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Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.

The anonymous writer of the following article will, hence, perceive why some of his remarks are suppressed.

REMARKS ON "A HISTORY OF SALEM."

THE learning, the respectability, the known merits of the Historical Society, awe an individual, and command respect to what is published under their sanction. Yet as it may be doubtful whether they feel responsible for every thing, which particular members, or correspondents, may communicate, it becomes a duty to point out any exceptionable passages in their publications. If this be not done, the weight of their influence may tend to give authority to error and pervert public opinion.

This, we hope, will apologize for a few remarks on "A History of Salem," published by the Historical Society.

Passing over several other things, the character given of Mr. Roger Williams particularly provokes examination. The portrait of him, drawn in this history, is so unlike that, left by his contemporaries and acquaintance, that were it not for the *name*, no mortal would imagine it designed for the same person. If the learned historian have any authorities for what he asserts, it would have been kind in him, and satisfactory to his readers, had he admitted them to see the new discovery for themselves. No authority is quoted. But in page 246 he says, though "Mr. Williams blamed the administration, *he did not oppose it.*"

In the same page he says, he “ could be *persuaded*, but not compelled, to renounce his opinions.” In page 249 he says, that, “ In Salem every person loved Mr. Williams; that he had no personal enemies under any pretence.” In page 245 he says, that Mr. Williams, “ throughout all his life, supported a high place in their affections, as a truly godly man.” Again he says, that “ kind treatment could win him; that he always had address enough, with his firmness, never to be forsaken by the friends he had ever gained; that he breathed the purest devotion.”

We will make no reflections, but appeal to several writers, who lived nearer the scene of action; some of whom saw this comet blazing in his eccentric orb. One of them, Morton, informs us that “ Williams refused the oath of fidelity himself, and taught others so to do: that he also spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government.”

Mather tells us, that this “ hot-headed man publicly and *furiously* preached against the patent;” that “ he violently *withstood* the oath of fidelity.” I might quote from Governor Winthrop, Hutchinson, and Hubbard, to prove the same fact. Was not here opposition to the administration, as powerful as he could make?

Equally violent was his opposition to church administration. Morton says, that “ he procured the church of Salem’s consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him in their name to the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Newtown.” What Pontiff at Rome would have done more?

The same author informs us that Williams, “ growing more violent, immured in his own house, sent a letter to his church, which was read in public, threatening that if they would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but from the churches of New-England too, he would separate from them.” The church did not comply with such a mad proposal, and therefore he did separate from *them*, and set up a meeting in “ his own house, to which divers of the *weaker sort* repaired.” Thus was he *forsaken*; yet the present historian asserts, “ that he always had address enough—*never* to be *forsaken* by the

friends, he had *ever* gained." he also asserts that "In Salem every person loved him." Stubborn facts repel these assertions, and other writers contradict them.

The same remark will apply, when he says that Williams "could be persuaded, and that kind treatment could win him." Governor Hutchinson says, that "endeavours *were* used to reclaim him, but to *no purpose*." Mather says, that "before the court proceeded to banish this incendiary, they advised with the pastors of the neighbouring churches," who *requested* that they would forbear prosecuting him till they and their churches had in a church way endeavoured his conviction and repentance." Their proposal was allowed. "The church of Boston, and several other churches, took the best pains they could, and though they brought the church of Salem to join with them, the effect on Williams was, that he renounced them *all* as no churches." And though the church of Salem gave him up, and joined with those, who admonished him; yet this writer says, that "every person loved him, and that he had address enough never to be forsaken by the friends he had *ever* gained."

With equal propriety he says, Williams "breathed the purest devotion." As he has not produced any sample of his devotion, the task is ours. Writers, who had at least as good opportunities as this historian, say, that after he separated from his people, "he never more came to the church assembly; he withdrew all private religious communion from any, who held communion with them"; "he would not pray with his own wife and family, nor ask a blessing at meals with them, because they went to the church assemblies."

Finally, after his banishment as a pest of society, "he turned Anabaptist, (says Morton) then told his deluded followers, he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity as well as their first, and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; so they dissolved themselves."

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COLLECTIONS, &c.

THE HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE. BY ABIEL HOLMES, A.M.
A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

—forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit. VIRGIL.

*A Topographical Description of Cambridge.**

CAMBRIDGE is a shire town, in the county of Middlesex. It lies in 42°. 23'. north latitude, and 71°. west longitude from London. It is bounded on the north-east by Charlestown; on the north-west by Lexington; on the west by Watertown; on the south-west by Newton; on the south by Brookline, and on the south-east and east by Cambridge bay to Charlestown line.

It is about three miles distant from Boston, on a right line; eight miles, as measured on the road leading through Brookline and Roxbury; about four miles and a half through Charlestown; and three miles, one quarter, and sixty rods from the old state-house, by the way of West-Boston bridge.

The soil is various. In the south-west part of the town, within a mile of Charles river, the land is hilly, and abounds in springs. The soil is loamy, and natural to grass. In the north-west part of the town, the land is hilly,

* For this *Description*, I am principally indebted to my worthy friend, and respectable parishioner, CALEB GANNETT, Esquire.

and similar to that in the south-west part. The hills, in each part, afford large quantities of stone for mason's work. From the foot of the hills on the south side of Charles-river, excepting a quantity of marsh of about 300 acres on each side, the soil is mostly light, and intermixed with loam, lying upon a stratum of clay, at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, though at some places it runs to or near the surface. The soil is the same through the first parish, and Menotomy plains. On the sides of the rivulet, which divides the first and second parishes, there is a large quantity of meadow land, producing but little grass, and of an inferior quality. This meadow, however, abounds with peat, which is used by the poorer inhabitants for fuel.

The original growth of the land was oak, walnut, and pine. The orchards, planted by the first settlers, flourished greatly. The few ancient trees now remaining, being of a much larger size than any planted within half a century, denote vegetation to have been much more vigorous in former than in later years. From this cause, the quantity of fruit is greatly diminished.

The plains, though not fruitful in grass, are well adapted to the raising of Indian corn, winter rye, and the common esculent vegetables.

From the hilly and diversified surface of several parts, and the passage of Charles river through the middle of the town, it might be supposed that the air is very pure. Experience confirms the supposition. Many of the inhabitants have attained great longevity; and invalids, from other towns, have realized the beneficial effects of a salubrious air from a temporary residence in the town. Persons afflicted with chronic disorders have also received additional advantages, and sometimes effectual relief, by the use of the waters in a chalybeate spring in the south-west parish.

The largest river in Cambridge is Charles river, which is navigable to the bridge leading to Brookline, for vessels of ninety tons, and for lighters to Watertown.

Three ponds head a rivulet, which divides the first and second parishes, and which empties itself into Mystic river. The fish, usually to be found in fresh rivers and ponds, may, in their season, be caught in these waters.

Anciently, the alewife fishery was of considerable value. Exclusive of the purpose of exportation, the fish were used as manure for the land.* This fishery is, at present, of little consequence.

In the north-west parish, in Cambridge, on a small brook, which originates in Lexington, and empties itself into Mystic river, there are one saw mill, and three mills. Persons, transporting their grain from the west part of the state to Boston, might avail themselves of these mills, with convenience, to convert it into meal; and thus render it more saleable in the market.

In the same parish, there is a card manufactory which does great honour to American ingenuity. The machine, used in this manufactory, by a simple operation, bends, cuts, and sticks the card teeth. It was invented in the spring of 1797, by Amos Whittemore, of Cambridge; and, on the first of September, 1799, William Whittemore and company commenced business. Twenty-three machines, now in operation, stick two hundred dozen pairs of cards, on an average, every week. Forty persons, male and female, employed in this manufactory, complete the above-mentioned number, weekly, for sale. The building, in which the whole work is done, is 46 feet square; and the average price of the cards is 7 dollars per dozen pairs.

About fifty rods below the bridge leading to Brookline, there is a very commodious wharf, owned by William Winthrop, Esquire, at which great quantities of wood and lumber are annually unladen, to the great convenience of the mechanical interests, and to the general accommodation of the town. The breadth of Charles river here, is twenty-two rods.

West-Boston bridge, connecting Cambridge with Boston, is a magnificent structure. It was erected at the expense of a company incorporated for that purpose; and cost 76,700 dollars. The causeway, on the Cam-

* This singular species of manure appears to have been much used in the infancy of the country. An early writer, in reference to the first settlers of Concord, observes: "The Lord is pleased to provide for them great store of fish in the spring time, and especially alewives, about the bigness of a herring: many thousands of these they used to put under their Indian corne." *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New-England.*

bridge side, was begun July 15, 1792; the wood work, April 8, 1793. The bridge was opened for passengers, November 23, 1793, seven months and an half from the time of laying the first pier. It is very handsomely constructed; and, when lighted by its two rows of lamps, extending a mile and a quarter, presents a vista, which has a fine effect.

It stands on 180 piers, and is	-	3483 feet long.
Bridge over the gore, 14 do	- -	275 do.
Abutment, Boston side,	- - -	87½
Causeway - - - - -	-	3344
Distance from the end of the causeway to the first church in Cambridge	-	7810
Width of the bridge	- - -	40

It is railed on each side, for foot-passengers. The sides of the causeway are stoned, capstand, and railed; and on each side there is a canal, about 30 feet wide. A toll is granted to the proprietors for 70 years.

The distance from the first church in Cambridge to the old state-house in Boston, over this bridge, is three miles, one quarter, and sixty rods; and, to the new state-house about three miles.

The erection of this bridge has had a very perceivable influence on the trade of Cambridge, which, formerly, was very inconsiderable. By bringing the travel from the westward and northward through the centre of the town, it has greatly invigorated business there. It, at the same time, has given rise to a thriving trade in the vicinity of the bridge, where several houses and stores have already been built, and where a rapid progress of trade and commerce may rationally be expected. The land, on each side of the road to Boston, from the farm formerly Inman's (lately Mr. Jarvis's) to the bridge, is divided into small lots, accommodated to the purpose of houses and stores; and has recently been sold.* This sale will, probably, be introductory to a compact and populous settlement.

There are five edifices for public worship in the town: within the limits of the first parish, a Congregational and an Episcopal church; in the second parish, a Congregational and a Baptist church; and in the third, a Congregational church.

* January, 1801.

There are five College edifices belonging to Harvard University: 1. *Harvard Hall*, (standing on the scite of old Harvard, which was burnt in 1764) containing a chapel, and dining hall, the library, and museum, a philosophy chamber, and an apartment for the philosophical apparatus; built in 1765:

2. *Massachusetts Hall*, of 4 stories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 studies; built in 1720:

3. *Hollis Hall*, of 4 stories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 studies; built in 1763:

4. *Holden Chapel*, lately converted into lecturing and reciting rooms, for the use of the professors and tutors; built in 1745. These 4 buildings are of brick.

5. *College House*, a wooden building, of 3 stories, containing 12 rooms with studies. This building stands without the college yard, having been originally built, about 1770, for a private dwelling-house, and purchased, about two years afterward, by the Corporation of Harvard College.

Stoughton Hall, which stood nearly on a line with *Hollis*, on the south, was a brick building, built in 1698, and taken down in 1781. An extensive and beautiful common spreads to the north-west of the colleges, and adds much to the pleasantness of this central part of the town.

A few rods to the south-west of the first church, stands a county court-house, where the judicial courts are holden, and the public business of the town is transacted. At the south-west corner of Market Square, is the jail, an ancient wooden building, not much used, for the confinement of criminals, since the erection of a stone jail at Concord, (the other shire town of Middlesex) in 1789.

A little to the westward of the Episcopal church is the grammar school-house; where a town school is kept through the year. Besides this, there are six school houses in the town; two in each of the three parishes.

During this summer, a bath was erected at brick-wharf, principally for the benefit of the students of the University. It was made under the superintendence of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, and happily unites ornament with utility.

The gardens of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, are universally admired, for the justness of their design, and for the rich-

ness, variety, and perfection, of their productions. In no part of New-England, probably, is horticulture carried to higher perfection than within his inclosure. A mall, adjoining his grounds, made in 1792, and shaded by handsome rows of trees, is a work of neatness and taste; and is, at once, convenient and ornamental to the town.

On the road leading to Watertown, there are several elegant seats, which attract the notice, and delight the eye, of the traveller. One of these seats, now owned by Mr. Andrew Craigie, was the place of General WASHINGTON'S residence, while he was with the American army at Cambridge.

It is generally conceded, that this town eminently combines the tranquillity of philosophic solitude, with the choicest pleasures and advantages of refined society.

	Acres.	Rods.
The First Parish in Cambridge contains	2851	60
The Second - - - - -	4345	118
The Third - - - - -	2660	81
In October, 1798, the number of dwelling-houses in the First parish, and within the town, was	-	148
In the Second - - - - -	-	85
In the Third - - - - -	-	68
Total houses in Cambridge,		301
The present number of inhabitants in Cambridge is		2445
In 1790, the number was - - - - -		2115
Increase in 10 years - - - - -		330

The History of Cambridge.

THE settlement of Cambridge commenced in 1631. It was the original intention of the settlers to make it the metropolis of the Province of Massachusetts. Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, and the Assistants, having examined the territory lying contiguous to the new settlements, upon view of this spot, "all agreed it a fit place for a beautiful town, and took time to consider further about it."* On the 29th of December, 1630, "after

* Gov. Winthrop's Journal, printed at Hartford, in 1790

many consultations about a fit place to build a town for the seat of government, they agree on a place N. W. side of Charles river, about three miles W. from Charlestown ; and all, except Mr. Endicott and Sharp (the former living at Salem, and the latter purposing to return to England) oblige themselves to build houses there the following spring, and remove their ordnance and munition thither, and first call the place *NEWTOWN.*” * The town was laid out in squares, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. One square was reserved for the purpose of a market ; and remains open, to this day, still retaining the name of *Market Place.* † The street, leading by the Town Spring to the southward, was called *Creek Street.* The street, parallel to this, leading from the College to the Causeway, *Wood Street.* The street parallel to this, leading from the First Church to Marsh Lane, *Water Street.* The street eastward, and parallel to this, leading from Braintree Street to Marsh Lane, *Crooked Street, or Lane.* ‡ The street, from the parsonage to Wood Street, *Braintree Street.* The street southward, and parallel to this, running from the Town Spring to Crooked Lane, *Spring Street.* The street, parallel to this, and farther south, running from Creek Street to Crooked Lane, *Long Street.* South of this a lane on the margin of the marsh, called *Marsh Lane.* A lane leading from Crooked Street or Lane into the Neck, called *Back Lane.* Back Lane was narrow and crooked, and is now discontinued and inclosed ; and, in its stead, a new street, 45 feet wide, and straight, has been laid out a few rods to the southward of that lane.

According to agreement, the Deputy-Governor, Secretary Bradstreet, and other principal gentlemen, in the spring of 1631, commenced the execution of the plan, with a view to its speedy completion. The Governor set up the frame of a house where he first pitched his tent ;

* Prince's Chronology, vol. II. 8. Three numbers only of a second volume of this Chronology were ever published.

† For the original names of the streets of Cambridge, I am indebted to WILLIAM WINTHROP, (Esquire, a descendant of Governor Winthrop) who, in some other particulars, has obligingly contributed to the correctness of this history.

‡ This street was straightened the present year.

and the Deputy-Governor finished his house,* and removed his family. On some considerations, however, "which at first came not into their minds," the Governor, in the ensuing autumn, took down his frame, and removed it into Boston, with the intention of making that the place of his future abode; greatly to the disappointment of the rest of the company, who were still resolved to build at Newtown. Having promised the people of Boston, when they first sat down with him there, that he would not remove, unless they should accompany him; they now petitioned him, "under all their hands," that, according to his promise, he would not leave them. About this time, also, Chicketaubu, the Chief of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Newtown, visited the Governor with high professions of friendship; which rendered him less apprehensive of danger from the Indians, and less solicitous for a fortified town. Together with these considerations, to influence the Governor to this new resolution, Boston was now "like to be the place of chiefest commerce." †

Various orders of the Court of Assistantshew, however, that Newtown, still designed for the metropolis, was taken under legislative patronage. On the 14th of June, 1631, the Court, in consideration of "Mr. John Masters' having undertaken to make a passage from Charles river to the New Town, 12 feet broad, and 7 deep, promises him satisfaction." On the 5th of July, the Court ordered, "that there be levied out of the several plantations £ 30, for making the Creek from Charles river to Newtown." ‡ In the course of the same year, a thatched house, in Boston, taking fire from the chimney, and becoming burnt down; "for prevention whereof," observes the Deputy-Governor, "in our *New Town*, intended to be built this summer, we have ordered, that no man there shall build his chimney with *wood*, nor cover his house with *thatch*." § On the

* It stood on the west side of Water Street, near its southern termination at Marsh Lane.

† Belknap's American Biography, II. 339. Hubbard's MS. Hist. of N. Eng.

‡ Prince, II. 30, 31. This creek, or passage, which is still open, extends from the river, in a northerly direction, to the upland on the west side of Water Street, where it is intersected by Marsh Lane.

§ Prince, II. 23.

3d of February, 1632, the Court ordered, "that £.60 be levied out of the several plantations, towards making a palisado about the New Town."*

An historian, who was in New-England, at this time, and who left it the year following, observes: "Newtown was first intended for a city, but, upon more serious considerations, it was thought not so fit, being too far from the sea; being the greatest inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New-England, having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of them are very rich." †

In some of the first years, the annual election of the Governor and Magistrates of the Colony was holden in this town. The people, on these occasions, assembled under an oak tree, which long remained a venerable monument of the freedom, the patriotism, and the piety, of the ancestors of New-England. ‡

* Prince, II. 17. This fortification was actually made; and the fosse which was then dug around the town, is, in some places, visible, to this day. It commenced at Brick Wharf, (originally called Windmill Hill) and ran along the northern side of the present Common in Cambridge, and through what was then a thicket, but now constitutes a part of the cultivated grounds of Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis; beyond which it cannot be distinctly traced. It enclosed above 1000 acres.

† Wood's New-England's Prospect.

‡ This venerable oak stood on the northerly side of the Common in Cambridge, a little west of the road leading to Lexington. The stump of it was dug up not many years since.

Note for page 8.

Chicketawbu was the sagamore of Neponcett, which could not have been far from Boston, for, on the 14th of February, 1632, "the Governor and some other company went to view the country as far as Neponcett, and returned that night." The first mention of this Indian chief, within my knowledge, is March 23, 1631, when "Chickatabot § came with his sannops and squaws, and presented the Governor with a bushel of Indian corn." In April, he "came to the Governor again, and he put him into a very good new suit from head to foot; and, after, he sat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed." He died, of the small pox, in November, 1633, when that disorder occasioned "a great mortality among the Indians," and carried off many of his people. *Winthrop's Journal*, 24, 26, 32, 56.

§ Thus spelt by Gov. Winthrop.

The first considerable accession to the society appears to have been in August, 1632, when "the Braintree company which had begun to sit down at Mount Woolaston by order of Court, removed to Newtown. These were Mr. Hooker's company."* Mr. Hooker, however, having not yet come to New-England, they were still destitute of a settled minister. But a preparation for the privilege of the public ministry, and of the ordinances of the gospel, was an immediate and primary object of their pious attention. This year, accordingly, they "built the

* Winthrop's Journal, 42. It is highly probable, that this company came from Braintree, in Essex county, in England, and from its vicinity. Chelmsford, where Mr. Hooker was settled, is but eleven miles from Braintree: And Mr. Hooker "was so esteemed as a preacher, that not only his own people, but others from all parts of the country of Essex flocked to hear him." — The names of this company, constituting the first settlers of the town of Cambridge, are preserved in the records of the Proprietors, under the date of 1632, and are as follow:

Jeremy Adams	Richard Lord
Matthew Allen	John Masters
John Benjamin	Abraham Morrill
Jonathan Boswell	Hester Mussey
Mr. Simon Bradstreett	Simon Oakes
John Bridge	James Olmstead
Richard Butler	Capt. Daniel Patrick
John Clarke	John Prat
Anthony Couldby, or Colby	William Pentrey
Daniel Dennison	Joseph Redinge
Thomas Dudley, Esq.	Nathaniel Richards
Samuel Dudley	William Spencer
Edward Elmer	Thomas Spencer
Richard Goodman	Edward Stebbins
William Goodwin	John Steele
Garrad Hadden	Henry Steele
Stephen Hart	George Steele
John Haynes, Esq. †	Samuel Stone
Thomas Heate	John Talcott
Rev. Thomas Hooker	William Wadsworth
Thomas Hosmer	Andrew Warner
Richard Harlackenden	Richard Webb
William Lewis	William Westwood
	John White.

† *Afterward Governor of Massachusetts.*

‡ *Afterward Governor of Connecticut. His house stood on the west side of Market Place. For his character, see Trumbull's History of Connecticut, I. 223.*

first house for public worship at Newtown, with a bell upon it.”*

The removal of the Governor into Boston having occasioned a misunderstanding between him and the Deputy-Governor; “the ministers, for an end of the difference, ordered, that the Governor should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute some towards his maintenance for a time; or if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the Deputy, towards his charges in building there, £20.” The Governor accepted this order, and promised a compliance with it. The Deputy-Governor, however, on the reception of one part of the order, returned it to the Governor, professing so full a persuasion of the Governor’s love to him, and so high an estimation of it, that “if he had given him £.100, instead of £.20, he would not have taken it.” Notwithstanding the variance, which had subsisted between these venerable men, “yet they peaceably met about their affairs, without any appearance of any breach or discontent; and ever after kept peace and good correspondency together in love and friendship.”†

The recent settlers of Newtown had, while in England,

* Prince, II. 75. This church stood on the west side of Water Street, and south of Spring Street, near the place where these streets intersect each other, about 30 rods south of where the congregational church now stands.

† Winthrop’s Journal.—Governor WINTHROP is characterized, by Morton, as “singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit; as a man of unbiassed justice, patience in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving, earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good.” Dr. Belknap justly observes, that “he was eminently qualified for the first office of government, in which he shone with a lustre, which would have done him honour in a larger sphere, and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as governor, of an infant plantation.” His house, in Boston, stood a few rods north of the Old South church, where the pile of brick stores has been recently built. The late John Winthrop, Esq. Hollis Professor of Math. and Nat. Philos. was his descendant of the fourth generation; and James and William Winthrop, Esquires, now living in Cambridge, are descendants, of the fifth generation. Gov. Winthrop died in 1649, ætat. LXIII. *Amer. Biog.* II. 337. *Magnalia*, II. 8.

THOMAS DUDLEY, Esq. is characterized as “a man of sound judgment in matters of religion, and well read, bestowing much labour

attended the ministry of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, who, to escape fines and imprisonment for his non-conformity, had now fled into Holland. To enjoy the privilege of such a pastor, they were willing to migrate to any part of the world. No sooner, therefore, was he driven from them, than they turned their eyes towards New-England. They hoped that, if comfortable settlements could be made in this part of America, they might obtain him for their pastor. Immediately after their settlement at Newtown, they expressed their earnest desires to Mr. Hooker, that he would come over into New-England, and take the pastoral charge of them. At their desire he left Holland; and, having obtained Mr. Samuel Stone, a lecturer at Torcester in Northamptonshire, for an assistant in the ministry, took his passage for America, and arrived at Boston September 4, 1633. With him came over the famous Mr. John Cotton, Mr. John Haynes, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Goff, and two hundred passengers of importance to the Colony.* “They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for, to have been brought into the High Commission; but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuants attended there, and the mean time the said ministers were taken in at the Downs.”† Mr. Hooker, on his arrival at Boston, proceeded to Newtown, where he was received with open arms, by an affectionate and pious people. He was now chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher, of the people at Newtown; and on the 11th of October, 1633, after solemn fasting and prayer, they were ordained to their respective offices.

that way; as a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion—the supreme virtues of a good magistrate. He was exact in the practice of piety in his person and family all his life. He was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of Massachusetts; and, several times, Governor and Deputy-Governor of that Province. He was a principal founder of the town of Newtown, [Cambridge] being zealous to have it made the metropolis.” On Mr. Hooker’s removal to Hartford, he removed from Newtown to Ipswich, and afterward to Roxbury, where he died, in 1633, ætat. LXXVII. *Wonder-working Providence. Morton’s Memorial. Prince. Mather.*

* Trumbull, I. 11.

† Winthrop’s Journal.

The fame of the removal of these eminent men to America invited over vast numbers of Puritans, who could not find rest under Archbishop Laud's severe administration ; " insomuch that, for several years, hardly a vessel came into these parts, but was crowded with passengers for New-England." *

An historian of this early period piously notices " the admirable acts of Providence " toward the people of Newtown, in this infancy of their settlement. " Although they were in such great straites for foode, that many of them eate their bread by waight, and had little hopes of the earths fruitfulness, yet the Lord Christ was pleased to refresh their spirits with such quickning grace, and lively affections to this temple-worke, that they did not desert the place. And that which was more remarkable, when they had scarce houses to shelter themselves, and no doores to hinder the Indians accesse to all they had in them ; yet did the Lord so awe their hearts, that although they frequented the Englishmens places of aboade, where their whole substance, weake wives and little ones lay open to their plunder, during their absence, being whole dayes at Sabbath-Assemblies, yet had they none of their food or stufte diminished, neither children nor wives hurt in the least measure, although the Indians came commonly to them, at those times, much hungry belly (as they use to say) and were then in number and strength beyond the English by far." †

As early as May, 1634, it appears that the number of inhabitants at Newtown had become disproportioned to the township. " Those of Newtown," says Governor Winthrop, " complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the Council to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted ; whereupon they sent men to see Agawam [Ipswich] and Merrimack, and gave out they would remove." ‡ In July, six inhabitants of Newtown went passengers in a vessel " bound to the Dutch plantation, to discover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither." §

At the General Court, which sat at Newtown in Sep-

* Neal.

† Wonder-working Providence.

‡ Winthrop's Journal.

§ Ibid.

tember,, “ many things were agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle-Island, Dorchester and Charlestown ; with divers other matters. But the main business, which spent the most time, and caused the adjourning of the Court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave the last General Court to look out for some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation ; and now they moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut.” The subject was largely and warmly debated ; “ the whole Colony being affected with the dispute.” When the question was put to vote, fifteen of the Deputies voted for leave of departure, and ten against it ; the Governor and two Assistants voted for it ; but the Deputy-Governor, with all the other Assistants, voted against it ; so a legal act could not be obtained. Hence arose a great difference between the Governor and Assistants, and the Deputies, concerning the negative voice. “ So when they could proceed no further, the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord,” which was kept, accordingly, in all the congregations. The Court met again soon after ; but before it proceeded to business, Mr. Cotton (on Mr. Hooker’s declining) preached from Hag. ii. 4. “ And it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully ;—and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown.”* This first enlargement was, doubtless, in breadth, to the southward and westward. When the first settlers erected “ the New Town,” between Charlestown and Watertown, it was “ in forme like a lift cut off from the broad-cloath of the two fore-named towns.”†

The people of Newtown manifesting a persevering determination to remove into Connecticut, and those of some neighbouring towns concurring, at the same time, in the wish and project of removal to other places ; the General Court, in May, 1635, gave them leave to remove whither they pleased, on condition that they should continue under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

* Winthrop’s Journal, 70. † Wonder-working Providence, 16.

In October, Mr. Thomas Shepard, whose name holds a conspicuous place in the annals of New-England, arrived at Boston, together with the people who were to form his pastoral charge. On the first of February, 1636, the first permanent church was gathered at Newtown. Mr. Shepard, and "divers other good christians," intending to form a church, communicated their design to the magistrates, who gave their approbation. Application was also made to all the neighbouring churches, "for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown, when they should constitute their body." A great assembly accordingly convened, and the church was organized in a public and solemn manner.* The ordination of Mr. Shepard probably took place soon after this organization of the church; but the precise time cannot now be ascertained. "It was deferred," says Dr. Mather, "until another day, wherein there was more time to go through the other solemnities proper to such an occasion."

Early in the summer of 1636, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, composing the whole of Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, left Newtown; and travelled above a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to Connecticut. "They had no guide but their compass; made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them." †

* For the form of the organization of this church, and the religious exercises on the occasion, see Winthrop's Journal, 95, 96. This was the eleventh church, gathered in Massachusetts. The order of the churches was as follows:

The first church was gathered	at Salem,	in the year	1629
The second	at Charlestown,		1630
The third	at Dorchester,		1631
The fourth	at Roxbury,		1631
The fifth	at Lynn,		1631
The sixth	at Watertown,		1631
The seventh	at Boston,		1632
The eighth (Mr. Hooker's)	at Newtown, [Cambridge]		1633
The ninth	at Ipswich,		1634
The tenth	at Newbury,		1634
The eleventh (Mr. Shepard's)	at Newtown, [Cambridge]		1636

† Trumbull, I. 55. Winthrop's Journal, 100.

They drave with them 160 cattle, and subsisted on the milk of their cows, during the journey. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter. This little company laid the foundation of Hartford, now a very flourishing city in Connecticut.

Their removal was very oportune for Mr. Shepard and his company, who purchased the dwelling-houses and lands, which they had owned at Newtown; and thus enjoyed the advantage (which fell to the lot of few of the early colonists) of entering a settlement already cultivated, and furnished with comfortable accommodations.

This year (1636) the General Court contemplated the erection of a Public School at Newtown, and appropriated four hundred pounds for that purpose; which laid the foundation of Harvard College.*

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very extraordinary woman, commencing a religious teacher, about this time, and holding lectures for the propagation of her peculiar tenets, attracted a numerous audience, and gained many adherents. "The whole Colony was soon divided into two parties, differing in sentiment, and still more alienated in affection. They stiled each other Antinomians and Legalists."† Such was the warmth of the controversy, that it was judged advisable to call a Synod to give their opinion on the controverted points. A Synod was accordingly holden at Newtown on the 30th of August, 1637, at which "all the teaching elders through the country," and messengers of the several churches, were present. The magistrates, too, attended as hearers, and spake occasionally, as they saw fit. Of this Synod Mr. Shepard, who opened it with prayer, "was no small part."‡ After a session of three weeks, the Synod condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, which had become disseminated in New-England. The proceedings of this Synod appear to have been conducted with fairness

* "After God had carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civill government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity: dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." *New-England's First Fruits, published in 1643.*

† Adams's History of New England.

‡ C. Mather.

and ability. "Liberty was given to any man to dispute *pro* or *con*, and none to be charged to be of that opinion he disputed for, unlesse he should declare himselfe so to be.— The clearing of the true sense and meaning of any place of scripture, it was done by scripture." An historian, who lived at that period, says: "Foure sorts of persons I could with a good will have paid their passage out, and home againe to England, that they might have been present at this Synod, so that they would have reported the truth of all the passages thereof to their own Colledges at their return." These were "the Prelates;" "the godly and reverend Presbyterian party;" "those who with their new stratagems have brought in so much old error;" and "those who derided all sorts of scholarship." *

The vigilance of Mr. Shepard was blest for the preservation of his own church, and of the other New-England churches, from the Antinomian and Familistical errors, which began at this time to prevail: "And," according to Dr. Mather, "it was with respect to this vigilancy, and the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a *College* was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary." †

A contemporary historian closes "the dismall yeare of sixteene hundred thirty-six," with the following story, illustrative, at once, of Mr. Shepard's preaching talents, and of the spirit of his times. A person, who had come to New-England, "hoping to finde the powerful presence of Christ in the preaching of the word," was encountered, at his first landing, by some of Mrs. Hutchinson's disciples, who were zealous to proselyte him to their doctrine. Finding that "hee could not skill in that new light, which was the common theame of every man's discourse," he betooke himself to a narrow Indian path, which soon led him "where none but sencelesse trees and echoing rocks make answer to his heart-easeing mone." After a perplexed and pathetic soliloquy, in this deep recess, he formed a resolution "to hear some one of these able ministers preach, whom report had so valued," before he

* Wonder-working Providence.

† Magnalia, III. 87. Wonder-working Providence, 164.

would "make choice of one principle," or cross the broad seas back againe. Then turning his face to the sun, he steered his course toward the next town, and after some small travell hee came to a large plaine. No sooner was hee entred thereon, but hearing the sound of a drum, he was directed toward it by a broad beaten way." Following this road, he enquired of the first person he met, what the signal of the drum meant. The answer was, they had as yet no bell to call men to meeting, and therefore made use of a drum." * Who lectures, said he, at this town? "I see you are a stranger, new come over," replied the other, "since you know not the man. It is one Mr. Shepard." "I am new come over," said the stranger, "and have been told since I came, that most of your ministers are legall preachers, onely if I mistake not they told me this man preached a finer covenant of works than the other. However I shall make what haste I can to hear him. Fare you well." Hastening to the place, he pressed through the thickest crowd into the church, "where having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed." He was frequently melted into tears, during the service, and overwhelmed with gratitude to God, whose "blessed spirit caused the speech of a poore weake pale complectioned man to take such impression in his soul." The preacher "applied the word so aptly, as if hee had been his privy counsellor; cleering Christs worke of grace in the soule from all those false doctrines, which the erronious party had afrighted him withall." Finding that there was here not only a zeal "for the truth of the discipline, but also of the doctrine," of the gospel, "he now resolves (the Lord willing) to live and die with the ministers of New-England." †

The Reverend John Harvard, of Charlestown, in 1638, added to the sum, appropriated by the Legislature to the public school at Newtown, about eight hundred pounds.

* The town records confirm Mr. Prince's account, that the church had a bell at first; for they show that the town meetings were then called by the ringing of the bell. A drum, for what reason does not now appear, was afterwards substituted in its place; for I find an order of the townsmen, in 1646, for the payment of fifty shillings to a man "for his service to the towne, in beating the drum."

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XLIII.

Thus endowed, this school was exalted to a college, and assumed the name of its principal Benefactor: and *Newtown*, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education, was now denominated CAMBRIDGE.

In 1639, the first printing press, erected in New-England, was set up at Cambridge, "by one Daye at the charge of Mr. Glover," who died on his passage to America.* The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack made for New-England by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre.†

The ecclesiastical fathers of New-England, dissatisfied with Sternhold and Hopkins' version of the Psalms, then in common use, resolved on a new version. Some of the principal Divines in the country, among whom were Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester, undertook the work. Aiming, as they well expressed it, to have "a plain translation, rather than to smooth their verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase;" and regarding "conscience rather than ele-

* "The Reverend and judicious Mr. Jos. Glover, being able both in person and estate for the work, provided, for further completing the colonies, in church and commonwealth, a printer," &c. *Wonder-working Providence*, X.—Mrs. Glover (probably the relict of this gentleman) bought Gov. Haines' house and estate, situated at Market Place, in Cambridge, in 1639.

Nothing of Daye's printing is to be found. The press was very early in the possession of Mr. SAMUEL GREENE, who was an inhabitant of Cambridge, in 1639, and who is considered as the *first Printer* in America. His descendants, in every succession to this day, have maintained the honour of the typographic art. The present printers, of that name, at New-London, and New-Haven, in Connecticut, are of his posterity. The first press was in use at Cambridge, about half a century. The last thing I can find, which issued from it, is the second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible, in 1685. Some reliques of this press, I am informed, are still in use, in the printing office at Windsor, in Vermont.

Mr. Samuel Hall, printer to the Historical Society, printed the *New-England Chronicle* at Cambridge, from the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1775, to the removal of the American army from Cambridge. A new printing press was set up in this town, the present year, by Mr. William Hilliard, a son of my worthy predecessor in the ministry.

† Winthrop's Journal.

gance, fidelity rather than poetry," their version, it seems, was too crude to satisfy the taste of an age, neither highly refined, nor remarkably critical. Hence, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, addressed them with this monitory verse :

" Ye *Roxbury* poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us very good rhyme :
And you of *Dorchester* your verses lengthen,
But with the texts own words you will them strengthen."

This Version was printed at Cambridge in 1640 : but requiring, as it was judged, " a little more art," it was committed to President Dunster, a great master of the oriental languages, who, with some assistance, revised and refined it, and brought it into that state in which the churches of New-England used it for many subsequent years.*

In 1639, the town ordered, that some person, chosen for the purpose, should register every birth, marriage, and burial, and, " according to the order of the Court, in that case provided, give it in once evrie yeare to be delivered by the deputies to the Recorder."

In 1641, (Dec. 13) the town chose two men, whom they directed to " take care for the making of the towne spring, against Mr. Dunster's house, a sufficient well, with timber and stone fit for the use of man, and watering of cattel." †

In 1642, according to an order of the last General Court, " for the townsmen to see to the educating children," the town was divided into six parts, and a person appointed for each division, " to take care of all the families " it contained.

The first Commencement was holden at Cambridge in 1642, at which time nine Students took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. ‡ " They were young men of good

* The Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, observed, that, when he was last in England, in 1717, he found this Version " was by some eminent congregations there preferred to all others in their public worship." I find the eighteenth edition of this Version printed with the Bible at Edinburgh, in 1741 ; and the twenty-third (I suppose New-England) edition printed at Boston, in 1790. The Rev. Mr. Prince revised and improved this New-England Version, in 1758.

† May not this be the town well, still in use, a little southwesterly of the first church ?

‡ There are now one hundred and ninety-one Students in this ancient and very respectable seminary ; and, for several preceding

hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts.” * Most of the members of the General Court were now present, “and dined at the college with the scholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students encouragement—and it gave good content to all.” †

In 1643, the General Court,—which had previously committed the government of the College to all the magistrates, and the ministers of the three nearest churches, with the president,—passed an act for the well ordering and managing of Harvard College, by which all the magistrates, and the teaching elders of the six nearest towns, [Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester] and the president for the time being, were appointed to be forever governors of this Seminary. They met at Cambridge, for the first time, by virtue of this Act, on the 27th of December, 1643, “considered of the officers of the college, and chose a treasurer.” ‡

How early the Grammar School was established at Cambridge does not appear: but it seems to have been nearly coeval with the town, and to have been an object of great care and attention. As early as 1643, a writer observes: “By the side of the Colledge is a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they

years, there have been upwards of two hundred.	Since the year 1642,	
there have graduated at this College		3674
Of whom have died		2113
		<hr/>
Now living		1561
The whole number of ministers who have graduated here, is		1158
Of which number have died		787
		<hr/>
Now living		371

The observations of Mr. Oakes are worthy of perpetual regard: “Think not that the Commonwealth of Learning may languish, and yet our Civil and Ecclesiastical State be maintained in good plight and condition. The wisdom and foresight, and care for future times, of our first Leaders was in nothing more conspicuous and admirable, than in the planting of that Nursery: and New-England is enjoying the sweet fruit of it. It becomes all our faithful and worthy Patriots that tread in their steps, to water what they have planted.”

Address to the General Court, in his Election Sermon, 1673.

* Winthrop's Journal.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youths under him."*

This school, some years after, received a liberal donation from Edward Hopkins, † Esquire, Governor of Connecticut, who died in England, in 1657. This charitable and pious man gave, by his last will, the principal part of his estate to his father-in-law, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, and others, in "full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it, according to" his "true intent and purpose." This purpose is declared to be, "to give some encouragement in those Foreign Plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful Youth in a way of learning both at the Grammar School and Colledge, for the public service of the Country in future times." Five hundred pounds of his estate in England, appropriated to the college and grammar school in Cambridge, were laid out in real estate in the town of Hopkinton, and now constitute a respectable fund. Three fourths of the income of this estate are applied, according to the instruction of the will of the donor, to the maintenance of five resident Bachelors of arts, at Harvard Colledge, and the other fourth "to the Master of Cambridge Grammar School, in consideration of his instructing in Grammar Learning five boys, ‡ nominated

* *New-England's First Fruits.* See *Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 243.* Mr. Corlet appears to have been a man of learning, of piety, and respectability; and it is to the honour of Cambridge, that, in the infancy of the town, great exertions were made for his steady and permanent support. He was master of the Grammar School, in this town, between 40 and 50 years. He had the tuition of the Indian scholars, who were designed for the Colledge, and, "for his extraordinary pains in teaching" them, received compensation from the Society for propagating the Gospel. In the accounts, transmitted from New-England to that Society, he is repeatedly, and very honourably, mentioned. [See *Hazard's Hist. Coll. II.*] Dr. C. Mather (who has inserted in his *Magnalia* a biographical sketch of the Rev. Mr. Hooker, drawn by Mr. Corlet) styles him "that memorable old School-master in Cambridge; from whose education," he adds, "our Colledge and Country has received so many of its worthy men, that he is himself worthy to have his name celebrated in our Church History."

† See his character in *Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 241.*

‡ The Legislature of Massachusetts has made such an addition

by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and the Minister of Cambridge for the time being, who are, by the Will, constituted "Visitors of the said School." They make an annual visitation, the week before the commencement, "to see that so many children are taught," and that they "give proof of their proficiency in learning." Two shillings on the pound, or a tenth part as much as each Bachelor receives, is applied to "buy books and reward the industry of such under-graduates, as distinguish themselves by their application to their studies."

In 1644, Mr. Daniel Gookin removed from Virginia, with his family, and settled at Cambridge; "being drawn hither by having his affection strongly set on the truths of Christ and his pure ordinances."* His arrival was very opportune for the Reverend Mr. Eliot, the Indian apostle, who was now preparing himself for his great work of evangelizing the Indians. Mr. Gookin, animated with an apostolical zeal for the promotion of this pious design, vigorously co-operated with Mr. Eliot, in its execution. He himself informs us,† that Mr. Eliot "was his neighbour, and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprize," and communicated to him his design. In Mr. Eliot's evangelizing visits to the Indians, Mr. Gookin so often accompanied him, that he is said to have been "his constant, pious and persevering companion."‡

to this very useful fund, that six bachelors may now reside at the College, and seven boys be instructed at the Grammar School.

* Wonder-working Providence. Magnal. III. 120.

† Hist. Collect. of the Indians in New-England.

‡ Homer's Hist. of Newtown, in Coll. of Hist. Soc. vol. V. 253.—

Soon after Mr. Gookin's arrival, he was appointed captain of the military company in Cambridge; and a member of the house of deputies. In 1652, he was elected assistant; and, four years after, was appointed by the General Court superintendent of all the Indians, who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts; in which office he appears to have continued, with little interruption, till his death. In 1662, he was appointed, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, one of the licensers of the printing-press in Cambridge. In 1681, he was appointed major-general of the Colony. He is characterized by the writers, who mention his name, as a man of good understanding, rigid in his religious and political principles, but zealous and active, of inflexible integrity, and exemplary piety, disinterested and benevolent, a firm patriot, and, above all, uniformly friendly to the Indians,

In 1646, Mr. Eliot, having acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, began to preach to the Indians at Nonantum, then lying within the limits of Cambridge. From this time, for many years afterward, great pains were taken, and large sums expended, to educate Indian youth for the ministry. Several were maintained, a number of years, at the grammar school, with a view to the completion of their education at the college in Cambridge. Such, at this early period, was the zeal of our pious ancestors for the christianization of the Indians, and so sanguine were their hopes of rendering the Indian youth auxiliary to the design, that, in 1665, a brick edifice, 30 feet long, and 20 feet broad, was erected at Cam-

who lamented his death with unfeigned sorrow. He died in 1687—a poor man. But, such was the estimation of his character and services, that a decent monument was erected over his grave. It stands on the south-east side of the burying ground in Cambridge, and has this inscription :

Here lyeth intered
the body of Major Genl.
Daniel Gookins aged 75 yeares
who departed this life y^e 19 of March
1686—7

Mr. Eliot's apostolical labours among the Indians are justly celebrated in Europe and America. His Indian bible will remain a perpetual monument of his patient diligence, and pious zeal. "The whole translation," Dr. C. Mather says, "he writ with but one pen." The first edition of it was published as early, at least, as the year 1663, and a second in 1685. Both editions were printed at Cambridge. The title of this bible is :

Mamusse
Wunneetupanatamwe
UP-BIBLUM GOD
Naneeswe
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
Kah Wonk
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

The *Lord's Prayer* is as follows :

Nooshun kesukqut, quttianatamunach koowesuonk. Peyaumootch kukketassootamoonk nen nach ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeet-suongash asekêukokish assamainneau yenyeu kesukok. Kah ahquo-antamainnean nummatcheseongash neane matchenehukqueagig nutaquontamounnonog. Ahquc sagkompagunainnean en qutchhuaongaint webe pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtaunn ketassootamoonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumoonk. miche. Amen.

bridge, for an Indian College. Several Indians entered college, of whom, however, one* only ever attained the academical honours. "The design," says Mr. Gookin, "was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual."—"The awful providences of God, in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were designed to be for teachers unto their countrymen," are noticed, with great sensibility, by this historian,† who, amidst all discouragements, retained his zeal for the promotion of this pious design, till the very close of his life.

A Bill having been preferred to the General Court in 1646, for the calling of a Synod, for the purpose of composing and publishing a platform of church-discipline, a "motion" was made by the Court to the churches, to assemble such a Synod. It was, accordingly, convened at Cambridge that year, and protracted its session, by adjournments, till 1648. This Synod composed and adopted the *platform of Church-discipline*, called "The Cambridge Platform," which together with the Westminster Confession of Faith, it recommended to the General Court, and to the churches. The churches of New-England, in general, acceded to this platform for more than thirty years: and it was recognized and confirmed by a synod at Boston, in 1679.‡

The thriving state of the herds,§ belonging to this

* Caleb Cheescaumuck, (anciently written Cheeshahteumuck) in 1665.

† Gookin's Historical Collections, chap. V.

‡ Adam's Hist. of N. England. Neal's Hist. of N. England, II. 33.

§ By an estimate of the number of persons, and of the estate, in Cambridge, taken by the Townsmen, [Selectmen] by order of the General Court, in 1647, it appears, that there were then in town,

Persons (rateable)	135	
Houses	90	
Cows, (valued at £9 pr. head)	208	
Oxen, (at £6 pr. head)	131	
Young cattle.	229	
Total head of cattle		568
Horses, (at £7 pr. head)	20	
Sheep, (at £1 10 pr. head)	37	
Swine, (at £1 pr. head)	62	
Goats, (at 8s. pr. head)	58	

town, together with the confidence reposed in *Waban* * (an influential Indian, recently converted to christianity by the apostolic Eliot) appear in the following compact, dated April 12, 1647 : “ Bargained with Waban, the Indian, for to keepe about *six score heade* of dry cattle on the south side of Charles River, and he is to have the full some of eight pound, to be paid as followeth, viz. 30^s. to James Cutler, and the rest in Indian corne at 3sh. bushel, after micheltide next.—He is to bargain to take care of them the 21 day of this present month, and to keepe them untill 3 weeks after michelmas ; and if any be lost or ill, he is to send word unto the towne, and if any shall be lost through his carlessness he is to pay according to the value of the beast for his defect.

His  mark. Waban.”

In 1648, “ it was agreed, at a generall meeting, when the whole towne had speciall warneing to meete for the disposing of Shawshine, that there should be a farme layde out, of a thousand acres, to be for a publick stocke, and improved for the good of the Church, and that part of the Church that here shall continue ; and every person or persons, that shall from time to time remove from the Church, doe hereby resigne up their interest therein to the remaineing part of the Church of Cambridge.” †

The same year, it was ordered, “ That there shall be an eight peny ordinary provided for the Townsmen [Selectmen] every second munday of the month upon there meeteing day ; and that whosoever of the Townsmen faile to be present within half an houre of the ringing of the bell (which shall be half an houre after eleven of the clocke) he shall both lose his dinner, and pay a pint of sacke, or the value, to the present Townsmen.”

Among the town-officers for the following year, three commissioners were chosen, “ to end small causes under forty shillings.”

Mr. Shepard died in 1649, and was succeeded in the

* Waban lived at Nonantum, a part of Cambridge Village, now Newton. When Mr. Eliot, made his first evangelizing visit, Oct. 28, 1646, “ Waban met him at a small distance from the settlement, and welcomed him to a large wigwam on the hill Nonantum ; ” and became one of the first fruits of his mission. *Homer's Hist. of Newton.*

† Town Records.

ministry by the Reverend Jonathan Mitchel. In the interval between Mr. Shepard's death, and Mr. Mitchel's ordination, the pulpit was supplied by President Dunster, and Mr. Richard Lyon, who lived at the President's in the capacity of a private tutor to an English student.

A vote of the town to repair the old church "with a 4 square rooffe, and covered with shingle," passed Feb. 18, 1650, was rescinded, in March; and the committee, now ordered to "desist from repairing" the old house, was instructed to "agree with workmen for the building of a new house, about forty foot square, and covered as was formerly agreed for the other. It was also then voted, and generally agreed, that the new meeting-house shall stand on the Watch house hill." This is believed to be the hill on which the present congregational church stands. The second church was, doubtless, erected about this time; for, in February, 1651, the town voted, "That the Townsmen shall make sale of the land whereon the old meeting house stood."

In 1650, the General Court gave the College its first charter, appointing a Corporation, consisting of the President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer. This board, and that previously mentioned, *now* denominated the board of Overseers, constitute the legislature of Harvard University.*

Cambridge appears, at this time, to have bestowed some attention on navigation; for an early historian mentions "a ship, built and set forth by the inhabitants of

* PRESIDENTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

<i>Access.</i>		<i>Exit.</i>
1640	Rev. Henry Dunster, resigned	1654
1654	Rev. Charles Chauncy, died	1672
1672	Rev. Leonard Hoar, M. D. resigned	1675
1675	Rev. Urian Oakes, A. M. died	1681
1682	John Rogers, A. M. died	1684
1685	Rev. Increase Mather, S. T. D. resigned	1701
1701	Rev. Samuel Willard, A. M. Vice-President, died	1707
1708	Hon. John Leverett, A. M. S. R. S. died	1724
1725	Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, A. M. died	1737
1737	Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M. died	1769
1770	Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. resigned	1773
1774	Rev. Samuel Langdon, S. T. D. resigned	1780
1781	Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D, L.L. D.	

