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. Collec. pp. 305, 313, 329.

† 1 Hist. Mass. p. 101.

‡ 1 Belk. His. 13.—1. Marshall's Wash. pp. 128, 129.—1 Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 306.

Hampshire." This arose probably from the circumstance, that he was then Governor of Portsmouth in Hampshire in England. In his will dated Nov. 26, 1635, it is called "my County of New-Hampshire."*

And in the new patent of that year it is expressly provided that it "shall be called New-Hampshire."† This tract of land was considered to include only what is within the celebrated curve line of the Masonian proprietors, running westward as Merrimack river was then supposed to head, to the town of Rindge and northward to the town of Effingham. That it was deemed a partition of title between Mason and Gorges, seems apparent from a deed of assent by Gorges, Feb. 3, 1634, that Mason may have an exclusive patent to this tract.‡

Accordingly, April 11th, A. D. 1635, a new and second patent of this same tract, with other lands farther east, was taken out by Mason; which may be seen in Hazard's State Papers, and April 3d, 1639, a new and exclusive patent was taken out by Gorges, which extended from the farthest head of Pascataqua river northwestward, till one hundred and twenty miles (not one hundred as 1 Marshall's Wash. p. 129, says,) was finished from its mouth.§ The words are, "beginning at the entrance of Pascataqua harbour, and so to pass up the same to the river Newichawack and thro' the same into the farthest head thereof, and from thence northwestwards till one hundred and twenty miles is finished." This, on a strict construction, would embrace the residue of Laconia, north and northeast of Mason's last patent as far as a line would extend, running sixty miles northwestward of his northeast corner; and thus construing northwestward to mean forty-five degrees west of north

*1 Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc 317.

† See Post. 1 Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 314.

‡ 1 Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 311.

§ Sullivan's His. of Maine, p. 397, app.

would embrace all the northern part of New-Hampshire to about the latitude of lake Connecticut.

As no settlements had extended so far north as the lands in question, and as in two or three years after Gorges' patent, viz. in A. D. 1641, the people in New-Hampshire placed themselves under the protection of Massachusetts, no occasion arose, as to either title or jurisdiction, to examine this boundary, till, in A. D. 1679, New-Hampshire became a separate government.

The extent of New-Hampshire to the north and northwest, then and ever afterwards, became a question of jurisdiction, and not of title, to the soil, except so far as that title was claimed under grants from those exercising jurisdiction.

Massachusetts, Maine and New-Hampshire, being all provinces, and subject, in many respects, to the Executive power in England, their limits as to jurisdiction were always settled, by their charters when undisputed; or, in case of controversy, by commissioners, with an appeal to the lords of plantation; or, when the government was intended to extend over lands not before granted, it was defined by the words of the commission to the Governor. The commissions were referred to often, in subsequent disputes, as decisive on the boundaries.* Under these circumstances, the instrument creating a distinct government for New-Hampshire, in A. D. 1679, expressly inhibited "the jurisdiction exercised by the colony of Massachusetts over the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton, and *all other lands* extending from three miles northward of the river Merrimack, and of any and every part thereof to the Province of Maine."† The commission to Presi-

* 2 Belk. His. p. 34.—I. Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc. 228.

† 1 Belk. His. p. 170.—Hist. of U. S. by S. Hale, p. 37.

dent Cutts, dated 8th September the same year, uses similar words in describing the jurisdiction usurped by Massachusetts, and directs him and the council "to take care of the said tract of land called the province of New-Hampshire," &c.*

This left no express restriction on the northern and northwestern boundary of New-Hampshire, except the "Province of Maine;" and beside that expressed, none implied, except the St. Lawrence, or the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, unless some "other of his majesty's governments" previously instituted, should be found to intervene. As none such did, in fact, intervene, it was "north as far as the British Dominion extends."† In accordance with this, Lieut. Governor Cranfield's commission, in A. D. 1682, makes him "commander in chief of all that part of New-Hampshire province in New-England extending from three miles northward of all or any part of Merrimack river unto the province of Maine."‡ That to the Earl of Bellamont in A. D. 1692 is similar, a copy of which is given in the Commercial Advertiser, Nov. 23d, 1826.

So was Gov. Belcher's, as recited in that to Benning Wentworth; and it issued, 28th Jan. A. D. 1730.§

This was the last commission that issued before the decree made concerning our northern boundary by the commissioners appointed between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Early as A. D. 1719 the express limit on the "Province of Maine" became a subject of angry controversy with Massachusetts, and it was then claimed, on the part of New-Hampshire, that the line between her and Maine should run north, not

* See a copy of it, edition of Province Laws, 1771.

† See claims of N H A. D. 1737, post.

‡ I Coll. N. H. His. Soc. 261

§ See records and files in State Department, New-Hampshire.

over two points west, instead of north forty-five degrees west; and thus not only leave in New-Hampshire a large tract claimed to be in Maine, but leave no express restriction on most of our northern boundary, and no implied one short of those before mentioned, and which leave to her more than the full extent where she now claims.

As population increased, the difficulties concerning the boundaries became more important, and "the Lords of trade and plantations," Jan. 22d, 1730, received in answer to certain queries on this and other subjects, "That Province has no other boundaries than what are expressed in the King's commissions to the Governors and they are from three miles to the Northward of Merrimack river, on the one side, to Pascataqua river on the other, and no other bounds are mentioned in the said commissions," &c.*

This must mean no other bounds on the south, where the chief difficulty existed.

But after the war with the Eastern Indians had ceased, the country to the northward had been so much explored, and the settlements were so rapidly extending, that the line between New-Hampshire and Maine, which influences so directly our northern boundary, became, with other lines, a subject of reference to commissioners.