Cambridge," in 1649, as being "split and cast away." The same historian, who composed his history in 1652, says of Cambridge: This town is compact closely within itself, till of late yeares some few stragling houses have been built. The liberties of this town have been enlarged of late in length, reaching from the most northerly part of *Charles* river, to the most southerly part of *Merrimeck* river.* It hath well ordered streets and comly compleated with the faire building of Harvard Colledge.—The people of this Church and Towne have hitherto had the chiefest share in spirituall blessings, the ministry of the word by more than ordinary instruments:—Yet are they at this day in a thriving condition in outward things, also both corne and cattell, neate, and sheepe, of which they have a good flocke, which the Lord hath caused to thrive much in these latter dayes than formerly." †

The first license for an inn, in Cambridge, appears to have been given in 1652, when "the townsmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to sell beare and bread, for entertainment of strangers, and the good of the towne." ‡

The inhabitants of Cambridge Village had become so numerous, by the year 1656, as to form a distinct congregation for public worship; and an annual abatement was made of "the one half of their proportion to the ministries allowance, dureing the time they were provided of an able minister according to law." §

The same year, the inhabitants of Cambridge consented to pay each his proportion of a rate to the sum of £200, "towards the building a bridge over Charles River." || A bridge was erected, about the year 1660, and, for many

* Cambridge appears, in the first instance, to have contained merely a sufficient tract of land for a fortified town. Hence the early tendency of its inhabitants to emigration. By this second enlargement, it appears to have included the territory constituting the principal part of the present township of *Billerica*, and the whole township of *Lexington*; the former of which was incorporated May 29, 1655, and the latter, March 20, 1712. Cambridge Village was incorporated, by the name of *Newton*, December 8, 1691.

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XXVIII.

‡ Town Records.

§ Town Records. The first church in Cambridge Village [now *Newton*] was gathered July 20, 1664.

|| Town Records.

years, was called "The Great Bridge." Not long after its erection, it was ordered that it should be "laid in oyle and lead." *

About this time, there was built in the town, "a house of correction;" which, in conjunction with other facts, indicates the early care of our ancestors to repress idleness and vice, and to encourage industry and economy. In 1656, certain persons were appointed by the selectmen, to execute the order of the General Court, for the improvement of all the families within the limitts of this towne, in spinning and cloathing." † The year following, James Hubbard had "liberty granted him to fell some small timber on the common, for the making him a loome." ‡

Orchards must have been successfully cultivated, as early as the year 1662; for Mr. Mitchel was then "granted a tree for a cider presse:" and James Hubbard "timber for fencing his orchard." §

In September, 1665, five Mohawk Indians, "all stout and lusty young men," came, in the afternoon, into the house of Mr. John Taylor, in Cambridge. They were seen to come out of a swamp not far from the house. Each of them had a firelock gun, a pistol, a helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about his neck, and a pack, well furnished with powder, and bullets, and other necessary implements. The family giving immediate notice to the authority of the town, a constable, with a party of men, came to the house, and seized them without any resistance, and, by authority, committed them to prison. The English had heard much of the Mohawks, but had never seen any of them before. "At their being imprisoned, and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected; but, as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake." Within a day or two after, they were removed from Cambridge to Boston prison, and were repeatedly examined by the Court, then in session. They alleged that they came not with any intention to do the least harm to the English, but to avenge themselves of the Indians, their enemies.

* A phrase, supposed to mean "painted."

† Town Records.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

The Court, at length, dismissed them, with a letter to their chief sachem, the purport of which was, to forbid the Mohawks, for the future, to kill any of the Indians under the protection of the English, and to come armed into any of the English towns. With this letter, and a convoy of horse to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were dismissed, and were heard of no more.*

To the moral and religious education of the children and youth in Cambridge, there appears to have been a regular and systematic attention. In 1668, some of the most respectable inhabitants were chosen "for katechising the youth of this town." †

Mr. Mitchel died in 1668. "At a public meeting of the Church and Town," in 1669, "to consider of supply for the ministry, it was agreed, That there should be a house bought or built, to entertain a minister." ‡ For this purpose, the parish, the same year, sold "the church's farm," of six hundred acres, in Shawshin, (Billerica) for £230 sterling. Four acres of land were, soon after, purchased; on which, in 1670, a house was erected thirty-six feet long, and thirty feet wide, "this house to remaine the church's and to be the dwelling place of such a minister and officer, as the Lord shall be pleased to supply us withall, during the time he shall supply that place amongst us." §

The Church and Society now invited Mr. William Stoughton || to become their minister; "but they were

* Gookin's Hist. Collect. † Church Records. ‡ Ibid.

§ Church Records. All the ministers, since Mr. Mitchell, have resided at the Parsonage. The front part of the present house, at the Parsonage, was built in 1720.

|| The Honourable William Stoughton, Esquire, was a preacher of the gospel for several years. His Sermon, at the annual Election, has been ranked among the very best, delivered on that occasion. His Epitaph (which Mr. Clap, the late venerable town-clerk of Dorchester, told me, in his cautious manner, he believed *may have been* written by the Rev Mr. Danforth, of Dorchester) ascribes to him these traits:

Religione Sanctus,
Virtute clarus,
Doctrina Celebris,
Iugenio Acutus,

— — — — —
Impietatis & Vitii Hostis acerrimus.
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
Hunc Pii venerantur Austerum.

denied.”—“After some time of seeking God by prayer, the Lord was pleased to guide the church to make their application to Mr. Urian Oakes in Old England.” Mr. William Manning was sent as a messenger with a letter from the church, and with another letter “sent by several Magistrates and Ministers, to invite him to come over and be an officer amongst them.”* Mr. Oakes accepted the invitation, came to America, and was inducted into office, in 1671. In 1675, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, and was inducted into that office the same year. The charge of his flock, however, he did not entirely relinquish till his death.

In 1675, the selectmen appointed certain persons “to have inspection into families, that there be noe by drinking or any misdemenor wheareby fine is committed, and persons from there houses unseasonably.” †

At a town meeting, in 1676, called “to consider about fortifieing of the towne against the Indians,” it was judged necessary, “that something bee done for the fencing in the towne with a stockade, or sume thing equivalent.” Materials were, accordingly, prepared: but king Philip’s war being soon after terminated, the town ordered that the selectmen should “improve the timber, that was brought for the fortification, for the repairing of the Great Bridge.” † This bridge was rebuilt in 1690, at the expense of Cambridge and Newton, with some aid from the public treasury.

The extent of the town, and the provident and pious attention of its inhabitants to the support of the ministry, appear by a vote of January 8, 1682: “That 500 acres of the remote lands, lying between Woborn, Concord, and our head line, shall be laid out for the use and benefit of the ministry of this town and place, and to remain for that use forever.” §

Mr. Oakes died in 1681. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, who

With these excellent qualifications, however, he was never settled in the ministry. But, in civil life, he was eminently useful to the Commonwealth. He was repeatedly chosen its Lieut. Governor; and, for some years, was Commander in chief. He was a generous benefactor to Harvard College. Stoughton Hall was erected at his expense. See his Epitaph entire in Hist. Collections, II. 10.

* Church Records.

† Town Records.

‡ Town Records.

§ Ibid:

had been employed by the society as his assistant, during the latter part of his ministry, was now chosen his successor. He was ordained in 1682. He died in 1692.

Not long after his death, the church and society unanimously invited the celebrated Dr. Increase Mather to succeed him, in the ministry : but the reluctance of his people, (among whom he had then ministered 36 years) with other obstacles, prevented his acceptance of the invitation.

The Reverend William Brattle was, at length, chosen to this office ; and was ordained in 1696. During his ministry, a formal and public relation of religious experiences, as a qualification for church fellowship, was, by a vote of the church, declared unnecessary ; the business of examination was referred to the pastor and elders ; and the consent of the church to the admission of a member was signified by silence, instead of a manual vote.

In 1700, the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge gave the high way on the south side of Charles river, from the river to the road now leading to Roxbury, "for the use of the ministry in this town and place." * This highway lay to the eastward of the present one, on the south side of the river. Before the erection of the first bridge over Charles river, there was a ferry, from the wharf at Water street, in Cambridge, to this highway.

In 1706, the third church was erected in Cambridge, a little in front of the spot where the present church stands ; and the first divine service was performed in it on the 13th of October.

On the petition of the farmers, "that they might be dismissed from the town, and be a township by themselves ;" leave was given them, on certain conditions : and Cambridge Farms were incorporated, by the name of *Lexington*, in 1712.†

Mr. Brattle died in 1717 ; and was succeeded by the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, who was ordained the same year.

A farm of 500 acres, lying at a remote part of Lexington, toward Bedford, "given in former time by the proprietors of the town for the use of the ministry in this

* Town Records.

† Ibid.

town and place," was sold in 1719; and the avails (excepting £ 130 pounds for the erection of a new parsonage house) were appropriated to the establishment of an accumulating fund, for the purpose originally designed by the donation. It was Mr. Appleton's proposal, (which has been carried into effect) that the minister should receive two thirds of the interest, and that the other third should be added to the principal, that it might be "a growing estate." This fund by its own accumulation, and by the addition of the product of ministerial lands, sold in 1795, has become greatly auxiliary to the support of the ministry.

In 1732, the inhabitants of the north-westerly part of Cambridge were, by an act of the Legislature, formed into a distinct and separate Precinct. On the Lord's-day, September 9, 1730, a church was gathered in this precinct, by the Rev. Mr. Hancock, of Lexington: and, on the 12th of the same month, the Reverend Samuel Cooke was ordained its pastor. On this occasion, the first church in Cambridge voted, that £25 be given out of the church stock to the second church in Cambridge, "to furnish their communion table in a decent manner."*

In 1734, the town received £300 from the General Court, toward defraying the expense of repairing the Great Bridge over Charles river; and, together with a vote of thanks to the Court, voted thanks to Jacob Wendell, Esquire, and Mr. Cradock, for their kindness in procuring and collecting a very bountiful subscription for the same purpose.†

In 1736, a committee, chosen by the church to consult with the pastor respecting measures to promote a reformation, proposed and recommended to the church, as what they "apprehended might be serviceable for reviving religion, and suppressing growing disorders," that there be a number of wise, prudent and blameless Christians chosen among themselves, whose special care it should be, to inspect and observe the manners of profess-

* Church Records. The Rev. Mr. Cooke, "in whom," as his epitaph justly states, "were united the social friend, the man of science, the eminent and faithful clergyman," died June 4, 1783, in the 75th year of his age, and 44th of his ministry. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, who was ordained April 23, 1788.

† Town Records.

ing Christians, and such as were under the care and watch of the church. The proposal was adopted, and a committee was appointed, for the purpose expressed in the recommendation. This committee, which was a kind of privy council to the minister, though without authority, appears to have been very serviceable to the interests of religion; and it was renewed annually, for the space of about fifty years.

In 1756, the present Court House in Cambridge was built.

The present church, in the First Parish in Cambridge, which is the fourth, built in this parish, was raised November 17, 1756; and divine service was first performed in it July 24, 1757. The bell, now in use, was given to the society, by Captain Andrew Belcher, in the year 1700; at which time the town gave "the little meeting-house bell to the farmers," or Lexington. The bible, for the pulpit, was the gift of the Honourable Jacob Wendell, Esquire, of Boston, in 1740. The present clock was procured by subscription in 1794.

In 1761, five or six gentlemen, each of whose income was judged to be adequate to the maintenance of a domestic chaplain, were desirous to have an episcopal church built, and a missionary fixed, at Cambridge. This year, accordingly, a church was erected: and the Reverend East Apthorp took charge of it, as missionary from the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.*

* This church, called *Christ Church*, was opened October 15, MDCCLXI; and is considered, by connoisseurs in architecture, as one of the best constructed churches in New-England. Its model is said to have been taken from Italy. On its corner-stone is the following INSCRIPTION:

DEO. ÆTERNO.
 PATRI. FILIO. SPIRITVI. S.
 HANC. AEDEM.
 SUB AVSPICIIS. ILLUSTRISS. SOCIETATIS.
 PROMOVENDO. EVANGELIO.
 IN. PARTIBUS. TRANSMARINIS.
 INSTITUTAE.
 CONSECRABANT. CANTABRIGIENSES.
 ECCLESIAE. ANGLICANAE. FILII.
 IN.
 CHRISTIANA. FIDEI. ET. CHARITATIS.
 INCREMENTVM.
 A. D. MDCCLX.
 PROVINCIAM. PROCURANTE.
 V. CL.
 FRANCISCO. BERNARDO.

The inhabitants of Cambridge early discovered a zealous attachment to the liberties of their country. On the occasion of the memorable *Stamp Act*, it was voted, October 14, 1765, "as the opinion of the town, That the inhabitants of this Province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their distance from Great-Britain, and that the *Stamp Act* is an infraction upon these rights." After stating its oppressive tendency, the vote proceeds: "Let this Act but take place, Liberty will be no more; Trade will languish and die; our Medium will be sent into his Majesty's exchequer; and Poverty come upon us as an armed man. The town, therefore hereby advise and direct their representatives by no means whatsoever to do any one thing that may aid said Act in its operation; but that, in conjunction with the friends of liberty, they use their utmost endeavours that the same may be repealed: and that this vote be recorded in the Town Books, that the children yet unborn may see the desire that their ancestors had for their freedom and happiness."*

At a meeting of the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge, in 1769, "all the common lands, belonging to the proprietors, fronting the college, commonly called the Town Commons, not heretofore granted or allotted to any particular person, or for any special or particular use," were "granted to the town of Cambridge, to be used as a Training Field, to lie undivided, and to remain for that use forever."†

The election of counsellors for the Province of Massachusetts was holden at Cambridge, in May, 1770, by order of Governor Hutchinson; in opposition to the Charter, and to the sense of the whole Province.

On the imposition of a duty on teas imported to America, by the East-India Company, several spirited resolves of the town of Cambridge, November 26, 1773, were

Mr. Apthorp was educated at Jesus College, in the University of Cambridge, in England, of which he was afterwards a Fellow. He proceeded A. B. in 1755, and has since received the degree of D. D. from one of the English Universities. Within a few years after his settlement at Cambridge, he went to England, and became settled in London, where he is still living.

* Town Records.

† Proprietors' Records.

closed with the following: "That this Town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston, and other towns, in any measures that may be thought proper, to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." *

On the great question, "Whether if Congress should, for the safety of the Colonies, declare them independent of Great-Britain, the town would support them in the measure:" the inhabitants of Cambridge, May 27, 1776, unanimously and solemnly engaged such support, with their lives and fortunes. †

From the commencement of hostilities at Lexington, April 18, 1775, the tranquillity of Cambridge was, for several years, interrupted, by the tumult of war. Many of the inhabitants left the town, and retired into the interior parts of the country. The Seat of the Muses was now occupied by soldiers. It was at Cambridge that General Washington fixed his first encampment; and this was the place of the head-quarters of the American army, till the evacuation of Boston, by the British troops, in 1776. During this period the college was assembled at Concord.

On the capture of General Burgoyne, in 1777, he, and his captured troops, were located at Cambridge, under the superintendance of General Heath, as prisoners of war.

The present Constitution of Massachusetts was framed at Cambridge, in 1779, by a Convention chosen by the several towns in the Commonwealth. It was referred to the consideration of another Convention. The inhabitants of Cambridge, after proposing several amendments, gave an example of a liberal patriotism, essential to every republican government, which must rest on the will of the majority. "Willing to give up their own opinion in lesser matters, in order to obtain a government whose authority might not be disputed, and which they wished might soon be established;" they instructed their representative to the Convention, "in their name and behalf, to ratify and confirm the proposed form, whether the amendments be made, or not." ‡

In 1780, the church members on the south side of Charles river in Cambridge presented a petition to the

* Town Records.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

church, "signifying their desire to be dismissed, and incorporated into a distinct church, for enjoying the special ordinances of the gospel more conveniently by themselves." The church voted a compliance with their petition; and they were incorporated on the 23d of February, 1783. The Reverend John Foster was ordained to their pastoral charge, November 4, 1784.

In 1783, in consideration of the "very advanced age, and growing infirmities," of Dr. Appleton, a day of fasting and prayer was observed by the church and congregation, "to seek of God divine direction and assistance in the important affair of procuring a more fixed and settled preaching and administration of the word and ordinances among them." A few days after, "at the general desire of the brethren of the church, as well as in compliance with his own inclination and earnest wishes," Dr. Appleton appointed a meeting of the brethren of the church, for the purpose of choosing a colleague, for his assistance in the ministry. The church, accordingly, chose the Reverend Timothy Hilliard: and, the society concurring in the choice, he was installed the same year.

The aged and venerable Dr. Appleton, having, agreeably to his desire, lived to see his country again blest with peace, and his church furnished with a worthy pastor, departed this life, with calmness and resignation, early in the year 1784.

In 1786, the present alms-house, in Cambridge, was purchased, repaired, and devoted to the use of the poor of the town.

The conduct of the town of Cambridge, in the memorable Insurrection of 1786, was highly to its honour. A letter was directed to the Selectmen of Cambridge, written by desire of a meeting of Committees from several towns in the county of Middlesex, "requesting their concurrence in a County convention to be held at Concord on the 23d of August, in order to consult upon matters of public grievances, and find out means of redress." The letter being laid before the town, a vote was passed, "That the Selectmen be desired to answer said letter, and express the attachment of this town to the present constitution and administration of Government, and also

to express our aversion to use any irregular means for compassing an end which the constitution has already provided for ; as we know of no Grievances the present system of Government is inadequate to redress."*

Mr. Hilliard died in 1790. He was succeeded in the ministry by the Compiler of this History, in 1792.

A " Friendly Fire Society," consisting of twenty-eight persons, was formed in this town, in 1797. The object of this association is, to prevent, or mitigate, the evils occasioned by fire. It annually chooses a Chairman, Treasurer, Clerk, and Wardens ; and already possesses a decent fund.

The Kine-Pox was introduced at Cambridge, this present year, by Professor Waterhouse, who imported the *matter* from England. The first who was inoculated for this disorder, in America, was Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, a son of the Professor.

FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE.

Succession of Ministers.	Time of Settlement.	Time of Deccase.	Age.
Rev. Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone	At Camb. Oct. 11, 1633 ; removed with their chh. to Hartford, 1636.	July 7, 1647.	61
Thomas Shepard	———— 1636.	Aug. 25, 1649.	44
Jonathan Mitchel	Aug. 21, 1650.	July 9, 1668.	43
Urian Oakes	Nov. 8, 1671.	July 25, 1681.	50
Nathaniel Gookin	Nov. 15, 1682.	Aug. 7, 1692.	34
William Brattle, F. R. S.	Nov. 25, 1696.	Feb. 15, 1717.	55
Nathl. Appleton, D. D.	Oct. 9, 1717.	Feb. 9, 1784.	91
Timothy Hilliard	Oct. 27, 1783.	May 9, 1790.	44
Abiel Holmes	Jan. 25, 1792.		

A BIOGRAPHICAL Sketch of the MINISTERS of CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. HOOKER.

THE Reverend THOMAS HOOKER, the first minister of Cambridge, and the father of the colony, as well as of the churches, of Connecticut, was born at Marfield, in Leicestershire, in 1586. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in England, where he was afterwards promoted to a fellowship, in which office "he acquitted

* Town Records.

himself with such ability and faithfulness, as commanded universal approbation and applause." Upon his leaving the University, he preached occasionally for some time in London; till, at length, in 1626, he was chosen Lecturer at Chelmsford. Here he preached, with great success, for several years, and was so well beloved by the neighbouring clergy, that, when the Bishop of London silenced him for Nonconformity, forty-seven of them signed a petition in his favour, testifying, *That Mr. Hooker was orthodox in doctrine, honest and sober in his life and conversation, of a peaceable disposition, and no ways turbulent or factious.* But this petition had no effect on the imperious and inexorable *Laud*. Mr. Hooker was constrained to lay down his ministry; and he set up a Grammar School at a village in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford. At the next visitation, however, he was cited by the Bishop to appear before the High Commission Court. Thus cruelly persecuted, he absconded, and went to Holland, where he lived two or three years, preaching sometimes at Delft, and sometimes at Rotterdam.

In 1638, he came to New-England; * and, though he had been "ordained a presbyter by a bishop in England," he was ordained "then again by the brethren at Newtown." † He was a man of "the most exemplary

* The reasons of Mr. Hooker's removal to New-England are stated in a letter of the Rev. Mr. Cotton, preserved in Gov. Hutchinson's "Collection of Papers."—"The questions you demand, I had rather answer by word of mouth, than by letter, yet I will not refuse to give you account of my brother Hookers removall and mine owne, seinge you require a reason thereof from us both. We both of us concurre in a 3 fold ground of removal. 1. God havinge shut a doore against both of us from ministringe to him and his people in our wonted congregations, and calling us by a remnant of our people, and by others of this countrye, to minister to them here, and opening a dore to us this way, who are we that we should strive against God and refuse to follow the concurrence of his ordinance and providence together, callinge us forth to minister here. If we may and ought to follow God's callinge 3 hundred myles, why not three thousand? 2. Our Saviors warrant is in our case, that when we are distressed in our course in one country (nequid dicam gravius) we should flee to another. 3. It hath been noe small inducement to us, to choose rather to remove hither, than to stay there, that we might enjoye the libertye, not of some ordinances of God, but of all, and all in purity."—See the reasons more fully stated in Mr. Cotton's letter: Hutch. Coll. p. 54.

† President Stiles's Election Sermon, second edition, 103.

piety, self-denial, patience, and goodness.—In his day, he was one of the most animated and powerful preachers in New-England. In his sermons, he was searching, experimental, and practical.” In disputation he was eminent. During his residence in Holland, he became intimately acquainted with the celebrated Dr. Ames, author of *Medulla Theologiæ*, who declared, that “though he had been acquainted with many scholars, of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker’s equal, either for preaching, or for disputing.”* In prayer he excelled. “In conversation he was pleasant and entertaining, but always grave. He was exceedingly prudent in the management of church discipline.—He was affable, condescending, and charitable; yet his appearance and conduct were with such becoming majesty, authority, and prudence, that he could do more with a word, or a look, than other men could do with a severe discipline.” It was not uncommon for him to give away five or ten pounds, at a time, to persons in indigence. He died of an epidemical fever, July 7, 1647, ætat. LXII. “He had for many years enjoyed a comfortable assurance of his renewed estate, and when dying said, *I am going to receive mercy.* He closed his own eyes, and appeared to die with a smile on his countenance.”† He published, in his life time, several practical treatises; and his friends, after his death, published several of his sermons, which were well received. “Mr. Hooker’s books (says a contemporary writer) are of great request among the faithful people of Christ.” His principal work, entitled, “A Survey of the summe of Church-Discipline,” was transcribed “under the eye and exact review of the eminently accomplisht author himselfe,” and sent over to be published in England, about a year before his death. “But it was then buried,” says Dr. Goodwin, “in the rude waves of the vast ocean, with many precious saints on their passage

* Magnalia, III. 61. Dr. Ames designed to follow Mr. Hooker; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker’s removal from Rotterdam. His widow and children came afterward to New-England, where they found in Mr. Hooker, a faithful friend and beneficent patron.

The great Mr. Cotton pronounced Mr. Hooker *Vir solertis ingenii, atque acerrimi judicii.*

† Trumbull’s Hist. Connecticut. See, also, Mather’s Magnalia, B. III. p. 58—68.

hither." Another copy of it, however, was sent to England, and published in 1648, under the inspection of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, (a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and some time President of Magdalen College in Oxford) who says, "As touching this Treatise and the worthy author of it—to preface any thing by commendation of either were to lay paint upon burnished marble, or add light unto the sun."

There is no inscription on Mr. Hooker's tombstone. An Historian,* who, in general, is not entitled to credence, says truly: "The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence."

Mr. STONE.

The Reverend SAMUEL STONE, Mr. Hooker's assistant in the ministry, was educated at Emanuel College, in Cambridge. "He was eminently pious and exemplary; abounded in fastings and prayer; and was a most strict observer of the christian sabbath.—His sermons were doctrinal, replete with sentiment, concisely and closely applied. He was esteemed one of the most accurate and acute disputants of his day. He was celebrated for his great wit, pleasantry, and good humour. His company was courted by all gentlemen of learning and ingenuity, who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him."† After a ministry of thirty years, he died July 20, 1663.

HIS EPITAPH.

New England's glory and her radiant crown
Was he who now in softest bed of down
Till glorious Resurrection morn appear
Doth safely, sweetly sleep in Jesus here.
In nature's solid art and reasoning well
Tis known beyond compare he did excell.
Errors corrupt by sinnewous dispute
He did oppugne and clearly them confute.
Above all things he Christ above prefer'd:
Hartford! thy richest Jewel's here interr'd.

* Peters.

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, I. 326: and New-England's Memorial, 179. For a more particular account of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, see Mather's Magnalia, III. 58 & 116.

Mr. SHEPARD.

The Reverend THOMAS SHEPARD was born in Towcester, near Northampton, in Great-Britain, November 5, 1605. He was the son of Mr. William Shepard, who called him *Thomas*, because his birth was supposed to be at the very hour, when the Gunpowder Treason was designed to be perpetrated; a plot, concerning which he observed, "This child of his would *hardly believe* that ever such wickedness could be attempted by the sons of men." At the age of fifteen, he became prepared for the university, and entered Emanuel College in Cambridge. Here, after a residence of about two years, he was impressed with very powerful convictions of his misery in unregeneracy, which, though occasionally suspended, were effectually renewed through the instrumentality of that celebrated Divine, Dr. Preston, in 1624. From this time, he gave himself to daily meditation, which he attended every evening before supper.—Having proceeded A. M. at Cambridge, he accepted an invitation to Earl's Coln, where he held a lecture, supported by the pious charity of Dr. Wilson, for three years. At the close of this term, the inhabitants of Earl's Coln were so reluctant to part with him, that they raised a salary among themselves for his support; and prevailed on him to continue with them. Although he was yet a young man, there was an unusual majesty and energy in his preaching, and a holiness in his life, which rendered him eminently useful to his own people, and to the towns in the vicinity, from which several afterwards accompanied him to New-England, to enjoy the benefit of his ministry.

When Dr. Laud became bishop of London, Mr. Shepard was silenced for his Puritanism. Being invited into Yorkshire, he officiated there, for some time, as a private chaplain, in the family of Sir Richard Darly, whose near kinswoman he afterwards married. To that family and neighbourhood he appears to have been a great blessing. Bishop Neal refusing him liberty for his ministry without *subscription*, he removed to Heddon, in Northumberland, where his labours were very successful. But the zeal of the bishop reached him, even in this remote corner of the

kingdom, and prohibited him from preaching here any more.*

The removal of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and others, to America had already excited many pious people, in various parts of England, to contemplate a similar removal. Several of Mr. Shepard's friends, in New-England, and others who purposed a removal, uniting their solicitations, at this juncture, he resolved to repair to this new plantation. Having, accordingly, preached his farewell sermon at Newcastle, he went in disguise to Ipswich, and thence to Earl's Coln; whence, accompanied by Mr. Norton, he went to Yarmouth, intending to embark there for New-England. Pursuivants, however, were employed to apprehend him. These pursuivants, having discovered Mr. Shepard's quarters, had, by a sum of money, obtained a promise, from a boy belong-

* The following extract from Mr. Shepard's MS. Diary, furnishes an interesting specimen of the barbarous treatment, which our pious ancestors received under the inquisitorial domination of bishop Laud; "Dec. 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the Diocess of London, by Doctor Laud, bishop of that Diocess. As soon as I came in the morning, about 8 of the clock, falling into a fit of rage he asked me, *What degree I had taken at the University?* I answered him I was a Master of Arts. He asked, *Of what College?* I answered, *Of Emanuel.* He asked, *How long I had lived in his Diocess?* I answered, *Three years and upwards.* He asked, *Who maintained me all this while?* charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant Faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he look'd as tho' blood would have gush'd out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an Ague Fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extream malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me: He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, *You prating coxcomb! Do you think all the Learning is in your brain?* He pronounced his sentence thus: *I charge you, that you neither Preach, Read, Marry, Bury, or exercise any Ministerial Function in any part of my Diocess; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly discenable you.* I besought him not to deal so, in regard of a poor Town; and here he stopt me in what I was going on to say, *A poor Town! you have made a company of seditious factious Bedlams; and what do you prate to me of a poor Town?* I prayed him to suffer me to cathechise in the Sabbath Days in the afternoon: He replied, *Spare your breath, I'll have no such fellows prate in my Diocess, get you gone, and now make your complaints to whom you will.* So away I went; and blessed be God that I may go to him."

ing to the house where he lodged, to open the door for them at a certain hour of the night. But by the singular providence of God, the design was frustrated. Some serious expressions of Mr. Shepard being uttered in the hearing of this boy, he was struck with horror at the thought, that he should be so wicked as to betray so good a man; and, with tears, discovered the whole plot to his pious master, who took care immediately to convey Mr. Shepard out of the reach of his enemies.

Toward the close of the year 1634, Mr. Shepard embarked at Harwich; but in a few hours the ship was driven back into Yarmouth road, where arose one of the most tremendous storms ever known. The ship was almost miraculously saved, but so materially damaged that the proposed voyage was relinquished.* Mr. Shepard, after spending the winter at Bastwick, went, in the spring, to London, where, by a removal of his lodgings, he again narrowly escaped his pursuivants. In July, he sailed from Gravesend, and, on the third of October, 1635, after a hazardous voyage, he arrived at Boston. His friends at Newtown [Cambridge] soon conducted him to that infant settlement, destined to be the field of his future labours.

After a diligent, laborious, and successful ministry, he died of the quincy, August 25, 1649, ætat. XLIV. On his death-bed, he said to the young ministers around him, "That their work was great, and called for great seriousness;" and mentioned to them three things concerning himself: "That the study of every sermon cost him tears; That before he preached any Sermon he got good by it himself; and, That he always went into the pulpit, as if he were to give up his accounts to his Master."

He is said to have been "a poore, weake, pale complexioned man." He was distinguished for his humility and piety; and as a preacher of evangelical truth, and an author on experimental religion, he was one of the foremost

* "In the meane time the master, and other seamen, made a strange construction of the sore storme they met withal, saying, their ship was bewitched; and therefore made use of the common charme ignorant people use, nailing two red hot horse shoes to their maine mast."

Wonder-working Providence.

of his day.* He was an influential patron of learning, as well as of religion, and was zealous in promoting the interests of the infant college, as well as those of the infant church, at Cambridge.† “By his death, not only the church and people at Cambridge, but also all New-England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the gospel profitably and successfully, but also left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul toward God.” ‡

* President Edwards styles Mr. Shepard “that famous experimental divine;” and, in his very judicious and elaborate “Treatise concerning Religious Affections,” makes a greater use of his writings, particularly of his “Parable of the Ten Virgins,” than of any other writings whatever.

Johnson, who wrote a few years after Mr. Shepard’s death, says: “Thousands of souls have cause to blesse God for him even at this very day, who are the seal of his ministrey, and hee a man of a thousand, imdued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himselfe and others.” §—Later writers have not overlooked Mr. Shepard’s antiquated merit. Dr. Mayhew, in one of his controversial essays, mentions him as a person of great note in his day, and a learned man. Dr. Chauncy, in his “Seasonable Thoughts,” quotes him with great respect, styling him, in different parts of his work, “the memorable” “the celebrated,” “the famous” Shepard.

† In 1644, he wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, representing the necessity of further assistance for needy scholars at Cambridge; and desired them to encourage a general contribution through the colonies. The Commissioners approved the motion, and recommended it to the consideration of the Legislatures of the several colonies, which adopted the recommendation; and an annual contribution was, accordingly, made through the United Colonies, for many subsequent years. *Trumbull’s Hist. Connect. I. 148. Hazard’s Hist. Collections, II. 17, where Mr. Shepard’s Proposition to the Commissioners is preserved entire.*

‡ Morton.—Mr. Shepard’s monument is not now distinguishable among the tombs. In the burying ground in Cambridge, there are several monuments, of hard stone, with incisions, evidently designed to admit a softer stone with an inscription. By the ravages of time, or of sacrilegious hands, these inlet stones are now removed, and the inscriptions are unhappily lost. But for this injury, we might, perhaps, now have the melancholy pleasure of visiting the monuments

§ *Wonder-working Providence, xxxiv. This very scarce and valuable book, (obligingly put into my hands by the venerable antiquarian Judge Cranch, of Quincy,) was first published without the author’s name; and afterward, erroneously ascribed to Sir F. Gorges. The real author was Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in N. England. See Preface of Prince’s Chron. ii.*

Mr. Shepard's printed works are : *Theses Sabbatica*, "in which he hath handled the morality of the sabbath, with a degree of reason, reading, and religion, which is truly extraordinary." [C. Mather.]

A Discourse, in which is handled the controversy of the Catholic visible church, "tending to clear up the old way of Christ, in the churches of New-England."

A Letter on "The church membership of children, and their right to baptisme." *The letter was printed at Cambridge, 1663.*

A Letter, entitled, "New-England's Lamentation for Old England's errors."

A Sermon, entitled, "Cautions against spiritual drunkenness."

A Treatise, entitled, "Subjection to Christ, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our liberty:" to which is subjoined another Treatise, "Concerning ineffectual hearing of the Word."

"The Sincere Convert," which the author called his ragged child, on account of its incorrectness, it having been surreptitiously published.

"The Sound Believer," which is a discriminating Treatise on Evangelical Conversion.

"The Parable of the Ten Virgins," a posthumous work, in folio, transcribed from his sermons, preached at his Lecture from June 1636 to May 1640; concerning which the venerable divines Greenhil, Calamy, Ash, and Taylor observed, "That though a vein of serious, solid and hearty piety run through all this author's works; yet he hath reserved the best wine till the last."

"Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance," which, in the title-page, is said to be "By John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston in New-England;" but which was really, in substance, the work of Mr. Shepard. On a blank leaf of the copy now before me, there is the following memorandum, probably written by the Rev.

of the pious and renowned SHEPARD and MITCHEL, and of others, of revered memory.—The slab, which covered the grave of the great President Chauncy, is broken into three pieces; and the fragments are *carefully* laid aside. A line of Horace would form an apposite inscription for the tomb of many a great and good man :

Oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis.

Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, whose name is on the book : “ Mr. Edward Bulkley, pastor of the church of Christ in Concord, told me Sept. 20, 1674, that when he boarded at Mr. Cotton’s house at the first coming forth of this book of singing of Psalmes, Mr. Cotton told him that my father Shepard had the chief hand in the composing of it, and therefore Mr. Cotton said, I am troubled that my brother Shepard’s name is not prefixed to it.”—It is a quarto, of 72 pages, and was printed at London, in 1647.

“ The clear Sun-shine of the Gospel upon the Indians,” published in London 1648.

Neal mentions a work of Mr. Shepard, entitled, “ Evangelical Call,” as one of his most noted Treatises. I find no notice of it elsewhere.

“ Select Cases resolved :” “ First Principles of the Oracles of God, or, Sum of Christian Religion :” “ Meditations and Spiritual Experiences,” extracted from Mr. Shepard’s Private Diary. These three were published by the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, (the last of them from the original MS.) in 1747. The Select Cases and First Principles were published together, first at London, and then at Edinburgh, in 1648 ; and have, since, passed through several editions.

Mr. MITCHEL.

The Reverend JONATHAN MITCHEL was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in Great-Britain, in 1624. His parents were exemplary Christians, who, by the impositions and persecutions of the English hierarchy, were constrained to seek an asylum in New-England, in 1635 ; at which time they brought over their son Jonathan, then eleven years of age. Their first settlement was at Concord, in Massachusetts ; whence, a year after, they removed to Saybrook, in Connecticut ; and, not long after, to Wethersfield. Their next removal was to Stamford ; where Mr. Mitchel, the father, died in 1645, ætat. lv.

The classical studies of his son Jonathan were suspended for several years, after his arrival in America ; but, “ on the earnest advice of some that had observed his great capacity,” they were at length, resumed, in 1642.*

* C. Mather. Dr. Increase Mather ascribes this measure to his father’s influence. “ After Mr. Mitchel was arrived in New-Eng-

In 1645, at the age of twenty-one, he entered Harvard College. Here, he became religiously impressed, under Mr. Shepard's ministry, which he so highly estimated as, afterward, to observe, "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder, than for those four years," spent at the University. He was an indefatigable student, and made great acquirements in knowledge and virtue. His extraordinary learning, wisdom, gravity, and piety, occasioned an early application of several of the most considerable churches, for his services in the ministry. The church at Hartford, in particular, sent for him with the intention of his becoming successor to the famous Mr. Hooker. He preached his first sermon at Hartford, June 24, 1649; and, on the day following, was invited to a settlement in the ministry, in that respectable town. Having, however, been previously importuned by Mr. Shepard, and the principal members of his society, to return to Cambridge, free from any engagement, with a view to a settlement there; he declined an acceptance of the invitation at Hartford, and returned to Cambridge, where he preached for the first time August 12, 1649. Here a providential opening was soon made for his induction into the ministry. Mr. Shepard died on the 25th of the same month; and, by the unanimous desire of the people of Cambridge, Mr. Mitchel was now invited to become his successor. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained August 21, 1650.

Soon after his settlement, he was called to a peculiar trial. President Dunster, who had formerly been his tutor, about this time imbibed the principle of antipedobaptism; and preached some sermons against the administration of baptism to any infant whatever. Mr. Mitchel, young as he then was, felt it incumbent on him openly to combat this principle; and conducted, in this delicate and difficult case, with such judgment, moderation, and *meekness of wisdom*, as would have well become the experience and improvement of advanced age. Although

land, he employed his son Jonathan in secular affairs; but the spirit of the child was strongly set for learning, and he prayed my father to persuade his father that he might have a learned education. My father's persuasions happily prevailed."

this controversy occasioned the President's removal from Cambridge; yet Mr. Mitchel continued to cultivate an esteem for him, and after his decease, paid a respectful tribute to his memory, in an elegy, replete with expressions of that noble and catholic spirit, which characterized its author.*

Such were his literary acquirements, and so respectable his character, that, so early as the year 1650, he was chosen a Tutor and a Fellow of Harvard College. †

He was a very influential member of the Synod, which met at Boston in 1662, to discuss and settle an interesting question concerning church-membership and church-discipline, and chiefly composed the Result of that synod. "The determination of the question at last," says Dr. Mather, "was more owing to him than to any man in the world." The divine Head of the church "made this great man, even while he was yet a young man, one of the greatest instruments we ever had of explaining and maintaining the truths relating to the *church-state* of the *posterity* in our churches, and of the *church-care* which our churches owe to their posterity." ‡—He was a man of singular acuteness, prudence, and moderation; and was, therefore, eminently qualified to discern the truth, in difficult and perplexing cases, and to adjust the differences of disputants. § Hence, in ecclesiastical Councils, to which he was frequently invited, and in weighty cases, where the General Court frequently consulted the ministers, "the *sense* and *hand* of no man was relied more

* The conduct of both parties, on this occasion, does them singular honour; and furnishes an example worthy of imitation in the present age, an age which is frequently censuring the bigotry of the pious ancestors of New-England, in contrast with its own catholicism. President Dunster "died in such harmony of affection with the good men, who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he, by his Will, ordered his body to be carried to Cambridge for its burial, and bequeathed legacies to those very persons. *Magnalia*, III. 100. IV. 158.

† Mr. Samuel Mather, and Mr. Mitchel were the first that were elected Fellows in this seminary. In the infancy of the institution, a Tutor was, ex officio, a Fellow of the college.

‡ *Magnalia*.

§ The celebrated Mr. Baxter said of him, "If an Œcumenical Council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its moderator." *C. Mather*.

upon than his, for the exact result of all." The great President Chauncey, though much older than he, and though openly opposed to him at the Synod, said, at the very height of the controversy: "I know no man in this world that I could envy so much as worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the great holiness, learning, wisdom, and meekness, and other qualities of an excellent spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him."

Morton, who was contemporary with Mr. Mitchel, says: "He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; * surpassing in public spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth against all oppugners of it." †

Dr. Increase Mather, who was personally and intimately acquainted with him, says: "He was blessed with admirable natural as well as acquired parts. His judgment was solid, deep, and penetrating; his memory was strong, and vastly capacious. He wrote his sermons very largely; and then used, with enlargements, to commit all to his memory, without once looking into his bible, after he had named his text; and yet his sermons were scriptural."

As a preacher, he was distinguished for "an extraordinary invention, curious disposition, and copious application." His voice was melodious, and his delivery is said to have been "inimitable." He spoke with "a transcendent majesty and liveliness," and toward the close of his discourses, his fervency rose to "a marvelous measure of energy."

He was pastor of the church of Cambridge about eighteen years; and "was most intense and faithful" in his work. "He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus, and delivered many fruit-

* Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the Judges of king Charles I. on the day of their arrival in New-England, July 1660, came to Cambridge, where they resided till February following, and were treated with the kindest hospitality and friendship by Mr. Mitchel, who admitted them to the sacrament, and to private meetings for devotion. *Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts*, I. 215. *President Stiles's Hist. of Three of the Judges of Charles I.* 28.

† *New England's Memorial*, 201.

ful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John." He held, also, a monthly Lecture, which was "abundantly frequented," by the people of the neighbouring towns, as well as by his own society. "His race was but short, but the work he did was very much."—Just after he had been preaching on these words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and unto the house appointed for all the living*, as he came out of the pulpit, he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life, July 9, 1668, in the forty-third year of his age, and eighteenth of his ministry.

Dr. I. Mather says, he "never knew any death that caused so great a mourning and lamentation generally: He was greatly loved and honoured throughout all the churches, as well as in *Cambridge*, and admired by the most competent judges of real worth."

Very few of his writings were ever published. I can obtain notice of the following only:

A Letter of counsel to his brother, written while he resided at the University;

An Election Sermon, on Nehem. ii. 10, entitled "Nehemiah upon the wall;" preached May 15, 1667; and printed at Cambridge;

A Letter concerning the subject of Baptisme, printed at Cambridge, 1675;

"A Discourse of the Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ," printed at London, after his death, with the Letter to his brother affixed; and reprinted at Boston, in a duodecimo volume, in 1721.

MR. OAKES.

The Reverend URIAN OAKES was born in England about the year 1631; and was brought to America in his childhood. From this early period, he was distinguished for the sweetness of his disposition, which characterized him through life. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1649. While very young, and small, he published, at Cambridge, a set of *Astronomical Calculations*, with this apposite motto:

Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua gratia parvis.

Soon after his graduation, he went to England, where,

after having been some time a chaplain to an eminent personage, he became settled in the ministry at Titchfield. Being silenced, however, in 1662, in common with the nonconformist ministers throughout the nation (by Act xiv. Car. 2); he resided a while in the family of Colonel Norton, a man of great merit and respectability, who, on this occasion, afforded him an asylum. When the violence of the persecution abated, he returned to the exercise of his ministry in another congregation, as colleague with Mr. Simmons. Such was his celebrity for learning and piety, for ministerial abilities and fidelity, that the church and society of Cambridge, on the decease of Mr. Mitchel, were induced to invite him to their pastoral charge. They sent a messenger to England, to present him with the invitation; which, with the approbation of a council of ministers, he accepted. After repeated delays, occasioned by the sickness and death of his wife, and by a subsequent personal illness, he came to America, and commenced his ministry at Cambridge, November 8, 1671.

So distinguished was he for his learning and abilities, and for his patronage of the interests of literature, that, in 1675, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, as successor to President Hoar. He accepted the invitation; and officiated as President, still retaining the charge of his flock, for about six years, when his useful life was suddenly brought to a close. He had been subject to a quartan ague, which often interrupted his public services. A malignant fever now seized him, and, in a day or two, proved mortal. His congregation, assembling on a Lord's-day, when the Lord's Supper was to have been administered, were affectingly surprised to find their respected and beloved pastor in the pangs of death. He died July 25, 1681, in the fiftieth year of his age, and tenth of his ministry at Cambridge.

He was eminent for his knowledge and piety, and was a very engaging and useful preacher. "Considered as a scholar, he was," says Dr. C. Mather, "a notable critic in all the points of learning; and well versed in every point of the *Great Circle*." *—"He did the service of a

* Dr. C. Mather, who was educated under his presidency, has preserved, in one of his publications, a specimen of his Latin compo-

President, even as he did all other services, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably." Dr. Increase Mather, whose characters appear to be drawn with more exact discrimination than those of his son Cotton, says: "An age doth seldom produce one so many ways excelling, as this Author * was. If we consider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*, as a *Christian*, it is hard to say in which he did most excel. I have often in my thoughts compared him to Samuel among the prophets of old; inasmuch as he did truly *fear God from his youth*, and was *betimes* improved in *holy ministrations*, and was at last called to be *Head of the sons of the prophets*, in this New English Israel, as Samuel was President of the College at Naioth. In many other particulars, I might enlarge upon the parallel, but that it is inconvenient to extend such instances beyond their proportion.

—*Hæu, tua nobis*

Morte simul tecum solatia raptæ!

It may, without reflection upon any, be said, that he was one of the greatest lights, that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to arise in our horizon."

The only publications of Mr. Oakes, of which I find any account, are:

An Artillery Election Sermon, on Rom. viii. 37, preached June 3, 1672;

An Election Sermon on Deut. xxxii. 29, preached May 7, 1673;

An Elegy on the Rev. Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the church in Charlestown, [son of Mr. Shepard, minister of Cambridge] who died Dec. 22, 1667. [They were all printed at Cambridge, by Samuel Green; and are preserved in the Library of the Historical Society.]

sition, which is very classical and elegant. In his judgment, "America never had a greater master of the true, pure, Ciceronian Latin," than President Oakes. He appears to have had a poetical genius. An Elegy, of considerable length, written by him on the Rev. Mr. Shepard, of Charlestown, rises, in my judgment, far above the poetry of his day. It is of Pindaric measure, and is plaintive, pathetic, and replete with imagery.

* This paragraph is extracted from the Preface of Dr. Increase Mather to a Discourse of Mr. Oakes, published soon after the Author's decease.

His epitaph, though not now distinctly legible on his tomb-stone, is preserved in Mather's *Magnalia*, and is as follows :

URIANI OAKESII,
 Cujus, quod reliquum est,
 clauditur hoc tumulo ;
 Exploratâ integritate, summa morum gravitate,
 Omniumque meliorum Artium insigni Peritiâ,
 Spectatissimi, Clarissimique omnibus modis Viri,
 Theologi, merito suo, celeberrimi,
 Concionatoris vere Melliflui,
 Cantabrigiensis Ecclesiæ, Doctissimi et Orthodoxi Pastoris,
 In Collegio Harvardino Præsidis Vigilantissimi,
 Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundiæ Laudem
 Adepti ;
 Qui repentinâ morte subitò correptus,
 In JESU sinum efflavit animam,
 Julii xxv. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.
 Memorix.
 Etatis suæ L.
 Plurima quid referam, satis est si dixeris Unum,
 Hoc Dictu satis est, *Hic jacit OAKESIUS.*

MR. GOOKIN.

The Reverend NATHANIEL GOOKIN was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1675. On Mr. Oakes' acceptance of the presidency in 1679,* the church gave "a Call to Mr. Gookin to be helpful in the ministry, in order to call him to office in time convenient."† After Mr. Oakes' decease, the church invited him to the pastoral office. He accepted the invitation ; and was ordained November 15, 1682. He was a Fellow of Harvard College. After a ministry of scarcely ten years, he died on the Lord's day, August 7, 1692, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his ministry.

The shortness of Mr. Gookin's ministry, and the imperfection of the early records of the church, leave us very deficient in the means of obtaining his history and character.

* His previous election, in 1675, was *pro tempore*.

† Church Records.

He was a son of Major-General Gookin, whose distinguished character, and eminent services, have been noticed in the preceding history. Tradition informs us, that he lies interred in the south-east corner of the burying ground, beneath a brick monument, covered with a stone slab, the inscription of which is not now legible. He left a son, of his own name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1703, and was, afterward, settled in the ministry at North-Hill, a parish in Hampton, New-Hampshire. This Mr. Gookin is represented by a contemporary minister, as a man, "whose qualifications for the work of the ministry, and whose fidelity, industry and skill in prosecuting it, as well as exemplary caution and prudence, were too well known to need any attestation." * He died in 1734, *Ætat.* XLVIII, leaving a son of his name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1731, and succeeded his father in the ministry, at Hampton, Oct. 31, 1730. This son is represented as one, "who, upon many accounts, beside his own personal worth, ought to be near and dear" to his society, "being both ways descended from those who have been stars of the first magnitude." † He died in 1766.

MR. BRATTLE.

The Reverend WILLIAM BRATTLE was born in Boston, about the year 1662; and educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1680. He was, afterward, chosen a Tutor, and a Fellow, in that seminary, and officiated in each of these capacities for several years. Dr. Colman, who was a student, while Mr. Brattle was in the tutorship, says, "He was an able, faithful and tender Tutor. He countenanced virtue and proficiency in us, and every good disposition he discerned, with the most fatherly goodness; and searched out and punished vice with the authority of a master. He did his utmost to form us to virtue and the fear of God, and to do well in the world;

* The Rev. Mr. Shurtleff's Sermon, at the ordination of Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, in 1739.

† Mr. Shurtleff informs us, (*Ordin. Serm.*) that the Rev. Seaborn Cotton was this Mr. Gookin's great grandfather. I suppose the second Mr. Nathaniel Gookin (son of the minister of Cambridge) married a daughter of John Cotton, (his predecessor in the ministry) who was a son of Seaborn, (his predecessor) who was a son of the renowned John Cotton, one of the first ministers of Boston.

and dismissed his pupils, when he took leave of them, with pious charges and with tears." One memorable instance of his humanity, and christian heroism, while in the tutorship, is recorded as worthy, if not of imitation of admiration. When the small-pox prevailed in the college, although he had not had that terrible disorder, instead of a removal, he staid at his chamber, visited the sick scholars, and took care that they should be supplied with whatever was necessary to their safety and comfort. "So dear was his charge to him, that he ventured his life for them ministering both to their souls and bodies; for he was a skilful physician to both." At length, he was taken ill, and retired to his bed; but the disorder was very mild, and he was soon happily restored.

He was ordained Pastor of the church in Cambridge, November 25, 1696. On this occasion he preached his own ordination sermon, from 1 Cor. iii. 6; the Rev. Increase Mather gave the charge; and the Rev. Samuel Willard the right hand of fellowship. On the same occasion, the Rev. Increase Mather preached a sermon, from Rev. i. 16.

Mr. Brattle was polite and affable, courteous and obliging, compassionate and charitable. His estate was very large; and, though he distributed it with a liberal hand, "secret and silent" were his charities. His pacific spirit, and his moderation, were conspicuous; and "he seemed to have equal respect to good men of all denominations." He was patient of injuries, and placable; and said, after trials, he knew not how he could have spared any one of them. With humility he united magnanimity; and was neither bribed by the favour, nor overawed by the displeasure, of any man. "He was of an austere and mortified life"; yet candid and tolerant toward others. He was a man of great learning and abilities; and, at once, a philosopher and a divine. It is no small evidence of his attainments in science, that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. "He was a generous patron of learning, and long a father of the college" in Cambridge. He placed neither learning, nor religion, in unprofitable speculations, but in such solid and substantial truth, as improves the mind, and is beneficial to the world. Pos-

sessing strong mental powers, he was "much formed for counsel and advice;" and his judgment was often sought, and highly respected.

His manner of preaching may be learnt from Dr. Coleman, who, comparing Mr. Brattle with Mr. Pemberton, observes: "They performed the public exercises in the house of God with a great deal of solemnity, though in a manner somewhat different; for Mr. Brattle was all calm, and soft, and melting; but Mr. Pemberton was all flame, and zeal, and earnestness." Mr. Brattle's ministry appears to have been successful; and the church, while under his pastoral care, became very greatly enlarged. Although he attained a greater age than either of his famous predecessors, Shepard, Mitchel, and Oakes; yet he was often interrupted in his ministerial labours, "by pains and languishments," and died February 15, 1717, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-first of his ministry.

The baptisms of children, during his ministry, were seven hundred and twenty-four; and the admissions to the fellowship of the church three hundred and sixty-four.

"They that had the happiness to know Mr. Brattle, knew a very religious good man, an able divine, a laborious faithful minister, an excellent scholar, a great benefactor, a wise and prudent man, and one of the best of friends. The promoting of Religion, Learning, Virtue, and Peace, every where within his reach, was his very life and soul; the great business about which he was constantly employed, and in which he principally delighted. Like his great Lord and Master he went (or sent) about doing good. His principles were sober, sound, moderate, being of a catholick and pacifick spirit.—For a considerable time before his death, he laboured under a languishing distemper, which he bore with great patience and resignation; and died with peace and an extraordinary serenity of mind. He was pleased in his last Will and Testament to bequeath to Harvard College two hundred and fifty pounds, besides a much greater sum in other pious and charitable legacies."*

The funeral of Mr. Brattle was attended on the 20th

* Boston News-Letter, No. 671.

of February, a day rendered memorable by *The Great Snow*. "He was greatly honoured at his interment ;" and the principal magistrates and ministers of Boston and of the vicinity, assembled on this occasion, were necessarily detained at Cambridge by the snow for several days.*

He appears to have published scarcely any of his writings ; though many of them were, doubtless, very worthy of publication. His grandson, Thomas Brattle, † Esquire, favoured me with the perusal of some of his Sermons, in manuscript, which are written very fairly and correctly, and are remarkably clear, and concise, sententious and didactic.

Jeremiah Dummer, Esquire, a gentleman of respectability, having, while an agent in England, procured some printed sermons, by desire of Mr. Flint, observes :—" I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in the matter, or brightness in the style ; I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses which Mr. Brattle gives you every week." †

The only publication of Mr. Brattle, which has come to my knowledge, is a system of Logic, entitled, "*Compendium Logicæ secundum Principia D. Renati Cartesii plerumque efformatum, et catechisticè propositum.*" It

* A few particulars concerning this memorable Snow may gratify curiosity. The Boston News-Letter of February 25, 1717, has the following paragraphs : " Besides several Snows, we had a great one on Monday, the 18th current ; and on Wednesday the 20th it began to snow about noon, and continued snowing till Friday the 22d, so that the Snow lies in some parts of the streets about Six foot high." — " Saturday last was a clear Sunshine, not a cloud to be seen till towards evening. And the Lord's-day, the 24th, a deep Snow." — " The extremity of the weather has hindered all the three Posts from coming in ; neither can they be expected till the roads (now impassable with a mighty Snow upon the ground) are beaten." The News-Letter, of March 4, has this paragraph : "*Boston* ; February ended with Snow, and March begins with it, the Snow so deep that there is no travelling."

† This very worthy and respectable man departed this life, since this History was committed to the press, February 7th, 1801, ætat. LIX. His father, Brigadier-General William Brattle, was the only child of the Rev. William Brattle, who lived to mature age.

‡ Coll. of Hist. Soc. for 1799, p. 79.

was long recited at Harvard College, and holden in high estimation. An edition of it was published as late as the year 1758.

Mr. Brattle lies interred in a tomb, on the south-east side of the burying yard, with this inscription :

Depositum
GULIELMI BRATTLE
nuper Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiensis
N. A. Pastoris Rev^{di} Senatûs Collegii
Harvardini Socij Primarij,
Ejusdemque Curatoris Spectatissimi,
et R. S. S. qui obiit xv^o Febrⁱⁱ
Anno Domini MDCCXVII, et Ætatis
Suæ LV. Hic requiescit in spe
Beatæ Resurrectionis.

Dr. APPLETON.

The Reverend NATHANIEL APPLETON was born at Ipswich, December 9, 1693. His father was the Honourable *John Appleton**; and his mother was the eldest daughter of President Rogers. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1712. On the completion of his education, his uncle, an opulent merchant, offered to set him up in trade; but he declined the offer, that he might pursue his theological studies, preparatory to the work of the ministry.

Soon after the death of Mr. Brattle, the church in Cambridge chose Mr. Appleton to succeed him in the ministry; and he was ordained its pastor, October 9, 1717. On this occasion, Dr. Increase Mather preached a sermon from Ephes. iv. 12, and gave the charge; Dr. Cotton Mather gave the right hand of fellowship; and the Reverend Mr. Angier, of Watertown, and the Reverend Mr. Rogers, of Ipswich, joined with them in the imposition of hands. The same year, in which he was or-

* He was one of the King's Council; and, for more than twenty years, a Judge of Probate for the county of Essex; he was a man of sound judgment, and unimpeached integrity. It was remarked, that, during the long period in which he was in the Probate Office, there was never an appeal from his judgment.

dained, he was elected a Fellow of Harvard College; which office he sustained above sixty years; * and, by his assiduous attention to its duties, together with his prudent counsels, which were greatly respected by the government of the university, he essentially contributed to the interests of that important seminary.† As a testimonial of the estimation of his academical services, as well as of his theological character, and public usefulness, the University of Cambridge, at the commencement in 1771, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This degree was conferred by the University but once previously to this; and that was conferred on the Reverend Increase Mather, about eighty years before.‡

Dr. Appleton, if venerable for his age, was more venerable for his piety. His religion, like his whole character, was patriarchal. Born in the last century, and living till nearly the close of this, he brought down with him the habits of "other times." In his dress, in his manners, in his conversation, in his ministry, he may be classed with the Puritan ministers, of revered memory, who first came to New-England. His natural temper was cheerful; but his habitual deportment was grave. Early consecrated to God, and having a fixed predilection for the ministry, he was happily formed, by the union of good sense with deep seriousness, of enlightened zeal with consummate prudence, for the pastoral office.

He preached the gospel with *great plainness of speech*, and with primitive simplicity. Less concerned to please, than to instruct and edify, he studiously accommodated his discourses to the meanest capacity. To this end, he frequently borrowed similitudes from familiar, sometimes from vulgar, objects: but his application of them was so pertinent, and his utterance and his air were so solemn, as to suppress levity, and silence criticism.

* He resigned his Fellowship in 1779.

† President Wadsworth, speaking of Mr. Appleton, says: "I have often thought, it is a great favor not only to the Church and Town of Cambridge, but also to the College, and therein to the whole Province, that he is fixed in that public post and station, assigned by Providence to him." Preface to *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man*.

‡ President Stiles's Literary Diary.

“Dr. Appleton was possessed of the learning of his time. The scriptures he read in the originals. His exposition, preached in course on the sabbath, comprehended the whole New Testament, the prophecy of Isaiah, and, I believe, Daniel, and some of the minor prophets. It was chiefly designed to promote practical piety; but on the prophetic parts, he discovered a continued attention, extent of reading, and depth of research, which come to the share of but very few. He not only gave the Protestant construction, but that of the Romish expositors, in order to point out the defects of the latter.”* He carefully availed himself of special occurrences, whether prosperous or adverse, whether affecting individuals, families, his own Society, or the community at large, to obtain a serious attention to the truths and duties of religion; and his discourses, on such occasions, were peculiarly solemn and impressive. Vigilantly attentive to the state of religion in his pastoral charge, he marked prevailing errors, and sins, and pointed his admonitions and cautions against them, both in public and private, with conscientious yet discreet fidelity. The discipline of the church he maintained with parental tenderness, and pastoral authority. The Committee, for inspecting the manners of professing Christians, appointed originally by his desire, and perpetuated for many years by his influence, evinces his care of the honour and interests of the church, of which he was the constituted overseer. So great was the ascendancy which he gained over his people, by his discretion and moderation, by his condescension and benevolence, by his fidelity and piety, that, while he lived, they regarded his counsels as oracular; and, since his death, they mention not his name but with profound regard and veneration.

His praise, not confined to his own society, *is in all the churches* of New-England. In controversial and difficult cases, he was often applied to for advice, at ecclesiastical Councils. Impartial yet pacific, firm yet conciliatory, he was specially qualified for a counsellor; and in that character he materially contributed to the

* James Winthrop, Esquire.

unity, the peace, and order of the churches. With the wisdom of the serpent he happily united the innocence of the dove. In his religious principles, he was, like all his predecessors in the ministry, a Calvinist. Towards persons, however, who were of different principles, he was candid and catholic. "Orthodoxy and Charity" were his motto,* and he happily exemplified the union of both, in his ministry, and in his life.

His public usefulness, though diminished, for a few of his last years, by the infirmities of age, did not entirely cease but with his life. He died February 9, 1784, in the ninety-first year of his age, and sixty-seventh of his ministry:—and New-England can furnish few, if any, instances of more useful talents, and of more exemplary piety, united with a ministry equally long and successful.

The baptisms of children, during his ministry, were 2048
 _____ of adults - - - - - 90
 Admissions to the fellowship of the church - 784

His publications are :

The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man,
 12mo. 1728 ;

Discourses on Romans viii. 14. 12mo. 1743 ;

8 Funeral Sermons ;

6 Ordination Sermons ;

2 Thanksgiving Sermons ;

2 Fast Sermons ;

A Sermon, at the Artillery Election, 1733 ;

_____ at the General Election, 1742 ;

_____ Convention of Ministers, 1743 ;

_____ on the difference between a legal and evangelical righteousness, 1749 ;

_____ at the Boston Lecture, 1763 ;

_____ against prophane Swearing, 1765.

* His portrait, taken by Copley, represents him holding a volume of Dr. Watts, entitled "Orthodoxy and Charity." This portrait, which is said to be an excellent likeness, is now in the possession of Mrs. Appleton, relict of the late Nathaniel Appleton, Esquire, who was a very worthy and respectable son of the minister of Cambridge. It was rescued from the fire in Boston, in 1794, in which Dr. Appleton's MSS. then in the hands of his son, were consumed.

Dr. Appleton's Epitaph :

Sub hoc marmore conduntur,
Cum MARGARET conjugis suæ dilectissimæ reliquiis
Exuviæ viri illius reverendi
NATHANIEL APPLETON, S. T. D.
Christi ecclesiæ
Apud Cantabrigienses primæ
Per Annos LXVII
Pastoris
Docti, fidelis, vigilantis, benevoli.
Majoribus opibusque ornatus,
Sacrum hoc munus
Omnibus aliis præoptavit.
Verbi divini præconis partes sanctè, fervidè, perspicuè
Integritatè eximiâ
Peregit.
Principis Pastoris monitu incitatus
Oves agnosque gregis sedulò pavit ;
Et circumspectavit.
Fideles in Christo omnes,
Quantumcunque a se diversè senserint,
Amicè complexus est.
Rebus Academicis ex officio, suisque familiaribus,
Cautè ac prudentèr invigilavit.
Ab omnibus dilectus et observatus,
Vixit,
Et spe resurgendi Christiana suffultus,
In JESU obdormiit
Die Februarii nono, anno Christi MDCCLXXXIV,
Ætatis suæ XCII.

*" They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament,
And they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."*

MR. HILLIARD.

The Reverend TIMOTHY HILLIARD was born in Kensington, New-Hampshire, in 1746 ; and, in 1760, entered Harvard College. " His natural abilities were such, as gave him a facility in acquiring knowledge ; and, while he was a student, he made such advances in the various branches of useful learning, as laid the foundation for that eminence in his profession, to which he afterward

attained." *—When he entered the desk, he was judged not only to have "just views of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity," but to have "experienced their power and efficacy on his own heart."—His pulpit performances, from the first, were very acceptable," wherever he was providentially called to preach the gospel.

In 1768, he was appointed chaplain of Castle William ; and, after officiating in that capacity a few months, he was elected a tutor in Harvard College. Having continued about two years and a half in the tutorship, "the duties of which he discharged with diligence and fidelity," he was invited to settle in the ministry at Barnstable ; where he was ordained, April 10, 1771. "He continued his ministry in that place about twelve years, and was in high esteem among his people, both for his preaching, and for all his parochial conduct ; at the same time he was greatly valued in all that part of the country. He loved the work of the ministry, and was faithful in the discharge of all its duties."

Finding his health materially injured by the sea air, he was, at length, constrained to remove from Barnstable.† On the confirmation of his health, by a change of air, he became capable of resuming the public services of the ministry ; and, after preaching a short time at Cambridge, was invited to the pastoral charge, as colleague with the aged and venerable Dr. Appleton. He accepted the invitation, and was installed, October 27, 1783. On this occasion, he preached a sermon from Titus, ii. 15 ; the Reverend Dr. Cooper, of Boston, gave the charge ; and the Reverend Mr. Cushing, of Waltham, gave the right hand of fellowship.

Placed, by Providence, in this conspicuous station, his sphere of usefulness became much enlarged, his labours

* President Willard's Sermon, at the funeral of Mr. Hilliard ; from which this character is selected. The President was contemporary with Mr. Hilliard as a student, and a tutor, and had "a peculiar intimacy with him, for many years."

† "The air in this town is affected by the neighborhood of the sea on each side, from which it derives a dampness and frequently a chill which is disagreeable, if not unfriendly to tender nerves." The Rev. Mr. Mellen's description of Barnstable, in the Collections of the Historical Society, III. 12.

being now extended to the University. * For this new sphere he was peculiarly qualified. "His pulpit talents were excellent. He was pleasing in his elocution. In prayer he was exceeded by few, being ready in his utterance, pertinent on every occasion, and devotional in his manner. His discourses from the desk were never such as could be said to have cost him nothing, but were well studied, pure in the diction, replete with judicious sentiments, clearly and methodically arranged, instructive, serious, practical, and truly evangelical; so that his public services were useful and edifying to all ranks of men; both learned, and unlearned." He was "ever viewed by the Governors of the University, as an excellent model for the youth under their care, who were designed for the desk; and they considered his introduction into this parish, a most happy event."

Though he was diligent in acquiring useful knowledge, in its various branches; yet he principally devoted himself, as became his profession, to the study of theology. "In the treatment of difficult points in divinity, he was rational and perspicuous; but he was not frequent in handling subjects of doubtful disputation. To inculcate repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a hearty conformity to the practical precepts of the gospel, he considered of the first importance; and such was the general tenor of his preaching."

To the sick and afflicted he was tenderly attentive. "His mind was formed to sympathy and goodness; benevolence was in his heart; the law of kindness in his tongue; and he was always ready, by day and by night, to serve his flock." He was amiable in his temper, prudent and conciliatory in his deportment.

Though firm in the maintenance of his own religious sentiments, he was "eminently candid, and ready to embrace all good men." In public and in private life, he was exemplary for virtue and piety.

His ministrations were very acceptable to the churches in the vicinity of Cambridge. "His excellent talents and ministerial qualifications became more and more

* Ever since the foundation of Harvard College, its officers and students have attended public worship in the first church in Cambridge.

known ; and his reputation was increasing," till his death. He was " frequently employed in ecclesiastical councils, and had much weight and influence in them."—His printed sermons did him " much honour."—" There was no minister among us," said President Willard, " of his standing, who, perhaps, had a fairer prospect of becoming extensively useful to the churches of Christ in this Commonwealth."

" He was peculiarly engaged in promoting the interests of the University in this place, of which he was a watchful Governor. He was constantly seeking its utility and fame, and was an attentive and active member of that branch of its legislature to which he belonged ; and his judgment was always of weight.

" Formed by nature with a delicate sensibility, kindness of heart and gentleness of manners, and endowed with a good understanding, a ready mind, respectable acquirements, and a facility and pertinency in conveying his sentiments upon every occasion, his company was pleasing, and his conversation improving. His social intercourse with his brethren in the ministry was always agreeable, and he gained their universal love and esteem."

In his last illness, which was very short, he was supported by the Christian hope, which gave him a religious superiority to the fear of death. Just before he expired, " he expressed his full confidence in God, and said that he enjoyed those consolations, which he had endeavoured to administer to others. He mentioned his flock with affection, and observed, with grateful satisfaction, *That he had not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God, having kept nothing back through fear, or any sinister views.*" He died on the Lord's-day morning, May 9, 1790, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

His publications are :

A Sermon at a Public Fast ;

_____ at the Ordination of the Rev. Bezaleel Howard, at Springfield ;

_____ at the Ordination of the Rev. John Andrews, at Newburyport ;

_____ at the Execution of White and others, at Cambridge ;

_____ at the Dudleian Lecture.

Mr. Hilliard's Epitaph.

In Memory
of
The Reverend Timothy Hilliard, A. M.
Who
For more than twelve years, was a gospel Minister
Of the first church of Christ
In Barnstable,
And for more than six years,
Broke the bread of life to the Christian society
In this place.
Having been, in private life,
Cheerful, affable, courteous, amiable,
In his ministerial character,
Instructive, serious, solemn, faithful,
In full belief of the truths he preached to others,
He fell asleep in Jesus, May ix, MDCCXC,
In the XLIVth year of his age,
In the Christian hope
Of rising again
TO ETERNAL LIFE.

This monument was erected by the bereaved affectionate flock.
MDCCXC.

A REVIEW OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NORTH-AMERICA, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH HOSTILITIES ON THE FRONTIERS OF VIRGINIA IN 1753, TO THE SURRENDER OF OSWEGO, ON THE 14TH OF AUGUST, 1756; IN A LETTER * TO A NOBLEMAN.

Interspersed with various observations, characters, and anecdotes; necessary to give light into the conduct of American transactions in general, and more especially into the political management of affairs in New-York.

MY LORD,

I ESTEEM myself highly honoured, when you request of me, a full account of the rise, progress, and present state, of the military operations in North-America; with a just delineation of the characters of the principal agents in our political affairs. Indeed, my Lord, you impose

* This valuable Letter is said to have been written by the late Gov. Livingston, and his friends, Messrs. W. Smith and Scott, lawyers, New-York.

a task that will require a volume, rather than a letter. As your Lordship's desire, however, shall always carry with me the force of a command, I will engage in it with the utmost cheerfulness. Forgive me, my Lord, for saying I have a still stronger motive for composing these sheets, than a mere compliance with your Lordship's request ; to which I would ever pay the profoundest regard. When I reflect upon your eminent station—your excellling abilities—your warm and active zeal, for the interest and welfare of the British colonies ; I am prompted by an unfeigned desire of serving my country ; and setting before your Lordship's eyes TRUTH, in her plain undisguised habiliments : I would strip her of all that delusive colouring, with which she hath been artfully varnished, by letter-writers from this part of the world ; either to subserve some mean, sinister, party design, or to promote the views of some aspiring and ambitious minds. Candour and integrity shall therefore guide my pen ; and amidst the variety with which it is my purpose to present your Lordship, it shall be my sacred endeavour, to the best of my knowledge, to attach myself to the strictest—the most impartial verity.

The American colonies, I speak it with submission, my Lord, were too long neglected by their mother country ; though loudly demanding her patronage and assistance. Those, on the continent, require her peculiar notice : They may be made an inexhaustible magazine of wealth ; and if suffered to fall into the hands of the French, such will be the accession to their already extended commerce and marine strength, that Great-Britain must not only lose her former lustre, but, dreadful even in thought ! cease to be any longer an independent power. Nay, should every other scheme fail, the success of this, will inevitably accomplish the long-projected design of that aspiring nation, for setting up an Universal Monarchy : for, if France rule the ocean, her resources will enable her to subject all Europe to her despotic sway. But it is unnecessary to offer any arguments in support of a proposition, of which the public seems to remain no longer insensible. Happy for us, had these sentiments prevailed earlier, and been more frequently inculcated !

The importance of the colonies, my Lord, was too little considered, till the commencement of the last war. The reduction of Cape Breton by the people of New-England, was an acquisition so unexpected and fortunate, that America became, on that remarkable event, a more general topic of conversation. Mr. Shirley, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay, was the principal projector of that glorious enterprize : An enterprize, which reduced to the obedience of his Britannick Majesty, the DUNKIRK of North-America. Of such consequence to the French, was the possession of that important key to their American settlements, that its restitution was, in reality, the purchase of the last general Peace in Europe.

Of all our plantation governors, my Lord, Mr. Shirley is most distinguished for his singular abilities. He was born in England, and bred up to the law, at one of the Inns of Court. In that profession, he afterwards practised, for several years, in the Massachusetts Bay ; and, in 1741, was advanced by his Majesty to the supreme command of that colony. He is a gentleman of great political sagacity, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry. With respect to the wisdom and equity of his administration, he can boast the universal suffrage of a wise, free, jealous, and moral people. Though not bred to arms, he is eminently possessed of these important military virtues. An extent of capacity to form and execute great designs ; profound secrecy ; love of regularity and discipline ; a frugal and laborious manner of living ; with the art of conciliating the affections ; a talent which Hannibal admired in Pyrrhus, above all the rest of his martial accomplishments. In the first of these great qualities, Mr. Shirley is universally acknowledged to shine : and it is, in reality, more estimable, than all other military endowments without it ; consisting, to use the words of that discerning historian Mr. Rollin, “ in having great views ; in forming plans at
“ a distance ; in proposing a design, from which the author
“ never departs ; in concerting all the measures necessary ;
“ for its success ; in knowing how to seize the favourable
“ moments of occasion, which are rapid in their course,
“ and never return ; to make even sudden and unforeseen
“ accidents subservient to a plan ; in a word, to be upon
“ the watch against every thing, without being perplex-

“ed and disconcerted by any event.” But, whether it arises from his being so far advanced in years, or from his constitutional disposition and make, he has not, in my opinion, that activity and alertness so conducive to warlike expedition; and on which the success of an enterprise frequently depends. This was one of the characteristics of Braddock; a commander, vigorous in executing, as Mr. Shirley, judicious in contriving a plan—sed non omnia possumus omnes—and 'tis easier, my Lord, to find active hands, than able heads. No man perhaps in the nation has bestowed more attention upon the state of the colonies in general; and having their interest sincerely at heart, he has been perpetually concerting expedients, advance of their prosperity, and to check the views of an all-grasping Monarch. Upon the reduction of Louisburgh, he earnestly recommended to his Majesty's minister, the demolition of that fortress, and an expedition against the French settlements in Canada. The reasons why he succeeded in neither of these proposals, I cannot take upon me to assign. His Majesty, however, sensible of his services, gave him a regiment in 1746; and upon the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, sent him as one of the British commissaries to Paris, for settling the controverted limits between the two Crowns in America. Amidst all the splendors and delicacies of Versailles, he forgot neither OUR interest, nor HIS duty. As a proof of his integrity and diligence, during that fruitless embassy, one need only peruse these judicious and laborious memorials, in support of his Majesty's right to Nova-Scotia, which were principally framed by him; and lately published by order of the Lords of Trade, as a full exhibit of our title to that part of America. When no satisfaction could, in this way, be obtained from the Court of France; which was artfully endeavouring to spin out the negotiation, and at the same time fortifying the places in question, as well as making new acquisitions; the British commissaries retired from the French Court, and Mr. Shirley resumed his government in New-England in August 1753.

The French, jealous of the growth of the English colonies, were now meditating all possible arts to distress them, and extend the limits of their own frontier. The

marquis Du Quesne, an enterprising genius, was at this time invested with the supreme command of New France. Our provinces were quickly alarmed by the French settlements, which he this year began on the banks of the Ohio. Virginia, appearing more immediately concerned, Mr. Dinwiddie* wrote, on the 31st of October, to the commandant of the French forces there, complaining of sundry late hostilities: and desiring to know, by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada, and invaded a territory indubitably the right of his Britannick Majesty. Major Washington, a gentleman of whom I shall have occasion in the sequel to make honourable mention, was the bearer of this letter. He returned with an answer from Mons. Legardeur De St. Pierre, dated at the fort on Beuf River, 15th December, 1753; of which the following is an exact translation:

“AS I have the honour to command here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered me the letter, which you directed to the commandant of the French troops. I should have been pleased if you had given him orders, or if he himself had been disposed, to visit Canada and our general; to whom, rather than to me, it properly appertains to demonstrate the reality of the King my master’s rights to lands situated along the Ohio, and to dispute the pretensions of the King of Great-Britain in that respect.

“I shall immediately forward your letter to Mons. Le Marquis Du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me: and if he directs me to communicate it to you, I assure you, Sir, I shall neglect nothing that may be necessary to convey it to you with expedition.

“As to the requisition you make (that I retire with the troops under my command) I cannot believe myself under any obligation to submit to it. I am here, in virtue of my general’s orders; and I beg, Sir, you would not doubt a moment of my fixed resolution to conform to them, with all the exactitude and steadiness that might be expected from a better officer.

“I do not know that, in the course of this campaign, any thing has passed that can be esteemed an act of hostility, or contrary to the treaties subsisting between

* Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

“ the two crowns ; the continuation of which is as interesting and pleasing to us, as it can be to the English. “ If it had been agreeable to you, Sir, in this respect, to “ have made a particular detail of the facts which occasion your complaint, I should have had the honour of “ answering you in the most explicit manner ; and I am “ persuaded you would have had reason to be satisfied.

“ I have taken particular care to receive Mr. Washington with all the distinction suitable to your dignity, “ and to his quality and great merit. I flatter myself “ that he will do me this justice, and join with me in testifying the profound respect with which I am,

“ Sir, your most humble and most obedient Servant,

“ **LEGARDEUR DE ST PIERRE.**”

On the receipt of this resolute answer, Mr. Dinwiddie made instant complaint to the Court of Great-Britain ; and by alarming speeches laboured to rouse the Virginians into a vigorous opposition. He wrote also to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies, for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela. An immediate junction in such measures became absolutely requisite for our common security. But the colonies, alas ! were sunk into a profound lethargy ; and, resigned to stupidity and slumbering, appeared insensible of the threatening danger. They contemned the power of Canada ; confided in the number of their inhabitants ; inattentive were they to the inconveniences of an endless frontier ; and, in short, entirely unacquainted with the situation of the inland country. The waters of the Ohio, before this period, were scarcely known, save to a few Indian traders ; and the generality deemed those French settlements too remote to be the object of dread, and a matter of insignificant moment. Accordingly, when application was made for succours to Virginia, conformable to directions from the ministry, some of our provincial assemblies, particularly those of Pennsylvania *

* “ You would not admit, that the French encroachments and fortifications on the Ohio were within our limits, or his Majesty’s dominions, thereby seeking an excuse to avoid doing what was required of you.” *Gov. Morris’s message to the assembly of Pennsylvania, 22 Nov. 1755.*

and New-York,* seemed even to question his Majesty's title to the lands usurped by the French. Others, to avoid their share in the burden, framed the most trifling excuses. New-York, however, voted £5000 currency in aid of Virginia; which, considering her own situation, and approaching distress, was no ungenerous contribution.

The Virginians nevertheless proceeded in their resolution of marching a body of troops to the protection of their frontiers: and passed an act in February, 1754, for raising £10,000 and 300 men. The command was given to Col. Washington, a young gentleman of great bravery and distinguished merit. By his Majesty's direction, two of the regular independent companies of foot at New-York were ordered to the frontier of that dominion. They embarked for Virginia on board the Centaur man of war; which unfortunately did not sail from thence till the middle of June, and carried the money before mentioned to the assistance of that colony.

Col. Washington began his march, at the head of his little army, about the 1st of May. On the 28th he had a skirmish with the enemy, of whom ten were slain, and about twenty made prisoners. But this publick-spirited officer soon experienced a reverse of fortune. Waiting for further reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account, that 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the Ohio; who accordingly in two days after † came up, and an engagement immediately ensued. Our troops were but a handful compared to the number of the enemy, consisting only of about three hundred effective men. After a vigorous resistance for three hours, in which it was said near two hundred of the French and their Indian allies were slain; Col. Washington, observing the great superiority of the enemy, who now began to hem him in on all quarters, found himself un-

* "It appears, by other papers your Honour has been pleased to communicate to us, that the French have built a fort at a place called the French Creek, at a considerable distance from the Ohio, which may, but does not by any evidence or information appear to us to be an invasion of any of his Majesty's colonies." *Address of the general assembly to Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, 23 April, 1754.*

† The third of July.

der an absolute necessity of submitting to the disagreeable terms that were offered him.*

In this action we had thirty killed and fifty wounded. The French were observed to be assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had been long in the English alliance: Not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawanese, and of the Six Nations.† On the

* *The Terms of Capitulation granted by Mons. de Villier, captain and commander of the Infantry of his Most Christian Majesty, to those English troops actually in Fort Necessity, which is built on the land of the king's dominions.*

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and harmony which reigns between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge the assassination which has been done on one of our officers, bearer of a station, as appears by his writing; as also to hinder any establishment on the lands in the dominions of the king my master; upon these considerations, we are willing to grant protection and favour to all the English that are in the said fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

ARTICLE I. We grant the English commander, to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promise to hinder his receiving any insults from us French, and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the savages that are with us.

ART. II. That the English be permitted to march out, and carry every thing with them, except the artillery, which we keep.

ART. III. That we will allow the English all the honours of war; and that they shall march out with drums beating, and with a swivel gun;—that we are willing to shew that we treat them as friends.

ART. IV. That as soon as the articles are signed by both parties, they strike the English colours.

ART. V. That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of the French shall make the garrison file off, and take possession of the fort: And as the English have a few horses or oxen, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met their horses: And that they may for this end have guardians, in what manner they please, upon condition that they will give their word of honour, not to work upon any building in this place, or in any part this side the mountains, during a year, to be accounted from this day. And as the English have now in their power an officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made in the assassination of *Sieur Desamonsville*, that they promise to send them back to the *Fort De Du Quesne*, situate on the *Fine River*: And for the security of this article, as well as this treaty, *Mess. Jacob Van Bracham* and *Robert Stobo*, both captains, shall be put as hostages, till the arrival of the *Canadians* and *French* above mentioned. We oblige ourselves, on our side, to give an escort to return in safety these two officers; a duplicate being made upon or of the post of our blockade. July 3, 1754.

† They are called *Mingoes* by the southern Indians.

surrender of our camp, they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and provisions; and not content with this, they afterwards shot some of the horses and cattle, and scalped two of the wounded.*

Against this conduct, Col. Washington, remonstrated, but all his arguments made but little impression upon them. The Canadians delight in blood; and in barbarity exceed, if possible, the very savages themselves. Thus the French remained masters of the field; the Indians were riveted in their defection; his Majesty's arms unsuccessful; and our frontiers exposed, through the ill-timed parsimony of the provinces. The enemy, on the other hand, wisely improved the present advantage, and erected forts, to secure to themselves the quiet possession of that fertile country. How evident then was the necessity of uniting the power of the British colonies! The expediency of a plan for that purpose had been before considered. Some measures seemed also absolutely requisite for supporting our Indian interest, and preventing their total declension.

Accordingly, agreeable to his Majesty's orders, the 14th of June was appointed for a grand congress of commissaries from the several provinces, to be held at Albany, as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a scheme for a general union of the British colonies. Messengers had been dispatched to the Indian castles † to request their attendance; but they did not arrive till the latter end of the month; and the Mohawks, who live but 40 miles distant, came in last. This occasioned various speculations: some imputed it to fear; lest the French, in their absence, should fall upon their countries: Others to art, imagining that by exciting our jealousy of their wavering disposition, at so critical a juncture, the more liberal would be the presents made them by the several governments. Not a few thought it an artifice of Mr. Johnson's, who expecting to rise into importance, from

* Among other infractions of the capitulation, the destruction of the doctor's box ought not to be forgotten; by which means our wounded were barbarously distressed. See Col. Innes's letter of 12 July, 1754.

† The Indians call their villages, which are only surrounded with pallisades, castles.

the reputation of a mighty influence over the Indians, kept them from a punctual attendance; being very confident of a publick request to himself from the commissioners, to go up, and hasten their progress. There was the highest evidence of the like piece of policy at an Indian treaty, during Mr. Clinton's administration. The Indians however at length arrived, though fewer in number than was expected, or had been usual on those solemn occasions. Hendrick, a noted Mohawk sachem,* apologized for the delay of that canton, in a speech to this effect: "There was (said he) an interview last fall, "between Col. Johnson and the Six Nations, at Onondago. Our brethren of the other nations reported, that "his speech to us was concerted by the Mohawks: We "therefore come last, to prevent any ground for the "repetition of such slanders, with regard to the address "now to be made us by your Honour."

The Congress having been opened on the 18th of June, were ready to treat with the Six Nations; and on the 29th, after settling disputes between the commissioners concerning rank and precedence, Mr. De Lancey, the Lieut. Governor of New-York, addressed himself in a speech to the Indians.—On his right hand, were Messrs. Murray and Johnson, two of the council of New-York; next to them, Messrs. Wells, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, commissioners from the Massachusetts Bay; then the gentlemen from New-Hampshire, Messrs. Wibird, Atkinson, Weare, and Sherburne; and last on that side, Messrs. Hopkins and Howard, commissioners of Rhode-Island. On his left were seated, Messrs. Chambers and Smith, two other of his Majesty's council for New-York; then the Connecticut commissioners, Lieutenant-Governor Pitkin, Major Woolcot, and Col. Williams; after them, Messrs. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin, from Pennsylvania; and last of all, Col. Tasker and Maj. Barnes, from Maryland.

The treaty was conducted with great solemnity. The Indians appeared well pleased with the presents from the several governments; which, compared to former donations, amounted to an immense value: But in their an-

* A sachem is a warrior, and a man of an established reputation for his wisdom and bravery, among the Indians.

swer recriminated upon us the desertion of our fort * at Saratoga the last war ; lamented the defenceless condition of our frontier city of Albany ; and extolled the better conduct of the French, in fortifying and maintaining their garrisons.

The Indians being dismissed, the conferences were continued till the 11th of July. The commissioners were, both for abilities and fortune, some of the most considerable men in North-America. The speakers, however, were not many ; but of those who spoke, some delivered themselves with singular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriot spirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This assembly, my Lord, might very properly be compared to one of the ancient Greek conventions, for supporting their expiring liberty against the power of the Persian empire, or that Lewis of Greece, Philip of Macedon. In the conclusion, a plan was concerted for a general union of the British colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all military expenses ; and a representation of their present state drawn up ; which were agreed to be laid before the King's ministers. Some of the governments have nevertheless declared themselves averse to this scheme ; though approved at the time by every member of the congress, except Mr. De Lancey. Unaccountable was the conduct of this gentleman to several of the provincial deputies. But those who were best acquainted with his character and love of sway, ascribed his aversion from the plan, to an apprehension, that should the same take place, the supreme officer, who agreeably to it was to preside in the grand council of deputies from the respective colonies, would most probably be the governor of the Massachusetts Bay : An apprehension, which repressed his own aspiring views ; and it was imagined, stung him with unspeakable chagrin.

As the Lieutenant-Governor will appear, in the course of this letter, to bear a principal part in our public transactions, it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to present your Lordship with his picture at full length.

* Upon the disbanding of the forces raised for the Canada expedition in 1746, and the assembly's disinclination to garrison it, the fort, by order of Mr. Clinton, was burnt and abandoned.

Without an intimate knowledge of that gentleman's history and genius, it will be impossible to comprehend his conduct, or trace his actions, to their genuine source.

He is the eldest branch of one of the first families in the province. His father, a French refugee, a gentleman of distinguished rank in this city, and who here acquired a large fortune, sent him for his education to the University of Cambridge. He was a youth of prompt parts, and made a considerable progress in learning, especially in the classics. In the year 1729, he was, by Governor Montgomery's recommendation, created one of his Majesty's council of New-York; but never engaged the public attention, till the time of Mr. Cosby. He became then very famous. With this governor he took part in most or all of his measures; measures extremely arbitrary, and productive of an administration odious and turbulent. Cosby, in return for his ministerial services, loaded him with favours. Deposing Chief Justice Morris (the main obstacle to his perilous projects) he raised him to the first seat on the bench.* But though his excellency had the disposition of offices, he could by no means delegate the affections of the people. Accordingly our politician was equally honoured and despised. He enjoyed the smiles of the governor, which loaded him with the curses of the people; was caressed by the former, and by the latter abhorred. Cosby leaving a successor capable of governing without a prompter, the chief justice found it necessary to deface the memory of his former conduct, by cultivating the arts of popularity. Mr. Clarke, who succeeded,† being perfectly master of our constitution, a gentleman of experience and penetration, and intimately acquainted with the temper of the people, in a short time reconciled all parties; and by restoring the public tranquillity, rendered Mr. De Lancey's plodding abilities utterly useless. Hence he was at full leisure to court the populace. Suddenly he became transformed into a patriot; and, strange to relate! without a single act of patriotism. His un-

* Mr. De Lancey was not educated to the law; but having spent some time, after his return from England, in the study of that science, Gov. Montgomery appointed him second judge of the supreme Court of Judicature.

† In March, 1736.

common vivacity, with the semblance of affability and ease; his adroitness at a jest, with a shew of condescension to his inferiors, wonderfully facilitated his progress. These plausible arts, together with his influence as chief justice, and a vast personal estate at use, all conspired to secure his popular triumph. To establish such an undue power, and amazing influence, would, in a Grecian commonwealth, have exposed a man of less ambition and better principles to the ostracism. Mr. Clarke being superseded by Governor Clinton,* Mr. De Lancey was presented with a fresh opportunity for the exhibition of his political genius. Mr. Clinton, a gentleman of but indifferent parts, wholly resigned himself into his hands. Contenting himself with the title and salary of governor, he left the sole direction of affairs to his minister, who, by virtue of his late acquired omnipotence with the assembly, carried all his points, and even endeared him to the people. This intimacy subsisted no longer than it was found conducive to his designs. Having obtained from Mr. Clinton a new commission for his office of chief justice *during good behaviour*; and flattering himself with the hopes of another, appointing him lieutenant-governor, through the interest of his friends in England, he cared not how soon his excellency abdicated the province, nor how tempestuous he rendered his administration; and was therefore prepared for an open rupture. He no sooner thought himself capable of acting independently of the governor, than, like Sixtus Quintus, who threw aside his crutches the moment of his exaltation to the popedom, he put off all that humble devotion, by which he had so fatally deceived his too credulous master, and openly set himself at defiance against him. Now he began to dictate, rather than advise: and, instead of Sejanus, chose to be Tiberius himself. Dining one day with Mr. Clinton, and insisting upon some favorite point with great imperiousness, the governor, who had hitherto very cordially suffered himself to be led, refused on this occasion to be driven. The Chief Justice then arose and left him; declaring, with an oath, he would make his administration uneasy for the future: His Excellency replied, he might do his worst. Thus they parted; nor were ever afterwards reconciled.

* Mr. Clinton arrived as governor, 22 Sept. 1743.

This breach gave rise to the contentions, which so unhappily embroiled our provincial affairs, during the remainder of his administration. The assembly were instantly inflamed. He who before had been able to make them connive at very unjustifiable steps, could at once stir up an opposition to the most unexceptionable measures. Remonstrances, warm and virulent, were now drawn up; unworthy their own dignity to offer, and replete with the grossest language to his Majesty's representative. Thus was formed against Mr. Clinton a powerful party, which ceased not, while he continued at the helm, to harass and perplex him. To such an exorbitant length did they carry their opposition, as to throw off the restraint of humanity: They had even recourse to force and violence. Nay, a partisan of the Chief Justice, in defiance of the sacred rights of the magistracy and the law, to shew his resentment against Mr. Clinton and his adherents, assaulted the mayor; whipped the sheriff; dammed the Governor; and stabbed his physician. My Lord, we became the sport and contempt of our neighbours; and it is beyond contradiction, that Mr. De Lancey, by blowing up the coals of contention, did the province more injury, than he will be ever able to repair. Nor is there any reason to doubt, that the enormous power of this gentleman, and the ferment raised against Mr. Clinton, occasioned the 39th article of the King's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn; which appears purposely calculated to render our future Governors independent on his influence over the assembly: For a law indefinite, making provision for the salary allowed by the King to his Governors; and competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other necessary officers and ministers of government; such a law, I say, would effectually render a Governor independent of the assembly, and consequently of any undue influence in it. Nor without such independence, or an abridgment of Mr. De Lancey's power, by reducing him to his primitive private station, do I see any probability of the extinction of that party-spirit, which hath so long disturbed the tranquillity, and injured the public weal of the colony. Mr. Clinton, being superseded by Sir Danvers Osborn,* a gentleman of a most amiable moral character, retired into the country; from

* Sir Danvers Osborn arrived at New-York the 7th of October, 1753.

whence he proposed to embark for Great-Britain. The Chief Justice, notwithstanding his long declared enmity, and unwearied industry to embarrass his administration, had now—the humility, shall I call it?—to dispatch a messenger to him, with design, if possible, to procure an accommodation, in order to secure his favour in England, when he could no longer distress him in America. It were difficult to determine, whether this required a higher degree of assurance or servility. But it is no uncommon thing, to behold the same person fastidious and fawning, supercilious and sycophantic. Mr. Clinton, far from an implacable enemy, began to be softened; when his lady (who, if born among the Scythians, had been the Thalestris of antiquity) unravelling the secret, frustrated at once all expectations of a composition; and gave the plenipotentiary such a volley of invective against his constituent, as rendered all future overtures entirely hopeless.

On the death of Sir Danvers Osborn,* equally unexpected and deplored, Mr. De Lancey published the commission he had just received appointing him Lieutenant-Governor. He was now to act a part entirely new, and demanding the full exertion of his political dexterity. In the first place, he had to convince the ministry of his utmost efforts to carry the King's instructions in the house of representatives: And in the next, in order to preserve his popularity with the assembly, and not in the most flagrant manner counteract his avowed principles, he was to satisfy them, that in reality he by no means expected their compliance with them. To execute the former part of this plan, in his speech of the 31st of October, 1753, to the council and general assembly, he says: "You will perceive by the 39th article of his Majesty's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, (copies of which I shall herewith deliver you †) how highly his Majesty is displeased at the neglect of, and contempt shewn to

* This happened on the 12th of October. 1753.

† The 39th instruction was published in one of our newspapers, and reprinted in England. The publication of it was thought to have been intended to excite the popular clamour: and it occasioned the resentment of the ministry. It is worth remarking, that copies of several other instructions were expressly ordered by his Majesty to be laid before the assembly; but no such directions were given with respect to this.

“his royal commission and instructions, by your passing laws of so extraordinary a nature, and by such your unwarrantable proceedings, particularly set forth in this instruction: Hence also his Majesty’s royal pleasure as to these matters will appear, and what he expects from you. On this head, I must observe to you, that by our excellent constitution the executive power is lodged in the crown: That all government is founded on a confidence, that every person will discharge the duty of his station; and if there should be any abuse of power, that the legal and regular course is to make application to his Majesty, who, having a paternal tenderness for all his subjects, is always ready to hear and redress their grievances.” And then addressing himself to the assembly in particular: “I must earnestly press it upon you, that in preparing your bill for the support of government and other public services, you pay a due regard to his Majesty’s pleasure signified in his instructions; and frame them in such a manner, as, when laid before me for my assent, I may give it consistent with my duty to his Majesty.” What think you, my Lord? could your favourite Garrick have personated Richard the Third in a livelier manner than this gentleman the *real* advocate for the royal instruction? Could the man, who but a day or two before had intrigued with the members how to elude that very instruction, preserve his gravity, while acting such a tragi-comical farce? for that, my Lord, was the method in which he performed the second part of his plan. As his Majesty’s representative, he was obliged to urge their compliance with seeming sincerity and warmth; but as James De Lancey, Esq. their old friend and best adviser, it was his real sentiment, that never ought they to submit.

Matters being thus previously adjusted, the assembly, in their address, studiously avoid a categorical answer with respect to the indefinite support: But to gratify his Honour, and blacken the memory of Mr. Clinton, that he might not prejudice him in England, they make use of this memorable evasion: “On reading the 39th article of his Majesty’s instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, your Honour’s immediate predecessor, we are extremely surprised to find, that the public transactions of this colony have been so maliciously misrepresented to our

“ most gracious Sovereign. We can, Sir, with truth and
“ justice affirm, that his Majesty has not in his dominions
“ a people more firmly, and that from principles of real
“ affection, devoted to his person, family, and govern-
“ ment, than the inhabitants of this colony. And we are
“ greatly at a loss to discover in what instances the peace
“ and tranquillity of the colony have been disturbed, or
“ wherein order and government have been subverted.
“ If the course of justice has been obstructed, or in any
“ case perverted, it has been by the direction, or through
“ the means, of Mr. Clinton, late Governor of this prov-
“ ince, who sent peremptory orders to the judges, clerk,
“ and sheriff of Dutchess County, to stay process, and stop
“ the proceedings in several cases of private property,
“ depending in that court ; and who did, in other counties,
“ commissionate judges and justices of known ill charac-
“ ters, and extreme ignorance : One stood even present-
“ ed for perjury in the supreme court of this province,
“ whom he *rewarded* with the office of assistant judge ;
“ and others were so shamefully ignorant und illiterate,
“ as to be unable to write their own names. From
“ whence we greatly fear, that justice has in many cases
“ been partially, or very unduly administered.”

I shall not trouble your Lordship with a vindication of Mr. Clinton ; but only observe, that the suits commenced in Dutchess County were by deserters against their captains ;* that the Governor, who was no lawyer, assured the house, his letters to the justices were written unadvisedly, and with precipitation ; and that if any man was injured, he would readily compensate his damages. And as to the charge of appointing ignorant justices, it lies with equal truth against all our governors, (Mr. De Lancey himself not excepted) who to influence elections, have gone into an unjustifiable practice of intrusting blank commissions with certain favourites in the respective counties, impowered to place and displace civil and military officers at their pleasure. These election jobbers are generally the court members in assembly : And decency, my Lord, should have induced them to stifle the ridiculous assertion, that Mr. Clinton *rewarded* a man for being perjured ; as well as the more pertinent invective against

* Captains of the levies raised for the Canada expedition in 1746.

the dangerous usage just mentioned, for corrupting the house of representatives. But to disgrace Mr. Clinton was expedient to the Lieutenant-Governor; and hence this attack upon the former.

Upon his Honour's advancement to the government, the press laboured with addresses; and the incense offered upon the occasion might have perfumed the whole temple of Delphos. It was not enough, that, agreeable to ancient usage, he was presented with the compliments of public bodies alone. It was necessary, from the number of addresses, to display his extensive influence, and the universal joy; thereby, if possible, to lay the foundation of his continuance in the administration. Accordingly, the very militia officers and supervisors of Queen's County (a motley assemblage!) were made to groan out their aspirations for this auspicious event: "*Oh! that his gracious Majesty would be pleased to confirm and fix you, for a long time, in this exalted station.*" Never have I seen an insignificant interjection more insignificantly employed. To so extravagant a pitch, my Lord, did this exuberant ardor arrive, that we at length found him cloathed with an incommunicable attribute of the Deity himself, even his immutable moral rectitude. "*These things in you (say they) are not so properly called virtues, as NATURAL ENDOWMENTS. You will not, you CANNOT act otherwise than you do.*" With such fustian can some men be regaled: and by such fustian is oftentimes a whole nation deluded.