Both parties laid their claims before them; and those of New-Hampshire, as to this line, were, "that the northern boundary of New-Hampshire should begin at the centre of Pascataqua harbour, and so pass up the same into the river Newichawannock, and through the same into the farthest head thereof, and from thence northwestward (that is north, less than a quarter of a point west-

* 1 Coll. N. H. His. Soc. 228.

“wardly,) as far as the *British Dominion* extends,” &c.*

In September, A. D. 1737, the commissioners reported, that this line, after leaving the farthest head of Pascataqua river should “run north two degrees west till one hundred and twenty miles were finished from the mouth of Pascataqua harbour or until it meet with his majesty’s other governments.”†

By appeals and various delays on the part of Massachusetts a final decision was not had till A. D. 1740, when this line was settled by the Lords in council without any variation from the report of the commissioners.‡

This permanently opened the northern and northeastern boundary of New-Hampshire so as beyond all question to cover the lands now in controversy: for the “one hundred and twenty miles” was inserted merely because it was the limit of Maine to the northward.

But so far from an intent having existed to limit New-Hampshire to the same distance, if the “British dominion” extended farther, and had not charter officers over it, that the phrase, “or until it meets with his majesty’s other governments,” was added against the strenuous opposition of Massachusetts, and with a view to carry New-Hampshire to that extent, however much beyond one hundred and twenty miles, and thus to adopt a proper substitute for the less qualified phrase in the New-Hampshire claim, “as far as the British dominion extends.”§

Though much complaint was made by Massachusetts against this decision as well as against that about our southern line; and though some influ-

* 2 Belk. His. p. 135.

† 2 Hutch. His. p. 348.—2 Belk. His. p. 143.—3 Belk. His. 11, and app. p. 391.

‡ 2 Belk. His. p. 169, 179.

§ 2 Belk. His. p. 139, 151.

ence upon it may have been produced by a wish to enlarge New-Hampshire, so as to make her of a respectable size for a "distinct governor;" so as to include in her limits valuable timber of mast trees for the royal navy;" and in some degree to secure "the poor, little, loyal, distressed province of New-Hampshire" from any attempted oppression by "the vast, opulent, overgrown, province of Massachusetts;" yet the decision was always acquiesced in. The description of the bounds in this decree were always substantially introduced into the subsequent commissions to the Governors of this state. As in Benning Wentworth's, A. D. 1741, and in John Wentworth's, in A. D. 1766—"thence north, two degrees westerly, until one hundred and twenty miles be finished from the mouth of Pascataqua harbour aforesaid, or until it meets with our other governments."*

The whole line, however, was never surveyed till A. D. 1789. Walter Bryant, in A. D. 1741, the next year after the final decision, spotted and measured it about thirty miles, but by the bad travelling and alarms as to Indians, was prevented from going farther.

In A. D. 1767, Massachusetts contended, that Bryant had mistaken the farthest head of the Pascataqua, and, after leaving it, had not made the proper allowance for the variation of the compass. But as he had made the same allowance, that had been made on the south line from Dracutt, westward, the line he had spotted continued undisturbed.

In A. D. 1768 this line was farther surveyed by Isaac Rindge to the neighbourhood of lake Umbagog.

But, in consequence of our Revolutionary troubles, or from some other cause, not, however, con-

* Province Laws of N. H. p. 7, edition A. D. 1771.

nected with any doubts as to the boundary being as far north as the height of land; as will soon be seen by doings in A. D. 1763, and A. D. 1764. concerning the limits of Canada, no farther survey was made till after the treaty of A. D. 1783 had introduced new and more explicit terms as to that frontier of the "States."

One of those terms, as to the "high lands," was probably taken from the boundaries assigned to Canada, by proclamation, in A. D. 1763, and the other, as to the "northwesternmost head of Connecticut river," from the secret instructions given by the Old Continental Congress to the commissioners who framed the treaty.

As that Proclamation is also the first document, making the 45° of north latitude a boundary on the north of land lying west of Connecticut river, or land now Vermont, but once claimed by New-Hampshire and New-York, and has probably occasioned the present difficulties as to that limit with the settlers, east of Connecticut river, and with our general government; and as the above named "head" of Connecticut river causes the other difficulty with England, it is necessary to advert to the historical facts bearing on these, after the conquest of Canada in A. D. 1759.

By the treaty of Paris, in A. D. 1763, the whole of Canada having fallen under British dominion, and the fear of Indian hostility having thus become almost entirely removed the settlements extended with much rapidity both north and west in New-Hampshire, as well as in other parts of New-England. Previous to this conquest they had not advanced so far either to the northward or westward as to bring into question with Canada any part of the northern boundary of New-Hampshire: though some difficulty to the westward, had arisen with New-York, because the limit of New-Hamp-

shire, in that direction, was nearly "due west," "till it meets with our other governments."*

On the erection of a government for Canada, it became necessary to fix some boundary between it and the Provinces south; and hence, in the King's proclamation, October 7th, 1763, it is described, so far as relates to the present subject, as "crossing the St. Lawrence, and Lake Champlain, in the 45° of north latitude—passes along the high lands which divide the waters that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea"†

This description explicitly excludes Canada from coming south west, even as far as Hall's stream; for a line on the latitude of 45° strikes the said highlands many miles westward of that stream.‡

The controversy with New-York, (after New-Hampshire, between A. D. 1750, and A. D. 1763, but mostly within the last three years, had granted much of what is now Vermont, on a claim to extend as far westward as within twenty miles of Hudson river :§) was ended by a decree of the board of trade, July 20th, 1764, which fixed "the western banks of Connecticut river, from where it enters the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the 45° of latitude, to be the boundary line between the two Provinces of New-Hampshire and New-York."||

This decree was so unexpected, that the operation of it was held to be only prospective and not as decisive of the old line; and the people on the tract, thus transferred to New-York, and long called the "New-Hampshire grants," resisted the jurisdiction of New-York till finally they obtained the

* Province Laws, page 7, edition 1771.