To proceed in the character of this remarkable American: He is a person of quick apprehension, and extensive acquaintance with the law; which he acquired with incredible application, to obliterate the indifferent figure he made, when first elevated to the chief seat on the bench, to serve the purposes of Governor Colby. Without the talents, he has all the ambition of a Ripperda. His thirst after popularity, which in him is a mere engine of state, hath almost banished all public spirit; and the triumphs of power occasioned the exile of common sense. Apprehensive of the diminution of his own lustre, his jealousy will not admit a competitor; but sets him at mortal odds with a rising, independent spirit, lest it be rewarded with popular favour, and thence result into popular interest, in derogation of his own sovereign in-

fluence. Hence, whoever would accomplish a patriot measure, must either obtain his leave; and then he arrogates to himself the merit due to its author; or carry it by mere stratagem, without which he may be sure of a disappointment. In the latter case, he has generally address enough to be revenged on the projector, by rendering both him and his project universally odious. Some among us see these arts; many suspect them; few dare mention them; and fewer still oppose them. Thus a people, who would by no means be forcibly deprived of their liberties, post into voluntary bondage: and they who would scorn a vassalage to the greatest monarch, become dupes to a dictator of their own creation.

Of all provincial affairs he is the uncontrolled director. As chief justice, great is his interest in the counties; with that interest he commands elections; with his sway in elections he rules the assembly; and with his sovereignty over the house controls a governor. His influence with the members, of the assembly being the main source of his exorbitant power, never will he serve the Crown at the risk of a dissension with the house. He will only stand by a governor while at his devotion, and standing fair with the people; but, in case of a rupture, instantly sacrifice prerogative on the altar of popularity. His own interest is his idol, and every thing else made subservient to procure it veneration and esteem. The men, who are his greatest tools, are generally by himself the most despised, and sometimes treated with despite and insult. If they discover the least freedom of resentment (which few of them dare discover) he can with a smile, or a joke, or a promise, or a bottle, at once dissipate the struggling resolution, and reduce them to their primitive obsequiousness. By hints, by threats and blandishments, by emissaries, by dark insinuations and private cabals, he is able to render any measure hateful or popular; to put down, or raise up, whom, when, and what he pleases. Nay, my Lord, I will venture to affirm, and every man in the province must bear me testimony, that while his influence continues to be supported with his office of chief justice, no operation, in which this colony is concerned, can promise success, should this monopolizer of power be determined to obstruct it.

Should it now be inquired, Must not a man, so ex-

tremely popular, be necessarily possessed of eminent virtue, and warmly devoted to the weal of the people, who thus cordially resound his fame, submit to his control, and agree to adorn his triumph? The question can only come from a novice in history, and a stranger to mankind. In the judgment of your Lordship, who is deeply read in both, I am confident that popularity is no indication of merit. With the deluded multitude the best men are often unpopular; the most pernicious, extolled and adored. The people are ever ready to be bewitched, cheated, and enslaved, by a powerful, crafty seducer: and, what is worse, ever ready to sacrifice whoever would disabuse and release them. The same people who could, without emotion, behold a Sidney bleeding in defence of public liberty, could commit a riot in rescuing a Sacheverel for preaching sedition and subverting the nation. Your Lordship remembers, that Massanello, in the short space of ten days, was a poor fisherman, a popular incendiary, a sovereign viceroy, stripped of his honours, treated like a malefactor, knocked on the head, and thrown into a ditch. Who, in fine, was more popular than the pestilent Claudius, except, perhaps, the more pestilent Catiline? It was, therefore, well observed by the protector Cromwell, that the very men, who followed him with acclamations and torrents of flattery, would, with the same demonstrations of joy, accompany him to the gallows.

Thus, my Lord, I have presented you with a faithful portrait of the Lieutenant-Governor of New-York, who is to bear no small share in the public affairs, of which I have the honour to transmit your Lordship an account; a portrait, under which there had been no need of fixing a name to direct to the original those, who have the least knowledge of that gentleman's character.

While these things were transacting at Albany, Mr. Pownal, brother to John Pownal, Esq. one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade, was upon the spot. This gentleman came over to America with Sir Danvers Osborn, in quality of his private secretary; though it was imagined by many, he was designed to be an assistant to him in the exercise of the government. He is something of a scholar, but a confused reasoner; and in his style perplexed; and in that usefulest of all sciences,

the knowledge of mankind, he is a mere novice : without the latter, your Lordship knows that other acquirements are comparatively of small account, in the management of public business. To be only learned, is frequently to be vain, ostentatious, and obstinate ; such a one, in a word, as Tertullian describes the most learned among the heathens, “an animal of glory.” This gentleman is fond of being considered *in an important light*. Insatiable of praise, he can not only hear himself flattered ; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable sense, can flatter himself. He is a person of uncommon application, and a good memory. By dint of industry, and an access to the papers in the Plantation Board Office, he has acquired some knowledge of American affairs ; but so keen is his appetite for promotion, that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement. He is for galloping into preferment ; and so intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur, as to lose all patience in earning it. Being more skilled in books than men, he is very abrupt in giving a scholastic turn to conversation, in order to display his erudition. Ever ready to contradict : himself impatient of contradiction. But wonderful is his knack at pluming himself with the schemes and inventions of others ; and, with the daw in the fable, shining in a borrowed dress : a remarkable instance of which I shall give your Lordship in the following anecdote ; as characteristic of a person, who will appear to have had some considerable influence in the course of American transactions. During the sitting of the congress, it was scarce possible to prevent part of their sentiments from transpiring. The scheme of a naval armament on Lake Ontario, projected by Lieut. Governor Clarke, before the late war, submitted to the then ministry, and now strongly recommended by the commissioners of the Massachusetts-Bay, by some means or other happened to be hinted without doors. Mr. Pownal, intent upon rising into significance among the colonies, chose not to slip so favourable an opportunity of distinguishing himself, as he could now lay hold of, from these whispered intelligences. He accordingly drew up some loose, indigested proposals, with respect to American affairs. Among other trite sentiments, he urged this scheme as a new, unthought-of measure, ab-

solutely requisite to secure the command, and preserve the fur trade of those inland seas. This he delivered to some of the members of the congress to be communicated : and afterwards transmitted a copy to England ; challenging to himself the sole merit of being the original author of so useful and necessary an expedient.*

While the congress was held at Albany, Governor Shirley, ever jealous of French machinations, proceeded, at the head of about one thousand men, to the river Kennebec ; and erected forts, at convenient distances, to stop the progress of the French on that quarter ; to secure the possession of that country with the friendship of the eastern Indians.

The remainder of this year † was principally spent in repeated representations to the ministry, respecting the dangerous situation of the English colonies ; and the absolute necessity of a powerful assistance from Great-Britain, to defeat the ambitious designs of the Court of France.

On the welcome intelligence of the success of these representations, and while forces were expecting from England, the two regiments of Shirley and Pepperel were ordered to be re-established, and recruits were raising through the several governments, to form an army for dispossessing the French from their late encroachments.

The general assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay being convened, and the members sworn to secrecy, Mr. Shirley communicated to them a design of attacking Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, the ensuing spring ; and his intention to appoint Col. Johnson to the command of that expedition. The scheme being approved by the council and representatives of that province, and the quotas settled, commissioners were charged to the neighbouring governments, to solicit their concurrence and aid, in the prosecution of this enterprise.

While these matters were in agitation, Mr. Pownal was at Boston, intending to sail from thence to England.

* Mr. Pownal had this piece published in New-York in Feb. 1776. It contained an introduction, declaring, that copies of it were sent by the ministry to the respective governors of the colonies : and in the spring following, it was republished, with great ostentation, in the English magazines. With respect to those parts of it, wherein he talks of Indian affairs, the sentiments seem to be unintelligible by a North American understanding.

† 1754.

He now thought fit to change his resolution ; and Governor Shirley honoured him with the embassy to New-York, for which place he set out the beginning of March. Some gentlemen of the council and assembly were commissioned, on the like errand, to the other colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c.

Mr. Pownal's prospects of success at New-York were at first not very encouraging. De Lancey, jealous of Shirley's rising reputation, appeared, with regard to the expedition recommended, extremely phlegmatic : and though artful enough to abstain from an open opposition he made use of Mr. Chambers as his tool in council, to obstruct the concurrence of the legislature. At this time great animosities were prevailing in the province, occasioned by a charter just before granted by Mr. De Lancey, constituting a college for the education of youth, upon a foundation which happened to enkindle the general disgust. The majority of the house, apprehending the loss of their seats on a future election, should they afford it the least assistance, found themselves obliged rather to countenance the popular resentment. A gentleman of distinction, with whom Mr. Pownal advised on the subject of his commission, thought it a prudent step to open his message in part, to those members of the assembly, who, on the above-mentioned account, were then in the opposition. Several of the leading men were secured by this method : and when the house met, such a disposition appeared to join in the scheme proposed, that it was beyond Mr. De Lancey's power to obstruct it. Out of pique however to Mr. Shirley, to whom this expedition was solely committed, he prevailed upon them to suspend the execution of their vote, until General Braddock's approbation was obtained : and by this artifice occasioned a considerable delay in the operations.

General Braddock, being now arrived in Virginia, sent expresses to the several governors to meet him, in order to a consultation on the business of the approaching campaign. This convention was opened on the 14th of April,*

* It was at first proposed to have been held at Annapolis, in Maryland. Mr. Shirley, who through the multiplicity of his affairs did not arrive there till April, has been charged with delaying Braddock's

at Alexandria in Virginia. Here it appeared, that through misrepresentations from Virginia, the general was enjoined to proceed immediately to Fort Du Quesne. Those, who were well acquainted with the country, could not help observing, that a march from Potowmac, across the Allegheny mountains, must be attended with incredible difficulty, hazard, and expense; that the vicinity of New-York to Canada, its fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario, together with the advantages of water carriage, rendered that province by far the fittest theatre of action. Braddock's orders were nevertheless positive. For the preservation therefore of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara it was at length agreed, that Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should proceed to Lake Ontario, while General Braddock attacked Fort Du Quesne; and the provincial troops, commanded by General Johnson, marched to invest Crown-Point.

These resolutions being taken, Mr. Shirley began his journey to Boston, to prepare for the expedition under his immediate command; to forward that under Col. Johnson; and to quicken the departure of the New-England troops, now assembled by his Majesty's directions, for reducing the French settlements in Nova-Scotia. On his way, he spent some time in conference with Col. Schuyler, a gentleman of fortune and courage, who, out of disinterested love to his country, was engaged to head a regiment of 500 men, raised and maintained by the province of New-Jersey. In New-York he was retarded a few days to consult with General Johnson, and remove some objections made by Mr. De Lancey to the form of his commission: * and in Con-

march near three weeks; though it is notorious, *that* delay was occasioned by the failure of the Virginia contract for the necessary supplies. The general was afterwards obliged to enter into a new one with gentlemen in Pennsylvania; which was not completed till the 27th of May, near six weeks from the conclusion of the congress.

* Mr. Johnson had his commission from the governors of the provinces, which furnished the troops under his command; the draft of which was settled at Alexandria. The Lieut. Governor of New-York now thought proper to repeat those very objections which had been there overruled. This unaccountable conduct gave Mr. Johnson great uneasiness, who could not obtain Mr. De Lancey's commission, till proper notice was taken by General Shirley of so manifest an obstruction to the operations of the campaign.

necticut, to hasten the assembling the troops of that colony.*

The necessary dispatches being given to the expedition to Nova-Scotia under Col. Winslow, Mr. Shirley, upon the arrival of the paymaster for the northern district, returned to New-York ; and on the 4th of July sailed for Albany, his own regiment having passed by for that place, in twenty-one transports, a few days before.

About this time, the colonies were filled with universal joy, on the agreeable news that the New-England troops were become masters of Beau-sejour and Bay Verte, on the isthmus of Nova-Scotia ; whereby a new province was added to the British empire in America : and that a strong fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, lay before Louisburgh, to intercept the French supplies ; and which had also seized two of their capital ships, the Lys and Alcide, and sent them into Halifax.

Gen. Braddock was now on his march towards the Ohio, at the head of about 2200 men, in order to invest Fort Du Quesne, and drive the French from their encroachments on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. From Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne, the distance is not less than 130 miles. Mr. Braddock began

* Connecticut had voted 1000 men for the Crown-Point expedition, and given assurances of 500 more, if the service so required. New-York was to supply 800 ; but through the delay occasioned by the suspending clause above mentioned in the vote of our assembly, Mr. De Lancey's brother was sent into Connecticut, to obtain leave for recruiting the quota we were to furnish, in that colony ; as men might there be raised more speedily than in the province of New-York. Mr. Shirley being at Hartford, during this application, was told by Governor Fitch, that if Connecticut complied, they should consider themselves disengaged from the assurances given of 500 more than their own quota, did the service demand it. This, with Mr. Oliver De Lancey's declaration, that if himself should accept the command of the New-York regiment, he could in ten days raise the whole number in this province, induced Mr. Shirley to oppose the application ; it appearing to him not improbable, that the service might afterwards require the reinforcement offered. In consequence of which, only 300 troops were furnished New-York from thence ; a lucky incident for Mr. Shirley's adversaries to incense the people of New-York against him ; to which purpose it was industriously applied ; though his conduct in that affair was prudent and rational ; and though, by repeated letters to Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, he took pains to remove any misunderstanding at a juncture so unseasonable.

his march from the former on the 10th of June, leaving the garrison under the command of Col. Innes. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country rugged, pathless, and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. From the little meadows the army proceeded in two divisions. At the head of the first, consisting of 1400 men, was the general himself, with the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery. The second, with the provisions, stores and heavy baggage, was led by Col. Dunbar. Never was man more confident of success, than this brave, though unfortunate officer. Being advised at the great meadows, that the enemy expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, he pushed on, by forced marches, with so much dispatch, that he fatigued the soldiers, weakened his horses, and left his second division near forty miles in the rear. The enemy being not more than 200 strong at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obstruction to the march of our forces, till the memorable 9th of July; a day never to be forgotten in the annals of North-America. About noon our troops passed the Monongahela, and were then within seven miles of Fort Du Quesne. Unapprehensive of the approach of an enemy, at once was the alarm given, by a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under Lieut. Col. Gage. Immediately the main body, in good order and high spirits, advanced to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt, and form into battalia. At this juncture, the van falling back upon them, in great confusion, a general panic seized the whole body of the soldiery; and all attempts to rally them proved utterly ineffectual. The general and all the officers exerted their utmost activity, to recover them from the universal surprise and disorder; but equally deaf were they to intreaties and commands. During this scene of confusion, they expended their ammunition in the wildest and most unmeaning fire; some discharging their pieces on our own parties, who were advanced from the main body for the recovery of the cannon. After three hours spent in this melancholy situation, enduring a terrible slaughter, from (it may be said) an *invisible* foe, orders were given to sound a retreat, that the men might be brought to cover the waggons.

These they surrounded but a short space of time ; for the enemy's fire being again warmly renewed from the front and left flank, the whole army took to immediate flight ; leaving behind them all the artillery, provisions, ammunition, baggage, military chest, together with the general's cabinet, containing his instructions and other papers of consequence. So great was the consternation of the soldiers, that it was impossible to stop their career, flying with the utmost precipitation three miles from the field of action ; where only one hundred began to make a more orderly retreat.

What was the strength of the enemy, has hitherto remained to us uncertain. According to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians : and whether any were slain, is still to be doubted, for few were seen by our men, being covered by stumps and fallen trees. Great indeed was the destruction on our side. Numbers of officers sacrificed their lives through singular bravery. Extremely unfortunate was the whole staff. The general, after having five horses shot under him, received a wound in his lungs through his right arm, of which he died in four days. His Secretary, eldest son of Major-General Shirley, a gentleman of great accomplishments, by a shot through the head, was killed upon the spot. Mr. Orme and Capt. Morris, aids-de-camp, were wounded. Of the 44th regiment, Sir Peter Halket, Colonel, was slain, with several other officers ; and Lieut. Col. Gage wounded. Lieut. Col. Burton, of the 48th regiment, was among the wounded ; and many gallant officers perished in the field. Our whole loss was about seven hundred killed and wounded.

To what causes this unhappy catastrophe is to be ascribed, has been matter of much inquiry and animated debate. The officers charged the defeat to the cowardice of the men : but, in a representation they made to Mr. Shirley, by order of the Crown, they in some measure apologize for their behaviour, alleging, that they were harassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited through want of provisions : That time was not allowed them to dress their food : That their water (the only liquor too they had) was both scarce and of a

bad quality : In fine, that the provincials had disheartened them, by repeated suggestions of their fears of a defeat, should they be attacked by Indians ; in which case the European method of fighting would be entirely unavailing. But, my Lord, however censurable the conduct of the soldiery may be thought, Mr. Braddock, too sanguine in his prospects, was generally blamed for neglecting to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, who offered their assistance ; and who, it is certain, had a number of them preceded the army, would have seasonably discovered the enemy's ambuscade. The Virginian rangers also, instead of being made to serve as regulars in the ranks with the English troops, should have been employed as out-scouts. But this step, so necessary to guard against surprise, was too unhappily omitted ; the whole army, according to the representation above mentioned, following only *three or four guides*.

When the routed party joined the second division, forty miles short of the place of action, the terror diffused itself through the whole army. Your Lordship might naturally expect to hear, that Col. Dunbar, then entrenched himself, and called on the neighbouring colonies for immediate reinforcements ; as by such a step the enemy might have been detained at Fort Du Quesne, prevented from ravaging the frontiers, or throwing succours into Niagara. But alas ! my Lord, an infatuation seemed to accompany all our measures on the southern quarter. Fearful of an unpursuing foe, all the ammunition, and so much of the provisions, were destroyed, for accelerating their flight, that Dunbar was actually obliged to send for thirty horse loads of the latter, before he reached Fort Cumberland ; where he arrived a very few days after, with the shattered remains of the English troops.

On Mr. Braddock's unhappy catastrophe, the command of his Majesty's forces in North-America devolved upon Major-General Shirley. I before acquainted your Lordship of his return to New-York, and departure from thence to Albany, where he arrived the beginning of July.

Albany, my Lord, was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expedition against Fort St. Frederick, as well as that to the westward, for the reduction of Niagara. The General, on his arrival there,

found not the former in the forwardness he had reason to expect. The provincials, discontented with the inactivity of a long encampment, Major-General Lyman was obliged to make short marches to prevent their disbanding; and the General was therefore detained awhile in that city, to hinder so fatal an event. His own troops, in the mean time, were filing off, in different divisions, from Schenectady towards Oswego.

Oswego, along the accustomed route, is computed to be about three hundred miles west from Albany. The first sixteen, to the village of Schenectady, is land carriage, in a good waggon road. From thence to the Little Falls, in the Mohawk River, at sixty-five miles distance, the batteaux* are set against a rapid stream; which too, in dry seasons, is so shallow, that the men are frequently obliged to turn out, and draw their craft over the rifts with inconceivable labour. At the Little Falls, the portage exceeds not a mile; the ground being marshy, will admit of no wheel-carriage, and therefore the Germans, who reside here, transport the batteaux in sleds, which they keep for that purpose. The same conveyance is used at the Great Carrying-Place, sixty miles beyond the Little Falls; all the way to which the current is still adverse, and extremely swift. The portage here is longer or shorter, according to the dryness or wetness of the seasons. In the last summer months, when rains are not frequent, it is usually six or eight miles across. Taking water again, we enter a narrow rivulet, called the Wood-creek, which leads into the Oneida Lake, distance forty miles. This stream, though favourable, being shallow, and its banks covered with thick woods, was at this time much obstructed with old logs and fallen trees. The Oneida Lake stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and in calm weather is passed with great facility. At its western extremity opens the Onondaga River, leading down to Oswego, situated at its entrance, on the south side of the Lake Ontario. Extremely difficult and hazardous is the passage through this river, as it abounds with rifts and rocks; and the current flowing with surprising rapidity. The princi-

* A batteau is a light flat-bottomed boat, widest in the middle, and at each end sharp pointed, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, with paddles and setting poles.

pal obstruction is twelve miles short of Oswego, and is a fall of about eleven feet perpendicular. The portage here is by land, not exceeding forty yards, before they launch for the last time.

Your Lordship, from this account, will readily conceive, that, through such a long, amphibious march, an army must proceed with prodigious risk and fatigue; and the batteaux be necessarily conducted by persons skilled in the navigation, and enured to hardships. For this service, General Shirley had engaged all the young men in the county of Albany, who formerly had been employed in the Indian trade at Oswego; and a vast number of batteaux were prepared for the conveyance of the troops, stores, and provisions.

Oswego was formerly garrisoned by twenty-five men; but, on the commencement of our present disputes, the number was augmented to fifty. Early this spring, fifty more were ordered up; and about the latter end of May, Capt. Broadstreet arrived there with two hundred, besides workmen to be employed in the naval preparations, pursuant to the scheme concerted in the congress of commissioners at Albany the last summer.

Col. Schuyler's New-Jersey regiment embarked in two divisions, from Schenectady, the beginning of July. Shirley's and Pepperell's were preparing to follow, when the melancholy news of Gen Braddock's defeat reached that place. This struck a general damp on the spirits of the soldiers, and many deserted. Great numbers of the batteau-men dispersed themselves into the country, and fled to their respective habitations. To engage the return of above half the fugitives, equally ineffectual were threats or promises, rewards or punishments. The General, however, sensible of the importance of the service, pursued his march in spite of every vexatious disappointment. As he passed their country, he called upon the Indians of the Six Nations at some of their castles; and sent ambassadors to the rest, pressing them to join him, with assurances of his protection. But they seemed in general greatly disinclined to our western operations. Indian affairs had been too long neglected by the province of New-York, to which the principal management of them has always been committed. Neither the sums, allotted

for presents to those savages, were always, by our governors, fairly expended, nor the presents themselves honestly distributed. And partly through repeated frauds, and the omission of proper measures to conciliate their favour, our interest with them amounted to little more than a bare neutrality. Mr. Johnson, nevertheless, pretending a mighty influence over them, was entrusted with 5000*l.* sterling, in order to engage their assistance for the general benefit of his Majesty's service. For this purpose he held a congress with some of their principal sachems at Mount Johnson,* soon after his return from Alexandria.

Your Lordship is pleased to insist upon my "*descending into a detail of every transaction, how minute soever, that can give any light into the more secret springs of our political action.*" I shall therefore acquaint your Lordship, that, upon the general's arrival at Albany, Mr. Johnson laid before him a copy of the minutes of his late treaty with the Indians. These minutes, it seems, contained some unhandsome reflections upon his excellency; insinuating, that, to treat separately with them, he had employed one Lydius, a person not of the most unexceptionable character, either for loyalty or integrity. The single reason upon which the surmise could be founded, was this; Lydius, who formerly lived near Lake George, and whose Indian acquaintance was very extensive, had offered the general his assistance, in procuring the junction of a number of them, on the designed expeditions. Upon which he wrote to Mr. Johnson, intimating the pleasure it would give him, if he could make any use of this man in his Majesty's service. On delivering those minutes into the general's hands, Johnson, sensible of the insinuation, told him, he entirely disapproved the reflection they seemed to contain, and appeared ashamed of its insertion. Having perused the paper, Shirley could not avoid complaining of the ill usage; while the other, with solemn vows, protested he was not privy to it, and importuned him to return the minutes, that he might erase the obnoxious passage. The former confided in the sincerity of his protestations, but soon after had abundant reason to distrust his integrity.

* Sir William Johnson's own seat, near the lower Mohawk castle, about 36 miles from Albany.

The general had applied to one Staats, who resided near Albany, and had a considerable interest with the Indians of Stockbridge.* He proposed to him his raising a company of them, as a guard to the batteaux in their passage to Oswego. Privately was this man intimidated from the undertaking: and Mr. Johnson, to induce him to break through his promises, offered him a captain's commission; could he engage an Indian company to proceed on the expedition under his own direction.

Your Lordship, being already informed of this gentleman's appointment to the command of the provincial army, by the interest of General Shirley, will scarce have patience at the recital of a conduct so astonishing and ungrateful. The secret, my Lord, was this: Mr. Johnson was never distinguished for his sense or penetration. He had now for his aid-de-camp, Capt. Wralax, a man of art and genius, who a few years before had been appointed secretary for Indian affairs, and clerk of the city and county of Albany. Governor Clinton had granted a commission for the latter of those offices, before the date of Wralax's sign manual. A suit was therefore commenced, and is still depending between him and the person in possession of the office, suspended on the determination of a point of law. Upon this account, Wralax became a humble dependant on Lieut. Governor De Lancey, before whom, unless superseded in the chief command, the case must be determined upon a writ of error: The latter, who had been a declared enemy to Johnson, throughout the whole of Clinton's administration, and had even prevented the assembly from discharging a very equitable demand he had against the province for services and disbursements, now determined to fall in with, and set him up, in competition with Shirley. Wralax's post and dependance afforded a fine opportunity for the purpose: and so Johnson became strongly attached to the Lieut. Governor. Your Lordship will no longer wonder at his procuring all the Indians he could prevail upon, to join the provincial troops under his own command; or at his attempts to excite others to embarrass and obstruct the general's designs upon the Lake Ontario. In support of a charge

* Stockbridge, by the Indians called Housatonic, lies upon the western confines of the Massachusetts-Bay.

so heavy as this, I think it incumbent upon me to assign the following instances: 1. Not an Indian joined General Shirley at Schenectady, agreeably to Mr. Johnson's positive assurances. 2. Nor at either of the castles in the five cantons, as he passed through them to Oswego: but, on the contrary, 3, One Brant, an Onondaga, (three of whose sons were in Johnson's army) at the head of several other Indians, declared to Mr. Shirley, at Oswego, that it was a place of trade and peace; that there should be no war there; and that he should not disturb the French; adding, that he was going with the like message to Canada. The general having convinced him, that the expulsion of the French from their encroachments must redound to the advantage of the Six Nations, he asserted, that Mr. Johnson had sent them upon this embassy to Canada. Though this appeared utterly incredible, it is nevertheless certain. 4. Several other Indians arrived from the Onondaga castle, with a belt, declaring it to have been sent them by Mr. Johnson, with his request, that not a man of them would join the King's troops, under the command of General Shirley. 5. Others also, from the Seneca, Oneida, and Cayuga cantons, concurred in the like reports; particularly one Redhead, an Indian of great fame, and a speaker at the late congress at Mount-Johnson, came to Oswego, in his way to Oswagatic or la Gallette, and desired the cessation of all military designs; affirming, that with the same request he was going to the French.

It was with difficulty, my Lord, these Indians were reconciled to our attempts, detained at Oswego, and thereby prevented from communicating our operations to the enemy. The general, from these instances, became more and more suspicious, that the faction at New-York were endeavouring to embarrass and impede his measures. What farther confirmed his suspicions, that the Lieut. Governor of New-York, with that view, made Mr. Johnson his instrument, was a letter, which, after his arrival at Oswego, he received from the latter, wherein he justified that very aspersion, before disavowed, contained in the minutes above recounted.

My Lord, we will now leave Mr. Shirley at Oswego; and pursue the course of transactions, as well at New-York, as in the southern colonies.

Dunbar, having reached Fort Cumberland, dispatched an Indian express to General Shirley, with an account of the defeat, and the necessary returns respecting the troops under his command; acquainting him, moreover, with his intention of marching to Philadelphia, and his hopes of meeting his orders at Shippensburgh. About the same time, Mr. Dinwiddie wrote to Dunbar, proposing a second attempt on Fort Du Quesne. But a council being thereupon held, the members of which were Col. Dunbar, Lieut. Col. Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparke, and Sir John St. Clair, it was unanimously conceived, that Mr. Dinwiddie's scheme was impracticable. The very next day, being the second of August, Dunbar began his march towards Philadelphia, with 1600 men, 4 six pounders, and as many cohorns; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded. At this sudden departure of the forces, the Virginians were extremely disobliged, as not only exposing their frontiers, and occasioning the daily desertion of their provincials; but because the enemy, in flying parties, penetrated into the province, and on many of the inhabitants committed robberies and murder. What judgment ought to be formed of this retreat, I leave your Lordship to determine. Certainly those southern colonies ought to have strengthened General Braddock with a large body of provincial forces, which had doubtless prevented all this effusion of blood and treasure, the fatal consequence of their ill-judged parsimony. Upon the advices received from Dunbar, Mr. Shirley gave orders for renewing the attempt, if the southern colonies would readily afford him a competent reinforcement.

Governor Morris having convened the Pennsylvania assembly, informed them of the retreat of our army, and in a well-drawn, pathetic speech, pressed them to the most vigorous measures for the defence of their borders. They proceeded so far as to vote for raising 50,000*l.*; but offering a bill for taxing the proprietary-estate, an immediate rupture ensued, of which your Lordship is long since acquainted, by the ample accounts in sundry late pamphlets on that and similar subjects. As to Virginia, now equally

open to the irruptions of the enemy, four companies of rangers were ordered out, and the assembly voted 40,000*l.* for furnishing a thousand men for the frontier defence. About the same time, met the council and assembly of New-Jersey, and the latter voted 30,000*l.* for the public service : but as the house proposed to prolong the currency of the bills for nine years, to which Mr. Belcher, who never swerves from his instructions, not being able to assent, 15,000*l.* only was raised, and its use restricted to keeping on foot her regiment at Oswego, commanded by Col. Schuyler. At New-York, the house of representatives assembled on the 5th of August, and set out with a generous spirit. Agreeable to the request of the Massachusetts-Bay government, always foremost in military affairs, they resolved to reinforce the provincial army, destined for Crown-Point, with 400 men. The bill was actually passed the house for that purpose ; and the council had determined to conceal from their knowledge, the contents of a second letter from Gen. Shirley to Col. Dunbar, of the 7th of August, in which he ordered him to proceed with his troops to Albany, for the protection of that important post, in case the colony forces should meet with a repulse. By this bill, the assembly proposed to invest the respective captains of the city militia with an arbitrary power to draught men for the service. The design of this extraordinary project was suspected to serve a particular purpose, on a new election of representatives, which, according to custom, it was thought would immediately ensue the arrival of Sir Charles Hardy, who was soon expected with a commission for the chief command of this province. It certainly was a favourite bill ; for, contrary to precedent, the lieutenant-governor came to the council board,* and pressed them to pass it : but when he perceived an amendment preparing for a ballot of the recruits in New-York, as well as in the other counties, he immediately laid the general's letter to Dunbar before the house ; in consequence of

* Before the administration of Governor Cosby, it was customary for the governors to be present in the council, even when sitting in their legislative capacity. But since that period, they have not openly interposed in the consultations of that branch of the legislature.

which, the design of a reinforcement instantly dropped, and the assembly adjourned the next day.

After what I have already recounted, your Lordship will not, I presume, be at all surprised to find Mr. De Lancey leaving no device untried to maintain the sole direction of the assembly. He knew that on his interest with the representatives depended his credit with the ministry; and that with the expiration of his power, to carry certain points of prerogative, would also expire their opinion of his importance. His agents in England, to support their patron, had hitherto amused a certain noble Lord with many specious promises. They had represented his capacity, to serve the Crown, in very magnificent terms; nor forgot his readiness to procure, whenever an opportunity presented, the obedience of the house to some favourite instructions. Hence it is evident, that the loss of his ascendancy, over that branch of the legislature, must naturally terminate in the extinction of his grandeur derived from the Crown.

While he held the reins of government, assumed on Sir Danvers Osborn's decease, the ministry had none to inspect his conduct, or trace him through the mazy labyrinth of his politics. From himself came all their intelligence, and hence undoubtedly none in his own disfavour. During these golden days of security and repose, he resigned himself to pleasure, and indulged his natural disposition to voluptuousness and ease. The province, the mean while, was principally governed by his secretary; who, like a second Atlas, bore the chief burden of the state. Thus negligent of his politics, his popularity began to suffer a manifest declension. It was, moreover, notably abridged by his passing the charter before-mentioned, repugnant, by his own confession, to the dictates of his judgment. By this step he incurred such general umbrage, that the very members of the assembly could not be wrought upon to confirm it. Nay, so disgustful to the people was this charter, that a majority of the most reputable inhabitants united against it in a petition to the house. Civil liberty, and, by some, even the rights of conscience were imagined to be in danger; and the opposition being, as it were, *pro aris & focis*, was extremely animated. The Lieutenant-Governor became

now apprehensive of the consequence. He stood upon the point of resigning his command to a successor hourly expected; and, without regaining his seat as chief justice, his popularity appeared descending from its meridian; nor, in case of a dissolution, was he insensible his authority with the house must suffer a total eclipse. Your Lordship cannot therefore but observe, of what moment it was to secure the friendship of the next governor. Permit me to mention the arts, whereby it was accomplished.

Sir Charles Hardy arrived in our harbour on the 2d of September, 1755. The council immediately convened themselves for his reception. In the midst of their consultations, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, without leave of the board, bolts into the chamber, and modestly interposes his advice, to send a message to Sir Charles, requesting his continuance in the ship till the next morning. The reason assigned was, to gain time for drawing out the militia, to receive his Excellency, at landing, with the formality and honour due to his rank. But the true secret was, to gain an opportunity for the Lieutenant-Governor, and a select junto, to pass the evening with him, in order to conciliate his graces, and give him early impressions in favour of their party. The next day, the Governor published his commission; and was, by Mr. De Lancey, invited to a public entertainment. In the evening, they conducted him to the common, to hear the acclamations of the people; and, on every occasion, followed him with servile court and adulation. To impress a high sense of his predecessor's popularity, they spared no pains. For this purpose also they intrigued with the assembly, and city corporation, two elective bodies, and thence under his influence. Of the latter, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, as alderman, was a member; and, with true fraternal affection, stimulated the board to insert in their address a compliment to his brother. A modest motion, my Lord! and so vehemently urged, that it was carried, though not without some opposition. The burden of that momentous passage, without which the whole had been jejeune and insipid, was discharged in these terms: "*We have the greatest reason to expect the continuation of that wise and happy administration, we have been blest with some time past.*" Still greater was Mr. De Lancey's interest in

the assembly, as I have already had the honour to acquaint your Lordship. But one gentleman in that house opposed the flattery of their address. He is a man of an affluent, independent fortune; a bold, unshackled spirit, and of strong natural parts. The address was calculated to secure De Lancey's power both with governor and people: the former, by displaying to Sir Charles his formidable interest in that house: the latter, by preventing a dissolution; than which nothing was the object of greater dread. "It has, Sir, (these are the expressions) been usual in this colony, at the accession of a new governor, to give the people an opportunity of a new election of representatives. If your Excellency conceives, that such a measure, in the present state of affairs, will be consistent with his Majesty's service, and the security of this his loyal colony, it will be agreeable to us, and to the people we have the honour to represent.

"The importance of the business under our consideration, and the despatch necessary to accomplish it, will plead our excuse to your Excellency for not being earlier in this address.

"And here, Sir, we should have ended, were we not in justice bound to pay some acknowledgment to the administration of your Excellency's predecessor, the Lieutenant-Governor; whose upright intentions, as far as we had opportunities of discovering them, ever tended to his Majesty's honour and service, and the welfare and prosperity of this colony."

Mr. De Lancey is one of the most fortunate of men. While the people impatiently expected a dissolution, an express arrived, on the 12th of September, with a confused, but alarming account of an action at Lake George. This rendered it necessary for Sir Charles Hardy immediately to proceed to Albany. Thither the Lieut. Governor accompanied him, and had thereby a fair opportunity to engross and cajole him. I shall suspend the relation of his success, till I have laid before your Lordship the progress of the provincial army, and their repulse of the French.

Major-General Lyman, being advanced with the troops to the Carrying-Place, about sixty miles from Albany, was waiting the arrival of General Johnson, who set out from thence on the 8th of August, with the train of

artillery. Lyman had begun a fort at the landing, on the east side of Hudson's River, now called Fort Edward. About the latter end of the month, General Johnson, with the main body, moved forward fourteen miles more northerly, and pitched his camp at the south end of Lake George, before called St. Sacrament. By some Indians, who had been sent out as scouts, he received the following advices: That they had discovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderoga, situate on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern part of Lake Champlain, fifteen miles on this side Crown-Point; but that no works were there thrown up. To have secured this pass, which commanded the route to Crown-Point through the Lake, had been a measure extremely advisable. Mr. Johnson, informed of its importance, on the 1st of September, wrote to General Shirley, that he was impatient to get up his batteaux; proposing then to proceed with part of the troops, and seize upon that pass. The French, however, took advantage of the delay, and cut out work enough for him at his own camp.

Of the troops which sailed from Brest in the spring, amounting to about 3000, your Lordship knows, eight companies were taken with the *Lys* and *Alcide* men of war, who fell in with our fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen. One thousand were landed at Louisburgh, and the residue arrived at Quebec, with Mons. de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, and Baron Dieskau, commander of the forces. The French court, well apprised of the singular consequence of Oswego, had determined to reduce it. Such being the Baron's instructions, he immediately proceeded to Montreal; from whence he detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending himself speedily to join them with the remainder. Just before he had made the necessary preparations, Montreal was alarmed with the news of our forming a numerous army near Lake St. Sacrament, for the reduction of Fort Frederick, and perhaps to penetrate into the heart of Canada. Whereupon a grand council being held, the Baron was importuned to proceed through Lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortress; nor was he, without great difficulty prevailed upon to alter his intended route.

Dieskau, having in vain waited the coming up of our

army, at length resolved himself to advance towards them ; and, if he proved victorious, to desolate our northern settlement, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego. A dreadful resolution, my Lord ! And had he succeeded—I tremble at the thought—had he succeeded—but the Supreme Disposer of events had not yet devoted us to ruin ; and therefore, like the counsels of Achitophel, blasted the sanguinary purpose.

For the execution of this design, he embarked at Fort St. Frederick with 2000 men in batteaux, and landed at the South Bay.* Of this movement, Gen. Johnson had not the least intimation, till his scouts discovered their actual departure from the South Bay towards Fort Edward. By an English prisoner the baron was told that the Fort was defenceless, and our camp at the Lake, when he left it a few days before, without lines, and destitute of cannon. Having approached within two miles of Fort Edward, he opened his design to his troops, consisting of 600 militia, as many Indians, and 200 regulars. To animate his irregulars, who seemed disinclined to the attack proposed, he assured them, that inevitable must be their success ; “ that on reducing this fort, the English camp must necessarily be abandoned, and their army disperse in great disorder ; that this would enable them to subdue Albany ; and by starving the garrison of Oswego, superadd to their conquest the absolute dominion of Ontario.” With whatever intrepidity this harangue inspired his European troops, the Canadians and savages, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averse to the scheme ; but declared their willingness to surprise our camp, where they expected nothing beyond musquetry.† Thus disappointed in his principal design, he changed his route, and began to move against the main body at the Lake. Gen. Johnson, on the information of his scouts, had dispatched separate messengers to Fort Edward, with advice of the enemy’s approach towards that garrison ; of which one was unfortunately intercepted ; the rest, who got back, reported, that they had descried the enemy about four miles to the northward of the fort. Instead of any attempt to discover

* About 16 miles from the English encampment.

† Our artillery was got up to the camp from Fort Edward, but a day or two before the action, of which the French had no intelligence.

the strength of the guard left with their batteaux at the South Bay, which might easily have been cut off, a council of war resolved the next morning to detach 1000 men, with some Indians, to fall upon, or, as Mr. Johnson expresses it in his letter to the several governors, "to catch the enemy in their retreat." On this service commanded Col. Williams, a brave officer, who met the Baron within four miles of our camp.

The English, my Lord, were encamped on the banks of Lake George, being covered on either side by a low, thick-wooded swamp. After the march of the detachment, Gen. Johnson drew up the cannon, then at 500 yards distance from the front. Trees were also felled, to form some sort of breastwork: and this was all his cover against an attack, having hitherto strangely delayed the proper retrenchments.

About an hour after Williams's departure, a heavy fire was heard; which evidently approaching, Gen. Johnson judged rightly, that our detachment was retreating; for the French were superior in number, amounting to about 1800. Upon this he sent out a reinforcement to support them; which was very judiciously conducted, on the death of Williams, by Lieutenant Colonel Whiting, a Connecticut officer, who gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh. Gen. Johnson informs the governors, "That about half an hour after eleven, the enemy appeared in sight, and marched along the road in very regular order, directly upon our centre: That they made a small halt, about 150 yards from the breast-work, when the regular troops made the grand and centre attack; while the Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed on our flanks." This halt was the Baron's capital error; for, amidst the consternation of the camp, had he closely followed up the detachment, he had easily forced their lines, and gained a complete victory. But by continuing for some time a platoon fire, with little execution at that distance, our men recovered their spirits. As soon as the artillery began to play, Dieskau and his regulars found themselves totally deserted by the militia and savages, who all skulked into the swamps, took to trees, and maintained a scattered fire upon our flanks, for some time, with variable and intermitting briskness. Having now no command of any part of his army, except his handful of

regulars, the Baron thought proper to retire ; which he did in very great disorder. A party from the camp followed him, fell upon his rear, dispersed the remaining soldiers about him, and being himself wounded in the leg, was found resting on a stump, utterly abandoned and destitute of succour. Feeling for his watch, to surrender it, one of our men suspecting him in search of a pistol, poured a charge through his hips ; of which wound he is not yet recovered. Upon his retreat, the militia and Indians retired in small parties : and as the English neglected to continue the pursuit, they halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning. Opening their packs for refreshment, they here entered into consultation, respecting a second attack. Why the enemy was not pursued, when their retreat became general, no tolerable reason has ever yet been assigned ; and Mr. Johnson, in his letter, seems very artfully to evade it. Nothing, however, could be more fortunate than the gallant behaviour of a party, consisting of about 200, led by Capt. M'Ginnes, who had been detached from Fort Edward, to the assistance of the main body. They fell upon the French in the evening, put an end to their consultations, and gave them a total overthrow. M'Ginnes died of the wounds he received in this rencounter, having signalized himself by a spirit and conduct that would have done honour to a more experienced officer.

Mr. Wraxall, in his letter to the Lieut. Governor of New-York, told him, he stood so near Gen. Johnson, when the latter received his wound, that " he thought he saw the ball enter : " which curious piece of intelligence was obliterated before its publication. I only mention this circumstance to convince your Lordship, that the most intrepid soldier hath not always the same presence of mind.

If the dusk of the evening was too far advanced, before the repulse at the Lake, for an immediate pursuit, (which by the way could not be the case, since M'Ginnes's encounter was subsequent) yet the neglect of it the next day admits of no colourable apology. Mr. Lyman urged it with great warmth ; but the General, with most of the field officers, are accused of an equal disinclination. Mr. Johnson, to judge by his letter, seemed well satisfied with his escape, and determined with this action to close the

present campaign. It was probably to avoid the prosecution of the expedition, that he transmitted no account of the battle to General Shirley ; contenting himself with requesting Lieut. Governor Phipps to send a copy of his letter from Boston, though his own situation was 200 miles nearer to Oswego. The gentleman at Albany, to whom his dispatches were entrusted, suspecting their contents, and conceiving their communication to the General absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, broke open the letter to Governor Phipps, and sent an express with a copy to Oswego.

The Indians, during the whole of the engagement, some of the Mohawks only excepted, retired from the camp, waiting the event of the conflict at a convenient distance. Nor indeed was their assistance expected, by those who knew their boasted fidelity was a mere delusion, and Mr. Johnson's so much magnified influence, what it has since appeared to all men, the grossest imposture. They even declared before their march, they intended not to engage, but to be witnesses of the gallantry of our troops. And had Dieskau won the day, equally ready had they been to scalp their brethren the English, as now they appeared to exercise their brutal dexterity on the French. Moreover, they came in a body to Albany, immediately after the battle, on pretence of celebrating the success of our arms, and to condole with the widows of those who fell in the action. This, says one of Mr. Johnson's encomiasts, is their custom ; subjoining prophetically, that they were in a fortnight after their departure to return to the camp. The savages, my Lord, observe no such custom, save on the conclusion of an enterprise ; whereas this was scarcely commenced ; and as to their return, it is notorious they never did. Besides, had the General the real interest pretended, would he not, for once, have induced them to postpone their triumphant festivity, and untimely condolence, when their presence at the camp, would they really fight, was of indispensable necessity ; and himself in expectation of a second attack ; nor, by the strain of his letter, exempt from a little perturbation of mind ?

To render the lustre of this gentleman's character still more refulgent, by preventing any one's sharing with him the glory of the day, a junto combined at the camp, and

framed a letter,* impeaching Mr. Lyman, the second in command, of dastardly carriage, which they procured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to sign, and convey to the press. A notable instance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious spirit is capable of proceeding: so true is the poet's observation,

———Men that make
Envy and crooked malice nourishment,
Dare bite the best.——— *Shaks.*

For, in reality, no man, my Lord, behaved with more magnanimity, than the unfortunate object of their jealousy: and from his superior merit actually arose their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reason why this much injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the disgraceful name of his calumniator, but because he expected that justice from the public; who, accordingly, in testimony of his merit, vested him, the next campaign, with the same important post. But numbers of witnesses, eye witnesses, utterly impartial, and not belonging to the camp, are ready to depose, that by them he was seen fighting like a lion, and exposing his life in the hottest of the battle; not to mention a gentleman † of undoubted veracity, to whom Gen. Johnson, two days after the action, frankly acknowledged, in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly to be ascribed the honour of the victory.

I shall now, my Lord, take the liberty to make a few remarks on Mr. Johnson's letter to the governors; and examine the reasons assigned against pursuing his advantage, as well as those alleged for not prosecuting the expedition. The repulse of the French delivered us from such unspeakable calamity, naturally to be apprehended from the enemy's success, that we have infinite reason to thank the GOD OF ARMIES, for thus remarkably rescuing us from the jaws of perdition. Nor ought we to mention either our officers or men, who generally behaved as well as could be expected, without a suitable tribute of gratitude. But the General's own letter will

* ——Minds that will mount into superior state,
Climb mischief's ladder.——— *Richards's Messalina.*

† Col. John Rensselaer, of Albany.

enable me to convince your Lordship, that the magnificent trophies, erected to his fame, sprung wholly from the New-York cabal; whose services, when encircled with his laurels, he was ever after to acknowledge and retaliate

—sana redemitus tempora lauro

—veterem Anchisem agnoscit amicum.

By this letter he appears so conscious of deserving reprobation, rather than applause, that the latter part of his epistle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reason of his not pursuing the enemy, and breaking up the campaign, without paying a visit to Crown-Point. "Our men (says he) have suffered so much fatigue for three days past, and are constantly standing upon their arms by day, half the whole upon guard by night, and the rest lie down armed and accoutred, that both officers and men are almost worn out." I cannot help thinking, that had the General begun his breast-work more seasonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been less fatigued by this redoubtable action. But lest the world should remain in the dark about the real grounds of his apprehension, he proceeds: "The enemy may rally; and we judge they have considerable reinforcements near at hand." I question, my Lord, whether the whole circle of history affords a single instance of an army's rallying, after the slaughter of 1000 men (his own computation) out of about 1800, the whole force of the enemy. And whence he conjectured they had any reinforcements so near at hand, as not to be able to join their routed detachment, still remains one of those arcana of state, which, by common understandings, is not to be fathomed: or, if the French consisted of 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians, (the Baron's account to the General) so great a slaughter, as is pretended by the letter, with the loss of the greatest part of the principal officers, and Mons. St. Pierre, who had the chief command and influence over the Indians, must have reduced them to less than 800. From these, one would have imagined, there was no danger of a second attack. Far more probable was it, that for so momentous an enterprize, as the reduction of the forts before-mentioned, the French had mustered all

the forces they could spare from Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, where many of the regular troops were posted ; especially, as they went unfurnished with cannon. Add to this, that our army was now flushed with victory ; the enemy, on the contrary, disconcerted ; and, according to his account, most of their principal officers, and many of their men, slain ; the Indians too, by the death of St. Pierre, probably were vering and dissipated. This, if such were the facts, was a glorious opportunity to dispossess them of Ticonderoga. But the longer they were suffered to fortify, the more arduous the task to dislodge them, and the greater the loss of our present advantage, resulting from their defeat and our success. Besides, was there any probability of their return the next day, to re-assault the camp with musquetry, when the effects of our cannon (admitting them to have done the pretended execution*) were still so recent in their memories ; and to the Indians, even the first time so visibly tremendous ? But the cautious general subjoins : “ We do not think it either prudent or safe to be sending out parties in search of “ the dead.” I agree, it had been more for his Majesty’s service to have dispatched them in pursuit of the *living*. After a short paragraph concerning the wounded, his panic returns : “ I think we may expect, very “ shortly, a more formidable attack.” More formidable than what ? Why, than that of their regulars firing at a distance, and the Canadians and Indians running away : “ and that the enemy will then come with artillery.” I wonder whether this gentleman expected to reduce Crown-Point without being exposed to the French artillery ? But whence this surmise of a more formidable attack, he thinks not proper to communicate. It was well known, the whole force sent from France amounted to about 3000 : that of these, Admiral Boscawen took eight companies, and 1000 were in garrison at Louisburgh. Admitting, therefore, that all the rest arrived at Quebec, without any loss, (a favourable concession) the

* The cannon were so ill served, and highly elevated, that they did, beyond all controversy, no execution at all ; none of the dead being observed to have been killed by cannon shot ; but amongst the tops of the trees, thirty and forty feet high, they made great and useless havock.

utmost amount that reached Canada was about 1700; of which 500 were at Cadaraqui; so that, without any allowance for those killed at the camp, or in the mock pursuit which ensued, the whole number of regulars that arrived with Dieskau, and could come against him, but little exceeded 1100. The gentleman proceeds: "The late Col. Williams had the ground cleared for building a stockaded fort: our men are so harassed, and obliged to be upon watchful duty, that I think it would be both unseasonable, and I fear in vain, to set them at work upon the designed fort. I design to order the New-Hampshire regiment up here, to reinforce us; and I hope some of the designed reinforcements will be with us in a few days. When these fresh troops arrive I shall"—I dare say your Lordship expects at least the demolition of Fort St. Frederick: nothing like it—"I shall immediately set about building a fort." Still the strongest symptoms of terror and alarm: for, it is evident from this passage, he had now laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting the expedition, should even succours arrive, and in greater numbers than were necessary. All his puissant purposes terminated now "*in setting about building a fort.*" And if indeed he thought Crown-Point impregnable by the army then under his command, above 4,000 strong, he must necessarily conclude it would be found so the next year, by double the number: and if then attempted through another route, his grand fortress at the end of the Lake was absolutely useless. Nor would it prove any defence to the country between Lake George and Hudson's River, while the French could penetrate it by two other more usual passages, the South-Bay and Wood-Creek; through the former of which they had actually marched to his camp. And as to their formidable attack with artillery, whence could they bring it, but from Crown-Point? And if they learnt, he intended, in the present campaign, nothing beyond building a stockaded fort, that very intelligence was sufficient to induce them to attack the camp with cannon; against which, I am confident, his fort would make but a very indifferent resistance. But, in reality, it was most probable they would exert their efforts in strengthening Crown-Point and Ti-

conderoga; the reduction of which, for not improving our success at the camp, will cost us a vast addition of blood and treasure.