† VI. Vol of Annual Register, page 209.

‡ See Melish's map of United States

§ Vermont State Papers, 9, 16, 17. II. Belk, His. 310, 3.

|| I Williams' Hist. of Vt. 22.

privileges of an independent State, and held the titles to their land as legally granted by New-Hampshire.*

This decree is here material only, as it gave the first countenance to the idea, that the line of Canada, on the forty-fifth degree of latitude, should extend, or was "to be" thereafter extended, as far east as Connecticut river; for the proclamation the year before had stopped it on that degree of latitude, when reaching the "High Lands," and thence made it run in the direction of those "High lands" more north than the forty-fifth degree. But neither as to the past, or future, does it any where pretend, that the line on the east side of that river, was on this degree of latitude, which is one of the points now in dispute. Nor can I find any other document giving any intimation of this fact.

The doings under this decree were also material, in relation to the present question, in another view; because the agents of New-York and Canada, in A. D. 1772, undertook to run out the above line; but no claim was ever made by Canada to run that line, on the forty-fifth degree of latitude, farther east than Connecticut river.

Historical truth requires me, however, to state what would be very natural in the absence of New-Hampshire, and in the grasping spirit discovered by New-York, that her agent passed over Hall's stream to the main branch of the Connecticut, one or two miles farther east.

A letter from John Collins, Esq. deputy surveyor for the Province of Quebec, to Governor Tryon, of New-York, dated on Connecticut river, Oct. 1st, A. D. 1772, which I have examined in manuscript, says, among other things, "that they had on that day fixed the boundary of the division line between this Province and that of Quebec, on the

* Vermont State Papers, p. 21.

“ west bank of Connecticut river, two miles and fifty chains, on a direct line, above the mouth of a small river, falling into the west side of Connecticut river, known by the name of Hall’s Brook, and called by the Indians, Kenebinnasikek, at the distance of ninety miles and twenty chains from the eastern bank of Lake Champlain.”

Williams* says, this line was run “ with great error ;” and New-Hampshire would doubtless agree in this opinion, so far as it run past Hall’s “ Brook ;” a stream one third as large as the whole Connecticut ; and probably to prevent any similar difficulty afterwards, and to avoid the very dispute now pending with England, more precision was used in the treaty of peace, and the words, as to this boundary, were altered from “ Connecticut river” to the “ northwesternmost head of Connecticut river.” The “ northwesternmost head,” and not the main river, seems to have been deemed the *true* limit ; because only seven years afterwards, August 14th, 1779, when instructions were prepared by Congress for a commissioner to treat of Peace with England—he was required to insist, that “ The boundaries of these *States* are as follows, viz. these States are bounded north by a line to be drawn from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, along the High Lands which divide those rivers, which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river ; thence down the middle of that river, to the 45° of north latitude ; thence due west in the latitude 45° north from the Equator to the northwesternmost side of the river St. Lawrence.” &c.†

* Vol. 1st, p. 23.

† 2d Vol. of Secret Journals of Congress, p. 226.

Permission was given to vary some of the boundaries, in the instructions, and to leave others to be settled by commissioners; but neither of these was allowed as to those northward of New-Hampshire. As to them the instructions were animated with the true spirit of antiquity, when "Terminus, the tutelar god of bounds, was so obstinate in keeping his place, that he would not stir an inch for Jupiter." It may be well to remember, that it is said these "are" the boundaries of the States, and they are no where described as new boundaries for the confederation.

When the treaty of peace was concluded, Sept. 3, 1783, these instructions in these particulars, concerning the boundary north of New-Hampshire, were rigidly adhered to.

The second article provides, "that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and shall be their boundaries, viz. from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river; then down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence westwardly," &c.*

Between A. D. 1780 and 1789, the old Congress asked and obtained cessions from most of the States of wild lands, to which their title was in any degree doubtful—but no such request was ever

* 1 United States Laws, p. 203.

made on this State as to lands north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude.*

A committee, appointed by our legislature, proceeded accordingly, in A. D. 1789, to complete the running of the northern line, which, as before named, had been interrupted previous to the revolution; and January 6th, 1790, reported, that they had spotted a birch tree for the northeast corner of the state, standing "on the High Lands that divide the waters that fall into the river St. Lawrence, and the Atlantic ocean," and on the same course from the northeast corner of Shelburne that the "line was formerly run." They then spotted along the High Lands southwestward "to the head of the northwest (branch) of Connecticut river--then down said river to the main river, about half a mile below latitude 45° north."†

On the trial of an information by the State vs. Hylands, May A. D. 1823, Coos, ss. it appeared in evidence, from Jeremiah Eames, one of that committee and a surveyor, that the northwest branch, examined and described by them, was Hall's stream.

In A. D. 1804, another vote to survey more particularly the land north of the 45° of latitude, passed the legislature, but it does not appear that any thing was ever performed under it.

The plan, that accompanied the survey and report of the committee of A. D. 1789, is not now to be found. But Carrigain's Map, Morse's Geography, our Gazetteers, Belknap's History, &c. &c. have all, since A. D. 1789, taken it for granted, that the "High lands," and "Hall's stream," constitute our northern boundary.

It may here be useful to give a little more in detail, the facts that have recently brought the

* Blunt's Hist. Sketch, pp. 74, 84.—United States Laws, pp. 453, 489.

† See the survey: III. Belk. His. 400.

boundary into controversy. By a resolve of Congress, April 27th, 1810, a volume of land laws was published, and the learned editor (Mr. Gallatin) in a note, has taken occasion, while speaking of Maine, whose history (having once been resident there) he doubtless understood better than ours, to say :
 “ Thence it would seem, that the territory west of
 “ Kennebeck and north of the boundary established
 “ by the charter vested by the treaty of peace in
 “ the United States, and not in the state of Massa-
 “ chusetts. The same observation applies to a
 “ small tract in the possession of New-Hampshire,
 “ lying north of the 45° of north latitude ; that
 “ parallel appearing to have been the northern
 “ boundary of the Province, under the British gov-
 “ ernment.”*

Where or how this is “ appearing,” he does not inform us. Congress itself had, some years before, recognized our northern boundary as running beyond “ that parallel ;” for Canada is limited by the treaty, to the “ Highlands,” which are many miles north of that latitude, in the longitude of New-Hampshire ; and March 3d, 1799, the district of New-Hampshire, in the law for the “ collection of duties,” is described as extending “ to the northern
 “ boundary line of New-Hampshire, adjoining to
 “ the British Province of Lower Canada.”†

A second claim to a part of the land embraced in the survey of A. D. 1789, has been made by England, since the treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814. This arises from a doubt, expressed by them, about the true “ northwesternmost head of Connecticut river,” and not about any pretence by England, that Canada extends south to the 45° of latitude on the east side of Connecticut river ; and

* See the same note, I. United States Laws, 454.

† III. United States Laws, page 137.

it thus affects our limits only on the northwest and not on the extreme north.

The 5th article of that treaty, states among other things, that the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river has "not yet been ascertained;" and a commission is appointed to settle that and other enumerated lines.*

This fact was entirely new to most of the people of New-Hampshire; as in A. D. 1789, Hall's stream had been surveyed by their agents as the "northwesternmost head," and no contest had arisen at any intervening time in relation to it, with the Canadian government.

But our negotiators at Ghent, having admitted the fact, that it was not "yet ascertained," the commissioners were for years engaged in attempting a settlement of this and other difficulties, under the 5th article, till finally, I believe in A. D. 1823, they disagreed and the subject still remains to be adjusted by arbitration or negotiation.

The ingenious argument by the attorney for the United States, the Hon. William A. Bradley, and that by Mr. Chipman, for England, I hastily perused some years ago through the politeness of their secretary, the Hon. Salma Hale.

So far as my recollection extends, the course of reasoning on the part of England was, that the main branch of the river, issuing from Lake Connecticut must be deemed the "northwesternmost head of Connecticut river," because the other streams do not bear the name of "Connecticut," but distinct names. On the contrary it was shown, that this is the case with almost all rivers having different heads, and that this "head," coming from the lake, can hardly be said to spring from the "High Lands," and would have been designated for a boundary, by the name of the main branch, if one

* See the treaty in *American Diplomacy*, page 279.

more northwest had not been intended as the boundary.

The British next contended for Indian Stream, as "the northwesternmost head," and went into considerable evidence of tradition, &c. in aid of that position. But nobody can visit that country, or examine the map of it, without being convinced, that Hall's stream, and even Leach's river, still farther west, answer the description in the treaty more fully; because they are both considerable in size; both "head" in the "high lands," north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude; both are branches of the "Connecticut," and both are more northwest than Indian stream. Nor are either of them too far west for the point northwest, whether we regard the direction of their heads from the course of the main river, or from their junction with it.

It is to be noticed, that the treaty does not say the most northerly head, or the main head, or a northwest head—but the "northwesternmost head."

The fidelity of an historical sketch demands, that, on the other hand, in addition to what has already been suggested, we should, upon this point, recall the fact, that the surveyors of New-York and Canada, in A. D. 1772, passed by Hall's stream to the main branch of the river. The answer to which is, as before stated, is that the agents of New-Hampshire were not present; and that the boundary given those surveyors was not "the *northwesternmost head*" of Connecticut river; but the "west side of Connecticut river;" and which last boundary has since been altered in its phraseology probably to prevent a recurrence of a similar act. A remark is also dropped by Doct. Dwight in his travels, Vol. I, p. 25, that Indian stream is our northwest boundary, and, in Vol. II., he speaks of "Indian river, commonly known by the name of

western or Canada branch." But he cites no book or document to prove either position, and they must, therefore, have the weight of only a traveller's story—a traveller highly intelligent, I admit; but who was less likely to know our true boundary than a resident citizen so indefatigable and accurate as Belknap. The last position of Doct. Dwight may well be true, and yet Indian stream not be the "northwesternmost head," but only a "western or Canada branch," of the Connecticut river.

The history of the next controversy, as to the northern frontier of the State, will be given in a few words, and without particular comment, as the dispute is still pending before our own judicial tribunals.

Certain purchasers and their grantees, it is understood, claim the title to the soil under a deed from one Philip, an Indian occupying all or part of the premises. It is dated, June 28, 1796, and a copy of it is given in a report by a select committee to the Legislature of New-Hampshire, November session, A. D. 1824.* It is stated, that the Provincial act against purchases from the Indians had then been repealed four years.†

Whatever laws may since have been passed by Congress as to Indians, these purchasers would doubtless question the power of Congress to legislate at all about the title of land within the limits of an old State, and never ceded to the Union.‡ This deed includes all or most of the land north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, and since the execution of it, sundry surveys, conveyances and settlements have been made under it.§

By another report of another committee, the same year, it appears, that on an examination of

* See Journal, p. 341, apx.