Thus, my Lord, ended this expensive expedition in erecting a wooden fort; faulted by Mr. Montresor*; and, I dare say, derided by the enemy. So that if ever any man obtained laurels without earning them, it was this fortunate general; who, by the splendid representations of his secretary, and the sovereign decree of his patron, is exalted into an eminent hero. To the panegyric pen of Mr. Wraxal, and the—*sic volo sic jubeo*—of Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, is to be ascribed that mighty renown, which echoed through the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw, inexperienced youth into a kind of second Marlborough.

Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

So capricious is fortune, and so fond of sporting with human affairs. The emperor Severus (I think it is Herodian tells the story) when obliged to raise the siege of Atras, the only attempt in which he had ever been baffled, thought himself conquered because he did not conquer: but our hero, it seems is a conqueror because he was not conquered. When a general finds himself attacked in his camp, a very quaker, methinks, would forget his principles, and follow, in spite of Barclay and the meeting, the powerful dictates of nature's incentive to self-defence. And did the valour of our warrior carry him an inch farther? Did he pursue an enemy, who, by flying, with the loss of about thirty men, exhibited a full proof of a most extraordinary pusillanimity? Or, if his wound (which, considering it was made by a ball visible in its flight to his aid-de-camp, must have been very capacious) rendered his personal pursuit impracticable, were any orders given to improve the fortune of the day, and destroy a fugitive army? Was not, on the contrary, the noble ardor of those who offered to pursue, by positive orders, repressed; and a poltroon adversary suffered to escape, whose recent cowardice promised a general slaughter, and who, in their present panic, had fallen a sacrifice to our victorious arms?

* Chief Engineer.

These are facts of incontestable notoriety : and if your Lordship demands, whence then the accounts that six or eight hundred, nay a thousand, fell before the camp, (when, in reality, the enemy lost not above two hundred in all the three engagements, which is less than our own loss) there is no other way of accounting for these glaring misrepresentations, than that it suited our present system of politics to have this action exaggerated and magnified. It was necessary to exalt Johnson, in order to depress Shirley ; and they, who had represented the expedition against Crown-Point of such prodigious importance, thought it advisable to render every thing important that was transacted in that expedition. Every man among us knew it to be an imposition ; and yet ran the risk of having his head broke for offering to doubt it. It was notorious, not above thirty of the enemy were found slain at the camp ; and that the rest of the dead could neither fly into the air, nor dive into the earth. Where then was the remainder ? To anticipate the question, lest any one should have effrontery enough to start it, they were carried off by a flying enemy, who took to their heels to save their own lives ; and yet were so anxious about their dead, as to carry them all along. Such manifest contradictions are we obliged to believe !

Nay, to excuse this favourite General, the blame of not following his advantage, has been thrown on Mr. Shirley, and attributed to his positive directions. Besides the absurdity of the accusation, that he could be accessory to an omission of this nature, it was absolutely impossible for him to know whether the enemy would at all risk an attack. Your Lordship will consider, the General was then at least 365 miles from the place of action, nor advised of it till nine days after it happened. But when he received the intelligence, so far from directing to the inactivity of a merely defensive conduct, that he dispatched repeated expresses to Mr. Johnson, urging him, in the most pressing terms, to pursue the advantage already obtained ; and if unable to proceed in person, to commit the charge of the troops to Major-General Lyman : or, if he found it impracticable to invest Crown-Point that season, at least to make himself master, if possible, of the enemy's advanced post at Ticonderoga. But all was ineffectual :

the laurel being already acquired, fortune was not again to be put to a desperate venture.

We will now, if your Lordship pleases, return to Oswego, where General Shirley arrived the 21st of August, and take a view of the course of his proceedings in that quarter.

Your Lordship may remember, that the troops marched from Schenectady with scarce half the number of batteau-men, which contracted for the service; and these, by frequent desertions, gradually decreased. Hence the transportation of provisions, through this long tract of country, was so much impeded, that, until the latter end of September, it was impossible, upon that account, to move from Oswego.

The general, however, had, in the mean time, made all the necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara: and as the arrival of a large convoy with provisions was then hourly expected, he held a council of war, at his camp, on the 18th of September; at which were present

His Excellency the GENERAL,

Lieut. Col. Ellison,	Major Bradstreet, Adj. Gen.
Lieut. Col. Mercer,	Capt. Barford,
Col. Schuyler,	Capt. Broadley, Com. of the
Capt. Patten,	vessels on the Lake.
Major Littlehales,	

The general informed this council, that through the great desertion of batteau-men, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk River, and the desertion of sledgemen at the Great Carrying-Place, the conveyance of provisions and other stores had been so much retarded, that there had not been at any time since his arrival, a sufficient quantity of dry provisions to enable him to go upon action: but as a large supply would probably very soon arrive, he was determined to proceed immediately. He thought proper to inform them of his intelligence concerning the situation and strength of the enemy, which was to this purpose: That before he left the Oneida Carry-Place, two trusty Indians, with as many Albany traders, were sent as spies to Niagara; who, after fourteen days absence, returned with an account, That the Indians had been two days in the French fort there, which was built partly of stone, but principally of logs, being in

a weak and ruinous condition : that the garrison consisted of about 60 French and 100 Indians, who said they had for some time expected 900 Indians and a quantity of stores from Canada ; but were apprehensive their vessels were taken : that letters came in frequently from Fort Du Quesne, whence also they expected a considerable reinforcement. The spies added, that the Indians were disgusted at the division of the spoils on the defeat of General Braddock, and that the French had lost 30 men in that engagement : that they saw many English scalps, with a large quantity of cloths and furniture : that the French had there 70 or 80 large batteaux, with which they intended to meet and board our vessels : and this article was confirmed by another Indian, who set out after the spies, and meeting one of our row-gallies, cautioned the commander against a nearer approach to Niagara.

His Excellency also informed the council, that an Indian spy had been with the Outawawas, who assisted the French in the action at Monongahela ; that they had declared their inclination to lay down the hatchet ; and that others, more westerly, gave the like intimations ; which had induced him to despatch four messengers with belts of wampum, to invite them into our alliance, or at least to engage their neutrality.

Upon the general's arrival at Oswego, he thought it necessary to procure intelligence from Frontenac ; and for that purpose sent out a party of white men and Indians, who returned about the 8th of September, with information, that they landed upon an island, about six furlongs from the fort, from whence they had a full view of it ; that it was built in a bay, near the edge of the water, and surrounded by a stone wall ; the land behind it cleared, and rising in a gradual acclivity ; that two vessels, of about 40 tons each, lay moored in the harbour, unrigged, and without guns ; that at the east end of the fort, there was a regular encampment, and six marquis tents ; from the extent of which they imagined it contained about 3 or 400 men. Upon the side of the bay, opposite the fort, the land projected about half a mile : between this and the island they were upon, was another little island, about three quarters of a mile from the fort, inhabited by about twenty

Indian families. The spies added, that there were several other adjacent islands ; but they discovered no bateaux. His Excellency farther acquainted the council, that an Indian that came to Oswego about the time of his arrival, and had left Frontenac nine days before, declared there were thirty French within the fort ; a considerable quantity of powder, and many guns mounted on the surrounding wall, which was about six feet thick ; and the encampment without consisted of 600 soldiers. The information of Redhead, to the same effect, was also laid before the council, with the addition, that there were two encampments, one of Canadians, and the other of regulars, in a hollow, undiscoverable from the island ; and that he was told, by the commandant, of a much larger number of troops expected with the General, lately arrived from France ; when they proposed to invest Oswego. Gen. Johnson's letter of the 1st of September, signifying, that his scouts informed him of the departure of 300 canoes to Frontenac, was also considered : and from these articles of intelligence, the account of the arrival of the French troops, the suspension of all intercourse between Frontenac and Niagara, and their lying still so long at the former, his Excellency observed, it was not improbable their design might be to make a descent on Oswego, if the whole force proceeded on the expedition to Niagara, which was about 150 miles to the westward ; and from whence, at that advanced season, they could not return in less than thirty days. That this was the more probable, as Oswego was of the greatest importance for securing the frontiers of the western colonies, maintaining the British dominion over the great lakes, and the country beyond the Apalachian mountains. He also took notice of the defenceless state of Oswego, which would render it necessary to leave a strong garrison there : that the number of effectives at that time in the three regiments and independent companies, including serjeants and corporals, amounted to 1376 ; and that the irregulars, who were Albany men and Indians, procured by his own emissaries, consisted only of 120. For the better security of the place, the General had ordered to be built, with all possible dispatch, a strong, wooden fort, capable of mounting can-

non, with pickets and a ditch, on a high point, commanding the old fort on the east side of the river. This, he observed, was already begun, and would soon be completed: and that for the proposed enterprise, he had built and equipped a sloop and schooner of sixty tons each; two row-gallies, each of twenty tons; with eight whale-boats, each capable of carrying sixteen men. He then informed them of his intention to embark for Niagara, as soon as the expected convoy arrived, with 600 regulars, including gunners and matrosses, besides the Albany and Indian irregulars, one 18 pounder, four 12 pounders, a ten-inch mortar, a seven-inch howet, two royals, and five small swivel-howets; the vessels, whale-boats, and a competent number of batteaux; leaving behind him 700 effectives, two 12 pounders, ten 6 pounders, six 3 pounders, and eight cohorns.

The council, upon this representation, were unanimously of opinion, in answer to the several questions proposed, that the force intended for the Niagara expedition was sufficient: but with respect to Oswego, some imagined it would not be defensible: the majority, however, were of contrary sentiments. All agreed, that a feint upon Frontenac, while his excellency was gone to Niagara, was by no means advisable. They universally concurred in opinion, that a fort ought to be erected on the west side of the old fort: and that it would be for his Majesty's service to prepare materials for building one or more vessels, larger than any of those already upon the lake, capable of mounting ten 6 pounders, besides swivels, two more row-gallies, and a hundred good whale-boats.

In consequence of this advice, 600 regulars were draughted, the artillery and ordnance stores shipped on board the sloop Ontario, part of the provisions on board the sloop Oswego, and the residue was ready for the row-gallies, whale-boats, and batteaux. While these preparations were making, the weather was extremely wet and tempestuous. The rains began to fall so heavily on the 18th of the month, that on the best chosen ground the tents of the soldiers were overwhelmed. As 400 of the troops must have gone in open boats, it was impossible to pass the lake, with any safety, till the storm abated; which was on the 26th of the month, when orders were imme-

diately issued for the embarkation of the troops : but these could not be carried into execution. Though the rains ceased for a short space of time, the western winds began to blow with redoubled fury ; and were again succeeded by continual rains for thirteen days together. During this boisterous weather, numbers fell sick, whose tents were an insufficient shelter ; and the Indians, well acquainted with the climate, went off, declaring the season too far advanced to admit of an expedition upon the lake.

In the midst of these difficulties, another council, consisting of the same members who composed the last, was called on the 27th of September. The general acquainted them with the untoward state of affairs, and some of his latest advices. He observed as follows : That the preceding day, eight batteaux were arrived, with 48 barrels of flour, and 13 of bread ; so that there was then 14 days full allowance of those species of provisions for 2000, being the number then in his camp : That he thought it necessary to take with him 21,000 weight of bread and flour, which, for 700 men, forty days, amounted only to three-fourths of the usual allowance : that, in such case, there would be left with the garrison only 8000 weight of bread and flour, at half allowance for only twelve days : but, by advices received from the Carrying-Place and Mohawk River, he had the greatest reason to expect such a quantity of provisions, in a few days, as would be a full supply for some months : that a party of men with two officers in whale-boats, sent seven days before to Frontenac, to discover the enemy's motions, were returned, with the following report : That they went into the harbour, and saw the fort, which appeared to be a regular square, faced with stone, having four embrasures in the front : that the encampment consisted of above 100 tents : that two brigantines of about 40 tons each, and a small sloop, lying then at anchor, were rigged and the sails of one of them bent ; and a number of batteaux lay near the walls of the fort. He communicated to them also a copy of the orders and instructions given to the French regulars sent thither ; which were taken from baron Dieskau, in the action at Lake George : whence it appeared, that ten companies of the Queen's battalion marched from Montreal to Cadaraqui, in two divisions, upon the first and

second of August, together with 250 Canadians, exclusive of Indians: the number of men therefore at Frontenac, including the garrison, might amount to 1000 effectives, originally designed, as appears from those papers, for an attack upon Oswego. He farther took notice of the departure of some of our Indians, and their unanimous opinion, that the attempt against Niagara could not succeed this season; on which account, the remainder were resolved to return to their respective castles; giving nevertheless the highest assurances of their willingness to join us in much greater numbers in the spring: that the Albany traders were of the same opinion; that the batteaux, though well adapted for the navigation of small rivers, could not live on the lake in such tempestuous weather as had continued for a fortnight past: that Lieut. Holland, who had resided there above three years, declared it was commonly windy and wet, with few fair days intervening, during the fall: That it was, besides, now impracticable for the vessels and batteaux to sail in concert: and as the vessels and whale-boats would not contain all the supplies, there was the utmost danger of spoiling that part of the provisions and ammunition, which must be conveyed in the batteaux; in consequence of which many of them might be cut off; it being more than probable, from the weakness of their fort, the enemy would attack them on the lake: That, from the returns of the director and surgeons of the hospital, the number of the sick amounted to about 300, exclusive of officers: which they imputed to the excessive rains, and want of barracks. His Excellency informed them, he proposed the erection of barracks, and a strong redoubt on the hill, west of the old fort, before the winter was too far advanced.

These matters, my Lord, were attentively considered: and the council of war prayed leave to add to the General's representation, That Major Bradstreet, since his residence there, was persuaded 1650 Canadians had passed by from Cadaraqui to Niagara, for the Ohio; a great part of whom, through scarcity of provisions, he conceived must then be upon their return to Canada; and that a considerable number of French traders go annually from Canada to Detroit, and other French settlements to the westward, who, at this season, are generally upon

their return : that their passage home is by the way of Niagara, where, it is very probable, they and all the French will tarry, as long as their provisions admit, for the defence of so important a post : That there were then but few proper batteau-men at Oswego ; nor could they be provided with a sufficient number, as those who understood the management of batteaux were chiefly employed in the transportation of provisions from Schenectady to Oswego, and from Albany to Lake George ; and that the soldiers were unable to conduct them to Niagara, the lake being turbulent generally five days in six.

The advice of the council, my Lord, was unanimously to this effect : That the arrival of the batteaux with provisions, though hourly expected, was by no means to be depended upon, there being scalping parties in the neighbourhood ; one of which, since the last council of war, had actually killed three, and captivated two of the workmen employed in building the new fort on the east side of the river : and the cutting off the batteaux was the more to be apprehended, as the Indians in our alliance were now returning to their castles. Nor did they think it advisable to risk the troops in batteaux upon the lake, at so advanced a season of the year. They approved his Excellency's intention of raising barracks for the soldiers without delay ; and thought the fort, on the east side of the Onondaga river, ought to be completed as soon as possible ; and again advised the erection of a work for mounting cannon on the eminence west of the old fort : all which, in their opinion, could not be effected before the winter was too far set in, without employing the whole strength then at the place. They were also unanimously and clearly of opinion, that his Excellency ought to defer any attempt on Niagara or Frontenac, till the next spring ; when they had great reason to expect the junction of a large body of the Six Nations, and some of the French allies, who had taken up the hatchet against the English, and were concerned on the banks of the Monongahela. Besides, he might, in the ensuing campaign, have a greater number of troops, whale-boats instead of batteaux, and a more powerful naval force, which they conceived ought to be provided against the next spring.

This advice, my Lord, the General proceeded imme-

diately to carry into execution. - Completing the fort on the east side of the river was a matter of principal attention, because situated on a high point of land, at 100 yards distance from the lake, commanding the ground round about it; the old fort at 450 yards distance, and the entrance of the harbour. Its circumference was 800 feet, being built of logs from 20 to 30 inches diameter, and the outer wall fourteen feet high. Round it was to be a ditch fourteen feet broad and ten deep. Within, a square log-house to overlook the walls, and barracks for 300 men. This fort, called Ontario, was to mount sixteen pieces of cannon. Another, called Oswego, was immediately begun, upon an eminence 450 yards west of the old fort. It was a square of 170 feet, with bastions, and a rampart of earth and masonry; which, besides the parapet, was to be twenty feet thick, twelve in height, with a ditch fourteen feet broad and ten deep. The barracks within were to contain 200 men. This was to mount eight pieces of cannon; being made the more defensible, as it commanded a good landing, distant 150 yards on the edge from the lake.

While these works were carrying on, the General employed himself in a necessary attention to Indian affairs. He laboured to establish some of the principal Onondagas, who were, through negligence, become wavering; and despatched messages to those who were gone from us, and settled at Oswagatchie, and to the Messasagues and Chippawees on the north side of the lake Ontario. Others were sent to foment the disaffection of the Outawawas, disgusted at the French partition of the plunder, on Braddock's defeat. With the Senecas, the remotest from our settlements of all the five cantons, and therefore the most debauched by the French; he succeeded so well, that they now dismissed Joncaire, one of their emissaries, whose father had been long suffered to reside among them, in spite of our repeated remonstrances, and was the chief preserver of the fort at Niagara. They also engaged to meet him, the next campaign, with 100 of their warriors, and promised for the future, to refuse the assistance they had formerly given the French, in transporting their furs, with horses and sleds, across the Niagara Carrying-Place; as necessary there, as at any

of our portages between Schenectady and Oswego. When nothing further could be prosecuted, the General retired from Oswego the 24th of October, leaving 700 men in garrison, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mercer, with orders to continue the works projected for its defence.

Having, my Lord, taken up too much of your time in a circumstantial relation of the proceeding in this quarter, I shall not trouble you with any reflections upon them. Your Lordship has seen the insurmountable difficulties attending this western expedition; and will doubtless approve our not hazarding the loss of Oswego. That such would have been the event, had Mr. Shirley left the place about the beginning of October, was wisely foreseen, from the advices he had received; and Baron Dieskau, just after the action at Lake George, assured a gentleman of distinction in the army, he questioned not the English General would make himself master of Niagara; but that the French had half the forces he brought with him from Brest, with a number of Canadians and Indians, at Frontenac, ready, immediately on his departure, to invest Oswego, and cut off his retreat.

While the General was at Albany, after his return from the Lake, forwarding the supplies for the garrison at Oswego, preparing for the operations of the next campaign, and examining into the state of the troops arrived there under Col. Dunbar, the city was alarmed by expresses from General Johnson, informing, that 8 or 9000 of the enemy were advancing towards him. Sir Charles Hardy, then at Albany, called in the militia; and a detachment of the regular troops, with a train of artillery, held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. But another express gave reason to believe those apprehensions were ill-grounded, and General Johnson's fears, in some measure, abated. It seems a few Indian scouts had discovered the tracks of a large army; but Capt. Rogers, the brave officer before-mentioned, came into the camp soon after them, and declared, the enemy were employed, as the General had predicted in his letter to Mr. Johnson of the 19th of September, in throwing up works at Ticonderoga. Upon which, the militia were dismissed to their respective habitations.

Of the malignity of the New-York faction against the General, I have already acquainted your Lordship: permit me to present you with another instance of the same spirit. A mercenary scribbler, of whom I shall soon take more particular notice, is pleased to inform the public, that "Col. Dunbar, with his forces, were obliged six weeks to lie encamped at Albany, in the rain and snow, till barracks were built for them: that they were entirely obliged to Sir Charles Hardy, that they got a stick of wood to burn. So (says he) were our forces disposed of."

Albany, my Lord, is an old, compact city, consisting of 3 or 400 well built houses; and at about 16 miles N. W. from it, is the town of Schenectady, consisting of about 150 houses. The inhabitants are far from being indigent: the adjacent country abounds with provisions; and in such quarters, your Lordship is sensible, his Majesty's troops will not want necessaries, especially *fuel*, in a country covered with timber. Where then the probability, that the forces, which consisted of 1200, would suffer in a post like this? As to the affair of barracks, my Lord, there was a council held at New-York, on the first of August, when the news arrived of Col. Dunbar's retiring into winter quarters, after Braddock's defeat. It was composed of Mr. De Lancey, the Lieutenant-Governor, Messrs. Alexander, Kennedy, Murray, Holland, Chambers, and Smith; and the opinion of that board then was, "That not only the King's forces to the southward, but also those that could be spared from Nova-Scotia, should quarter near Albany, for any future operations." This resolve, Mr. De Lancey, transmitted to the General at Oswego; and as Dunbar's troops were ordered to Albany, for the defence of that country, and particularly to make a stand, in case the provincials were defeated, they had, methinks, the highest reason to expect favour from the inhabitants, and the special countenance of the government, even had they been quartered upon them as usual: and which, at present, is actually the case, by express orders of my Lord Loudon. The General, I say, had no reason to expect, upon this head, any opposition from the civil magistrate. But Sir Charles Hardy, on his arrival at Albany, about the 26th of Sep-

tember, signified to him by letter, his apprehensions of uneasiness arising among the inhabitants, should the soldiers be quartered upon private families ; and wished to have his Excellency's orders for building barracks, both there and at Schenectady, lest his assembly should not choose to put the province to that charge. He also expressed his hopes, if such an expense was saved them, of their greater readiness to raise more men, should the service require it, the next campaign. The General's answer to this letter equally demonstrated his integrity to the crown, and concern for the troops. He intimated his fears, that the construction of barracks would be thought an extraordinary expense ; but it being necessary for the service, that Dunbar's and the regiment of the late Sir Peter Halket, should winter in Albany and Schenectady, he complied with Sir Charles's request ; and desired him to provide barracks for those regiments with all possible diligence, that the troops, on their arrival in his government, might not find themselves destitute of quarters. To relieve the crown in the expense, he farther took notice to Sir Charles, of the request made by his own government for drawing these troops to Albany ; that they would in a special manner cover the frontier of New-York, be of service to Oswego in the ensuing spring, and that the inhabitants would draw very large sums from their residence amongst them. Nor did he forget to recommend an imitation of the Massachusetts-Bay, who thought it reasonable to erect barracks for his own regiment, though they knew their continuance among them would be short, destined as they were for the western expedition. But that there might be no delay in building the barracks, arising from any doubt of the expense being paid by the province of New-York, Mr. Shirley informed Sir Charles, that if they would not after these considerations, take that expense on themselves, he would defray it out of the contingent money in the hands of the deputy paymaster. Thus, my Lord, if any ground for complaint of the want of barracks, Mr. Shirley it is clear, was entirely uncensurable : and if the troops, as this libeller informs us, did suffer in their tents, I submit it to your Lordship, whose province it was to have found them better quarters. But the fact is, that the barracks were finished, and the troops

quartered in them before the first of December, fuel provided for them sufficient for the winter, and all at the expense of the crown.

The winter now approaching, commissioners were appointed, by the governments concerned in the Crown-Point expedition, to ascertain their respective quotas for garrisoning the forts Edward and William-Henry, and disbanding the rest of the army. After this was completed, the General and Sir Charles Hardy returned to New-York, where the former convened a grand congress of governors and field officers, to deliberate on a plan for the operations of the succeeding campaign. But before I enter upon their transactions, I shall briefly lay before your Lordship those between Sir Charles Hardy and his assembly, which was opened on the 2d, and continued sitting till the 23d of December.

I have already observed, that the ministry, from the time of Mr. Clinton's departure in 1753, had been solicitous about procuring the consent of our assembly to a law, establishing a permanent provision for the Governor, and other necessary officers. When Sir Danvers Osborne arrived, he brought with him an instruction for that purpose; from the terms of which it was apparent that the ministry had it much at heart; and Sir Danvers, before he left England, was made to believe that Mr. De Lancey, by means of his great popularity, would enable him to carry it into execution. This I had from a gentleman, to whom Sir Danvers opened himself, and whom he consulted before his embarkation for his government. The gentleman is a person of the first figure in these colonies; and being acquainted with the system of politics in New-York, he informed Sir Danvers, that those promises were by no means to be depended upon: that Mr. De Lancey was inexpressibly jealous of his ascendancy over the assembly, who were utterly disinclined to a perpetual support: that he would join in no measures that might weaken the confidence they reposed in him: that as long as he maintained his influence in their counsels, he would virtually be the governor of the province; and therefore, upon the whole, his interest and ambition would infallibly lead him to keep every Governor in a state of dependence upon him. Sir Danvers disliked so disagreeable a prediction; and many are

of opinion, that its accomplishment hastened his unhappy fate. Excuse me, my Lord, for troubling you with a relation of facts, a little out of the strict order of time. There is an anecdote of Sir Danvers, of which I would not have your Lordship uninformed. He arrived here on the 7th of October, 1753, under very discouraging apprehensions of the people; and indeed not without reason, the opposition against Mr. Clinton having been carried beyond all decorum. Governor Osborne's commission, through Mr. Clinton's absence, remained unpublished till the third day after his arrival. This is usually done first privately, in the council-chamber; and immediately after, in the most public manner at the city-hall. To wait on his Excellency thither, Mr. Clinton came abroad; an astonishing crowd being assembled at the Fort Gate, to attend the procession. Mr. Clinton's enemies were very assiduous in exciting the popular acclamations; and the huzzas of the mob were scarce intermitted for a moment. There appeared, in short, such a profusion of joy, accompanied with some indecent expressions respecting himself, as gave Mr. Clinton just reason to suspect more open indignities. He therefore soon took his leave of Sir Danvers, who expressed his displeasure at the conduct of his enemies. This, my Lord, proved a day of general festivity and Bacchanalian frolic. In the evening, the city was illuminated: the common blazed with bonfires: great was the consumption of Maderia; and every company rung with maledictions against the late commander in chief, who was charged as the sole procurer of the new instruction; an account of which could only have transpired from some of the council. Sir Danvers alone appeared unaffected with our intemperate revels; and on his countenance sat a melancholy gloom. He convened the council on Thursday the 11th of the month; and prayed their sentiments on the probability of obtaining a permanent support, according to his instructions. That the point was unattainable, they all delivered as their unanimous opinion. He then required the solution of the same question from each member severally; and still from each received the same reply. Upon this, he turned himself about in apparent distress, uttered a deep sigh, and reclining his head against a window, in a desponding ac-

cent, said, "What then am I come hither for?" The next morning—But I desist. This instruction, as your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, remained unrevoked all the time of his successor: and it is natural to expect, that the people of this province were very inquisitive whether it was continued to Governor Hardy. They were so. But Sir Charles did not follow the example of Mr. De Lancey, in laying his instructions before the assembly. The article, relative to the support, has undergone, I am credibly informed, very few alterations, and those only in the preamble. That it was in substance the same, is evident from his speech to the house, on the 3d of December, at the opening of that session. His words are these: "I am commanded by his Majesty to recommend, in his name, without delay, to consider of a proper law to be passed, for settling a permanent revenue, upon a solid foundation, for defraying the necessary and established charges of government; taking care that such law be indefinite, without limitation of time; and that provision be made therein for a competent salary to the Captain-General and Governor in Chief of this his Majesty's province; and likewise for competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other necessary and usual officers and ministers of government: and also for a certain permanent fund, for repairing and maintaining the fortifications, for making annual presents to the Indians, and for the other contingent expenses attending that service: and, in general, for all such other charges of government, as may be fixed or ascertained." The assembly, in their address, after a justly-merited compliment, for his activity in proceeding to Albany, and their approbation of the measures for garrisoning the frontiers, subjoin this emollient paragraph: "We wish we could, with equal satisfaction, concile to ourselves your Excellency's recommendation of an indefinite support: but humbly beg leave to inform your Excellency, that we have no permanent funds, on which to establish such a revenue; nor do any occur to us, without very apparent inconveniences to our constituents. We therefore most humbly hope we shall stand acquitted in the eyes of our most gracious Sovereign, if we decline a measure so directly opposite to the

“sentiments of almost every individual of the colony. We cannot leave this subject, without disclosing to your Excellency the concern it gives us, that this his Majesty’s loyal colony, which, though small in numbers, has cheerfully bore very heavy expenses, and particularly supported its Governors, and other officers of government, in a more liberal manner than most others on the continent, should be requested to pursue measures hitherto unknown to it, whilst the rest, almost without exception, are left to practise the very measures denied to us.”

Mr. Clinton, my Lord, asked of this same assembly only a support for five years, and it was refused with indignation and virulence. Sir Charles here demands much more ; and we see, that he is answered with the most commendable decency. To help your Lordship in accounting for this contradictory behaviour, Mr. De Lancey was bent upon expelling that Governor from the province : and to gain his point, continually fomented the quarrel he himself excited. But Sir Charles was to be treated in a different manner, and measures more lenient were to be pursued. An ascendancy over him would ensure to his lieutenant many advantages, and enable him to procure the governor’s assent to a bill, for paying him a large sum, now due for his salary and other perquisites, while he had the chief command. He might indeed, but durst not pass such a bill himself, and therefore it was not offered. Accordingly, the house, at their very next meeting, sent up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, 1756, for paying the debts of the government ; in which he was a creditor for near 4000*l*. But of this I shall have occasion to take more particular notice. Thus, my Lord, I will forfeit my honour, if, upon a faithful perusal of the journals of assembly, your Lordship doth not find the conduct of the house, and the interest of Mr. De Lancey, for ten or fifteen years past, perfectly to tally.

Let us now take a view of the transactions in the grand council of war, which the General had convened at New-York, for settling a plan of the future operations. It was opened on the 12th of December, 1755, and continued sitting for the space of two days. Though the invitation to the governors was universal, it consisted only of these members :

His Excellency General Shirley, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America :

His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, governor and commander in chief of the province of New-York :

The Honourable Horatio Sharpe, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Maryland :

The Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Pennsylvania :

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, governor and commander in chief of the colony of Connecticut :

Colonel Thomas Dunbar :

Colonel Peter Schuyler :

Major Charles Craven :

Sir John St. Clair, deputy quarter-master general :

Major John Rutherford.

After adjusting several points of rank, the members took their seats in the order mentioned ; and the General opened the conference, by laying before the council the King's instructions to General Braddock. He then delivered his sentiments to the board, to the following purpose :
“ That our only entrance into Lake Ontario was through
“ the Onondaga River to Oswego. No other harbour
“ had his Majesty, upon that Lake, capable of receiving
“ vessels of force : That Oswego was situate in the coun-
“ try of the Onondagas, the centre canton of the Six Na-
“ tions, and famous for the fur trade : no other mart
“ could we boast, for commerce or correspondence with
“ those numerous tribes of savages inhabiting the western
“ country, on the banks of the great lakes Erie, Huron,
“ Michigan, and the many rivers which roll into them :
“ That the Lake Ontario was only accessible to the Ca-
“ nadians through the river Cadaraqui, formerly called
“ by the French Fleuve Iroquois ; but in their late maps,
“ calculated to countenance their exorbitant claims, dis-
“ tinguished by the name of St. Lawrence. At the head
“ of that river was their entrance into that lake, and near
“ Fort Frontenac, situated on its north-eastern edge,
“ about fifty miles from, and nearly opposite to, our fort
“ at Oswego : That while the enemy kept possession of
“ Frontenac, with the harbour at Fronto, and a free pas-
“ sage through the Iroquois River, they would always be
“ able to build and maintain vessels of force upon the

"lake : That his Majesty would therefore be necessitated
 "to support a naval armament there, at least equal to
 "that of the French. Without this, they might annoy
 "any forts we could erect at the north-east end of the
 "pass at Niagara ; and Oswego itself be lost. The in-
 "evitable consequence of which would be, the defection
 "of the Six Nations, the loss of the whole country, for
 "near 300 miles, from Oswego to Schenectady, and per-
 "haps the reduction of Albany itself." The General
 added, "That all the French forts at Niagara, upon the
 "lake Erie, and the river Ohio, those also upon lake
 "Huron, at the Streights of Michilimackinac, and the
 "Lake Michigan, still more westerly, received all their
 "supplies by water-carriage from Montreal, through the
 "River Iroquois, and the Lake Ontario : That the French
 "settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi furnished
 "these northern garrisons neither with provisions nor
 "stores, being not only at 2000 miles distance from any
 "of them, but embarrassed with insuperable difficulties,
 "by a laborious navigation against a rapid stream." Hence his Excellency concluded, "That could the
 "French be dislodged from Frontenac, and the little fort
 "at Fronto, and their entrance into Lake Ontario ob-
 "structed, all their other forts and settlements on the
 "Ohio, and the western lakes, were deprived of their
 "support from Canada, and must ere long be evacuated."

Impressed, my Lord, with these views, the General proposed, as a plan of operations for the next year, That 5000 men should be very early assembled at Oswego, and 4000 of them sent to attack Frontenac and La Gallette ; which being reduced, an attempt should be made upon the forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Riviere au Beuf, Detroit, and Michilimakinac : and that, in the mean time, 3000 provincial troops should march from Will's Creek, for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne : That a body of 10,000 should proceed to Crown-Point, build a fort there, and launch one or more vessels into lake Champlain : And, that the force of Canada might be farther divided, he proposed, that 2000 men should carry fire and sword up Kennebec River, fall upon the settlements adjoining to the river Chaudiere, and proceed to its mouth, three miles distant from Quebec ; and by dividing themselves in small parties along the banks of the River St. Law-

rence, and destroying the scattered settlements there, keep that part of Canada in continued alarms.

He then observed, that if the several attempts upon Crown-Point, the forts upon the Lakes, and the Ohio, were not prosecuted at the same time, very perilous might be the consequences: That if, in particular, while Frontenac and Niagara were attacked, no attempt was made against Crown-Point, the whole force of Canada would march to oppose us; which would defeat the design, and require so large a body of troops, as to render the transportation of necessaries to Oswego impracticable. So numerous an army might also march against Albany, as effectually to cut off the retreat of our forces, or at least totally obstruct their supplies: That should, on the contrary, our whole strength be destined for Crown-Point, and the western operations neglected, Oswego, the grand object of the French, was in the utmost danger of falling into their hands. A loss irreparable, and beyond estimation; the loss of the whole country down to Albany, with that of the Six confederate Nations; and to the French, the acquisition of an absolute dominion on the lakes, and the whole southern country.

His Excellency finished with informing the council of his late intelligence: That the French were building three large vessels, of superior force to ours, in the harbour of Frontenac: and upon the whole, prayed their advice.

A plan, so well digested, and so clearly stated, required but little consideration; and accordingly it was in the main unanimously approved. The council advised the General to give orders for building three or more vessels at Oswego. They were of opinion, that 10,000 men were necessary for the Crown-Point expedition, and 6000 for that on Lake Ontario. The attempt against Fort Du Quesne, by the western governments, it was thought, would answer very good purposes, especially in securing the fidelity of the western Indians. The scout against Quebec was approved, if it interfered not with the other expeditions. The operations on Lake Ontario, they conceived, ought to begin with the attack on Frontenac: and, upon the whole, were of opinion, that an additional number of regular troops would be necessary

for effectually recovering and securing his Majesty's rights and dominions on the continent.

The council having finished their business, the Governors soon after returned to their respective provinces. But the General continued his head-quarters at New-York till the 21st of January, to prosecute an expedition against Ticonderoga, this winter: and as the French garrison was left very weak, it had doubtless succeeded, had not the want of frost and snow prevented the transportation of the stores. Before he left New-York, he had a fresh instance of the unwearied and ill-natured industry of his opposers; of which, because important in its consequences, I shall give your Lordship an ample detail. The principal agents were Messrs. De Lancey and Pownal, who now formed a kind of duumvirate, to perplex the service, in order to ruin the General. Without question, my Lord, you are as much surpris'd, after what has already been said concerning these gentlemen, to find Mr. Pownal among the General's enemies, as you would have been had I told you that Mr. De Lancey was not. I am sensible, that a person of your Lordship's high sense of honour will recollect Mr. Shirley's favours to him at Boston; and think it incredible to find him in the catalogue of those combined against his benefactor. But it is a shining remark of Tacitus,* "That benefits are only so far acceptable, as it seems possible to discharge them; and that when they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude." Mr. Pownal, who was ambitious of recommending himself to a certain noble Lord in England, by furnishing him with American intelligence, could by no means brook his being absent from the congress at Alexandria, in the spring of the present year. He earnestly sought an introduction to Gen. Braddock; and Mr. Shirley did the office with great politeness. He was then just informed of his appointment to be Lieut. Governor of New-Jersey, and on that account pressed for an admission into the council. Mr. Shirley, in a very genteel manner, declined a task, which might give offence to the General; and if any resolution transpired, draw himself into a snare. But Mr. Pownal,

* Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

being a stranger to that diffidence and modesty so suitable to his years and inexperience, became, from this moment, disgusted, and was seldom after seen amongst that gentleman's friends. He tarried at Philadelphia, till General Braddock's defeat; and towards autumn returned to New-York. This change of temper recommended him to Mr. De Lancey, who failed not to exasperate the rising resentment: and now his opposition became open and unreserved. Just at this juncture, arrived Sir Charles Hardy; and Mr. Shirley being then at Oswego, your Lordship sees how seasonable their opportunity for sowing the seeds of prejudice in the breast of the new Governor. I will not take upon me to speak of their success; but doubtless no misrepresentations were wanting to strengthen the cabal. Yet no sooner did the General arrive from Oswego at Albany, where Messrs. Pownal and De Lancey attended upon Sir Charles, than the former, dissembling his enmity, laboured to procure his confidence, that he might pry into his secrets: but from previous intimations of his present disposition, in a letter to a gentleman then near the General, he failed in that insidious design. He could now no longer suppress his malevolence, or conceal his recent connexions; and therefore openly traduced the very man, to whom he was indebted for all his significancy amongst the provinces. My Lord, it is with reluctance I utter these things. But your Lordship is as determined to know every transaction, which concerns the operations in America, as I am to discharge the office of a faithful historian. Truth is too sacred to be violated, either out of fear or favour; and whatever your Lordship may think of this gentleman, such was his conduct. I knew him an avowed enemy to Mr. De Lancey, and to Mr. Shirley as sanguine a friend. I have since known him to calumniate the latter, and applaud the former. With a change of residence, or rather interest, he changes sides; and, on this account, no man perhaps ever multiplied so many adversaries in so short a time. He aims at two governments, without the least prospect of peace, if either of them should fall under his command. I can assure your Lordship, that even in the province of New-Jersey he is so little esteemed, and that principally for intriguing the

disbandment of the regiment under Col. Schuyler, to disoblige Mr. Shirley, that upon his return to England in February, in 1756, he was unable to procure a vote of assembly, desiring his assistance of their agent at the Court of Great-Britain, though he pushed it with an earnestness that would have cost most men a blush of confusion.

Determined to embarrass the General, nothing could have been more agreeable to Mr. Pownal, and the Lieut. Governor of New-York, than an admission into the late council of war. To a seat at that board, neither of them had the least pretension; and yet both were highly displeased at not being invited. Mr. Pownal, who has often distinguished himself for pushing a bold point, repaired to New-Jersey, and importuned Governor Belcher, unable, on account of his age, to attend the congress in person, to depute him in his stead. His Excellency very wisely answered, that the invitation he had received from the General, was merely a personal compliment: nor could he, with the least decency, insist upon an appearance by proxy. His Lieutenant, impatient of a denial, called, in a menacing tone, for pen, ink, and paper, thinking to operate on the infirmities of age by commination and outrage. The council were astonished at this indecent attack upon an ancient and faithful servant of the Crown, and withheld their advice. But the Governor, conscious of the propriety of his refusal, firmly adhered to his first resolution; and Mr. Pownal, abruptly quitting the board, returned with disappointment to New-York.

This gentleman, my Lord, became acquainted at Philadelphia with one Evans, who, for a valuable* considera-

* Among other gentlemen of distinction in the colonies, Mr. Pownal became acquainted with Mr. Alexander, of New-York, a person of friendly disposition and easy access. Mr. Alexander had now the Surveyor-General's office of New-Jersey: and Mr. Pownal, to procure the fulsome dedication from Evans, promised him that office, upon his accession to the government. This, Evans frequently declared in his illness to one of his most intimate friends, who concealed it till after his death. Such an anecdote will scarcely be credited by those unacquainted with Mr. Pownal's insatiable ambition to rise in America. There was another instance of his conduct equally surprising. While this gentleman was at New-York, discharging his embassy from Boston, in the spring, 1755, he had the loan of a map of the country from Crown-Point to Montreal, which was composed by William Alexander, Esq. a gentleman well skilled in the geography of America

tion, dedicated to him his map of the middle British colonies, with an encomium, that he esteemed him *the best judge of it in America*. This man having, in the public streets of Philadelphia, not only presumed to accuse Governor Morris of high treason, but to asperse two of his Majesty's ministers as pensioners to France, fled from justice there, and took sanctuary in New-York. Mr. Morris, however, commenced an action against him in this province, more for his own vindication, than a reparation of damages, which the poor fellow would never have been able to make. Upon this, he was committed to gaol, till Mr. Oliver De Lancey so far befriended him, as to become his security. These were his circumstances, when he published a pamphlet full of invectives against Gen. Shirley. I will not affirm, that he wrote it at the instance of the cabal in New-York. I leave your Lordship to judge how far they were concerned in it, after adding, that it contained their repeated remarks; that Mr. Pownal was frequently at his lodgings about the time of its publication; and did actually accompany him to a printer, to hasten the impression, before he sailed for England.* I shall not trouble your Lordship with any particular observations upon this libel. If ever it should fall into your Lordship's hands, this letter will assist you in detecting its falsehoods, and forming a proper judgment both of its author and his abettors.

Thus, my Lord, was every opportunity embraced, by the cabal, to prejudice the General in the opinion of the people; and happy for the colonies, had their misrepre-

Mr. Pownal, who had occasion to lay this chart before the assembly of New-York, having erased the name of its author, very modestly inserted his own. And though his plagiarism was detected at the time, he neglected to return it, and afterwards produced the same map before the ministry, claiming to himself the honour due to Mr. Alexander alone.

* Upon the news of the loss of Oswego, part of it was republished in the New-York Gazette, to lead the populace to impute this calamity to General Shirley. It was appealed to, as an undisputable authority, by the very persons to whom poor Evans was indebted for his materials; and without whose dictating, it would never have seen the light. To write a book in another's name, and then to quote it as an authority, is a species of proof, with which Euclid appears to have been utterly unacquainted.

(sentations been confined to this side the Atlantic. Bent on Mr. Shirley's removal, all imaginable pains were taken to defame his character. Here, they questioned his integrity: but in England, they endeavoured to create a suspicion of his judgment. General Johnson was set up as his competitor; and to his renown were blown all the trumpets of fame. Shirley's deep sense of the importance of Oswego was made the object of buffoonery and ridicule. The reduction of Crown-Point represented as a matter of superior moment. Three hundred men, Mr. De Lancey often declared to be a sufficient garrison for Oswego. The General was therefore charged with squandering the king's money, in making it the main object of his attention: and out of mere opposition, a scheme was recommended for turning our whole force toward Crown-Point. Upon this errand, my Lord, Mr. Pownal went home in February, 1756. I need not inform your Lordship of the success of the faction. The sequel will shew with what consequences it was attended. Thus ended the year 1755. A year never to be forgotten in America. It opened with the fairest prospects to these distant dispersions of the British empire. Four armies were on foot, to remove the encroachments of a perfidious neighbour; and our coasts honoured with a fleet for their security, under the command of the brave and vigilant Boscawen. We had every thing to expect; nothing to fear. The enemy was despised; and we only desired a proclamation of war, for the final destruction of the whole country of New-France. But, my Lord, how unlooked-for was the event! General Winslow, indeed, succeeded in Nova-Scotia; but Braddock was defeated: Niagara and Crown-Point remained unreduced: the barbarians were let loose from the wilderness: many thousand farms abandoned: the King's subjects inhumanly butchered, or reduced to beggary: one of the provinces* rent by intestine broils: in another, a potent faction laying the foundation for new disasters in the course of the ensuing year.

The New-England colonies, my Lord, take the lead in all military matters. Your Lordship is too well acquainted with history, not to know, they chiefly owed

* Pennsylvania.

their origin to the disputes which involved the nation in all the calamities of a civil war. The first planters encountered innumerable difficulties, and were long engaged in repeated wars with the Indian natives. Their descendants retain the martial prowess and spirit of their ancestors; and for wisdom, loyalty, and an enterprising genius, are a people of renown. In these governments lies the main strength of the British interest upon this continent. Besides their above advantageous character, they are very considerable for their numbers. The Massachusetts-Bay contains about 40,000 capable of arms. The militia of Connecticut is about 27,000. Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire are not so populous. His majesty's service, therefore, rendered it necessary for the General, according to the plan of operations, to visit his own government, in order to solicit the succours, without which the expedition proposed against Crown-Point must inevitably have failed. For this purpose he set out for New-York on the 21st of January; and, but for his presence and solicitations at Boston, no provincial troops would this year have entered the field. That colony was so extremely disobliged at the conduct of General Johnson, in neglecting to pursue his advantages, after the memorable rout of the French at Lake George, as to be in general averse to a new campaign: and with the utmost difficulty did the general procure their concurrence in another expensive attempt. There let us at present leave him, promoting the public service of the colonies: and returning again to New-York, suffer me, at this inactive season of the year, to entertain your Lordship with one or two instances of Lieut. Governor De Laucey's more private political feats.

Never was any man more impolitic than Governor Clinton. Had he kept the chief justice dependent on his favour, he would have governed his province with ease and tranquillity: but by granting him a new commission for his office, *during good behaviour*, he set him at liberty to act at pleasure: and in consequence of this fatal error, the province was thrown into violent convulsions. Nothing, therefore, my Lord, could be more desirable to his successor, than to hold that gentleman under proper restraint. Sir Charles Hardy had this advantage:

his office of chief justice, I am informed, became extinguished the moment the government devolved upon him by the death of Sir Danvers Osborn. From the time of Sir Charles Hardy's arrival, Mr. De Lancey had impatiently expected a new commission : but the governor neglecting the offer, to the astonishment of most in the province, he, notwithstanding, ventured to resume his seat on the bench in January term, when two felons were arraigned before him. This bold stroke at the prerogative, most men imagined, would have drawn down the resentment of the new governor : and why it was passed by without observation, I must leave to your Lordship's conjectures. That De Lancey had, in reality, no right to the exercise of that office, has been strongly insisted upon by gentlemen of the law, though in an extrajudicial manner. I pretend not myself to any knowledge in that intricate science ; but beg leave to present your Lordship with an opinion, relating to the point, contained in the following letter from a gentleman of the profession to his friend in this city ; with a copy of which I have been favoured.

“ SIR,

“ *Philadelphia, 21 Oct., 1755.*

“ YOU say you are informed, that your Lieut. Governor designs to exercise his former office, in virtue of the commission issued by your late Governor Clinton. I cannot think your information well grounded, because I am clearly of opinion, that office was extinguished by his acceptance of the Lieut. Governor's commission : and I conceive Mr. De Lancey will hardly venture to dispute the matter with the crown. The main reason I go upon is, that those two offices are incompatible. To make this plain to you, you must understand, that to every office there are duties annexed. The same person cannot exercise two offices inconsistent with one another. One of them must therefore be lost ; because, as every office is *pro bono publico*, its use lies in the exercise of it : and the inferior office is that which is lost, because it is most for the public good, that the officer should hold the superior office, as the law presumes every man capable of the office which the King, who is the fountain of offices and honour, is pleased to confer upon him. Agreeable to this, we find many resolutions in

“our books: I’ll mention one or two. A man cannot
“be forester and judge *eo instanti*. Rolls Rep. 452, &c.
“Nor judge of the Com. and King’s bench *simul & semel*.
“Dyer’s Case, 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar. The first patent
“is determined, though the second was granted *pro illa*
“*vice*, and surrendered the next day. Br. N. C. 5 Mar.
“Br. Commissions pl. 25.