† See Journal, p. 342.

‡ See Report of Senate as to Georgia, 2d Session, 19th Congress.

§ Journal of House, pp. 344, 345. apx.

that country, they found the population over 100, and though some of their farms had been occupied early as A. D. 1795, yet the present settlers had mostly removed there since A. D. 1814.*

In November, A. D. 1820, the Attorney General was directed, by the legislature, to institute proceedings against the inhabitants, with a view to ascertain by what authority they occupied this tract. Proceedings were accordingly instituted, in May, A. D. 1821, the decision of which must depend on many other facts, beside those of an historical character before stated, and which, till those proceedings are closed, it may not be proper to state or discuss.

But it is understood, that both the title and jurisdiction of the State to any land north of the forty-first degree of latitude, has been, or will be, brought into consideration, and both will doubtless be settled on those sound principles of evidence, and public law, the purity of which are of more importance than a victory can be to either party.

Portsmouth, N. H. April 20, 1827.



Memoir of James Freeman Dana, M. D.

JAMES FREEMAN DANA was born at Amherst, New-Hampshire, 23d September, 1793. He was the eldest son of Luther Dana, Esq. who in early life served as a midshipman in the Navy of the United States, during part of the contest of the Revolution, and for many years of his after life, was master of a vessel in the merchant service. His great ancestor was Richard Dana, who came to Massachusetts before the year 1649, and settled at Cambridge, where he died in 1695, leaving four sons and three daughters, from whom the numer-

* Journal of House, p. 338, apx.

ous families of Danas in New-England are descended. His grandfather, the Hon. Samuel Dana, was born in Brighton, Massachusetts, in January, 1739; graduated at Harvard college in 1755; was the minister of Groton, Mass., from 1761 to 1775, after which, he studied law, and was admitted to practice in the Courts in New-Hampshire; settled at Amherst, and soon became Judge of Probate for the county of Hillsborough, and died April 1, 1798, *Æt.* 57. His intermediate ancestors between Judge Dana and Richard Dana, were Caleb, Caléb, and Daniel. On the side of his mother, whose name was Lucy Giddings, he was a descendant of the eighth generation *from* the celebrated and venerable JOHN ROBINSON, the spiritual teacher of the noble and revered band of Pilgrims, who first began, at Plymouth, the settlement of New-England.

The subject of this memoir received his early education at Phillips' Academy at Exeter, where his father removed from Amherst about the year 1804, in order to give his sons the advantages of that excellent institution. Here he was fitted for the University at Cambridge, to which place his father also removed, when his sons were prepared for admission to that ancient seat of literature. He entered the Freshman class with a younger brother, in the autumn of 1809, and received his first degree in 1813. His name, when he graduated, was *Jonathan Freeman Dana*, and was so printed in several of the triennial catalogues, but was altered to *James*, by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1820.

Of his habits and turn of mind in earlier life, the writer has no knowledge; but immediately after joining the University, he began to show a decided bent for those pursuits in which he afterwards rose to distinguished eminence. Many of the ordinary routine of studies seemed to have but few charms

for his inquisitive and penetrating spirit, which sought for gratification rather in exploring the works of nature, and ascertaining their principles and classification, than in perusing the productions of human taste, ingenuity or research. Hence the mathematical, metaphysical, and classical, studies of the University, afforded him but little gratification, and though in compliance with the institutes of the seminary, and through respect for its laws and teachers, he gave to them such a portion of his attention, and made in them such progress as to evince no culpable deficiency, yet his feelings did not correspond with his intellectual exertion, and he made no distinguished proficiency. Even for the classics and polite literature of our own language, he had but little relish, and, with the exception of Shakspeare, Burns, and, perhaps, Milton, there was hardly an English poet, whose works afforded him any pleasure. He indeed often said to his friends, that he had no taste for poetry, and no comprehension of it, yet of Shakspeare and Burns, particularly the latter, he was extremely fond, and in after life, wrote several pieces in the peculiar language, and manner of this distinguished poet, of which it might, at least, be said, that they were by no means the worst imitations of him, that have been given to the world. Several of them, indeed, breathed much of the gentle and simple spirit, which characterize the Scottish bard, and contained no small portion of kindred humour and shrewdness.

Notwithstanding our subject's want of excellence in these branches, which constitute so large and important a portion of collegiate study, yet it proceeded neither from want of talents nor indolence. His mind had found other pursuits more congenial to it, and to these he devoted his leisure hours, and all the time that could be spared from the tasks

that college discipline imposed. These pursuits were Natural Philosophy, and Natural History, more particularly, Entomology, Mineralogy, and Chemistry. In the two former, he had, even at that early period, made considerable collections of specimens, but Entomology was after a while neglected for the more engrossing pursuit of Chemistry. In this, which was the favourite employment of the rest of his life, he became deeply interested, and was greatly instrumental in bringing it into much more reputation and fashion, than it had previously enjoyed at Harvard. This was done by forming, in conjunction with his brother, and several of his classmates, a society for the cultivation of Natural Science, and Philosophy, to be perpetuated by the admission of fresh members from each succeeding class. This society met with much patronage from the executive government, and it is believed still exists in a flourishing condition under its original title of the Hermetic Society.

Towards the close of his college life, at the time that Dr. Gorham, the Professor of Chemistry, was delivering his annual course of lectures to the senior class, Dana obtained the appointment of taking care of the Lecture Room and apparatus, and assisting the Professor in preparing the experiments for his lectures. To that distinguished physician and chemist, he soon recommended himself so much, by his intelligence, zeal and assiduity, as well as by his amiable disposition, and pleasing manners, that the Professor, finding he intended to pursue the study of Medicine, invited him to do so under his tuition, and in a manner which evinced much kindness and liberality, thus laying the foundations of a friendship alike creditable to each, and which lasted through life.

Having, in the autumn of 1813, received in course the degree of A. B., in pursuance of the above men-

tioned invitation, Mr. Dana commenced the study of medicine under Dr. Gorham. With the principles and practice of the healing art, he rendered himself well acquainted, but still, as before, his chief delight was in the pursuits of Chemistry and Mineralogy.

In the former he had now made such proficiency that when in 1815, the Corporation of the University determined on establishing anew the chemical department in the college, he was appointed to go to England to procure for them a suitable modern apparatus. Such an opportunity of gaining improvement was eagerly received, and in April of that year, he sailed for England. During his stay there, which was of several months duration, he studied with much assiduity under Frederick Accum, Esq., then a distinguished chemist and teacher of Operative Chemistry, and from this reaped an amount of benefit, which, from want of similar advantages, it would have been difficult to have at that time obtained at home.

Returning from England in the latter part of October, having performed his commission to the satisfaction of his employers, he was appointed to superintend and direct the fitting up of the Chemical Laboratory and Lecture Room, a work which he performed with much ingenuity and taste. He also soon after received the appointment of assistant to the Professor of Chemistry, and teacher of Operative Chemistry, with a handsome stipend for his services.

In consequence of these interruptions to his medical studies, Mr. Dana did not take the degree of M. D. till 1817, one year later than the usual time, having previously received, in course, the degree of A. M. In the autumn of that year, he was appointed to deliver a course of lectures on chemistry to the medical students at Dartmouth

College. His lectures here gave so much satisfaction, that the appointment was continued, and he was subsequently appointed Professor of chemistry and mineralogy in that respectable institution. This office he filled with distinguished ability and great and increasing popularity, till his resignation in the summer of 1826, and during the latter part of that time, performed also the duties of Professor of botany, a science in which, for the short time he devoted to it, he made great proficiency, though it never weakened in the least his fondness for chemistry which he deemed more exclusively his profession.

In January, 1818, Dr. Dana married Matilda, the second surviving daughter of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Webber, late President of Harvard University, and settled in Cambridge with the intention of practising as a physician. That place, however, from the number of physicians already there, afforded him but little opportunity for the display of professional skill, though so far as his practice extended it gave much satisfaction. His mind was still engrossed by his favourite pursuits, and besides discharging his duties to the University and Dartmouth College, he in conjunction with his brother S. L. Dana, published in 1819, a small octavo volume on the mineralogy and geology of Boston and its environs, embracing a circuit of about 20 miles. This is a work of very considerable merit, though from its locality being so limited, and from the little attention paid to such subjects, it has by no means received the notice and reputation it deserves.

Some years previous to this, Dr. Dana was actively engaged in forming and procuring an act of incorporation for the Linnæan Society of Massachusetts, an institution which at first promised to be of essential utility to the promotion of natural science in this country, but of which, like many

other societies of a similar nature in this country, it may be said, that but for occasionally seeing its mere name, we should not know of its existence.

In the latter part of the year 1820, Dr. Dana having received the appointment of Professor at Dartmouth College, resigned his situation at Harvard University, and removed his residence to Hanover, where he gave up the practice of medicine, and devoted himself to the business of his professional chair.

Here his high scientific attainments, and his pleasing and urbane manners, were of great advantage to the reputation of the college, and procured many marks of public confidence and esteem. He received honorary degrees from Dartmouth in addition to those with which he was invested by his own Alma Mater. In June, 1824, he was chosen a member of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, and the following year was appointed one of the Committee of Publication for the second volume. He had not contributed any thing for the printed collections of the society, though he had for several years been collecting facts and materials for an article on the acquaintance of the Indians with the art of making potter's ware, several specimens of which have at various times been discovered in our state.

In August, 1824, he was appointed an aid-de-camp to his Excellency Governor Morrill, with the rank of Colonel, and the next year was elected a representative from Hanover to the General Court of New-Hampshire. He was a mason of the highest standing in the craft, and at the age of 31 was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of New-Hampshire.

In the latter part of the year 1825, Professor Dana published a work as a text book for the use of students attending his chemical lectures. This

work, which is entitled an *Epitome of Chemical Philosophy*, has been received with much favor by the scientific public, and is considered so valuable and well adapted to its purpose, that its benefits are not limited to the seminary to which it owes its origin, but it has been adopted as a text book of instruction in chemistry, in two other highly respectable institutions.

In the summer of 1826, Professor Dana received the distinguished honor of being appointed by the Secretary of War, one of the visitors of the national military academy at West Point, and almost directly after his return from that duty, he was chosen to the vacant chair of chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of New-York. This appointment was highly gratifying to Professor Dana, as opening to him an enlarged sphere of usefulness, and a wider field whereon to reap the harvest of fame, as well as a promising to reward his labours more amply in a pecuniary point of view. At Hanover, his income was moderate and precarious, and though not extravagant in expenditure, the liberality and sociability of his feelings made him far from a rigid economist, and from his zeal for science a large proportion of his income was given to the increase of his professional library and apparatus. He immediately accepted of this new and honourable station, and in November, 1826, removed with his family to the city of New-York, where he immediately entered upon the duties of his office. He was received with much cordiality by the officers of the University, and those of the medical profession to whom he was introduced, and his reputation having preceded him, he was, soon after his arrival, appointed lecturer to the Athenæum, and elected a member of the Linnæan Society.