“Nothing now remains but to shew, that the office of
“chief justice and governor of your province are incon-
“sistent. To explain this, I must inform you, that your
“supreme court is a court of general jurisdiction, estab-
“lished by an ordinance of governor and council; claim-
“ing the like power here in all pleas, civil and criminal,
“as fully as they are taken cognizance of by the King’s
“Bench and Common Pleas in England. Superior to
“this, is the Court of Governor and Council, a court
“instituted by one of his Majesty’s instructions to your
“governor. In virtue of this instruction, writs of error
“are returned from the supreme court, before the gover-
“nor and council. The inconsistency, then, of the two
“offices becomes very apparent. By the instruction, the
“governor in the court above is a *sine quo non*; and to
“suppose him at the same time judge in the court below,
“and must disregard the absurdity of the governor’s send-
“ing a writ to command himself; and of his justifying
“his judgment as chief justice to himself in council as
“governor; and yet be excluded from a voice in the
“judgment above; which, nevertheless, cannot be given
“without him. You see then the incompatibility is much
“stronger, that if a man should be judge both of the
“King’s and Common Bench in England. There the
“other judges of B. R. might correct the error in the
“Common Pleas; but here the course of public justice
“might be entirely stopped.

“If it should be said, his power was only suspended,
“while in the chair of government; I answer with the
“observation before, that an office is a *duty*, as the very
“word itself implies: and I know of no sleeping and not-
“to-be-exercised office. Every office is instituted for
“the public good: the officer is therefore obliged to ex-
“ercise his duty; for, without that, he cannot serve the
“public: and to be *obliged to act*, and at the same time

“*obliged not to act*, is nonsense. It would be more specious to say, the instruction is no law, as your assemblies have often said in other cases; but then, Sir, Mr. De Lancey, in obedience to it, has declined acting as judge ever since the death of Sir Danvers Osborn: and why has he (as I have been informed) rejected a writ of error, because, according to this very instruction, the damages in demand did not exceed 300*l.* sterling? Besides, this court of Governor and Council, I am told, has long exercised its power, under this and former instructions to your governors of the like tenor, without the least opposition.

“The offices will further appear to be inconsistent, if you reflect, that as governor he is also chancellor. The Court of Chancery often restrains the power of the law courts: and it is the spirit of every court to enlarge its own jurisdiction. Upon both these accounts, the two offices must inevitably clash. I know that Knevet was formerly chief justice and chancellor: but the propriety of that double investiture was never solemnly considered. It was long ago, in the time of Edward III. There has been no instance of the like in later times; nor do I believe it would be suffered. But the case is much stronger here; and I cannot conceive, for the reasons above, that your lieutenant governor will attempt to sit as judge by virtue of his old commission. It is more probable he will prevail on your governor, lately arrived, to grant him a new patent. “I am,” &c.

Perhaps, my Lord, no higher evidence can be assigned of a man's influence, than such a bold invasion of his Majesty's prerogative. Mr. De Lancey was determined not to lose an office, which he knew to be the grand source of his popularity, and the main prop of his power: for, whoever is chief justice of the province, unless a very novice, must be the second man in the government. Governor Hardy made no opposition to this large stride of ambition: and the other, not long after, by his wonderful artifice, subjected him to his absolute dominion. It was effected in the following manner: Your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, that Mr. De Lancey had the address to prevail upon the assembly to send up a bill to

the council on the 4th of February, intituled, “ *An act for the Payment of the Debts due from this Colony ; and other purposes therein mentioned.*” By this, payments were to be made to many creditors of the government, *for services done this colony*, without specifying what those services were. The Lieut. Governor was to receive 3787l. 16s. and several other sums were payable to his brother. It was in reality a bill for discharging the arrears due to the ordinary officers of the government. To render it the more palatable to the Governor, provision was made for paying him also large sums for presents to the Indians, and the expenses of his voyage to Albany, after the French repulse at Lake George. When it came up to the council, it obtained a majority only by one voice : and of these, my Lord, two gentlemen, besides Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, were themselves interested in the bill. They were the puisne judges of the Supreme Court, Messrs. Horsemanden and Chambers, whose arrears of salary were now by the act to be discharged. Messrs. Colden, Alexander, and Smith looked upon it as a mean invasion of the King’s instructions, which, until they resigned their seats at the council board, they were bound in honour to regard with sacred punctuality. It was, besides, evidently partial ; no provision being made for other creditors, whose demands were indisputable. They also conceived it derogatory to the dignity of that board to pass an act, excluding themselves from any knowledge of those services, for which the respective sums were made payable. For these reasons, among others, they opposed the bill ; and prayed their dissent might be entered, as a vindication of themselves to his Majesty. The Governor, to whom it was sent up, detained it for farther consideration, though he passed several other bills on the 19th of the month. This circumstance, my Lord, could not but chagrin his Lieutenant, who had the bill much at heart, not only on account of the large sums thereby payable to himself and brother, but because the passing it into a law would be the fullest evidence of his ascendancy over the Governor ; and if he could bring him into disgrace with the ministry, by leading him into a breach of instructions, it was plain he would have nothing to rely upon, but his own popularity. This was an important card, and to be skilfully

played off. So indeed it was: and when I finish the story, I am persuaded your Lordship will entertain no very mean opinion of American politicians. The spring was now advancing; and it became necessary to pass a law for levying forces, not only to join the eastern colonies, on a new expedition against the French fortress at Crown-Point, but for the protection of our western frontiers, in conjunction with Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, which were become fields of blood, by the daily ravages of inhuman barbarians. The bill for this purpose originated with the assembly; and Mr. De Lancey, who was now closeting the members, was its principal constructor. When it came before the council, on the 28th of March, that board immediately objected to it, according to his expectations: and the Governor declared, that if the council approved, he should himself give it a negative. According to the tenor of this bill, the forces designed for the western expedition were to serve but forty days, when the province of New-Jersey had ordained their quota to be disbandable by Mr. Belcher: and Sir Charles Hardy insisted, that the like confidence ought to be reposed in his judgment. The two houses now engaged themselves in a dispute, at a time when, of all others, every contention should have been avoided. Mr. Oliver De Lancey, appointed by the house to provide the supplies for the regiment designed as our quota towards the Crown-Point expedition, now gave orders to stop all farther preparations, an open rupture between the governor and assembly being daily expected. The members began freely to speak against him. The council laboured to procure an alteration of the bill; but all to no purpose. The principal thing aimed at, was the passing of the debt bill: and a leading member in the house plainly intimated their designs to the Governor. Doubtless your Lordship will wonder he did not dissolve them with indignation. Believe me, my Lord, it would have been a step, at this time, extremely unadvisable. Forty days intermission, between the test and return of the writ of summons for the election of representatives, being required by law, the public exigencies were too pressing to admit of any delay. Mr. De Lancey knew all his advantages: and that Sir Charles Hardy might be at no

loss to conjecture that the house was now acting at his beck, nor himself under the necessity of joining with the council against the bill, absented himself from the consultations of that board. The neighbouring colonies, in the mean time, were urging the dispatch of our preparations for opening the campaign. Reduced at length by these perplexities, he was obliged to send for his lieutenant, and gave him his promise to pass the favourite bill for payment of the public debts. The house then privately took back the quota-bill; and, after a few alterations, the council passed it on the 31st of March. To both of them Sir Charles gave his assent the following day: and they were enrolled among our laws. I leave this affair to your Lordship's own reflections; observing only, that from this period, the Lieutenant Governor's influence became more apparent than before; and that as it always was, so it will ever continue to be, his ruling passion, and the grand engine of his politics, to crush or control the King's governors in this province.

The plan of operations, concerted at New-York in December, was a few days after transmitted to Sir Thomas Robinson, to be laid before his Majesty, for the royal approbation.* Upon the arrival of the first vessels from Europe in April following, we were surprised with these remarkable articles of intelligence: that the action at L. George had been magnified in England into an almost decisive victory; that Mr. Johnson was advanced to the dignity of a baronet, and 5000*l.* sterling voted by the commons, as a farther reward for his great services: that Eyres, his engineer, was raised to a majority; and Wraxall, his secretary, to the command of a company. To crown, in fine, the utmost wishes of his adversaries, that Mr. Shirley's conduct having been entirely disapproved, his Majesty had been pleased to remove him from the command, and appoint the right hon. the Earl of Loudon general of all his forces in North-America. Than these particulars, nothing could have been more pleasing to the New-York cabal, as they were shortly to

* Mr. Pownal importuned Mr. Shirley to be made the bearer of these despatches. The general very civilly thanked him for the offer of his service; but chose rather to confide in Major Rutherford and Capt. Staats Morris. Mr. Pownal followed soon after them to England.

reap the fruits of all those calumnies, of which they had been the original authors. A change of the General at once gratified their revenge and ambition, and facilitated the execution of an affair earnestly solicited, and greatly advancive of their interest.

I will not assert, that Mr. Shirley had yet received his Majesty's orders with respect to the late plan of operations. I believe he had not, because on the 7th of May he arrived at Albany, and continued his preparations for carrying that plan into execution, until the 25th of the month, when a council of war was there held, consisting of the following members :

His Excellency the GENERAL,
Lieut. Col. Gage, Lieut. Col. Burton, Major Chapman,
Major Sparks, Sir John St. Clair, John Montresor, Esq.
chief engineer.

Mr. Shirley laid before them the minutes of the congress in December, and acquainted them with the state of affairs. With respect to the western expedition, the naval force upon the lake consisted, he observed, of two vessels of ten carriage guns each ; two row-gallies, each of ten swivels ; and that he had three months before issued orders for building three other vessels, one of eighteen, another of sixteen, and a third of twelve carriage guns. Besides which, there would be 250 whale-boats upon the lake, each of them capable of containing sixteen men. The land forces then at Oswego, and on their march for preserving a free communication between that place and Albany, were his own and Pepperell's regiments, with that raised and supported by the province of New-Jersey, and the four independent companies of New-York. As there was a magazine of provisions and stores at the Canajohary Falls, about thirty-five miles from Schenectady, his Excellency proposed posting there 100 men out of those forces ; as many more at the German Flats, to secure another magazine, guard the portage, and convoy the provisions through the Wood Creek : and as the fall near Oswego occasioned another small portage, a fort was there also to be erected, for a garrison of fifty men at least. It was, my Lord, of the greatest moment to keep open the communication between Albany and our fort on the lake ; his

Excellency was therefore intent upon raising four companies of sixty privates each, to be employed in scouting along the passage, and harassing the French settlements between Frontenac and Montreal.

The General gave them also an account of the strength of Oswego, when he left it the last fall ; adding, that he had sent up Mr. M'Keller, the engineer in second, and Mr. Sewer, a practitioner engineer, with orders to make such additional works, as they should think necessary for the security of that important post. And your Lordship will be pleased to take notice, that these orders were issued very early in March, before the Mohawk river was open ; and that the engineers actually arrived at Oswego in April. At these several garrisons were to be deposited six months provisions for 7000 ; and he observed to the council, that, for that purpose, 200 whaleboats and 500 batteaux had been dispatched, since the first of April, from Schenectady. The remaining quantity would have been transported by the middle of July, had his designs been carried into execution.

As to the provincial expedition, he informed them, that the troops voted by the several colonies amounted to 8800 men, including the officers and garrisons at the forts Edward and William-Henry. One, or perhaps two hundred Indians might be expected to join them, besides a company which his Excellency had raised, to harass the enemy upon lake Champlain, and procure intelligence of their motions in Canada ; and three more, for the like service, were intended to be chosen out of the whole force destined for Crown-Point.

About this time, one Rogers, of New-Hampshire, captain of a ranging company, gave repeated demonstrations of his activity in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point. He made many incursions upon the enemy, fell on their scattered parties, and scarce ever returned to Fort William-Henry without scalps and prisoners. The General took particular notice of him ; and he became singularly serviceable in procuring intelligence. By a cadet, whom he took on the 20th of May, we were informed, that the whole number of men at Fort St. Frederick, Ticonderoga, and at an advanced post, were 1100, composed of the regiments of Languedoc, the Queen's

regiment, two companies of the colony troops, and the militia. Besides these, there were Indians; but their numbers uncertain. That at Ticonderoga the French had twelve pieces of ordnance mounted, and carriages preparing for an additional number; but that the retrenchment at the advanced post was without any cannon. These troops wintered at Montreal and Chambly, and arrived at the fourth end of the lake about the middle of April, being plentifully supplied with provisions and military stores. These intelligences the General laid before his council; and then observed, that the 50th and 51st regiments, the four independent companies, and the regiment of New-Jersey, were scarce a third part of the number of troops designed by the general plan for the operations upon Lake Ontario: that the provincials were also not only deficient of the complement thought necessary at the congress, but even of the number voted by the provinces concerned in the enterprise against Crown-Point; and that it was impracticable, even with the junction of the 44th and 48th regiments, then at Albany, to carry on both the northern and western expeditions at the same time: that he had no dependence upon the Indians of the Six Nations, Sir William Johnson being unable to procure scouting parties; and that upon this account he proposed raising four companies for that service.

Your Lordship may hence observe, what reason the congress in December had for their opinion, that more troops were necessary for his Majesty's service in America. No reinforcements being yet arrived from England, for carrying the general plan into execution, the council were of unanimous opinion, that 1300 ought to be posted at Oswego, 50 at the Falls, 200 at the Onedia Carrying-Place, 150 at the German Flats, and as many more at the Canajohary Falls. They advised, therefore, that the 50th and 51st, and the New-Jersey regiments, the independents, and the North-Carolina provincials, (all which amounted to about 2000 men) should be employed in that service. The 44th and 48th regiments, with the colony troops, were thought sufficient to reduce Crown-Point. Accordingly, they recommended their junction; advising, however, that the regulars should continue for

a time in their encampment at Albany. The ranging companies, proposed by the General, were highly approved; and the raising of others strongly recommended. They also concurred with him in sentiment, that a road ought to be made from the German Flats to Oswego; and declared, it appeared to them very necessary to strengthen Fort Edward, and erect another at the South Bay. The former was a deposit for stores, and at the concurrence of all the routes from Crown-Point to Albany. The latter would command the route taken by barron Dieskau for his designed attack upon Fort Edward; a route through which incursions were frequently made upon our northern frontier. A fort at the South Bay was conceived requisite, to cover our convoys of provisions for the northern expedition from the insults of the enemy, who, in flying parties, infested the passage from Albany* to William-Henry. The propriety of this advice, my Lord, must be evident to every man of a tolerable acquaintance with the country; and these were the very sentiments which the General repeatedly communicated to Sir William Johnson, in his letters, after the action at Lake George; which were then slighted by the cabal, who studiously opposed him in all his measures.

Thus I have shewn your Lordship the reasons why the general plan continued to be unexecuted, till the sitting of this last council of war. Mr. Shirley, however, in hopes of the arrival of the expected reinforcements, and loath to be diverted from his favourite designs upon Lake Ontario, continued to throw large quantities of provisions and stores into Schenectady, and all the magazines between that place and Oswego. This, it was supposed, was done to induce his successor, from these ample supplies, to act upon this quarter; it being universally imagined, that Crown-Point was now become the main object of the ministry. Till the arrival of General Webb, on the 7th of June, this was only conjecture, and

* For the building of a fort at South Bay, preparations were making when Mr. Shirley resigned the command of the army: but the work has since been neglected; and the passage from Fort Edward to our camp at William-Henry, infested all this summer, and many of our people cut off, as was foreseen by this council.

general report. The effects of the misrepresentations of American affairs in England, then became evident to all; for the stores, laid in at Schenectady, were now reconveyed to Albany, for the northern expedition; and fresh clamours excited against Mr. Shirley, for his supplies towards the western operations. On the 15th of June, Major General Abercrombie landed at New-York; and ten days after, at Albany; where he immediately took upon himself the command of the army. Shirley continued there no longer than to deliver over to the new General the proper returns, and communicate such information as appeared necessary, with respect to the present situation of affairs.

The whole force, of which General Abercrombie now took the command, consisted of the 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiments, four independent companies, the New-Jersey regiment, four companies raised by the province of North-Carolina, Otway's, and the Highland regiments,* and the provincial forces destined against Crown-Point.

Instructions had been given to Sir William Johnson, to procure a large body of the Six Nations, to join in any attempt that might be made upon the Lake Ontario; and to engage 100 more for the assistance of the provincial army. To effect which, he was then holding a conference with the deputies of the Six Cantons at Onondaga, from whence he was to proceed immediately to Oswego. Mr. Shirley had, besides, raised a company of Indians from Stockbridge, to be employed in ranging the woods between Fort William-Henry and Montreal: and that his Majesty's service upon Lake Ontario might be free from the obstructions, by which it had been the year before greatly embarrassed, he had enlisted 40 companies of batteau-men, each of 50 men, a captain and an assistant, for transporting stores and provisions to Oswego. These were put under the direction of Captain Bradstreet, an active, vigilant officer, inured to the hardships to which that service inevitably exposed him. This, though one of the most judicious measures that could have been taken, was made the subject of low invective. The faction at New-York laboured to represent it as a project

* These two regiments arrived with him, and consisted of about 900 men.

to involve the Crown in a needless expense : but time has given the fullest evidence of the propriety of this step ; and *proper* it will appear to your Lordship, before the conclusion of this letter. General Shirley wisely foresaw, that the Indians of the Six Nations, whatever influence over them Sir William Johnson might pretend, could not be engaged even to protect the King's troops in the passage through their own country ; and that unless the communication was kept open to Oswego, nothing could be effected upon the Lake, nor the garrison itself preserved from falling into the hands of the enemy. Accordingly, no sooner did the spring open, than a little blockaded post, with twenty-five men, at the Carrying-Place, in the very centre of the Oneida country, was cut off ; the Oneidas themselves being unquestionably concerned in the massacre. Nothing could secure us against the repetition of these insults, but passing through the country with large squadrons of batteaux : and to facilitate the transportation, Mr. Shirley, who canvassed every expedient for the preservation of Oswego, employed a working party of eighty men, under a director, to remove the obstructions in the Wood-Creek ; by this means, the portage from the Mohawk River, across the great Carrying-Place, was reduced from eight miles to one. Nor did he omit observing to his successor, that an attempt upon Niagara was of the last importance ; the loss or preservation of our Indians depending upon the success of the operations on Lake Ontario.

Relative to the Crown-Point expedition, he recommended the march of part of the army, in a new-discovered route, on the west side of Lake George, to the enemy's advanced works, five miles short of Ticonderoga ; which being carried, the heavy artillery and stores might be there landed, and transported through a road to Ticonderoga and Fort Frederick : and after the reduction of those fortresses, he advised General Abercrombie immediately to construct armed vessels, to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

Your Lordship may remember, that an attempt was proposed, at the congress in December, against Fort Du Quesne, with an army of 3000 provincials. Governor Sharpe was to have commanded in that enterprise ; but

there remained now no hopes of its prosecution. Virginia chose to be entirely upon the defensive. Maryland was wholly inactive; her frontier being covered by the adjoining provinces: and as to Pennsylvania, she raised indeed 1500 men, but only with a view to protect her out-farms; nor probably would thus far have consulted her own safety, but for the daily murders and horrid cruelties perpetrated upon her borders.

With respect to the circumstances of Indian affairs to the northward: While Mr. Shirley was at Oswego, and upon his return, as I before observed to your Lordship, he proposed to the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas, the erection of small forts, for the protection of their respective castles. The two last tribes consented; desiring also, that the forts might be mounted with cannon: and the Tuscoraras afterwards sent deputies to him, with the like request. The Senecas and Cayugas had also lately signified their acquiescence to Sir William Johnson; and the General transmitted him the plan of a fort, directing the prosecution of the work with all possible dispatch, as a most effectual means to secure the Indian country to his Majesty.

Before Mr. Shirley left Oswego the last year, he proposed to the Six Nations, their convening this summer, in a grand council there, the Indians on the north side of Lake Ontario, and round Lake Erie, to consult their common interest, and maintain a correspondence by annual councils at Oswego. And to draw off the latter from their attachment to the French, recommended to the Six Nations their concurrence, in opening a free trade with the foreign Indians, at the entrance of the Onondaga river, upon terms more advantageous to all the Indians than any hitherto pursued. This spring, Sir William Johnson informed his Excellency, that the Six Nations were extremely well pleased with the projects relating both to the trade at Oswego, and the construction of forts in their cantons. To accelerate the latter, the General supplied him with 5000*l.* sterling, in addition to 5000*l.* advanced to him by General Braddock: and yet, my Lord, he was constrained to confess, in a subsequent letter,* that, unless his Excellency could engage

* May 10, 1756.

several companies of rangers, he despaired of the preservation even of a free passage through their country: and whether he has, to this day, built a single fort, as the General proposed, I have not been able, after much inquiry, to discover.

Equally unpromising was the situation of our affairs with the southern Indians. Some hopes, indeed, were entertained of the fidelity of the Cherokees, a people warlike and powerful; in whose territories the Virginians were erecting a fortress. The Shawanese, nevertheless, continued their irruptions into that province: and Governor Dinwiddie was obliged to draft the militia, to oppose their progress, and preserve the town of Winchester. These Indians also, with the Susquehannas and Delawares, committed frequent hostilities upon the Pennsylvanians. Governor Morris, for the protection of the country, carried a line of forts on the west side of the Kittatiny mountains, all along the extended frontier of that colony, from Delaware to the river Potowmac. The government of New-Jersey proceeded even to declare war against the Delaware Indians; and would have penetrated into their settlements, had not assurances been sent by Sir William Johnson from the council at Onondaga, that the Delawares and Shawanese, in obedience to the Six Nations, were under renewed and positive engagements to refrain from any farther outrages upon the southern frontiers. If any such promises were really made, it is certain they were immediately broken, many of our inhabitants having since been murdered and captivated by the savages of those very tribes. Whence we may fairly conclude, that either the Six Nations connived at these infractions of their commands, or that their ancient sovereignty is become the contempt of their tributaries. In fact, my Lord, the matter is still worse. Too much reason is there to believe the truth of both these alternatives.

I informed your Lordship, that Sir William Johnson was ordered to proceed from Onondaga to Oswego, with as many Indians as could be persuaded to march with him, not only for the more effectual preservation of that post, but to execute the plan which Gen. Shirley had concerted, for the establishment of an annual council

there, with those Indians who had been long in the French interest, and seemed ready to listen to proposals for an alliance with us. It was expedient, my Lord, that he should have complied with these instructions; nay, it was his duty; but no sooner was he acquainted with Mr. Shirley's resignation of the command of the army, than he returned from Onondaga to Albany, at the head of about sixty Indians, leaving Capt. Patten, with his company of grenadiers, to wander through a forlorn wilderness, in search of Oswego. Whether this instance of his conduct was not intended to raise his reputation with the new General, as a leading man among the Indians, I leave to your Lordship's conjecture. By arts like these, he acquired his Indian fame: and the influence of the faction at New-York so powerfully sustained it, that few persons doubted his ability to procure several hundred warriors for our assistance, though every day exhibited fresh proofs of their melancholy defection. Besides the destruction of our post in the very country of the Oneidas, mentioned before, the enemy infested the parts about Oswego, and the whole passage thither, without the least opposition from the Six Nations. Alarms, indeed, were frequently given of the approach of their flying parties; and it was observable, that Sir William Johnson, on those occasions, as Colonel of the county, raised the militia of Albany, and proceeded to the spot; though every man, acquainted with Indians, well knows, that, of all places, these are the most unlikely for finding the enemy. By such sham expeditions have our northern inhabitants been impoverished and distressed: nor could they answer any other end, than to raise a bruit through the colonies; and, with parade and ostentation, set the gazetteers upon sounding his applause. Even in these wild romantic excursions, but few Indians attended him: and yet, if we credit our news-writers, hundreds were in his train.

Mr. Shirley had scarce resigned the command to Major-General Abercrombie, when the good effect of the batteau service became so irresistibly evident, that his very enemies recollected their ungrounded calumnies with shame and confusion. I allude, my Lord, to the action between the French and our batteau-men, on the 3d of July. Sensible of the importance of Oswego, the enemy collected themselves, about the latter end of May,

in a large body, not many miles to the eastward of that garrison; from whence detachments were perpetually sent out to fall upon our workmen, and infest the passage through the Onondaga River. Capt. Bradstreet, who had the direction of the batteaux, was apprized that small parties lay in ambush, waiting a favourable opportunity to attack him. Accordingly, when he left Oswego, he ordered the several divisions to proceed as near each other as possible: but so numerous and irregular a body could not, without difficulty, be kept to any tolerable order. He was at the head of about 300 batteau-men, in the first division, upon his return to Schenectady, and about nine miles from Oswego, when the enemy, who were 700 strong, rose from their ambuscade, and fired upon his front. Near the place of attack, was a small island, by which the enemy might easily have forded the river. Bradstreet, in an instant, landed upon the island, to prevent being inclosed between two fires; and with six men maintained his possession, bravely repelling twenty of the enemy, who attempted to seize that advantageous post. He was then reinforced with six others; and even compelled a second party of forty French to give way. Enraged at this shameful disappointment, the enemy, to the number of seventy men, thought proper to make a third attempt; but the batteau-men, who did not exceed twenty, with redoubled bravery, still kept their ground, and again forced their adversaries to retire. During these skirmishes, which lasted near an hour, the batteau-men in the rear landed, without loss or confusion, upon the south side of the river. Four hundred of the enemy now advanced up the north side of the stream, intending to ford it about a mile higher, and surround us. Bradstreet, aware of the design, left the island, and with two hundred men marched on the other side to oppose them. But they had actually forded over before he came up, and posted themselves in a swamp. Dr. Kirkland, with the second division of batteaux, was now advancing to his assistance; but Bradstreet ordered him, and Capt. Butler, who commanded the third division, to keep their posts, and cover the batteaux in the rear. Being arrived at the swamp, an engagement ensued, in the Indian manner of fighting, and continued above an hour, with dubious success. Bradstreet, at length, animating his men, rushed into the

thicket through twice his number, and gallantly pushed them into the river, where many of them perished. Another attempt was made, in the mean time, to ford the river a little higher ; but those being also repulsed, the whole party was entirely routed and dispersed.

Just after the defeat, Capt. Patten, with his grenadiers from Onondaga, fell in with our batteaux ; and the next morning a reinforcement of 200 men came up from the garrison ; and but for the excessive rains, which began soon after the action, and continued all the next day, these brave batteau-men would probably have cut off the whole party. Had Sir William Johnson, as was expected, accompanied Capt. Patten to Oswego, with the Indians from Onondaga, Bradstreet might have made immediate pursuit, and many of the enemy must have been overtaken : but this pacific plenipotentiary was then hastening to Albany (a safe situation) with the important minutes of his late conference : a conference full of affectionate Indian speeches, and large promises of their assistance ; when scarce a man of them could be prevailed upon to turn out of his hut for the defence of the common cause. Bradstreet had but three Indians of the six Nations with him at this attack. Of these, one took to his heels ; a second fought bravely ; but the third went over to the enemy, and assisted in pointing out our officers. In these several actions we had about 30 men killed and wounded. How many of the French were slain, is not certainly known ; though it is generally said, they lost about 120. Eighty arms were brought to Schenectady ; and about 70 men found in the woods, and carried to Oswego. The French fled in the utmost disorder : and some of their regular soldiers, being strangers to the country, got bewildered in the desert, and perished for want of sustenance.

Bradstreet arrived at Schenectady on the 11th of July ; and the next day acquainted General Abercrombie, at Albany, of the state of Oswego : That he learnt from his prisoners, the French were preparing to attack it, having 1200 men for that purpose encamped not far from the easternmost fort. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, orders were issued to Major-General Webb, to hold himself in readiness to march for its defence with the 44th regiment. My Lord, Mr. Shirley had, several days be-

fore,* advised General Abercrombie to reinforce that garrison with two battalions † at least : and they might have marched immediately, as Bradstreet was ready to convoy the troops, and every magazine, along the passage, plentifully supplied with provisions. But not to anticipate my story ;

Mr. Shirley arrived at New-York on the 4th of July, and waited the arrival of my Lord Loudon, who landed there on the 23d of that month, with Mr. Pownal in his train : but in what character the latter returned a second time from England, was a subject of doubtful conjecture. His Lordship, regardless of his ease, and the fatigues of a tedious voyage, tarried there but three days ; and on the 29th of July reached his head-quarters at Albany, when he took upon himself the command of the army.

The garrison of Oswego consisted now of 1400 men, and about 300 workmen and sailors. Four hundred and eighty-five were posted, in small parties, between that place and Burnet's Field, to maintain an open passage through the country of the Six Nations. The 44th and 48th regiments at Albany and Schenectady, with the British troops just arrived, consisted now of 2600 men ; and the provincials, under the command of General Winslow, were about 7000, and ready to march from Fort William-Henry. Of the naval force of Oswego, I have already given your Lordship an account : and as to the strength of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, according to the latest intelligence obtained by Capt. Rogers, they did not exceed 3000 men.

From his Lordship's known abilities for war, the colonies were in great hopes, that, notwithstanding the delay of the British reinforcements, some coup d'eclat would very speedily be struck at Crown-Point. But alas ! while we were intent upon this favourite design, the enemy were bending their main force, not to oppose us at Ticonderoga, but to secure what was to them a matter of much more importance, I mean the exclusive dominion

* On the 26th of June, the day after he was superseded.

† Such a reinforcement could easily have been spared for that purpose, Otway's and the Highland regiment being now landed at Albany. And that this necessary step might not be obstructed, General Shirley had, before their arrival, dispatched an express to Oswego, ordering Bradstreet to quicken his return to Schenectady.

of the great Lakes. Accordingly, they laid siege to Oswego; and, after two or three days' contest, obliged the garrison, on the 14th of August, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This melancholy account was first brought to Albany by several soldiers, some of whom had formerly deserted the French service; and remained many days unconfirmed, till the arrival of two sailors, who made their escape after the reduction of the forts. An universal shock was now given to the whole continent: and to increase our distress, the Indians reported, that the whole garrison was put to the sword, and the dead bodies of our countrymen denied even the sacred rite of sepulture. But this, by subsequent advices, was contradicted: and the spies, dispatched for observation, inform us, that the works are entirely demolished, and the enemy departed. In what manner, and by what numbers, it was taken, or upon what terms surrendered, I cannot give your Lordship any satisfactory account. How many were killed on either side is also unknown; though certain it is, that Lieut. Col. Mercer, the commanding officer, is among the slain.

It is much to be wished, my Lord, that Mr. Shirley's advice to General Abercrombie had been followed: and equally to be regretted, that Sir William Johnson returned with such precipitation from Onondaga to Albany. Nor ought the discharge of 400 batteau-men, after Bradstreet's return, to pass without some remark. They arrived at Schenectady, as I observed before, on the 11th of July; and methinks the recent proofs of their courage, and the account they gave of the strength and designs of the enemy, might have been a sufficient antidote against the poison of that council for their discharge; which was unquestionably designed by Mr. Shirley's enemies for throwing an odium on his measures. To the same influence, my Lord, it was undoubtedly owing, that General Webb's march, with the 44th regiment, from Schenectady, was delayed till the 12th of August, but two days before the garrison was actually surrendered. He had proceeded no farther than Burnet's Field, with his regiment of 900 men, and the remaining 800 batteau-men, when the deserters brought him the news of the siege. Upon the receipt of which, he made a forced

march to the Oneida Carrying-Place ; where he immediately felled trees into the Wood Creek, to prevent the approach of the enemy.*

These, my Lord, were great oversights : but the loss of Oswego must principally be ascribed to a more distant cause, to a junto, who have all along embarrassed every part of his Majesty's service on the Lake Ontario. By their misrepresentations, the public has been drawn into a dependence upon the Six Nations, merely to exalt Sir William Johnson : and that nothing might be wanting to procure a change in the command of the army, and destroy all confidence in Shirley's judgment, Oswego, the great object of his attention, has been slighted as an unessential post ; and the reduction of St. Frederick represented as a point of far superior moment.

My Lord, by these intrigues our country bleeds. Oswego is lost ; lost, perhaps, for ever, with the naval armament, above sixty pieces of ordnance, and a rich supply of stores and provisions, laid in at a vast expense, for several thousand men, during the whole campaign. Would to God this was all, and we had nothing worse to apprehend ! Our fur trade, which has long been the principal object of the national attention, and the support of our frontier city of Albany, is at an end. The French can now, with the utmost facility, secure the inland country, and confine us to the very brinks of the ocean : a free communication is opened between Canada and Louisiana ; and all our intercourse with the Indians totally rescinded. The enemy, on the other hand, may, without opposition or restraint, render these innumerable tribes of savages their allies and dependents. The six nations are more wavering than ever ; and should they no longer think it expedient to preserve their neutrality, the whole continent must inevitably become a field of blood. Whatever may be thought of these co-

* The French were equally apprehensive of his advancing towards them, or of our attempting to rebuild Oswego : and very prudently improving the present advantage, began where General Webb left off, and continued the obstruction quite down to the entrance into the Oneida Lake ; which renders it impossible to pass through the Wood Creek, 40 miles in length. General Webb, not long after, abandoned the Carrying-Place, after burning down the forts, much to the dissatisfaction of the Indians.

lonies, which of late have been magnified for their numbers and opulence, I do assure your Lordship, that a short war will effectually exhaust them. Their settlements are scattered; their frontiers extensive; the inhabitants but few, generally in very moderate circumstances, and still luxurious, and without resources. The irruption of a few Indians into Pennsylvania had already occasioned the loss of several hundred souls, and the desolation of near two thousand farms. The frontiers of the neighbouring colonies are equally defenceless; and the power of the native savages, at present in the French interest, is of itself sufficient, by slow, but inevitable means, to reduce us to extreme beggary and distress.

Thus, my Lord, I have finished the relation of what has hitherto been transacted in America. I have not only presented you with a series of the most interesting events, but brought your Lordship acquainted with the characters and designs of the principal agents in our political affairs. If I have erred, I am persuaded it is not in any article of importance, nor purposely in the minutest. Every line of this letter hath been penned with the most sacred veneration for truth, and a mind equally unbiassed by resentment or affection. For obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the matters rehearsed, few in the colonies have had superior advantages: nor in collecting proper materials, has any one been more assiduous. Add to this, that I had no other interest in the public measures, than the interest of every man on the continent. I am unconnected with all parties; neither enjoying any post myself, nor standing in the least relation to a single officer in the army. The love of my country was the sole spring of my curiosity; and so far, indeed, I was not an unconcerned spectator of the public transactions. If I have made honourable mention of General Shirley, it was owing to my approbation of his schemes, as conducive to the common weal of the British plantations: and if my judgment was in this regard erroneous, I have the pleasure to find myself in very respectable company. Except New-York, or rather a prevailing faction there, all the colonies hold him in very high esteem. Some have made public declarations of their sense of his great merit; and that too, at a time when he appeared descending

from his meridian of glory. But he needed no other than the testimonials of his own province ; for he, my Lord, whose conduct is approved by the people of the Massachusetts-Bay, must be distinguished both for his abilities and his virtue. They are too numerous and wise to be deceived, too free and independent to be driven. An undue influence can never be obtained by the Governor of a colony, who has neither power nor places to bestow. Their assemblies are annual ; the members elected by ballot, in number near two hundred. The council, or middle estate, chosen yearly by the assembly : and as all the offices are elective, not a man in the province is dependent on the smiles or the frowns of the King's representative : and yet so wise, free, and loyal a people have approved his judgment ; confided in his integrity ; testified in his favour ; and publicly lamented his departure from the continent. I would by no means, my Lord, be understood, by these favourable sentiments of Shirley, to disparage his noble successor in the command. He yet has not, at least he deserves not to have, a single enemy amongst us : and I hope it will serve the purposes of no man to be his enemy. I could only have wished, that, at this critical juncture, a gentleman so thoroughly versed in American affairs, had been continued in America for his Lordship's assistance. We have to contend with a subtle, enterprising foe ; a foe, rapacious, martial, and bloody, committing murders, rather than waging war. Though the French colony contains, perhaps, not 30,000 men capable to bear arms ; yet these are all under the despotic command and sole direction of their Governor-General ; and experience teaches us, that, in spite of our navy, they may be annually reinforced. The strength of our colonies, on the other hand, is divided ; and the concurrence of all necessary both for supplies of men and money. Jealous are they of each other ; some ill constituted ; others shaken with intestine divisions, and, if I may be allowed the expression, parsimonious even to prodigality. Our assemblies are diffident of their Governors ; Governors despise their assemblies, and both mutually misrepresent each other to the Court of Great-Britain. Military measures demand secrecy and dis-

patch: but while the colonies remain divided, and nothing can be transacted but with their universal assent, it is impossible to maintain the one, or proceed with the other. Without a general constitution for warlike operations, we can neither plan nor execute. We have a common interest, and must have a common council; *one head and one purse*. The French service is unexposed to those embarrassments; and hence they project without discovery; and we scarce collect their designs, before we are attacked and defeated. Hitherto they have prosecuted the war with superior advantage; and yet the militia of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay alone, undoubtedly exceeds, by some thousands, all the troops of Canada. Since the commencement of the present hostilities, his Majesty has lost above 3000 loyal subjects: and as all the Indians are at the devotion of the French, and Oswego is now lost, many thousand farms, before the opening of the next spring, will probably be abandoned; and the interior settlements deluged with the innocent blood of all ages and sexes. Indeed, my Lord, it is not beneath the most elevated station, to indulge the benevolent feelings of humanity; nor, retiring awhile from the pomp and gaiety that surrounds you, to shed a pitying tear over families inhumanly bereft of their substance, or more inhumanly slaughtered in their beds. It is a celebrated saying, and does honour to human nature, "*Homo sum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto.*"

What the present or the next campaign will bring forth, is known only to the Omniscient Governor of the universe. The colonies are nearly exhausted, and their funds already anticipated by expensive, unexecuted projects: and whether they will still continue their efforts, or resign to a listless despair, is uncertain. I fear the worst; and yet you know, my Lord, I am not of a melancholy cast. There is too much reason for general concern: and I venture to predict, what every judicious person foresees, that unless some successful blow is struck, and speedily struck, at the power of France, Britain must inevitably lose her possessions in America: An event, my Lord, of the most tremendous consequence to us, to you, to the Protestant religion, to the peace of Europe; yes, and to the peace and happiness of all mankind.

Hitherto we have wasted our strength in lopping off branches, when the axe should have been laid to the root of the tree. Canada, my Lord, Canada must be demolished. *Delenda est Carthago*, or we are undone. Strength sufficient have we left, with proper assistance, for a decisive struggle : but a lingering consumption will infallibly enervate and destroy. France has been, ever can, and will be annually, throwing over fresh troops into her colony, in defiance of our great maritime force : and should peace ensue, even before our ruin is completed, what will be the state of these provinces upon the next rupture between the two crowns, when the frontier country is filled with our enemies? As you therefore value, my noble Lord, the cause of liberty ; the glory of the British name ; the honour and dignity of the best of Kings ; and the preservation of these colonies from bloody carnage and total ruin ; exert, I beseech you, exert your influence, to extirpate this brood of French savages from the face of the continent. In a scheme so decisive, and in no other, will the provinces heartily unite ; and if well concerted, and our unfortified sea-coasts at the same time sufficiently protected, it will doubtless succeed ; humble the pride of France ; and close the present war with a lasting and honourable peace.

I am, my Lord, with the profoundest respect,
your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant.

NEW-YORK, *Sept.* 20, 1756.

A DESCRIPTION OF WISCASSET, AND OF THE RIVER SHEEPSCOT. BY REV. ALDEN BRADFORD, MINISTER AT WISCASSET, S. H. S.

JUDGE Sullivan, in his History of the District of Maine, Dr. Morse, in his Gazetteer and Geography, and the Duc de Liancourt, in his volume of travels through the United States and Canada, have given some account of Wiscasset. But they are very partial, and in some instances erroneous in their statements ; and a particular and accurate description of this place and river, though considerably celebrated for the nautical enterprise of the inhabitants, and for its great advantages with respect to navigation, has never yet been published.

Wiscasset is situated on the western branch of Sheepscot river, about twenty miles from the island of Seguin;* which lies two miles off the neck, or point of land that separates the entrances into the rivers Kennebec and Sheepscot. The mouth of Kennebec is very narrow; only about half a mile; and the current exceedingly rapid. But the entrance into Sheepscot, for seven or eight miles above Seguin, presents the appearance of a large bay. The width gradually lessens. But even at the distance from its mouth, just mentioned, it is two miles and upwards. Five miles below Wiscasset, the river becomes much more confined, and the banks are high. In some places, it is little more than half a mile. The water is very deep, generally from fifteen to twenty fathoms.

In one place, a mile below Wiscasset, where the river is only about one hundred rods wide, there are not more than eleven fathoms. There is not less water in any place in the river, below this settlement: and it is navigable for the largest ships with perfect safety, as high as this place. In the year 1775, two British men of war came up the river opposite the town. And merchant ships of more than five hundred tons are owned here; which lay afloat at low water, when loaded, at some of the wharves.

Against the compact part of the town, and for a short distance above and below, the river is nearly a mile wide. The navigation is rather difficult for large vessels above this place. But those of an hundred tons may safely ascend about four miles higher up the river, to New-Castle. Here is a fall of water, which prevents any other craft than boats to proceed farther into the country. ✓ The tide-water continues yet five miles higher, where the river is very small, and fit only for the business of mills; several of which are here advantageously situated.

* Over the river, half a mile above the fall, there is a toll bridge, built in 1795, which is six hundred feet in length.

The land, where is the compact and mercantile part of the town, approaches to a point; or, is rather two sides of a parallelogram; the longest of which is the bank of the river, lying about N. by E. and S. by W.;

* This island is in lat. 43. 52. long. 68.

and the shortest side, the margin of a small bay, or inlet, which, on the south of the settlement, encroaches on the main about one hundred and forty rods, for the distance of three fourths of a mile.

The course of the river, from its mouth, both above and below Wiscasset, is nearly N. by E. But in some places, for short distances, it varies from this direction. A little below Wiscasset point, it is diverted from its general course to a N. W. one, where the bed of the river is narrow; but soon again continues its usual direction.

On the west side of Sheepscot river, near its mouth, is Parker's island. This is in Georgetown; and extends a few miles, when the island of Jeremysquam continues to bound this shore of the river, within a mile of Wiscasset point. This island extends about twelve miles in length, and is in some places a mile and a half; but generally from one to half a mile wide. The western side of this island is separated from the southern part of Wiscasset, and from a part of Woolwich, (which is adjoining Wiscasset on the S. W.) by a cross river running from Sheepscot, and falling into the Kennebec opposite to Bath, about eight miles from its mouth. This cross river meets the Sheepscot about a mile south of Wiscasset point, where the course of this latter river, for a short distance, makes a right angle with its general direction; and thus a bay is formed of about two miles by one; which is very convenient and pleasant.

The cross river communicating with Kennebec, is a great advantage to Wiscasset. Lumber of all kinds is brought here from various parts of the Kennebec, and from Amariscoggin. Vessels of seventy and eighty tons pass through this cross river loaded. And a new light ship of 400 tons has been carried through here, by taking advantage of the tide and current, which, in some places, where the river is narrow, is very rapid.

Beside the great depth, and the comparative stillness of the water in Sheepscot, there is another advantage for navigation, which it has over most other rivers in the District of Maine: It is seldom obstructed by ice in the coldest and longest winters. It has sometimes been known to be frozen, for one or two days, about half the

distance from the Point, where is the lowest wharf, to the narrows; that is, half a mile. But even then, the ice was easily removed. And below this, it never freezes. Only once in six years, though there have been several very severe winters in this period, has the river been frozen as low as the Point, and then it continued only about twenty-four hours. A little higher, at the most northern wharves, the ice is often entirely across the river, and sometimes continues several days.

The water here flows and ebbs from ten to fifteen feet; generally about twelve; which is nearly the same as at Boston. And it is remarkable, that at Portsmouth, Portland, and other places between this and Boston, the tide flows less than in these two harbours.

↓ There are ten considerable wharves in this place, one of which is 550 feet in length. It is about eighty rods higher up the river than that at the Point, which is adjoining the channel of the river. The long wharf also runs off to the edge of the channel; so that very large vessels, laden, are afloat at these, when the water is the lowest.

* ↓ The compact part of the town consists of about one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses; some of which are large and elegant. The stores are numerous; and some of them spacious, and ornamental to the town. There are four streets running parallel with the river, distant from one another about twelve rods. These are intersected at right angles, about eighty rods north of the Point, by a street 140 feet wide, passing down a gentle descent by the meeting and court houses, (which are handsome buildings,) in almost a straight course to the head of the long wharf. This is the main street leading into the village from the W. and N. W. The street leading out of town to the eastward is the continuation of the third, which is parallel with the river. It leaves the main street about fifty rods from the river, and its course is straight for three quarters of a mile, when it winds to the N. E.

On the east side of the river, opposite to Wiscasset, is the town of Edgcombe. The island of Jeremysquam, which lies on the west side of the Sheepscot below Wiscasset, and as high up as the narrows, before mentioned, belongs to this town, and not to Woolwich, as Judge Sullivan asserts in his History of Maine.

What is now Pownalborough, (for Wiscasset * is the Indian name of the Point only, though the village is generally known by this name,) is bounded N. and N. by E. by New-Milford, which was incorporated in 1793 : It was before called the north parish of Pownalborough : On the N. W. by Dresden, lying on the eastern bank of Kennebec, which was set off from this town at the same time with New-Milford : On the W. and S. W. it is separated from Woolwich by a small stream called Monseag, up which the tide flows some distance, from the cross river, leading into Kennebec ; and the water of this cross river washes the south part of Pownalborough.

The town extends nearly eight miles from S. by W. to N. by E. ; and is four miles in the opposite directions. It contains about three hundred and fifty families, and two thousand inhabitants ; two thirds of which are in the village at the Point. Nearly half the town is cleared ; and there are some very good farms. But the land in general is too clayey to be profitable for tilling. For grass, it is very good.

A great part of the land on the sea coast, and within twenty miles of it, in the District of Maine, contains a large proportion of clay ; † and while every man possesses an extensive farm, it is not to be expected that the clayey lands will produce much beside grass, barley, and potatoes ; as they cannot afford to mix with it a sufficient quantity of sand and manure to render it suitable for the profitable culture of corn and grain in general. But when they shall be contented to hold and cultivate less land, and shall learn to mix sand or shells with the clay, it will produce all kinds of roots, grain and fruits in the greatest plenty. For it has been found that clayey lands are the best for gardens, when prepared by a mixture of sand and manure.

The land farther from the sea coast, and for a great distance into the country, and parallel to the ocean, is of a very superior quality. It is generally of the richest loam, and produces all kinds of grain as abundantly as any

* Formerly it was pronounced *Wissacasset* by the Indians ; and is said to mean the confluence of three waters or rivers.

† There are some exceptions to this general remark.

part of New-England. And it is settling and improving in a most rapid manner.

There are a few good orchards in Pownalborough. But the cultivation of the apple tree is too much neglected. The common red cherry is found here in great abundance. There are also some plum trees. And the pear undoubtedly might be successfully cultivated; for it is generally found on clayey ground. A few peach trees have been raised in this and the neighbouring towns. But the general opinion is, that this fruit will not grow in this part of the country. This, however, is a mistaken idea; and adopted probably to excuse the negligence of the people. If particular spots were chosen, lying to the south, and of a light or loamy soil, no doubt they would succeed. General Knox, who lives about thirty miles eastward of this place, has in his garden a great number of peach and apricot trees of two and three years growth; and they look as flourishing and vigorous as those in the vicinity of Boston.

Currants, raspberries, gooseberries and strawberries grow here, and in most parts of the country, in great abundance. And there is a fruit called the moose plum, nearly as large as the apricot, natural to the climate, which would probably be much better, if carefully cultivated.

The wood is chiefly ever-green, such as the fir, spruce, hemlock, white pine, and yellow, or Norway pine. There is also a considerable proportion of maple, of different kinds, of birch and beech. In the adjoining towns, there is a great quantity of oak.

The extremes of heat and cold in this place do not differ much from Boston.* There are not so many very warm days here in summer, as in the vicinity of Boston, but some when the mercury rises as high within two or three degrees. And in winter, the mercury has been found not to be more than two degrees lower; but yet there is more cold weather here during the winter.

Pownalborough was incorporated in 1760, the same year that the county of Lincoln was separated from Cumberland; and it owes its name "to the pride of Governor Pownal."

* Dr. Morse is mistaken, when he says that the heat here is greater than at Boston.

There were some settlements made in this vicinity, as early as the year 1661. One Walter Philips purchased land at that time of some Indian chiefs, and lived several years on the western banks of Damariscotta river, now within the town of New-Castle, which lies above Wiscasset. Between this period and 1680, there were many families in this vicinity; the greater part of them on the eastern banks of Sheepscot in New-Castle. The inhabitants were mostly Dutch; and were under the government of New-York and Hudson's River. They were driven off by the Indians, in 1680.

About this time, there were a few families at Wiscasset. One George Davie settled here in 1663. It is said he lived about half a mile north of the Point, on an eminence, fifty rods from the river. A brother of his, and two others, lived here at the same period. But they all fled in 1680. The widow of one of these Davies died in Newton, near Boston, in 1752, aged 116. There is a portrait of her in the room of the Historical Society.