Thus far every thing seemed to go prosperously

in accordance with his own wishes, and those of his friends, whose hearts were gladdened by the bright prospects that seemed to open before him; but the ways of futurity are enveloped in darkness, and the mountain cliff may still seem to stand in proud security, while the hidden springs beneath are silently sapping its foundations, and preparing for its sudden and fearful fall. The first stroke of adversity that Professor Dana encountered, was the sudden and altogether unlooked for death of his daughter, a beautiful infant. To this child, the only fruit of a marriage of some years standing, he was exceedingly attached, and her death and the manner of it, produced an effect upon his spirits, from which he never recovered. He nevertheless exerted himself to appear cheerful, and applied with unremitting assiduity to his professional pursuits. The winter thus passed away, but his own term was not far distant, and in the early part of April, an attack of erisipelas upon the face, spreading to the brain, in five days from its first appearance, and in three from the time when it was considered any thing serious, closed his bright and brief career, at the early age of 33, leaving a very numerous circle of friends and acquaintance to lament the untimely loss of one, who occupied so large a share in their affections, and their pleasures.

Besides the two works already mentioned, Professor Dana was, for many years, a contributor to Silliman's Journal, and that able work is indebted to him for many valuable communications, which conferred much reputation on their author, and have frequently been quoted by men of science in Europe with much respect. In addition, also, to his Lectures as Professor, he delivered several courses of private lectures at different institutions, and was several times employed to contribute, by his chemical skill, and aptitude for the application of it,

to the improvement of the processes of art, in some of our manufacturing establishments.

It was indeed one of the characteristics of his mind, to render his knowledge subservient to practical utility, not contenting himself with the mere acquisition of facts and principles, however numerous and extensive, nor wasting his time and labour, as some of high and undoubted talents have done, in framing plausible theories, and endeavouring to warp facts to accordance with them, nor in pursuing fine spun speculations, or abstruse and showy, and but useless calculations, to the vague regions of infinity. With Chemistry, in all its extent and details, Professor Dana was intimately and thoroughly conversant, and also with many other branches of Natural Philosophy, and with the application of these sciences to the arts. He was an excellent mineralogist and a good proficient in botany, and by no means wanting in much other learning and information becoming a gentleman and a scholar, though, as has already been mentioned, he had little fondness for merely literary pursuits. His medical information was accurate, though perhaps not very extensive or profound, from the little attention he paid to it after having completed his pupillage, yet his judgment and discrimination of the nature and treatment of diseases, was exceedingly good, and had he bestowed an undivided attention to the subject, he would without doubt have been a very distinguished physician.

In person, Dr. Dana was of the middle size, extremely well made, of a handsome and very prepossessing countenance. His manners were very frank, gentle, and conciliating. He possessed a great portion of native humour, and a large fund of entertaining anecdotes, which, with his social and festive disposition, made his company remarkably entertaining and pleasing. His temper was mild,

abounding and excelling in all the amiable and tender virtues, and rendering him of most exemplary worth in all the relations of domestic life. His character as a man was generous and upright, distinguished by strict integrity, united with much liberality of feeling, and resting upon firm moral and religious principles. The early death of one, so useful and amiable, and promising for the future so much greater utility, cannot but be regarded as a serious loss to the community as well as to his friends.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

- Page 23, 24 and 25 lines, John Browne and Moses Cox belonged to Hampton.
 24, note (6) for 26 of March, read 26 of *May*.
 41, 3 line, for sometime, read *five years*.
 " 4 and 5 lines, erase Assemblies of the two United Provinces were, and insert *General Court was*.
 47, 21 line, for 1699, read 27 August, 1698.
 " 22 line, for 1702, read 28 July, 1704.
 95 2 line, for William Hildrake, read William *Hildreth*.
 72, 6 line of note, for times, read *tenor*.
 77, 12 line, for great, read *grist*.
 79, last line, for plan, read *place*.
 97, 12 line, for Samson, read *Lamson*.
 19 line should be, "where Mr. Lamson's bark house stands."
 22 line, for Samson's, read *Lamson's*.
 88, last line for Simons, read *Simms*.
 90, 16 line, insert *them*, after *fastening*.
 91 16 line. for Buck hill, read *Beech hill*.
 97, 5 line, for Ellison, read *Clesson*.
 104, 1 line, for Josiah, read *Jonah*.
 105, 10 line, omit *for*.
 121, 13 line from bottom, for Hale, read *Hall*.
 132, 24 line, for Ashby, read *Ashley*.
 134, 3 line from bottom, for place, read *plan*.
 266, 8 line from bottom, for 1798-9, read 1698-9.
 290, 18 line, for first, read *fifth*.

The following Additions and Corrections for the list of Deputies in the General Court from Massachusetts, Maine, and New-Hampshire, from 1634 to 1680, inserted from page 205 to 228, have been obligingly furnished by the gentleman who communicated it. Since the list was collected from the original colony records, a MS. Journal of the House of Deputies has been consulted, which fixes with precision the location of some deputies, whose residence had been omitted, and renders certain that of others which had been assigned by conjecture.