George Davie had also purchased a large tract of land of some Indians. "This came by inheritance and transfer to a number of wealthy men, who, in 1734, associated under the name of the Boston company. Wiscasset Point is in this tract."

"The settlements begun again by one Robert Hooper, in 1730. Foye and Lambert came in '34. And the proprietors soon after lotted out the lands for settlement."* Hooper lived some time by the side of a large rock, a little south of Main-street, and about three rods from the river, where now stands the house of Jeremiah Dalton.†

A few years after this, some families settled on the cross river, about two miles from Wiscasset Point; the names of which were Boynton, Taylor, Young, and Chapman. And in 1745, one Hilton from Dover, New-Hampshire, set down by Monseag river, which separates Woolwich from Pownalborough. But they were kept in continual fear by the Indians; and frequently were

* Sullivan's History of the District of Maine.

† A daughter of Hooper, Mrs. Taylor, is now living in Pownalborough. She was nine months old when she was brought to the place.

obliged to shelter themselves in the fort, which stood at the Point. Hilton was killed by the Indians; and his oldest son, now living in this town, was taken and carried to Canada; but returned the year after. A captain Williamson, who died here in 1798, aged 80, was also taken and carried to Quebec, but was soon released.

The post road from Boston to St. George's river and Penobscot passes through this town. And a post-office has been established here eleven years. The mail arrives twice a week from Boston; twice from Hallowell by a cross post, and twice from the eastward.

Wiscasset is a port of entry and delivery. And there are owned here nearly thirty square-rigged vessels; some of them very large. They amount to about 10,000 tons. They are lately chiefly employed in the West-India trade. Until within a few years, the merchants sent all their large vessels to England and Scotland with lumber. And some still pursue the same line of business. But the other is found to be more profitable. For the last three years, the merchants have added greatly to their property by trading to the Islands.

Wiscasset is justly considered a very healthy situation; and this is also true of most other towns in the District of Maine. More persons die of consumption, than of any other disease. And this is most probably owing to the too frequent use of spirit and tea. A great proportion of the common people are intemperate in the use of spirituous liquors; and often drink tea twice a day; which must be very injurious to the constitution. If they could be persuaded to reform in these respects, they would preserve both their health and their property.

For the last six years, the deaths, on an average, have been 13 a year. The births annually are upwards of 60.

And very few die in infancy. And if children were rightly managed from the time of their birth; if they were used to frequent cold washings and to the fresh air, and were kept cleanly, it would be very rare that any of them die, except by some malignant, contagious disease.

Several of the inhabitants of this place were from England, Scotland, or Ireland; some of whom were

Episcopalians, and some Presbyterians; but they are all happily united with the rest of the people, who form a Congregational Society. The Rev. Thomas Moore was the first ordained minister. He was settled in 1773.

Wiscasset is the principal shire town in the County of Lincoln. The Court of Pleas sets here once, the Supreme Judicial Court once, and the Federal District Court twice, a year.

Read WITHAM MARSHE'S JOURNAL OF THE TREATY HELD WITH THE SIX NATIONS BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF MARYLAND, AND OTHER PROVINCES, AT LANCASTER, IN PENNSYLVANIA, JUNE, 1744.

Saturday, June the 16th, 1744.

THIS day the Hon. Edmund Jenings, and the Hon. Philip Thomas, Esqrs. of the council of state in Maryland, having heretofore been appointed (by a special power from his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq. Governor, under his hand, and the seal of that province) commissioners for treating with the Six Nations of Indians, on behalf of the province, concerning some lands claimed by them, and to renew all former treaties betwixt the Six Nations and this government, agreed to proceed on their embassy.

I was required by them to stay at Annapolis, and receive the bills of exchange (to defray our expenses) from Mr. Ross, clerk of the council; and, after receiving the bills on Sunday, P. M. I went to Mr. Thomas's, where I lodged that night.

Sunday, 17th. Mr. Commissioner Jenings went over Chesapeake Bay, as also did Mr. Benedict Calvert, who accompanied him to the treaty.

Monday, June 18th, 1744.

Breakfasted at Mr. Thomas's about 8 o'clock this morning, and soon after set out with him, and the Rev. Mr. Craddock, (who accompanied us in quality of chaplain to the Maryland commissioners) for Patapscoe. Arrived at James Moore's ordinary, at the head of Severn river, about one o'clock, where we dined; but such

a dinner was prepared for us, as never was either seen or cooked in the highlands of Scotland, or the isles of Orkney. It consisted of six eggs fried with six pieces of bacon, with some clammy pone or Indian bread. But as hunger knows little of cleanliness, and withal very impatient, we fell to, and soon devoured the victuals. Our liquor was sorry rum, mixed with water and sugar, which bears the heathenish name of bumbo. Of this we drank about a pint, to keep down the nauseous eggs and bacon.

P. M. Paid for our slovenly dinner and liquor, and pursued our journey to Mrs. Hughes's, at Patapscoe river, (over which she keeps a ferry) to whose house we came about 3 o'clock. Here we refreshed ourselves with some good coffee, and toast and butter, which was served to us in a neat and handsome manner: we likewise drank a bottle of generous wine; then paid our reckoning, and went over the river to Whetstone-Point, and from thence proceeded to William Rogers's ordinary in Baltimore town, being three miles distant from Mrs. Hughes's.

Monday evening, in Baltimore County. I left Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Parson at the ordinary, and went to Mr. Robert North's where I supped with some blithe company; and from thence returned to Rogers's. Mr. Bourdillon, minister of this parish, visited his brother of the cloth, and staid with us till near 11 o'clock this night. It was with this gentleman and his wife that I came into Maryland on the 1st of January, 1737. She is niece to Sir Theodore Janssen, Baronet. When Mr. Bourdillon had bidden us *bon soir*, we retired to rest our wearied limbs, having rode 44 long miles this hot day.

Tuesday Morning, June 19th, 1744.

Rose about 5 o'clock, and ordered breakfast to be got presently; which was done. Drank tea, and then mounted our horses to reach Edward Day's, who keeps the ferry on this side Joppa. Came to his house about 11 o'clock, baited ourselves and horses, and then passed over Gun-Powder river in his ferry-boat to Joppa town.

At Joppa. Rested at Mr. Brown's, who keeps a brick ordinary. Here we dined on a boiled ham, and some chickens fried with bacon. Drank good wine and small

beer, and rendered ourselves fit to encounter the fatigue of riding twenty-five miles further in this sultry weather.

Here I waited on the Rev. Hugh Deane, who is parson of this parish, to deliver him a packet of letters, &c. I received from Dr. Lyon, at Baltimore town. He read to me some of the news, mentioned in his European letters, concerning the queen of Hungary, the king of Prussia, and the Lord knows how many other potentates; but as I was neither politician, nor courtier, I gave but little attention to it. I understood Mr. D. had his intelligence from his wife's brother, who had some place in the government at home, or is in dependence of favours from some *great man*: God help him!

After dinner, about 3 in the afternoon, we took the route to Mr. Benjamin Chew's in Cecil county, whose house is distant from Joppa twenty-six miles.

Betwixt six and seven of the clock in the evening, we reached Susquehannah lower ferry; we tarried some small time, and sent our horses over it in a boat by themselves.

From hence we went to the eastern side of Susquehannah, and then rode to Mr. Chew's, about a mile and a half distance from the river.

At this house we supped very heartily, for which our priest returned thanks. After supper we had a good deal of chat on various subjects; and then, very willingly retired to bed.

Wednesday morning, June 20th, 1744.

We breakfasted at Mr. Chew's, and then set out (with him) for Nottingham township, which place we reached about a quarter of an hour after ten this morning. We put up our horses at Thomas Hughes's who keeps here an ordinary. He was an honest, facetious, and sober Quaker, a man of good plain sense and character.

Here we purposed to dine, and bespoke a dinner accordingly, which was prepared for us about two o'clock. Here we were shaved by our friend and companion Mr. Chew, for no barber could be got in the whole neighbourhood.

I thought it a little odd our friend (who was a justice of the peace in his county) should officiate as our tonsor;

but as we could get no other, he, purely out of good nature, did the office of one.

This township is a large body of land, consisting of between 30 and 40,000 acres. It lies in Chester County, within the Province of Pennsylvania. It is chiefly settled by Quaker farmers, who strive to imitate those in our mother country in every thing. There have been great disputes between the present Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, and Messrs. Penns, proprietors of Pennsylvania, concerning this place; the first averring it to lie within the bounds of his province; and the others, that it is contained within theirs. The inhabitants (being Quakers) are desirous of living under the Penns' government, by reason of the small taxes they are burthened with; and more especially as in that, they are not obliged to pay any thing to the priests of the steeple-houses; whereas in Maryland, by a law made anno 1704, every male, white and black, and also black women, above the age of 16, and under the age of 60, are obliged to pay 40 lb. of tobacco per poll to the incumbent of their respective parishes. This is a most iniquitous tax, and is a most grievous burthen to those who have many white men servants, and a great many slaves, which a great number of people have in Maryland.

The difference between the proprietors of the two provinces is likely to be ended by the Lord Chancellor, before whom a suit is depending, brought by the Penns against Lord Baltimore, for not standing to, or fulfilling some agreement relating to the bounds of both provinces, wherein the Quakers had been too sly for his Lordship, whereby their several titles may be drawn in question.

Wednesday, P. M. There was a great disputation betwixt the Hon. Mr. Thomas, and one Gatchell, an inhabitant of this place, concerning carnal weapons. The latter being one of the followers of George Fox, strenuously insisted, that it was not lawful to use any offensive weapon whatever. As this is the common cant of that set of people, it is in vain to think of arguing them out of it, though founded on no reason.

In this government subsists a quarrel betwixt the Governor of it, and the Quaker members of the house of assembly, occasioned by the latter's not consenting to a militia law, which they will not grant for the defence of

the province. Who has the most reason on their side, I know not; but I really cannot blame the Quakers for not consenting to such a law, unless the power of putting it in execution should be lodged in the house of assembly, and such officers to be appointed by them.

At six this evening, the Hon. Edmund Jenings, Esq. Col. Thomas Colvill, and Col. Robert King, (being the other honourable commissioners for Maryland) with Mr. Calvert, arrived here, from Col. Colvill's, in Cecil county. We all lodged at Mr. Hughes's, and agreed to set out for Lancaster early in the morning, and to go thither over the Barrens.

Expenses at Mr. Hughes's, paid in silver currency, to the value of £2-17-2, Pennsylvania currency.

Thursday morning, June 21, 1744.

Breakfasted before five; then prepared ourselves for riding. Set out from hence with the commissioners, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Gatchel, and our landlord, who undertook to be our guide to Lancaster town. We were joined on the road by some Quakers, who accompanied us to our designed stage.

At eleven o'clock, we arrived at one Sheppard's mill, having rode twenty miles from Nottingham. Here we all baited, and refreshed ourselves with some good neat's tongue, cold ham, and Maderia wine. We eat our repast under a tree, upon a long plank, close to which was a trough, and in that our horses were fed. We rested at this place about an hour and an half, and then pursued our journey to Lancaster. From hence we had a good road, the land being less hilly and stony than that we had rode over in the morning. Here are several large and fine farms, settled by the Germans. They sow all kinds of grain, and have very plentiful harvests. Their houses are chiefly built with stone, and generally seated near some brook or stream of water. They have very large meadows, which produce a great deal of hay, and feed therewith variety of cattle, &c.

Thursday, P. M. Arrived at Lancaster town about two o'clock, and put up our horses at Peter Worrall's, who here keeps an inn. Here I bespoke a dinner for our commissioners, and the Maryland gentlemen, which

was soon got ready, to our great comfort. Procured a room and two beds, in Worrall's house, for our chaplain and myself.

Neither the governor of Pennsylvania, nor the Virginia commissioners, were arrived at the time when we did; but about six in the evening they came hither, attended by several Virginia gentlemen, and some from the city of Philadelphia.

Here we were informed that the Indians would not arrive till to-morrow, they marching very slow, occasioned by their having a great many small children and old men.

Messrs. Calvert, Craddock and myself went into, and viewed the court-house of this town. It is a pretty large brick building, two stories high. The ground room, where the justices of this county hold their court, is very spacious. There is a handsome bench, and railed in, whereon they sit, and a chair in the midst of it, which is filled by the judge. Below this bench, is a large table, of half oval form; round this, and under their Worships, sit the county clerk, and the several attorneys of the court, who, here, as well as in most other courts of the plantations, plead as counsellors. There are particular seats and places allotted to the sheriff, crier, &c.

Fronting the justices' bench, and on each side of it, are several long steps, or stairs, raised each above the other, like the steps leading into the north door of St. Paul's. On these steps, stand the several auditors and spectators, when a court is held here. It was on these, that the Indian chiefs sat, when they treated with the several governments. This court-house is capable to contain above 800 persons, without incommoding each other.

When we had surveyed this room, we went up stairs, into one over head. This is a good room, and has a large chimney. In this the justices sit in the month of February, for the convenience of the fire. Adjoining to this room, is a smaller one, where the juries are kept to agree on their verdict.

On the top of the court-house is a kind of cupola. We ascended a ladder, and got into it. From hence we had a complete view of the whole town, and the country several miles round, and likewise of part of Susquehannah river, at twelve miles distance.

This town has not been begun to be built above sixteen years. It is conveniently laid out into sundry streets, and one main street, in the midst of which stands the court-house and market. Through this runs the road to the back country, on Susquehannah. There are several cross streets on each side of the main street, which are indifferently well built, as to quantity of houses.

The inhabitants are chiefly High-Dutch, Scotch-Irish, some few English families, and unbelieving Israelites, who deal very considerably in this place.

The spirit of cleanliness has not as yet in the least troubled the major part of the inhabitants; for, in general, they are very great sluts and slovens. When they clean their houses, which, by the bye, is very seldom, they are unwilling to remove the filth far from themselves, for they place it close to their doors, which in the summer time, breeds an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas, and vermin.

The religions, which prevail here, are hardly to be numbered. Here are Dutch Calvinists, who have a church built with square logs, and their interspaces filled up with clay. In this, is a small organ, good for little, and worse played on by the organist.

The sect of Luther have a church likewise. This is more spacious than that of the Calvinists, being built of stone, and is much larger than the other. The minister of this church is a gentleman of good character, and by his true pastoral conduct keeps his congregation in good order. The ministers of these Dutch churches are allowed no certain stipend for preaching, but are paid at the will of their hearers. This is a great tie upon them to do their duty, and makes them more diligent than our clergy are. Happy people! in this we may envy them.

A clergyman of the church of England sometimes officiates in the court-house, there being no church here built by those of that persuasion. There are great numbers of Irish Presbyterians, and several Jews, as I hinted before, with divers others, that neither themselves, nor any one else, can tell what sect they follow or imitate.

The houses, for the most part, are built and covered with wood, except some few, which are built of brick and stone. They are generally low, seldom exceeding

two stories. All the owners of lots and houses, here, pay a ground rent, greater or less, according to the grant of them by James Hamilton, Esq. who is the proprietor of the town.

There are hills which environ Lancaster, as likewise some thick woods, which, in the summer, render it very hot, especially in the afternoon. The soil is then dry and very sandy, which, when a fresh wind blows, almost choak the inhabitants.

The water here is very bad, occasioned by their springs, and even wells, being stored with lime-stones. This gave me a looseness, and palled my appetite; but soon left me, after I refrained drinking the water by itself.

They have a very good market in this town, well filled with provisions of all kinds, and prodigiously cheap.

Our commissioners and company supped at Worrall's, and passed away an hour or two very agreeably; after which I retired to bed; but had not long reposed myself, when I was most fiercely attacked by the neighbouring Dutch fleas and bugs, which were ready to devour both me and the minister: however, after killing great quantities of my nimble enemies, I got about two hours' sleep.

Mr. Calvert was more inhumanly used by them than myself, as was likewise Mr. Craddock. On the next night, Mr. Calvert left our lodgings, and laid in the court-house chamber, among the young gentlemen from Virginia, who there had beds made on the floor for that purpose.

Friday, June 22d, 1744.

Rose betwixt 4 and 5. Breakfasted with Mr. commissioner Thomas, Colonels Colvill and King, at Worrall's.

The Indian chiefs not being yet come, we had no business to do.

The honourable the commissioners of Virginia gave our commissioners, and the several Maryland gentlemen, an invitation to dine with them in the court-house, which we did, betwixt one and two. During our dinner, the deputies of the Six Nations, with their followers and attendants, to the number of 252, arrived in town. Several of their squaws, or wives, with some small children, rode on horse-back, which is very unusual with them. They brought their fire-arms and bows and arrows, as well as tomahawks. A great concourse of people fol-

lowed them. They marched in very good order, with *Cannasateego*, one of the Onondago chiefs, at their head; who, when he came near to the court-house wherein we were dining, sung, in the Indian language, a song, inviting us to a renewal of all treaties heretofore made, and that now to be made.

Mr. Weiser, the interpreter, who is highly esteemed by the Indians, and is one of their council of state, (though a German by birth) conducted them to some vacant lots in the back part of the town, where sundry poles and boards were placed. Of these, and some boughs of trees from the woods, the Indians made *wigwams*, or cabins, wherein they resided during the treaty. They will not, on any occasion whatsoever, dwell, or even stay, in houses built by white people.

They placed their cabins according to the rank each nation of them holds in their grand council. The *Onondagoes* nation was placed on the right hand and upper end; then the others, according to their several dignities.

After dining, and drinking the loyal healths, all the younger gentlemen of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, went with Mr. Conrad Weiser to the Indian camp, where they had erected their several cabins. We viewed them all, and heartily welcomed *Cannasateego*, and *Tachanuntie*, (alias the Black Prince) two chiefs of the Onondagoes, to town. They shook us by the hands, and seemed very well pleased with us. I gave them some snuff, for which they returned me thanks in their language.

The first of these sachems (or chiefs) was a tall, well-made man; had a very full chest, and brawny limbs. He had a manly countenance, mixed with a good-natured smile. He was about 60 years of age; very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech, which I observed in the discourse betwixt him, Mr. Weiser, and some of the sachems.

Tachanuntie, another sachem, or chief of the same nation, was a tall, thin man; old, and not so well featured as *Cannasateego*: I believe he may be near the same age with him. He is one of the greatest warriors that ever the Five Nations produced, and has been a great war-captain for many years past.

He is also called *the Black Prince*, because, as I was

informed, he was either begotten on an Indian woman by a negro, or by an Indian chief on some negro woman; but by which of the two, I could not be well assured.

The Governor of Canada, (whom these Indians call *Onantio*) will not treat with any of the Six Nations of Indians, unless *Tachanuntie* is personally present, he having a great sway in all the Indian councils.

Our interpreter, Mr. Weiser, desired us, whilst we were here, not to talk much of the Indians, nor laugh at their dress, or make any remarks on their behaviour: if we did, it would be very much resented by them, and might cause some differences to arise betwixt the white people and them. Besides, most of them understood English, though they will not speak it when they are in treaty.

The Indians, in general, were poorly dressed, having old match-coats, and those ragged; few, or no shirts, and those they had, as black as the Scotchman made the *Jamaicans*, when he wrote in his letter they were as black as that ● blot.

When they had rested some little space of time, several of them began to paint themselves with divers sorts of colours, which rendered them frightful. Some of the others rubbed bear's grease on their faces, and then laid upon that a white paint. When we had made a sufficient survey of them and their cabins, we went to the court-house, where the Indians were expected to meet the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Hon. GEORGE THOMAS, Esq. and to be by him congratulated on their arrival at this town.

Friday, P. M. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, Mr. Weiser accompanied the several Indian chiefs from their camp up to the court-house, which they entered and seated themselves after their own manner. Soon after, his Honour the Governor, the honourable the commissioners of Virginia, the honourable the commissioners of Maryland, and the young gentlemen from the three governments, went into the court-house to the Indians. There the Governor, and all the commissioners, severally welcomed the Indians to Lancaster, and shaked hands with the sachems.

Then his Honour seated himself in the chair on the bench, the Virginia commissioners placed themselves,

to wit, the Hon. Col. Thomas Lee, and Col. William Beverly, on his right hand, and our honourable commissioners on his left. William Peters, Esq. secretary of Pennsylvania, sat in the middle of the table, under the Governor, and Mr. William Black, secretary to the Virginia commissioners, on his right hand, and myself, as secretary to the commissioners of Maryland, on his left hand.

The Governor desired the interpreter to tell the Indians, "He was very glad to see them here, and should not trouble them with business this day, but desired they would rest themselves, after their great journey." This, Mr. Weiser interpreted to them, whereat they seemed well enough pleased, and made the Governor a suitable answer.

When this was done, a good quantity of punch, wine, and pipes and tobacco, were given to the sachems, and the Governor and all the commissioners drank to them, whom they pledged. When they had smoked some small time, and each drank a glass or two of wine and punch, they retired to their cabins.

Our landlord shewed me the book, wherein he keeps the account of the expenses of ours and the Virginia commissioners, and which was ordered to be produced every morning to me, to know exactly the amount of each day's expense.

Saturday, June 23d, 1744, at Lancaster.

This day I was seized with a lax, and small fever, occasioned by drinking the water of this town.

After breakfast, the Governor, the honourable the commissioners, and several other gentlemen, went to the Dunkers' nunnery, about twelve miles from hence. They returned hither about six in the evening.

All this day the Indians staid in their wigwams; and it is usual for them to rest two days after their journey, before they treat, or do business with the English.

After supper, this evening, I went with Mr. President Logan's son, and divers other young gentlemen, to the Indians' camp, they being then dancing one of their lighter war dances.

They performed it after this manner: Thirty or forty

of the younger men formed themselves into a ring, a fire being lighted (notwithstanding the excessive heat) and burning clear in the midst of them. Near this, sat three elderly Indians, who beat a drum to the time of the others' dancing. Then the dancers hopped round the ring, after a frantic fashion, not unlike the priests of Bacchus in old times, and repeated, sundry times, these sounds, *Yohoh! Bugh!* Soon after this, the major part of the dancers (or rather hoppers) set up a horrid shriek or halloo!

They continued dancing and hopping, after this manner, several hours, and rested very seldom. Once, whilst I staid with them, they did rest themselves; immediately thereupon, the three old men began to sing an Indian song, the tune of which was not disagreeable to the white by-standers. Upon this, the young warriors renewed their terrible shriek and halloo, and formed themselves into a ring, environing the three old ones, and danced as before. Mr. Calvert, myself, and some others slipped through the dancers, and stood near the fire; and when the drum-beaters ceased their noise, we shook them by the hand. Here we presented some clean pipes to them, which were very acceptable, most of the Indians being great smokers of tobacco. A *Conestogoe* or *Susquehannah* Indian, stood without the circle, and importuned the white by-standers to give money to the young children, which was done. Whilst this diversion happened, some High-Dutch, belonging to the town, brought their guns with them to the camp; which being perceived by the *Conestogoe*, he informed us, it would be very displeasing to the Indians, who would resent it, though brought thither with ever so innocent an intent; therefore desired us to tell the Germans to withdraw, and leave their musquets out of their sight, otherwise some bad consequences might ensue. We complied with his request, and made the Germans retire.

From the camp I went to Worrall's, and sat up till eleven o'clock; to whose house I heard the Indian drum, and the warriors repeating their terrible noise and dancing; and at this sport of theirs, they continued till near one in the morning.

These young men are surprisingly agile, strong, and

straight limbed. They shoot, both with the gun and bow and arrow, most dexterously. They likewise throw their tomahawk (or little hatchet) with great certainty, at an indifferent large object, for twenty or thirty yards distance. This weapon they use against their enemies, when they have spent their powder and ball, and destroy many of them with it.

The chiefs, who were deputed to treat with the English by their different nations, were very sober men, which is rare for an Indian to be so, if he can get liquor. They behaved very well, during our stay amongst them, and sundry times refused drinking in a moderate way. Whenever they renew old treaties of friendship, or make any bargain about lands they sell to the English, they take great care to abstain from intoxicating drink, for fear of being overreached ; but when they have finished their business, then some of them will drink without measure.

Sunday, June 24th, 1744.

Mr. Commissioner Jenings ordered me to copy the speech to be made by him, in the name of the governor of Maryland, to the Indians, in the court-house, tomorrow morning. This, and transcribing some copies of it, busied me so much that I could not go to the court-house, where divine service, according to the church of England, was performed by my fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Craddock, to a numerous audience, this day. He also preached a very good sermon, which met the approbation of the several gentlemen present.

His Honour the Governor invited Mr. Craddock to dine with him, which he did, and received a hearty welcome.

Betwixt 1 and 2, our honourable commissioners, and those of Virginia, dined in the court-house, and the gentlemen of both their governments ; after which, the office of the day was again performed by another minister of the established church. He gave us an excellent sermon, and expatiated very feelingly on the too prevalent vices of the age. He used plain language, and thereby fitted his discourse for all capacities, by which all might truly edify, if they had any grace, or good disposition thereto.

In the evening, walked to the Indian camp, where they were dancing in the manner described last night,

only the number of dancers was augmented, they having taken in several small boys, to make a larger ring.

Betwixt 8 and 9, this night, supped with my brother secretary, Mr. Black, in his lodgings at Mr. George Sanderson's. We had pleasant company, good wine, and lime-punch. From hence I went to Worrall's, where, in my room, three very impudent Indian traders had taken possession of my bed, and caused another to be there made; but after some disputes, our landlord made these scoundrels quit their beds, and leave the parson and myself in quiet possession.

These traders, for the most part, are as wild as some of the most savage Indians, amongst whom they trade for skins, fur, &c. for sundry kinds of European goods, and strong liquors. They go back in the country, above 300 miles from the white inhabitants; here they live with the Indian hunters till they have disposed of their cargoes; and then, on horses, carry their skins, &c. to Philadelphia, where they are bought by the merchants there, and from thence exported to London. It is a very beneficial trade, though hazardous to their persons and lives; for the weather is so excessively cold where they trade, which is near the lakes of Canada, and their cabins so poorly made to defend themselves from the bitter winters, that they often perish: and on the other hand, they are liable to the insults and savage fury of the drunken Indians, by selling to them rum, and other spirituous liquors. The government, as yet, have not provided a law, prohibiting the selling such liquors, although it has been pressed by his Honour, who is but too sensible of the ill effects produced by the Indian traders carrying so much to barter with the hunters of the Six-Nations.

I rested well, after dispossessing these intruding guests; but this happened by my giving orders to my landlord's servants, this morning, to wash our room with cold water, and take my bed from its bedstead, and lay it on the floor; and by this means the bugs and fleas were defeated of their prey.

Monday morning, 25th June, 1744.

At 10 o'clock, the Indian sachems met the Governor, the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and those of

this province, when his Honour made them a speech,* to which Cannasateego returned an answer in behalf of all the others present.

The Indians staid in the court-house about two hours; and were regaled with some bumbo and sangree.

The honourable commissioners from Virginia and Maryland dined in the court-house, as did the gentleman of both governments; we had two tables, and a great variety of victuals; our company being about thirty in number.

In the court-house, on Monday, P. M.

The Governor, and all the honourable commissioners, resumed their several seats here; and then the chiefs came in, and took their places.

Edmund Jenings, Esq. as first commissioner for Maryland, made a speech to the Six Nations, which was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiser. Whilst Mr. Jenings delivered his speech, he gave the interpreter a string and two belts of wampum, which were by him presented to the sachem Cannasateego; and the Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation; by this we were sure the speech was well approved by the Indians. This cry is usually made on presenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus: The grand chief and speaker amongst them pronounces the word *jo-bab!* with a loud voice, singly; then all the others join in this sound, *wok!* dwelling some little while upon it, and keeping exact time with each other, and immediately, with a sharp noise and force, utter this sound, *wugh!* This is performed in great order, and with the utmost ceremony and decorum; and with the Indians is like our English huzza!

Monday evening in the court-house chamber.

I supped with the Governor, the honourable commissioners, and the gentlemen of Philadelphia, who attended his Honour to this town. We had an elegant entertainment; and after supper the Governor was extremely merry, and thereby set an example of agreeable

* See the speech and answer, in the treaty, printed at Philadelphia, and Williamsburg in Virginia.

mirth, which ran through the whole company. During this merriment, two Germans happened to pass by the court-house with a harp and fiddle, and played some tunes under the window of our room: upon that, they were ordered to come up stairs, where the Governor required them to divert us, which they did, but not with the harmony of their music, (for that was very uncouth and displeasing to us, who had heard some of the best bands in England) but by playing a tune, of some sort, to a young Indian, who danced a jig with Mr. Andrew Hamilton, in a most surprising manner. At nine o'clock, the Governor and commissioners left us; and then the younger persons raised their jollity by dancing in the Indian dress, and after their manner.

Tuesday, 26th June.

Copied fair the proceedings of yesterday with the Indians, as also Gov. Thomas's speech to them, which were transmitted to his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq. Governor of Maryland, by Mr. Commissioner Jenings.

We dined in the court-house; and soon after I received orders from the above commissioner, to acquaint all the Maryland gentlemen, "That they should desist going into "the court-house this afternoon, during our treaty with "the Six Nations." Pursuant to which order, I informed the gentlemen of our commissioners' pleasure, at which the first were much disgusted, as were the Virginia gentlemen, who had the same commands laid on them by the secretary of their commissioners.

Five o'clock, P. M. His Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the honourable the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, met the Indian chiefs in the court-house, when Cannasateego answered our speech of yesterday, and presented a string and two belts of wampum: which being done, the further execution of the treaty was adjourned until the next day.

By order of our commissioners, and at the request of Mr. Weiser, the interpreter, I bought half a gross of tobacco pipes, to be presented to the Indians at their camp, which was accordingly done, and they seemed well pleased at the gift, such pipes being scarce with them.

Wednesday 27th June.

After breakfast, viewed Mr. Worrall's book of our expenses, which we settled; and the whole amount thereof, from the 20th instant to this day, was £46-0-5, Pennsylvania currency.—N. B. Mr. Worrall's account for the negroes' expenses was not included in the above sum.

This day our commissioners wrote a letter to our Governor, giving him an account of their transactions with the Indians, which I fairly copied by their order.

P. M. 5 o'clock. The Governor, and all the honourable commissioners, again met, and treated with the Six Nations, in the court-house, when Tachanuntie, the famous Black Prince, (mentioned before) answered the speech made yesterday by the Hon. Col. Lee, one of the Virginia commissioners; and in token that it was well received and approved by the chiefs, Tachanuntie presented one string and two belts of wampum to his Majesty's commissioners of Virginia. Then Mr. Commissioner Jenings desired the interpreter to ask the Indians if they would be ready for a conference to-morrow morning, in the court-house chamber, with the commissioners of Maryland; which he did, and the Indians answered, that they would meet for that purpose, as desired.

At 8 o'clock, this evening, I went, with three of our honourable commissioners, to a ball in the court-house chamber; to which his Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, and the gentlemen of the several colonies, with sundry inhabitants of this town, were invited.

James Hamilton, Esq. the proprietor of Lancaster, made the ball, and opened it, by dancing two minuets with two of the ladies here, which last danced wilder time than any Indians.

Our music and musicians were the same as described last Monday evening.

The females (I dare not call them ladies, for that would be a profanation of the name) were, in general, very disagreeable. The dancers consisted of Germans and Scotch-Irish; but there were some Jewesses, who had not long since come from New-York, that made a tolerable appearance, being well dressed, and of an agreeable behaviour.

There was a large and elegant supper prepared in the court-house chamber, of which the Governor, some of the honourable commissioners, and the female dancers, first eat: then the other gentlemen in order, and afterwards the younger gentlemen. The dances were concluded about 12 o'clock; but myself, with several others of the younger sort, staid till after one in the morning.

Thursday, 28th June, 1744, A. M.

At 9 this morning, the commissioners of Maryland and the Six Nations met in the court-house chamber, according to agreement of yesterday.

Here we opened the several bales and boxes of goods, to be presented the Indians, they having been bought at Philadelphia, and sent hither for that end.

Before the chiefs viewed and handled the several goods, Mr. Commissioner Jenings made them a speech in the name of the Governor of Maryland, with which, after it was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiser, they seemed well pleased.

The chiefs turned over, and narrowly inspected the goods, and asked the prices of them; which being told them, they seemed somewhat dissatisfied; and desired to go down into the court-house, to consult among themselves, (which is their usual method, if it concerns any matter of importance, as this was, for they must give a particular account of their whole negotiation to their several tribes, when they return) with their interpreter. They did so; and after some time came up again, and agreed with our commissioners to release their claim and right to any lands now held by the inhabitants of Maryland, and for which the said Indians were not heretofore satisfied, in consideration of the following goods, viz.

4 pieces of strouds, at £ 7	£ 28	0	0
2 pieces ditto, £ 5,	10	0	0
200 shirts,	63	12	0
3 pieces half thicks,	11	0	0
3 ditto duffle blankets, at £ 7,	21	0	0
1 ditto, ditto,	6	10	0
47 guns, at £ 1-6-0,	61	2	0
1lb. vermilion,	0	18	0

Carried over, £ 202 2 0

	<i>Brought over,</i>	£ 202 2 0
1000 flints,		0 18 0
4 doz. jews-harps,		0 14 0
1 doz. boxes,		0 1 0
1 cwt. 2 qrs. 0 lb. bar lead,		3 0 0
2 qrs. shot,		1 0 0
2 half barrels gun-powder,		13 0 0
		<hr/>
Pennsylvania money.		£ 220 15 0

The above quantity of goods were accordingly given the Indians, as agreed on by both parties; after which, our commissioners ordered me to go to Mr. Worrall, and desire him to send some punch for the sachems, which was accordingly done; and after they had severally drank health to the commissioners, and the compliment returned by the latter, the Indians retired to their wigwams, and the honourable commissioners went to their lodgings about 12 o'clock.

Post Meridiem. The commissioners of Virginia had a private treaty with the chiefs, in the court-house, when Col. Lee made them a speech; which see in the printed Treaty, fol. 20, 21, 22.

In the evening, about 7 o'clock, I accompanied my friend, Col. Nathan Rigbie, to the Indian cabins, where, having collected several of their papooses (or little children) together, he slung a handful of English half-pennies amongst them, for which they scrambled heartily, and with the utmost earnestness. This pleased the elder sort very much; and they esteem it a great mark of friendship, if the white people make presents to their children, or treat them with any particular notice. I gave the papooses some small beads, which were kindly received. The young men, this night, again danced a war-dance, as described on Saturday last; at which were present a great number of white people. When the colonel and myself had taken a view of the Onondagoes', Cahugas' and Senecas' cabins, he went from me to the ring of dancers, and then I went to a cabin, where I heard the celebrated Mrs. Montour, a French lady, (but now, by having lived so long among the Six Nations, is become almost an Indian) had her residence. When I approach-

ed the wigwam, I saluted her in French, and asked her whether she was not born in Canada? of what parents? and whether she had not lived a long time with the Indians? She answered me in the same language very civilly, and after some compliments were passed betwixt us, told me, in a polite manner, "That she was born in Canada, whereof her father (who was a French gentleman) had been Governor; under whose administration, the then Five Nations of Indians had made war against the French, and the Hurons in that government, (whom we term the French Indians, from espousing their part against the English, and living in Canada) and that, in the war, she was taken by some of the Five Nations' warriors, being then about ten years of age; and by them was carried away into their country, where she was habited and brought up in the same manner as their children: That when she grew up to years of maturity, she was married to a famous war captain of those nations who was in great esteem for the glory he procured in the wars he carried on against the Catawbias, a great nation of Indians to the south-west of Virginia, by whom she had several children; but about fifteen years ago, he was killed in a battle with them; since which, she has not been married: That she had little or no remembrance of the place of her birth, nor indeed of her parents, it being near fifty years since she was ravished from them by the Indians."

She has been a handsome woman, genteel, and of polite address, notwithstanding her residence has been so long among the Indians; though formerly she was wont to accompany the several chiefs, who used to renew treaties of friendship with the proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, the metropolis of that province; and being a white woman, was there very much caressed by the gentlewomen of that city, with whom she used to stay for some time. She retains her native language, by conversing with the Frenchmen who trade for fur, skins, &c. among the six nations; and our language she learned at Philadelphia, as likewise of our traders, who go back into the Indians' country. In her cabin were two of her daughters, by the war-captain, who were both married to persons of the same station, and were then gone to war with the Catawbias before

mentioned. One of these young women had a son, about five years old, who, I think, was one of the finest-featured and limbed children mine eyes ever saw, and was not so tawny, or greased, as the other Indian children were; but, on the contrary, his cheeks were ruddy, mixed with a delicate white, had eyes and hair of an hazel colour, and was neatly dressed in a green ban-jan, and his other garments were suitable.

Madame Montour has but one son, who, for his prowess and martial exploits, was lately made a captain, and a member of the Indian council, and is now gone to war against the Catawbias, with her son-in-law.

She is in great esteem with the best sort of white people, and by them always treated with abundance of civility; and whenever she went to Philadelphia, (which formerly she did pretty often) the ladies of that city always invited her to their houses, entertained her well, and made her several presents.

From this cabin, when I had taken leave of Mrs. Montour and her daughters, I returned to the dancers, who were continuing their mirth; and afterwards returned to my lodgings.

Friday, June the 29th, 1744, A. M.

Our commissioners and the Six Nations had a private conference in the court-house chamber, when they jointly proceeded to settle the bounds and quantity of land the latter were to release to Lord Baltimore, in Maryland; but the Indians, not very well apprehending our commissioners, in their demand respecting the bounds of the lands to be released, occasioned a great delay in the finishing of that business; however, it was wholly settled in the afternoon, upon Mr. Weiser's conference with the Governor of Pennsylvania, his Majesty's commissioners of Virginia, and those of Maryland, and also with the Indians in council, where he debated the matter more fully; and explained our commissioners' demands in so clear a manner, that they came to such an amicable determination, as proved agreeable to each party. We again presented the sachems, here with bumbo punch, with which they drank prosperity and success to their Father, the great King over the waters, and to the healths of our commissioners.

This day we dined at our landlord Worrall's; and it was agreed, by the commissioners of Maryland, to invite all the Six Nations' chiefs, to dine with them, in company with the Governor and Virginia commissioners, to-morrow, in the court-house; against which time, orders were given to prepare a large and elegant entertainment.

In the evening I went with Col. Rigbie, and other gentlemen, to visit one Mr. Adams, a German doctor, who, we understood, had got an organ; but it was with the greatest importunity he would favour us in playing a tune, telling us, that unless he himself was possessed with a strong desire to play, he could oblige no body; yet, seeing we were so very importunate, he at last complied, and strummed over three or four High-Dutch psalm tunes, to which he sang the words, in the most enthusiastic raptures. For my part, what with the horrid noise he made on the organ, and his horse-voice, I never suffered so great an anticipation of pleasure in hearing music, or, at least, a musical instrument, in my whole life. When he had finished his rapturous fit of noise, he acquainted us, that he had been a consummate rake in his more youthful days; but soon after he married, turned himself to a sober and religious life, and praised his Maker several hours in a day, by playing on, and singing to his organ. He seemed to us to be a perfect enthusiast; and, upon inquiry among his neighbours, he has borne that character ever since he took to himself a wife. Being very much tired with his cant and noise, we at last took our leaves of him, though not before inviting him to drink a glass of wine with us at our lodgings; but he desired to be excused accepting our invitation, at which we were not displeased, since we might have expected his visit would have proved very troublesome.

Saturday, 30th June, 1744, A. M.

Mr Commissioner Jenings having this morning drawn a deed of release from the chiefs of the Six Nations for the lands they claim in Maryland, to the use of Lord Baltimore, sent for me to engross it, which I so did, pursuant to his order, about nine o'clock.

At ten, his Majesty's commissioners had a conference

with the Indians in the court-house chamber, to which no other persons than themselves were admitted.

One o'clock, P. M. The twenty-four chiefs of the Six Nations, by invitation of yesterday from the honourable commissioners of Maryland, dined with them in the court-house ; when were present, at other tables, his Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and a great many gentlemen of the three colonies. There were a large number of the inhabitants of Lancaster likewise present to see the Indians dine.

We had five tables, great variety of dishes, and served up in very good order. The sachems sat at two separate tables ; at the head of one, the famous orator, Canasateego, sat, and the others were placed according to their rank. As the Indians are not accustomed to eat in the same manner as the English, or other polite nations do, we, who were secretaries on this affair, with Mr. Thomas Cookson, prothonotary of Lancaster county, William Logan, Esq. son of Mr. President Logan, and Mr. Nathaniel Rigbie, of Baltimore county, in Maryland, carved the meat for them, served them with cider and wine, mixed with water, and regulated the economy of the two tables. The chiefs seemed prodigiously pleased with their feast, for they fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished their dinner, for, by the bye, they made no use of their forks. The interpreter, Mr. Weiser, stood betwixt the table, where the governor sat, and that, at which the sachems were placed, who, by order of his Honour, was desired to inform the Indians he drank their healths, which he did ; whereupon they gave the usual cry of approbation, and returned the compliment, by drinking health to his Honour and the several commissioners.

After dinner, the interpreter informed the Governor and commissioners, “ That as the Lord Proprietary and
“ Governor of Maryland was not known to the Indians by
“ any particular name, they had agreed, in council, to take
“ the first opportunity of a large company to present him
“ with one : And, as this with them was a matter of great
“ consequence, and attended with abundance of form, the
“ several nations had drawn lots for the performance of

“ the ceremony ; and the lot falling on the Cāhūga nation, they had chosen Gāchrādōdōn, one of their chiefs, to be their speaker, and he desired leave to begin ; which being given, he, on an elevated part of the courthouse, with all the dignity of a warrior, the gesture of an orator, and in a very graceful posture, spoke as follows :

“ As the Governor of Maryland has invited us here, to treat about our lands, and brighten the chain of friendship, the united Six Nations think themselves so much obliged to him, that we have come to a resolution, in council, to give the great man, who is proprietor of Maryland, a particular name, by which we may hereafter correspond with him : And as it hath fallen to the Cabugaes' lot in council to consider of a proper name for that chief man, we have agreed to give him the name of Tōcāry-hō-gōn, denoting Precedency, Excellency, or living in the middle, or honourable place, betwixt Asserigoa, and our brother Onas, by whom our treaties may be the better carried on.”

And then, addressing himself to his Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, the honourable the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, and to the gentlemen then present, he added :

“ As there is a company of great men now assembled, we take this opportunity to publish this matter, that it may be known Tocary-ho-gon is our friend, and that we are ready to honour him, and that by such name he may be always called and known among us ; and, we hope, he will ever act towards us, according to the excellence of the name we have now given him, and enjoy a long and happy life.”

When the speech was ended, all the other chiefs expressed their assent, and great satisfaction at what was said to our commissioners, insomuch that they sent forth five several cries of approbation.

Gachradodon having finished his complimentary oration, Mr. Commissioner Jenings, in the name of the other commissioners, and on behalf of Lord Baltimore, spoke in reply to the sachem : “ That his Lordship was much obliged “ to the six nations for distinguishing him “ by the name of Tocaryhogon, esteeming it a mark of kindness and honour : That his Lordship would en-

“ertain the most unfeigned friendship for them; and
“ that the government of Maryland would ever be ready
“ and desirous to render them its best offices, conducive
“ to their tranquillity and undisturbed safety;” which
Mr. Weiser, by command, interpreted to the Indians;
and at the same time was ordered to acquaint them, that
the governor and the commissioners were then prepar-
ing to drink his Majesty’s health; all which was done,
and the chiefs expressed a sincere joy by their cry of
approbation, and drank the same in bumpers of Madeira
wine. The governor, commissioners, and indeed all the
persons present, except the Indians, gave three several
huzzas, after the English manner, on drinking the King’s
health; which a good deal surprised them, they having
never before heard the like noise.

Upon ending the ceremony of drinking healths, the
governor and commissioners retired some little time;
but within an hour, the commissioners of Virginia and
Maryland entered the court-house, and afterwards went
up into the chamber, as likewise the several chiefs, Mr.
Weiser, and a great many of the young gentlemen.
Here, by order of our commissioners, I produced the
engrossed release for the lands, with the seals fixed.
We were obliged to put about the glass pretty briskly;
and then Mr. Weiser interpreted the contents of it to
the sachems, who, conferring amongst themselves about
the execution of it, the major part of them seemed very
inclinable to sign and deliver it; but upon Shukelemy,
an Oneydoe chief’s remonstrance, some of the others,
with himself, refused, for that day, executing it; which
refusal of Shukelemy, we imputed, and that not without
reason, to some sinister and under-hand means, made
use of by the Pennsylvanians, to induce the sachems not
to give up their right to the lands by deed, without hav-
ing a larger consideration given them, by the province of
Maryland, than what was specified in the release. Shu-
kelemy, who before, we had esteemed one of our fastest
friends, put us under a deep surprise and confusion, by
his unfair behaviour; yet we, in some measure, extri-
cated ourselves out of them, by the honest Cannasa-
teego’s, and the other sachems, to the number of sixteen,
delivering the deed after the forms customary with the

English, to which there were a great many gentlemen signed their names as witnesses. Weiser assured the commissioners, that he, with Cannasatego and some other chiefs, would so effectually represent the unfair dealing of Shukelemy, and his partisans in council, that he did not doubt to induce him and them totally to finish this business on Monday next, maugre all the insinuations and misrepresentations agitated by the enemies of Maryland; and indeed Mr. Interpreter proved successful, as is evident in the transactions of Monday, and may be seen in the printed treaty.

Monday, July the 2d, 1744, A. M.

The honourable commissioners of Maryland, with Mr. Weiser, met at the house of George Sanderson, in this town, when the several chiefs, who had not signed the deed of release, and renunciation of their claim to lands in Maryland, did now cheerfully, and without any hesitation, execute the same, in the presence of the commissioners and Mr. Weiser; which latter they caused to sign and deliver it on behalf of a nation not present, both with his Indian name of Tarachiawagon, and that of Weiser. Thus we happily effected the purchase of the lands in Maryland, by the dexterous management of the interpreter, notwithstanding the storm on Saturday, that threatened to blast our measures; and hereby gained not only some hundred thousand acres of land to Lord Baltimore, who had no good right to them before this release, but an undisturbed and quiet enjoyment of them to the several possessors, who, in fact, had bought of that Lord's agent.

The names of the chiefs, who signed and delivered the deed, were,

Cannasatego, Tacanoontia, Johnuhat, Caxhayion, Toruchdadon, Netokanyhak, and Rotierawuchto, sachems of the Onondago nation.

Saguchsonyunt, Gachradodon, Hutasalyakon, Rowanhohiso, Osochqual, and Seyenties, sachems of the Cahugäes.

Swadamy, alias Shukelemy, Onichnaxqua, Onochkalldawy, alias Watsatuha, Tohashwanrarorows, Arughhochtthaw, and Tiorbaasery, sachems of the Oneydöes.

Sidowax, Attiusgu, Tuwaiadachquha, sachems of the Tuscaroröes.

Tanasanegos, and Tanachiuntus, chiefs of the Senickers, or Senecæes.

The deed was delivered by Mr. Commissioner Jenings, on his return to Annapolis, to his clerk, Mr. Richard Burdus, who recorded it among the land records, in the provincial court office of Maryland, in libro. E.I. fo. 8, 9, 10, 11.

This morning the Governor met the Indians on business, and Cannasateego answered his Honour's speech made to the Indians on Thursday last, relating to the murder of John Armstrong and his two men, Indian traders. The chief said, "That the Indians were, from the bottom of their hearts, very sorry such a misfortune had happened; but hoped their brother Onas would dry up his tears, and wipe his eyes: That they would send the two Delawares down to Philadelphia, who were suspected to be, and charged as accessaries to the murder, though they really believed them guiltless; for they assured the Governor, that on the trial of the Indian in Philadelphia gaol, committed for perpetrating Armstrong's and his men's murder, it would appear, that he was the sole person who did the horrid deed: however, to comply with the Governor's request, they would send the Delawares, (but not as prisoners) to be examined and tried; and if they were found guilty, to suffer as the English law prescribes; but if innocent, then to return them safe to the Six Nations." His Honour, in return, said, "That great care should be taken to do the Delawares all the justice in the world: and if, upon a fair trial, they should be acquitted, he would send them in safety to their own homes."

The Indians gave the Governor four strings of wampum, and he, in return presented them with three strings. But for a more particular account of Armstrong and his men's murder, see the treaty at large.

In the afternoon, the honourable commissioners of Virginia had a conference with the Indians in the courthouse chamber, when a deed, in the nature of ours, releasing their claim to a large quantity of land, lying in

that colony, was produced by Mr. Weiser to the sachems for execution, which was signed and delivered by them in the presence of divers gentlemen of the three colonies, who were witnesses to the same. Wine and sangree was presented to the chiefs, who drank to the continuation of the friendship betwixt them, and his Majesty's subjects in Virginia. After the deed was executed, Canasateego, commanded the young Indian men, then present, to entertain the Governor and commissioners, in the evening, with a particular dance, according to the custom of their nations; which was complied with about 8 o'clock. Before they performed the dance, I went to their camp, where I saw the young warriors paint themselves in a frightful manner, and on their heads place a great quantity of feathers. They took arrows and tomahawks in their hands, and then unanimously ran out of their camp, hallooing and shrieking (which was terrible to us, being strangers) up the street to Mr. Cookson's, where the Governor was: and there they made a ring, a person being placed in it, and danced round him to a horrid noise, made by the inclosed person, and the others. In this manner they continued some time, flourishing their weapons, and striving to destroy him in the ring. When they had acted thus about seven or eight minutes, then their captain ran before them, very swift, to another place, about twenty or thirty yards distance from Mr. Cookson's, and there acted the same over again. This was a representation of the Indians besieging a fort of their enemies, (who have no cannon) the person in the midst of the circle representing the fort besieged, and the Indians encircling him, the besiegers: and as it happens sometimes, that they are beaten from a fort when besieging it, so their running away, as described above, was the manner of their retreat. As soon as the Indians recovered their fatigue, they renewed the attack of the supposed fort. When they had finished the siege, and the Governor and commissioners had treated them with sangree, they immediately retired to their wigwams.