- Page 208, May, 1634, for Abner Palmer, read Abraham Palmer.
 " " " Edward Quincy, read Edmund Quincy.
 209, May and Sept. 1635, erase Sagus after Edward Howe, and insert Watertown.
 " Sept. " insert after William Bartholomew, Ipswich.
 210, Sept. and Dec. 1636, erase Sagus after Edward Howe, and insert Watertown.
 211, May and Nov. 1637, for Edward Batter, read Edmund Batter.
 " Nov. " erase Sagus after Samuel Ward, and insert Sudbury.
 " " " erase Concord after Thomas Underwood, and insert Hingham.
 212, March, May, and Sept. 1638, Edward Howe was probably chosen for Lynn, though he resided in Watertown.
 213, May, 1640 the name of Christopher Battle a member this and several succeeding years, should be Christopher Batte.
 214, Sept. 1642, for William Perry, read William Torrey, who was many years Clerk of the Deputies.
 " Oct. 1642, after Nicholas Brown, insert Reading.
 215, May, 1643, erase Taunton after William Hook, and insert Salisbury.
 " March, 1644, Edward Winslow, or Wensley, was member from Salisbury.
 " " " for Ralph Sprague, read Richard Sprague.
 " " " after John Holister, insert Weymouth.
 " May, " after John Porter, insert Hingham.
 " " " for Wm Stow, Hampton?, read William Estow, Hampton.
 " " " after Edward Carletope, insert Rowley.
 " " " after Joseph Bachelor, insert Wenham.
 216, May, 1645, Capt. Thomas Wiggin was member from Hampton instead of Dover.

- Page 216, May 16, 1645, after John Hayward, insert Dedham.
- " " " Hugh Prichard was member for Gloucester this year.
- " May, 1646, insert Edward Starbuck as member of Dover.
- " May, 1647, William Hook represented Salisbury.
- " " " Capt. *William* Pelham represented Sudbury.
217. May, 1648, Bryan Pendleton, represented Watertown.
- " " " Nicholas Jacobs represented Hingham, and also in 1649.
- " " " erase John White, Hadley, and insert John Wright, Woburn.
- " " " Richard Russell, was Speaker in October, 1648.
- " May, 1649, erase Concord after Thomas Jones, and insert Dorchester.
- " " " erase Dorchester after Hugh Prichard, and insert Roxbury.
- " " " after Humphrey Reyner, insert Rowley.
- " " " John Johnson was elected for Springfield. He belonged to Roxbury.
218. Hingham, 1651, for Capt. John Allen, read Capt. Bozoun Allen.
- " Hampton, 1651, 2, and 3, for Roger Shew, read Roger Shaw.
- " Weymouth, 1652, for — Kingman, read Henry Kingman.
- " Braintree, " insert Samuel Bass.
- " Gloucester, " " Robert Tucker.
- " Reading, " " William Cowdry.
- " Medfield, " " Timothy Dwight.
219. Concord, 1654, erase Simon Willard, and insert Thomas Brooks.
- " 1655, Edward Johnson was Speaker one week, and Richard Russell officiated the remainder of the session.
- " Dorchester " insert Richard Callicott.
221. Springfield, 1660, for Elizur Holyoke, read Edward Holyoke.
- " Sudbury, " 2d session, insert Edmund Goodnow and James Blood.
- " Cambridge, 1661, 2d session insert Edward Jackson.
- " Lynn, 1660 and 1661, 2d session, insert Thomas Lawton.
222. Roxbury, 1662, erase John Ruggles, and insert William Parks.
- " Cambridge " 2d session, insert Edward Jackson.
- " Salem, 1663, 1664, and 1665, erase William Hathorne, and insert Edmund Batter.
- " Lynn, 1663, Capt. Thomas Marshall was deputy.
- " Dedham, 1663 and 1664, Lieut. *Joshua* Fisher was deputy.
- " Boston, 1664, erase John Jewett, and insert John Leverett.
- " Newbury, 1664, for Edmund Woodman, read Edward Woodman.
- " Hingham, 1664, for Moses Leavitt, read John Leavitt.
223. Northampton, 1666, erase Lt. William Clark, and insert William Holton.
- " Watertown, 1667, erase Samuel Thacher.
- " Ipswich, 1667, Lieut. *John* Appleton was deputy.
224. Roxbury, 1668, erase Lieut. Griffin Craft.
- " Lynn, 1668, insert Capt. Thomas Marshall.
- " Rowley 1668-1674, for Richard Swan, read Richard Swain.
225. Hadley, 1671, *William* Holton was deputy.
- " Kittery, 1672, erase Ed. Hutchinson, and insert Charles Frost.
- " Lancaster, 1672, for Thomas Beath, read Thomas Brattle.
- " Haverhill, 1673, insert George Brown.
- " Gloucester, " insert Lt. Sylvester Evilly.
- " Hingham, 1674, Joshua Hobart was Speaker part of the year.
- " Dover, 1674 and 1675, for Anthony Nutter, read Anthony Miller.
226. Roxbury, 1676, for William Parker, read William Parks.
- " Cambridge, 1676, 2d session, insert Edward Jackson.
- " Ipswich, 1675, for John Appleton, read Samuel Appleton.
- " " " for Samuel Appleton, read John Appleton.
- " York, 1676, insert Edward Rushworth.
- " Scarborough, 1676, erase Peter Bracket.
- " Chelmsford, " insert *Thomas* Hinckman.
- " Salem, 1677, read *Thomas* Graves, who belonged to Charlestown.
- " Ipswich, 1677, insert Maj. *Samuel* Appleton.
227. Charlestown, 1678, for Job Green, read Jacob Green.
- " Weymouth, 1679, 2d session, Capt. *William* Torrey was deputy.
- " Rowley, " " insert John Pierson.
- " Braintree, " " for * Quincy, read Lt. Edmund Quincy.
- " " " insert Reading, John Brown.
228. 8th line, after shall, insert "all be provided for at the Ship tavern at Boston in respect of dinner and they shall."
- " 25th line, after this, insert *case*.