Tuesday, 3d July, 1744.

At 11 o'clock, this morning, the Governor, and all the honourable commissioners, had a meeting with the Six

Nations in the court-house, when his Honour made a speech to them, as did the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland; and each party presented strings and belts of wampum; on receipt of which, the Indians gave the usual cry of approbation, and in a stronger and more cheerful tone than heretofore. They were served with plenty of rum at the conclusion of the speeches, and drank it with good *gout*.

Wednesday, 4th July, 1744.

The Indian chiefs assembled in the court-house, and the Governor and commissioners met them there, when the speeches made yesterday, by the latter gentlemen, were answered by the Indian orators. After this, the chiefs made a present of a large bundle of deer-skins to his Honour, the commissioners of Virginia, and to those of Maryland, which were kindly accepted. The Governor, commissioners of Virginia, and the white bystanders, gave three loud huzzas, and thereby put an end to the treaty in regard to them.

In the Afternoon. Court-House.

The Shawanese nation of Indians, who compose the sixth body amongst these Indians, in the year 1742, came down to Maryland, on the eastern shore of that province, to a nation of our friendly Indians, and tributary to the Six Nations, called the Nanticokes, from inhabiting near a river of that name; and, by their artifices, persuaded them to rise upon the English, to recover all the lands that had been formerly theirs, but now possessed by the English, under Lord Baltimore; at the same time promising the Nanticokes all the assistance in the power of them, the Shawanese, though they were in perfect friendship with us, by the treaty made during the administration of the Hon. Charles Calvert, Esq. who, giving ear, but too unwarily, to the Shawanese, did intend to have put in practice the wicked scheme of destroying the white inhabitants of that shore; but their machinations were opportunely discovered, by one of the Nanticoke chiefs, a day or two before they were to have perpetrated the intended murders of the English. Upon this, the militia of the counties were raised; who, after a great and close search, took 68 Nanticoke chiefs prisoners, with old Pan-

quash, their emperor; and they were brought to Annapolis in sloops, and there examined and confined, but afterwards set at liberty. As these actions of the Shawanese (who, indeed, are the most dishonest and treacherous of all the other Six Nations, and for that reason hated by them) were contrary to the treaties then subsisting betwixt us, and them as a part of the Six Nations, the commissioners took an opportunity, in a private conference with them this afternoon, "to ask them the reason of the Shawanese's procedure, and whether they had any countenance from other nations? and also desired the chiefs, then present, to search this business fully, and reprimand the criminal Shawanese, who were more blameable than the deluded Nanticokes." The Six Nations, by their orator, said, "that they were heartily sorry for what the Shawanese had done; but, on their return to Onondago, they would make a strict inquiry of the whole affair; and if they found them so culpable as we alleged they were, then they would severely reprimand them for their treacherous behaviour, contrary to the faith of treaties." When this answer was finished, our commissioners shook the several chiefs by the hand, and took their leaves of them, presenting Gachradodon with a fine laced hat.

This Gachradodon is a very celebrated warrior, and one of the Cahuga chiefs, about forty years of age, tall, straight-limbed, and a graceful person, but not so fat as Cannasateego. His action, when he spoke, was certainly the most graceful, as well as bold, that any person ever saw; without the buffoonery of the French, or over-sollemn deportment of the haughty Spaniards. When he made the complimentary speech (page 194) on the occasion of giving Lord Baltimore the name of Tocaryhogan, he was complimented by the Governor, who said, "that he would have made a good figure in the forum of old Rome." And Mr. Commissioner Jenings declared, "that he had never seen so just an action in any of the most celebrated orators he had heard speak."

Thursday, 5th July, 1744.

This morning, Mr. Peters, secretary to the Governor, Mr. Black, secretary to the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and myself, examined the whole treaty, and

finished all matters any way relating to it. At 12, Colonels Colvill and King, with the Virginia commissioners, settled our accounts with Mr. Worrall. Here we dined, and immediately afterwards mounted our horses, and went from this filthy town to our kind, facetious landlord's, Mr. Hughes, at Nottingham township, by the Gap-Road, so called from a space or gap being open in the ridge of blue mountains, which extend a great way to the south-westward of Virginia, and north-eastward of Pennsylvania.

I was so fatigued with my journey, which was forty-four miles, and the weather was so very sultry, withal, having no good accommodations on the road, that several of us were seized with a fever. Lay at Mr. Hughes's, where good care was taken of me by my kind host.

Friday, 6th July, 1744.

Breakfasted at Mr. Hughes's; and about eight in the morning set out for Mr. Benjamin Chew's, in Cecil county, after having taken leave of the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and the several young gentlemen of that colony, with the latter of whom I had contracted a friendship, and received many civilities from them. My horse tired in my journey to Mr. Chew's, though it was but ten miles. Here I rested this day and night, my fever continuing, and my horse still remaining lame.

Saturday, 7th of July, 1744.

Went from Mr. Chew's about six this morning: crossed the lower ferry of Susquehannah: baited at Mr. Treadway's ordinary, and arrived at Joppa about 11 o'clock. Ferried from thence over Gunpowder river to Mr. Day's, where I dined. From hence proceeded to Baltimore town, where I rested at the Reverend Mr. Benedict Bourdillon's; staid and drank tea with him and his lady, and then went over Potapscoe river to Mrs. Hughes's ordinary, where I lodged this night.

Sunday, 8th July, 1744.

After breakfast, about six this morning, went from hence to Annapolis, with Mr. William Dallam, and arrived there at ten o'clock.

The end of my Journal.

WITHAM MARSHE,
Sec'ry to the Hon. Commis. of Maryland.

A LIST OF THE SEVERAL PUBLIC OFFICES, ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS, AND OTHER PLACES OF PROFIT, IN THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND, WITH THEIR REVENUES; IN WHOSE DISTRIBUTION, AS A PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

CHARLES Lord Baltimore, Proprietor.		<i>Sterl.</i>
Gift of the Proprietor.	{ Governor, appointed by Proprietor, approved by his Majesty, . . .	£1550
	But if the government was in the hands of the Crown, the Governor would receive more, . . .	500
Proprietor.	Commissary-General, his office worth	900
Proprietor.	Secretary's office, . . .	800
Proprietor.	Six naval offices, at £150 each, . . .	900
Proprietor by his Governor.	{ Thirteen Shrievalties, at £200 each, ☞ These are thriving offices, and in time of peace are worth more than £200 per ann. com. annis.	2600
Gift of the Secretary.	{ Thirteen County Clerkships, grantable for life, at £115 per ann. but more in peaceable times, . . .	1495
Lords of the Treasury.	{ Collectorship for the district of Patuxent, . . .	300
	☞ There are 3 others, but know not their value.	
	Four Deputy-Collectorships, in the gift of the several collectors, . . .	100
	Three Trustees or Commissioners of the Loan Office, appointed by the Governor, . . .	120
	Their Clerk's salary, . . .	40

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Thirty-seven Parishes, in the Proprietor's gift, at £120 each, . . .	4440
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NOTE. If the clergy are once inducted, no one can turn them out, let their behaviour be ever so scandalous, for there is no spiritual court, nor has any Bishop power to control them in Maryland, the Proprietor being head of the church, &c.

Carried over, £13,745

<i>Brought over,</i>	£13,745
Treasurers of the two shores,	250
Clerkship of the Council,	160
Clerkship of the House of Delegates, in their gift,	50
Armory-Keeper, salary, net,	40
Register of the Commissary-General, in his gift,	80
Clerkship of the Secretary's office, in Sec'y's gift,	65
	£14,390

Besides the places and benefices here particularly enumerated, there are sundry small gifts of profit, which, in the whole, may amount to a considerable sum.

UNION OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN COLONIES, AS PROPOSED IN THE YEAR 1754.

PLAN* of a proposed union of the several colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, and New-Jersey, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British settlements northward and westward of said colonies, in North-America; recommended by commissioners from several colonies, met in congress, at Albany, June 14, 1754.

Present,

Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, Messrs. Murray, Johnson, Chambers and Smith,	}	New-York.
Messrs. Welles, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington,	}	Massachusetts-Bay.
Messrs. Wibird, Atkinson, Weare, and Sherburne,	}	New-Hampshire.
Lieut. Gov. Pitkin, Maj. Woolcot, and Col. Williams,	}	Connecticut.
Messrs. Hopkins and Howard,	}	Rhode-Island.
Messrs. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin,	}	Pennsylvania.
Col. Tasker and Maj. Barnes,	}	Maryland.

That humble application be made for an act of the Parliament of Great-Britain, by virtue of which one

* There was another plan proposed, which embraced all the colonies of North America, except Georgia and Nova Scotia.

general Union may be formed, including all the said colonies ; within and notwithstanding which union, each of said colonies shall and may hold and maintain its present constitution, except the particulars wherein a change or alteration may be directed by said act, as hereafter follows, viz.

That in the said general union, the ordering and direction of the affairs thereof be administered by one President General, who shall be the Governor of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay for the time being ; and a Grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the said colonies, met in their respective assemblies.

That within months after the passing such act, the House of Representatives in the several assemblies that happen to be setting at that time, or that shall be specially convened for that purpose, may and shall choose members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, that is to say,

Massachusetts-Bay	7	New-Hampshire	. 3
Connecticut . . .	4	Rhode-Island . . .	2
New-York	4	New-Jersey	3

In all, 23

Who shall meet, for the first time, at the town of Boston, in New-England, at such time as shall be appointed by the President-General, and whereof the members of the Grand Council shall be duly notified, as soon as conveniently may be, after an act of parliament for this purpose is passed, and the several colonies duly acquainted thereof.

That the members of the Grand Council shall be newly elected and chosen, by the Representatives in the several assemblies, every three years ; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice, at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener, if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at their last preceding meeting ; or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President-General, on any emergency, he having first obtained, in

writing, the consent of five of the members to such call ; or, on application made to the President-General by ten of the Grand Council, in writing under their hands, to have a meeting called, he shall send due and timely notice to the whole.

That the Grand Council shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting, longer than four weeks at one time, without their own consent, or the special command of the Crown.

That the President-General shall have a casting voice, whenever an equi-vote shall happen in the Grand Council.

That a quorum of the Grand Council, to act with the President-General, do consist of twelve members, among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

That the Grand Council shall annually grant a salary, to be allowed and paid to the President-General, for his services, not exceeding the sum of £ sterling.

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed, for their service, 10s. sterling per diem, during their sessions and journey to and from the place of meeting, twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

That in case of the death of the President-General, the Lieut. Governor of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay shall preside, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, till the arrival of a new Governor for said colony.

That the President-General, with the Grand Council, summoned and assembled for that purpose, or a quorum of them as aforesaid, shall hold and direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest or welfare of these colonies may be concerned ; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations ; that they make such rules and orders, with pains and punishments annexed thereto, as they judge necessary, for regulating all Indian trade ; that they direct and order the ways and means, necessary and beneficial to support and maintain the safety and interests of these colonies, against all their common enemies ; that they make all purchases from Indians, for the Crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when the extension of some of them are rendered more certain.

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quit-rent to the Crown for the use of the general treasury.

That they make necessary rules and orders for the well regulating and managing such new settlements, till the Crown shall think fit to form them into particular government or governments.

That they agree and conclude the number of men, and sums of money, that shall, from time to time, be needed to be raised and paid for the purposes aforementioned ; and when the President-General and Grand Council shall conclude and agree on any number of men, and sum of money, needed on any occasion, they shall notify the same to each of the Assemblies of said colonies, by sending an account thereof to the respective Governors of each of said colonies, to be communicated to their Assemblies, recommending it to each colony to raise their quota of men, and levy, collect, and pay their proportion of money, according to the proportion herein before settled for members to be chosen for the Grand Council from each colony ; which may be done, in each colony, in such manner and form, as to them appears equal and right.

That the President-General be the general or chief commander of all the forces raised by virtue of this union ; and that it be his office and duty to cause the acts, rules, and orders, made and concluded by virtue hereof, to be carried into execution ; and he shall commission all the general officers that are needed, who shall be nominated to him by the Grand Council ; and he shall commission the other commission officer or officers, that shall be needed, who shall be nominated to him by the Assembly of that colony, whose soldiers are to be commanded by such officer or officers.

That the President-General and Grand Council of these United Colonies may appoint a general treasurer, and a particular treasurer in each government, when necessary ; and from time to time, may order the sums in the particular treasuries, by them appointed in each government, into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient ; yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-

General and Grand Council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General previously empowered by an order to draw for such sums.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

That the particular military, as well as civil, establishments and constitutions of each colony, remain firm and entire, without any other change or alteration than is herein before mentioned, this general union notwithstanding.

And further, it is proposed, that there be a union made by an act of the parliament of Great-Britain: by virtue whereof, one general union may be formed, including the several colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina; the affairs whereof, in relation to matters and things of the like nature to what is herein before comprised, to be ordered, directed, and administered, in the like manner and form as is herein before mentioned.

And further, it is proposed, that on any special emergency, and extraordinary occasion, wherein it may be thought needful, there may be just rules and directions made and given, wherein all the said colonies, herein before proposed to be united, in the more northern part of America, and those proposed to be united in the more southern part of North-America, may act in concert against the common enemy, in the best and most advantageous manner.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE, CHOSEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT, RESPECTING THE FOREGOING PLAN OF UNION.

To the Honourable General Assembly, sitting at New-Haven, October, 1754.

WE, your Honours' committee, appointed to take into consideration the proposed plan for an union of his Majesty's governments in North-America, to give our opinion thereon, and the reasons of such our opinion, &c. humbly report on the premises, viz.

Having duly and maturely considered said plan, we

are of opinion, that the same has a tendency greatly to weaken and injure his majesty's interest, and that it is subversive of the just rights and privileges of his good and faithful subjects inhabiting his dominions on this continent ; and for such our opinion, we with much submission, offer the following reasons.

1. We find his Majesty's territories, from the south-west part of Georgia to Menis, is more than seventeen hundred miles ; of which, from the head of St. John's (which we suppose to be the north-east extent of the Massachusetts province) to the Apilachi mountains, (which we suppose to be the south-west extent of the colony of South-Carolina,) is, on the frontiers by land, about fifteen hundred miles ; which last extent is all within the limits of the proposed plan of union, so that the president-general and council have to provide for this large extent of frontiers ; and should Georgia and Nova-Scotia, when able to assist, be added, it makes the same yet greater. The sea-coast, we find, varies very little from the extent by land ; and we think it impracticable that his Majesty's interest, and the good of his people, inhabiting so great a country, can, in any advantageous or tolerable manner, be considered and conducted by the proposed president-general and council.

2. The president-general and council having authority to nominate and commissionate all military commission officers, we apprehend, will be highly disadvantageous to his Majesty's interest. Under this head we consider that our officers generally are chosen out of the best yeomen of this colony, who live on their own lands, in peace and plenty ; but have ever been ready to serve their country in the field, when called : their commissions have always been prepared and delivered into their hands gratis. Under these officers, thus chosen and commissioned, freeholders' sons, the youth of this colony, have on all occasions, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, generally enlisted ; and their country's good (not necessity) has led them to arms. Now, should officers be sent from abroad, we are fully satisfied, such youth would not enlist ; and to press these generous young men into service will be not only hard and grievous, but in all probability will greatly dishearten and dispirit them, and

this, we conclude, is very much the case in other his Majesty's provinces and colonies on the continent.

3. His Majesty's subjects, now inhabiting this country, are a very great body; and in every twenty-five years the increase of inhabitants is so great, they are supposed to become double. This power and strength being brought into one point, all to move under the direction of said president-general and council, we fear, may in time be of dangerous consequence to his Majesty's interest, and the good of his loyal subjects here.

4. Further, we apprehend his Majesty's interest is in great danger from the president-general's having a negative voice; for if it ever be, that that officer should not well understand or pursue proper methods for the country's good, all may be ruined before relief can be had from the throne; and it seems to us, that the Grand Council are most likely to understand the true interest and weal of this people.

5. We think the proposal, in said plan contained, for the President-General and Council to lay and levy taxes, &c. as they please, throughout this territory, is a very extraordinary thing, and against the rights and privileges of Englishmen in general; *and such an innovation or breach on charter privileges, we fear, will greatly discourage and dishearten his Majesty's good subjects.* All which, with a draught for a union, delivered in herewith, is humbly submitted, by

Your Honours' committee,

Wm. Pitkin.
Jonath. Trumble.
Joseph Fowle.
Joseph Pitkin.
Jabez Hamlin.
John Hubbard.
Theoph. Nichols.
John Ledyard.

THE REASONS CONSIDERED AND OFFERED, BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, CONCERNING THE PLAN OF UNION THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES IN NORTH-AMERICA, WHO MET AT ALBANY ON THE 14TH JUNE, 1754, HAVE PROPOSED FOR UNITING THE SAID COLONIES INTO ONE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, FOR THE PURPOSES THEREIN EXPRESSED, ARE AS FOLLOWS.

1. THE limits of the proposed plan of union are of too large extent ; from Nova-Scotia on the north, to Georgia on the south, is fifteen hundred miles ; so that the President-General and Grand Council must have to provide for this large extent of frontiers ; and this plan seems calculated only to render this general government, therein proposed, capable to defend against the French, and to proclaim war, and make peace with the Indians. Now it seems plain, that it is impracticable that his Majesty's interest, and the good of his people inhabiting so great a country, with frontiers of so great length, can be advantageously defended, or in any good manner considered and conducted, by the proposed President-General and council : and it may be justly observed here, that a defensive war, on the part of this government, with so large a frontier, will prove detrimental and ruinous to it ; while the French have it in their power, at any time, as well in a time of peace, as of a war, to send out small parties of their Indians, to skulk about in the woods, and fall upon, and surprise any part of the frontiers ; and with but little hazard to themselves, and small expense, keep this proposed government in a continued alarm, in one or other part thereof, and put them to vast expense to defend themselves, and thereby weakon, impoverish, and greatly dishearten the King's subjects in every part of this large extent of frontiers ; while the enemy will be encouraged, and grow strong and wealthy. This, indeed, cannot be remedied, but by carrying the war into the enemy's country, for which this plan makes no provision.

2. The President-General and Council to have authority to nominate and commission all military officers, will be highly detrimental to his Majesty's interest ; as it can-

not be apprehended that they can be well acquainted, in the various parts of so large a government, with the persons who will best serve to encourage soldiers to enlist, and who may conduct them with prudence, and encourage their hearts. It hath hitherto been practised in the New-England governments to appoint officers out of their best yeomen, who live in good circumstances on their own property in lands; and when chosen freely, and without any application of their own for such offices, and receive their commissions gratis, they look on themselves obliged, and are always ready, to serve their country in the field, when thus called thereto; and under such officers, well known and esteemed among the people, freeholders' sons, not moved by necessity, but their country's good, generally have enlisted with cheerfulness and alacrity. Now, should officers be sent among them from abroad, and to whom they are strangers, it is plain such youth will not enlist; and to press such generous young men into service, must be not only hard and grievous, but very much dishearten and dispirit them: and this, no doubt, will prove the case in other of the American colonies, as well as of those in New-England.

3. His Majesty's subjects, now inhabiting this large and extensive country, take them collectively, are become a very great number; and, through the smiles of divine Providence hitherto, are greatly increased, and it is supposed to become double in every twenty-five years: now this growing power and strength to be brought into one point, all to move under the direction of such President-General and Council, may in time be of dangerous consequence to his Majesty's interest, and the good of his loyal subjects here.

4. The President-General to have a negative voice on the Council, may bring his Majesty's interest into danger: That officer, in so extensive a territory, not well understanding, or carefully pursuing proper methods for the country's good, all may be ruined before relief can be had from the throne; and in a country, where the greatest encouragement to go through the hardship and fatigue of a new settlement is the hope of enjoying liberty, and securing a small property in land to themselves, every thing that doth make any encroachment thereon will discourage the people, and thereby injure his Majesty's

interest: And it seems the Council, from the respective colonies, are most likely to understand the true interest and weal of the people.

5. The proposal, in said plan contained, for the President-General and Council to lay and levy taxes, &c. as they please, throughout this extensive government, is a very extraordinary thing, and against the rights and privileges of Englishmen, which is esteemed, and highly prized by the people of these colonies, who have now a due sense of their dependence on their mother country, and delight in obedience to, and admire the protection and privileges of, the laws of England; which, with the special favours and charter privileges to them granted, and hitherto kept sacred and inviolate, have encouraged the people inhabiting here, at their own great expense, industry, and hazard of their lives as well as fortunes, to settle, plant, and cultivate these remote places; and it is not to be doubted, that any great innovations, or breach of their original charters and constitutions, will greatly discourage the industry of the inhabitants, who are jealous of their privileges; and, while they are secured, are zealous to secure his Majesty's dominions here and pursue the enlargement thereof.

At this place, it may be worthy observation, that heavy taxes on the inhabitants, of the northern colonies especially, must be attended with grievous complaints from the main body of the people, who are not well furnished with money, and not able to carry on any considerable trade abroad, thereby to bring home *money*, more than is absolutely necessary to carry on their ordinary affairs; being principally employed in clearing, fencing, and cultivating their lands, and fitting them for future more profitable improvements; and from their first settlement have had the barbarous natives of the country frequently making war upon them, and their restless French neighbours setting on the Indians, in a barbarous manner, to kill or captivate the people, and that even in times of peace; which hath occasioned a very great expense, and loaded these colonies with a heavy debt, and brought on the necessity of creating and issuing bills of public credit; which, through their weakness and poverty, they were not able seasonably to sink and discharge, and thereby lessened credit

in these parts ; from which disadvantages, these colonies are not quite freed to this day ; and although they are well spirited to secure and defend all his Majesty's territories in North-America, and therein to lay themselves out to their utmost ability ; yet, to bring on themselves large and heavy taxes, more than they are well able to pay, must occasion grievous complaints, and prove very discouraging.

For these reasons, more largely insisted on, and discoursed at the congress of the commissioners in Albany, in June last — The gentlemen, who went commissioners from the colony of Connecticut, objected to the proposed plan ; and thought they were never answered or obviated, and therefore never came into, or gave any consent to the same.

And in addition hereunto, it is further to be considered and alleged, that the people of this colony, from their first settlement to this day, in their general assemblies, by their acts and resolutions therein made and passed, have shewn true loyalty, and sincere disposition to promote his Majesty's interest ; and have always yielded cheerful obedience to his Majesty's commands ; and have readily given assistance and aid to any of his Majesty's colonies, when the same hath been requested ; and still remain in the same good disposition, and readily to conform to his Majesty's will and pleasure, signified to this colony by the Right Honourable the Earl of Holderness. The last paragraph of his letter to this colony, dated August 28, 1753, is in the following words, viz.

“ And whereas it may be greatly conducive to his Majesty's service, that all his provinces in America should be aiding and assisting each other, in case of any invasion, I have it particularly in charge from his Majesty, to acquaint you, that it is his royal will and pleasure, that you should keep up an exact correspondence with all his Majesty's Governors on the continent ; and in case you shall be informed, by any of them, of any hostile attempt, you are immediately to assemble the general assembly within your government, and lay before them the necessity of a mutual assistance, and engage them to grant such supplies as the exigency of affairs may require.”

It may justly be alleged and considered, that the securing the five nations or cantons of Indians, subject to his Majesty's dominions, and maintaining a peaceable and friendly disposition in them towards the people inhabiting these colonies, is of very great importance, and the principal good end that may be served by said proposed plan, by regulating the Indian trade, and bringing it under due management; which may be better served by commissioners of his Majesty's appointment, with powers and authorities to regulate and manage the trade with said Indians, and the other natives who are in friendship with them, and to make such rules and orders, with pains and penalties annexed thereto, as they shall judge necessary, and to see the same duly executed; and to hear, consider, and find means and ways to redress the grievances and complaints of said Indians; the necessity of which appears by the representation made at Albany, when the commissioners were present: And also to build forts needful for the defence of such Indians, and security of the trade with them, and keep them sufficiently garrisoned; the charge whereof may be principally defrayed by the profits of such trade, when well regulated and managed.

And if his Majesty should be graciously pleased to encourage his subjects to settle and plant a government or colony on such lands, in their country, as the Indians will readily sell, to be formed and conducted as the New-England colonies have been, nothing would tend more to secure those Indians to his Majesty's interest, and attach their friendship to the English, and prevent the encroachments of the French; and so the great ends proposed effectually answered, without any discouragement to the people of these colonies, and without the least prejudice or injury to their privileges.

General Assembly at New-Haven, Thursday, Oct. 2d, 1754.

In the Upper House. The foregoing reasons, concerning the Plan of Union, &c. were read, considered, and approved, and ordered to lie on file in the Secretary's office. Test. GEORGE WILLYS, Sec'y.

In the Lower House, concurred.

Test. E. CHAUNCY, Clerk.

PETITIONS, &c. FROM MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, IN BOSTON, RESPECTING BISHOPS.

Boston, December 8, 1713.

To the honourable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The Representation and Request of the Ministers, Church-Wardens, and Vestry of the Church of England, in Boston.

WE are informed by the Hon. General Nicholson, a most worthy member of your honourable Society, and a most generous benefactor to the church in these parts, that your honourable Society have laid before her Majesty a particular scheme of settlement for Bishops in these American parts: and as nothing can contribute more to the flourishing state of religion among us, we have made our humble address to her most sacred Majesty upon that head; and would humbly intreat some of the members of your honourable Society to be our remembrancers to her Majesty in that behalf; and that Almighty God may bless and prosper all your pious endeavours for the good of his church, and bless you for these endeavours, is the hearty prayer of your most obedient and most devoted humble servants,

J. N.	J. B.	J. D.	
T. B.	T. N.	W. T.	
J. H.	W. P.	S. M.	} Ministers.
J. V.	C. S.	H. H.	
J. C.	G. G.	C. H.	} Church-Wardens.
	G. D.	J. J.	
		J. R.	
		C. M.	

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Ministers, Church-Wardens, and Vestry of the Church of England, in Boston, New-England.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR royal goodness being extended to all, even the remotest part of your Majesty's dominions, we take this

opportunity of expressing our humble, though imperfect thanks to your Majesty, for the many blessings we have enjoyed in the course of your glorious reign. Such was your Majesty's care of us, during the war, that our trade was in a great measure, by the happy reduction of the important fortress of Port Royal, under the auspicious conduct of General Nicholson ; and now that honourable and advantageous peace, which your Majesty has concluded, does mightily increase our happiness, by delivering us from the violence of barbarous savages, who continually infested our country, and acted unheard-of cruelties. To complete, we humbly intreat your Majesty to provide for our spiritual concerns, and to establish Bishops and bishopricks within your Majesty's plantations in America. We are informed by General Nicholson, whose piety, generosity, and zeal for the church we cannot sufficiently commend, that the honourable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, have laid before your Majesty the particular manner of the Bishops' respective settlements. Since nothing can tend more to make religion flourish among us, we promise ourselves that your Majesty will take this affair into your royal consideration ; and that it may please Almighty God to grant your Majesty a long and happy reign over us, and advance you to immortal glory hereafter, is the constant and fervent prayer of your Majesty's most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient subjects,

J. D.

W. T. &c.

THAT no representations may prejudice the interests of our church in these parts, I have thought it expedient for me, at this juncture, to certify, that we have a very considerable number of people belonging to the church in this town of Boston ; and that I am humbly of opinion, the church here, and also in other parts of this province, would increase much more under a Governor that was a constant communicant thereof, from whom we might reasonably expect all requisite protection and encouragement.

This present Governor, Joseph Dudley, Esq. is a member of an independent church at Roxbury, where his dwelling is, and has communicated theré from his first coming to be Governor, and never communicated with

us since the Rev. Mr. Harrison's arrival here, (as he can inform) nor, to my certain knowledge, many years before, only this 25th of December last past he was at the communion, his Excellency Gen. Nicholson then present.

I do also certify, that Colonel Vetch never received the communion with us here; and since his arrival from Annapolis-Royal, has been but once at church, and that in the morning only. This is all true to a tittle, and attested by

SAMUEL MYLES,
Presbyter of the church of England.

Boston, New-England, Feb. 17, 1713—14.

HAVING served the church in this place, these five years last past, in conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Myles, I can certify the truth of the above-made relation ever since the time of my arrival here. In witness whereof I set my hand,

HENRY HARRIS.

A Representation of several Officers in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, not belonging to the Church of England; and a List of the Names of the Gentlemen that do belong to said Church.

Officers in Public Post.

Members of her Majesty's Council. Judges of the Superior and Inferior Court. Secretary of the Province. Attorney-General. Treasurer of the Province. Commissary-General for the War. Judges of Probate. High Sheriffs. Receiver of the Impost. Naval Officer. Clerks of Courts. House of Representatives. Officers of the Militia. Deputy Post-Master. Officers of the College.

Names of the Gentlemen of the Church.

The Hon. William Taylor, Esq. Lieut. Governor, communicant, and served as church-warden. Sir Charles Hobby, communicant and church-warden for the time being. John Nelson. Francis Foxcroft. Edward Lloyd, communicant and church-warden. John Jerkyl, Esq. communicant and church-warden for time being. Thomas Newton, communicant and church-

warden. John Bridger, communicant. Henry Mackintosh, communicant. Charles Bleckenden, communicant. Mr. Thomas Banister, communicant. Capt. Cyprian Southack, communicant and church-warden. Capt. Wentworth Paxton. Mr. John Oulton, communicant. Mr. Savil Sympson, communicant and church-warden. Mr. Giles Dyer, communicant. Mr. Joseph Stearn. Mr. John Valentine, communicant. Ebenezer Mountforth. James Lyndall. Francis Brinly. Edward Mills. George Turfry, communicant and church-warden. James Smith. Job Lewis. John Tresor, communicant. William Rouse. Anthony Blunt, communicant and church-warden. Edward Weaver, communicant. George Stuart. Thomas Letchmore. John Arburthnot. Thomas Sheapard. Joseph Loyd. John Newdicate. Daniel Weyburn. John Powel. John Bearnard. Thomas Creese. George Tarrant. Henry Franklyn, communicant. Eustace Hatch. John Chickley. William Partridge. Samuel Hill. Peter Butler. Richard Pullen. Thomas Selby, communicant. Richard Hall, communicant. Stephen North. Rowland Dyke. Henry Sharpe. John Gibbs. Mr. Renner. Ambrose Vincent, communicant. Roger Patisson, communicant. Stephen Labbie. John Johns.

Mr Brown, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Sawyers, Mr. Merrill, *Newbury.*

We have omitted setting down a considerable number of our communicants, because of small figure, though good families in the town.

An account of the number of our congregation we have sent to my Lord Bishop of London, viz. 800; wherein we are well assured we have not exceeded.

These petitions intercepted, but not delivered; said to be found amongst Sir Charles Hobby's papers, by Mr. Mason, his administrator, and by him transmitted to Boston.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WHOLE TRADE AND SHIPPING OF
THE ISLAND OF NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEAR 1799,
TAKEN FROM THE CUSTOM-HOUSE BOOKS.

Imports.

Shipping.	{	Number of vessels	340
		Number of tons	34,225
		Number of men	2,449
		Hundred weight of bread and flour	44,215
		Barrels of beef and pork	13,062
		Hundred weight of butter and cheese	5,115
		Bushels of salt	566,201
		Pounds of tea	38,017
		Hundred weight of refined sugar	97½
		Hundred weight of Muscovado sugar	1,726
		Gallons of molasses	168,104
		Gallons of rum	168,936
		Gallons of gin and brandy	9,431
		Gallons of wine	20,787
		Hogsheads of beer and cider	793
		Pounds of coffee	9,856
		Pounds of tobacco	120,663
		Pounds of soap and candles	123,939
		Chaldrons of coals	1,495
		Barrels of pitch and tar	1,242
		Thousand feet of planks and boards	541,856
		Thousand of shingles	150
		Number of masts and spars	306
		Number of bullocks and cows	417
		Number of sheep	505
		Bushels of Indian corn	1,437

Exports.

Shipping.	{	Number of vessels	336
		Number of tons	33,503
		Number of men	2,410
		Quintals of dry cod fish	453,337
		Quintals of core fish	13,995
		Tierces of salmon	2,642
		Barrels of herrings	202
		Tons of oil	3,017
		Number of seal skins	74,811

NUMBER OF THE BRITISH SUBJECTS, MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, IN THE COLONIES OF NORTH-AMERICA, TAKEN FROM MILITIA ROLLS, POLL TAXES, BILLS OF MORTALITY, RETURNS FROM GOVERNORS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC AUTHORITIES. FROM THE LONDON MAGAZINE, FOR MAY, 1755.

THE colonies of Halifax and Lunenburg

in Nova-Scotia	5,000
New-Hampshire	30,000
Massachusetts-Bay	220,000
Rhode-Island and Providence	35,000
Connecticut	100,000
New-York	100,000
The Jerseys	60,000
Pennsylvania,	250,000
Maryland	85,000
Virginia	85,000
North-Carolina	45,000
South-Carolina	30,000
Georgia	6,000
Total number	1,051,000

Exclusive of the military forces in the pay of the government, and negroes.

A BILL FOR BETTER REGULATING OF CHARTER AND PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENTS IN AMERICA, AND FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE TRADE OF THIS KINGDOM AND OF HIS MAJESTY'S PLANTATIONS. .

WHEREAS, by virtue of several Charters and Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of England, passed and granted by his Majesty's royal predecessors, the several colonies, provinces, and plantations of the Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, and the Bahama or Lucay Islands, in America, have been granted unto several persons, whereby the grantees are not only made proprietors of the soil and lands comprehended in the

said places, but lords and governors thereof; and have such large and unlimited powers, as have given them a pretence to assume absolute government and authority over his Majesty's subjects: And whereas the severing of such power and authority from the Crown, and placing the same in the hands of the subjects, hath, by experience, been found prejudicial to the trade of this kingdom, and to the welfare and security of his Majesty's subjects in these, as well as in the other plantations in America, and to his Majesty's revenue arising from the customs, as well by reason of the disability of the proprietors to defend and protect his Majesty's subjects under the government, in case of any attempt of the Indians, or other enemy, as by the many irregularities committed by the governors of the said proprietary governments, as by others in authority under them there:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the King's Majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall from the
of have the sole power and authority of governing the said plantations and colonies, and every of them, and of appointing the governors, counsellors, judges, justices of the peace, and of all other officers for the administration and execution of justice there, and of pardoning offences there; the said power and authority to be for ever united to the Imperial Crown of these realms, any grants, usages, or other matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend any ways to alter, or take away, diminish or abridge the right or title which any person, persons, or bodies politic or corporate have, or lawfully may have or claim to any lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any other matter or thing (the authority and powers aforementioned only excepted) by virtue of the said grants, or any other charter or letters patents, or by virtue of any right or title derived from or under such grants, charters, or letters patents, by any mean, assignments, or conveyances, or otherwise how-

soever. *Provided also*, That all such laws, made in the said respective plantations, which are now in force there, and have been confirmed and approved of by his Majesty's predecessors, or by his Majesty, or shall be hereafter confirmed by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall be of the same force and effect, as they would have been, if this act had not been made: And that all laws, hereafter to be made by the general assemblies of the said respective plantations, shall be made with consent of the respective governors thereof, to be appointed by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, subject to the confirmation or disallowance of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and that appeals shall be allowed to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from the judgments, decrees, and sentence to be given and made in the courts of the said respective plantations, as appeals are allowed and used in other his Majesty's plantations; and law, statute, or usage, contrary hereunto, in any wise notwithstanding.

DEDICATIONS TO THE REV. JOHN ELIOT'S INDIAN VERSION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

[Printed at Cambridge, N. E. by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. 1663.]

[The following dedications to the translation of the old and new testament in the Indian language, by the celebrated ELIOT, are great curiosities. Such were annexed only to the few copies sent to England: and are of course the *very scarce* appendages of a *very scarce* book. Of six copies of the Indian bible, which I have seen, no one possessed these dedications. The following were taken from a mutilated copy, used in a barber's shop for waste paper. From this intended destruction they were eagerly snatched, by the hand which writes this, *as truly valuable relics*.]

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, wish increase of all happiness, &c.

Most Dread Sovereign,

IF our weak apprehensions have not misled us, this Work will be no unacceptable Present to Your Ma-

jesty, as having a greater Interest therein, than we believe is generally understood : which (upon this Occasion) we conceive it our Duty to declare.

The people of these four Colonies (Confederate for Mutual Defence, in the time of the late Distractions of our dear Native Country) Your Majesties natural born Subjects, by the Favour and Grant of Your Royal Father and Grandfather of Famous Memory, put themselves upon this great and hazardous Undertaking, of Planting themselves at their own Charge in these remote ends of the Earth, that without offence or provocation to our dear Brethren and Countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to Worship God, which our own Conscience informed us, was not onely our Right, but Duty : As also that we might (if it so pleased God) be instrumental to spread the light of the Gospel, the knowledge of the Son of God our Saviour, to the poor barbarous Heathen, which by His late Majesty, in some of our Patents, is declared to be His principal aim.

These honest and pious Intentions, have, through the grace and goodness of God and our Kings, been seconded with proportionable success : for, omitting the Immunities indulged us by Your Highness Royal Predecessors, we have been greatly encouraged by Your Majesties gracious expressions of Favour and Approbation signified, unto the *Address* made by the principal of our Colonies, to which the rest do most cordially Subscribe, though wanting the like seasonable opportunity, they have been (till now) deprived of the means to Congratulate Your Majesties happy Restitution, after Your long suffering, which we implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we may be equal partakers of Your Royal Favour and Moderation ; which hath been so Illustrious that (to admiration) the animosities and different Perswasions of men have been so soon Composed, and so much cause of hope, that (unless the sins of the Nation prevent) a blessed Calm will succeed the late horrid Confusions of Church and State. And shall not we (*Dread Sovereign*) your Subjects of these Colonies, of the same Faith and Belief in all Points of Doctrine with our Countrymen, and the other Reformed Churches, (though perhaps not alike perswaded in some matters of Order, which in outward respects hath been unhappy for

us) promise and assure ourselves of all just favour and indulgence from a Prince so happily and graciously endowed?

The other part of our Errand hither, hath been attended with Endeavours and Blessing; many of the wilde *Indians* being taught, and understanding the Doctrine of the Christian Religion, and with much affection attending such Preachers as are sent to teach them, many of their Children are instructed to Write and Reade, and some of them have proceeded further, to attain the knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in University-learning; There are divers of them that can and do reade some parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been Translated into their own Language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater Work, viz: The Printing of the whole Bible, which (being Translated by a painful Labourer amongst them, who was desirous to see the Work accomplished in his dayes) hath already proceeded to the finishing of the New Testament, which we here humbly present to Your Majesty, as the first fruits and accomplishment of the Pious Design of your Royal Ancestors. The Old Testament is now under the Press, wanting and craving your Royal Favour and Assistance for the perfecting thereof.

We may not conceal, that though this Work hath been begun and prosecuted by such Instruments as God hath raised up here, yet the chief Charge and Cost, which hath supported and carried it thus far, hath been from the Charity and Piety of divers of our well-affected Countrymen in *England*; who being sensible of our inability in that respect, and studious to promote so good a Work, contributed large Sums of Money, which were to be improved according to the Direction and Order of the then-prevailing Powers, which hath been faithfully and religiously attended both there and here, according to the pious intentions of the Benefactors. And we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a matter of so much Devotion and Piety, tending so much to the Honour of God, may suffer no disappointment through any Legal defect (without the fault of the Donors, or the poor *Indians*, who onely receive the benefit) but that your Majesty be gra-

ciously pleased to Establish and Confirm the same, being contrived and done (as we conceive) in the first year of your Majesties Reign, as this Book was begun and now finished in the first year of your Establishment ; which doth not onely presage the happy success of your Highness Government, but will be a perpetual monument, that by your Majesties Favour the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, was first made known to the *Indians* : An Honour wherof (we are assured) your Majesty will not a little esteem.

SIR, *The shines of Your Royal Favour upon these Vnder-takings, will make these tender Plants to flourish, notwithstanding any malevolent Aspect from those that bear evil will to this Sion, and render Your Majesty more Illustrious and Glorious to after Generations.*

The God of Heaven long preserve and bless Your Majesty with many happy dayes, to his Glory, the good and comfort of his Church and People. Amen.

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, Wish all Happiness.

Most Dread Sovereign,

AS our former Presentation of the New-Testament was Graciously Accepted by Your Majesty ; so with all Humble Thankfulness for that Royal Favour, and with the like hope, We are bold now to Present the *WHOLE BIBLE*, Translated into the Language of the Natives of this Country, by *A Painful Labourer in that Work*, and now *Printed and Finished*, by means of the Pious Beneficence of Your Majesties Subjects in *England* : which also by Your Special Favour hath been Continued and Confirmed to the intended Use and Advancement of so Great and Good a Work, as is the *Propagation of the Gospel to these poor Barbarians* in this (Ere-while) Unknown World.

Translations of Holy Scripture, *The Word of the King of Kings*, have ever been deemed not unworthy of the most Princely Dedications: Examples whereof are extant in divers Languages. But Your Majesty is the First that hath Received one in this Language, or from this *American World*, or from any Parts so Remote from *Europe* as these are, for aught that ever we heard of.

Publications also of these Sacred Writings to the Sons of Men (who here, and here onely, have the Misteries of their Eternal Salvation revealed to them by the God of Heaven) is a Work that the Greatest Princes have Honoured themselves by. But to Publish and Communicate the same to a Lost People, as remote from Knowledge and Civility, much more from Christianity, as they were from all Knowing, Civil and Christian Nations; a People without Law, without Letters, without Riches, or Means to procure any such thing; a People that *sate as deep in darkness, and in the shadow of Death*, as (we think) any since the Creation: This puts a Lustre upon it that is Superlative; and to have given Royal Patronage and Countenance to such a Publication, or to the Means thereof, will stand among the Marks of Lasting Honour in the eyes of all that are Considerate, even unto After-Generations.

And though there be in this Western World many Colonies of other European Nations, yet we humbly conceive, no Prince hath had a Return of such a Work as this; which may be some Token of the Success of Your Majesties Plantation of *New-England*, Undertaken and Settled under the Encouragement and Security of Grants from Your Royal Father and Grandfather, of Famous Memory, and Cherished with late Gracious Aspects from Your Majesty. Though indeed, the present Poverty of these Plantations could not have Accomplished this Work, had not the forementioned Bounty of *England* lent Relief; Nor could that have Continued to stand us in stead, without the Influence of Your Royal Favour and Authority, whereby the *Corporation* there, *For Propagating the Gospel among these Natives*, hath been Established and Encouraged (whose Labour of Love, Care, and Faithfulness in that Trust, must ever be remembered with Honour.) Yea, when private persons, for their private Ends, have of late sought Advantages to deprive the said Corporation of Half

the Possessions that had been, by Liberal Contributions, obtained for so Religious Ends ; We understand, that by an Honourable and Righteous Decision in Your Majesties *Court of Chancery*, their Hopes have been defeated, and the Thing Settled where it was and is. For which great Favour, and Illustrious Fruit of Your Majesties Government, we cannot but return our most Humble Thanks in this Publick Manner : And, as the Result, of the joynt Endeavours of Your Majesties Subjects there and here, acting under Your Royal Influence, We Present You with this Work which upon sundry accounts is to be called *Yours*.

The Southern Colonies of the *Spanisk Nation* have sent home from this *American Continent*, much Gold and Silver, as the Fruit and End of their Discoveries and Transplantations : That (we confess) is a scarce Commodity in this Colder Climate. But (suitable to the Ends of our Undertaking) we Present this, and other Concomitant Fruits of our poor Endeavours to Plant and Propagate the Gospel here ; which, upon a true account, is as much better than Gold, as the Souls of men are more worth than the whole World. This is a Nobler Fruit (and indeed, in the Counsels of All-disposing Providence, was an higher intended End) of *Columbus* his Adventure. And though by his Brother's being hindered from a seasonable Application, your Famous Predecessour and Ancestor, King *Henry* the Seventh, missed of being sole Owner of that first Discovery, and of the Riches thereof ; yet, if the Honour of first Discovering the True and Saving Knowledge of the Gospel unto the poor *Americans*, and of Erecting the Kingdom of *JESUS CHRIST* among them, be Reserved for, and do Redound unto your Majesty, and the English Nation, After-ages will not reckon this Inferiour to the other. Religion is the End and Glory of Mankind : and as it was the Professed End of this Plantation ; so we desire ever to keep it in our Eye as our main Design (both as to ourselves, and the Natives about us) and that our Products may be answerable thereunto. Give us therefore leave (*Dread Sovereign*) yet again humbly to Beg the Continuance of your Royal Favour, and of the Influences thereof, upon this poor Plantation, *The United Colonies of NEW-ENGLAND*, for the Securing

and Establishment of our Civil Priviledges, and Religious Liberties hitherto Enjoyed ; and, upon this Good Work of Propagating Religion to these Natives, that the Supports and Encouragements thereof from *England* may be still Countenanced and Confirmed. May this Nursling still suck the Breast of Kings, and be fostered by your Majesty, as it hath been by your Royal Predecessors, unto the Preservation of its main Concernments ; It shall thrive and prosper to the Glory of God, and the Honour of your Majesty : Neither will it be any loss or grief unto our Lord the King, to have the Blessing of the Poor to come upon Him, and that from these Ends of the Earth.

The God by whom Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Justice, Bless Your Majesty, and Establish Your Throne in Righteousness, in Mercy, and in Truth, to the Glory of His Name, the Good of His People, and to Your own Comfort and Rejoycing, not in this onely, but in another World.

SIR THOMAS TEMPLE'S APOLOGY FOR COINAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS. FROM THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR JANUARY, 1799.

I BEG leave, through the channel of your liberal and most valuable miscellany, to make a few observations upon the following passage in Dr. Robertson's "History of America," lately published. After enumerating several instances of the address and ambition of the colonists in the northern provinces, the historian goes on :

"These were followed by an indication still less ambiguous of the aspiring spirit prevalent among the people of the Massachusetts. Under every form of government, the right of coining money has been considered as a prerogative peculiar to sovereignty, and which no subordinate member of a state is entitled to claim. Regardless of this established maxim, the general court ordered a coinage of silver money at Boston, stamped with the name of the colony, and a tree, as an apt symbol of its progressive vigour. Even this usurpation passed without notice."

From the above passage, it seems to be the opinion of Dr. Robertson, that the people of the Massachusetts assumed this "peculiar prerogative of sovereignty" in defiance of, or at least in opposition to, the royal authority. But it ought to be particularly noticed, that the first coinage was made in the year 1652. Instead, therefore, of ascribing this measure to the "aspiring spirit" of the people of Massachusetts, the Doctor might justly have said, that the colonists being nearly deserted, at this time, by the rulers at home, on account of the civil wars, and the various forms of government which afterwards followed, were obliged to coin money from absolute necessity. The following extract from the Memoirs of the late truly patriotic Thomas Hollis, will prove this to have been the principal, if not the only cause, and consequently point out the mistake which Dr. Robertson has inadvertently fallen into.

"Sir Thomas Temple, brother to Sir William Temple, resided several years in New-England during the interregnum. After the restoration, when he returned to England, the King sent for him, and discoursed with him on the state of affairs in the Massachusetts, and discovered great warmth against that colony. Among other things, he said they had invaded his prerogative by coining money. Sir Thomas, who was a real friend to the colony, told his majesty, that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the king. On one side of the coin was a pine tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. Charles asked what tree that was? Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak, which preserved his majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good humour, and disposed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to say in their favour, calling them a "parcel of honest dogs."

The jocular turn which Sir Thomas gave to the story, was evidently calculated to amuse the monarch in his own way, and had the desired effect, in disposing him to hear with good humour that just defence of the colonies, which Sir Thomas was so well qualified to make.

We find he pleaded, that the colonists thought it no crime to make money for their own use ; at a time too, when the confusions in the mother country prevented them receiving those occasional supplies of coin, which were absolutely necessary for common circulation. Such an uncommon exigency required an uncommon expedient ; and this will account for the proceedings of the people of Massachusetts in a more rational manner, than Dr. Robertson has done : for it is highly improbable that they should aspire after independence, at a time when their historians represent them as few in number, discordant, and scarcely able to defend themselves against their savage enemies.

A writer of such distinguished talents as the late Dr. Robertson, will always enjoy the good opinion and confidence of his readers : his mistakes, therefore, will be of more consequence, and deserving of being amended. That our eloquent historian is under a mistake, though, no doubt, an inadvertent one, in the present instance, is next to certain ; nor will his candid readers be displeased with any respectful attempt to set this mistake in a clear light. It may be added too, as some kind of proof in this case, that, during the late unhappy American war, when the whole tribe of hireling scribblers and aspiring priests were, with "profligate industry," ransacking every dirty corner to discover and accumulate charges against the colonists, in order to stimulate the credulous John Bull to bleed freely, the coinage business was never, to the best of my recollection, enumerated in the black catalogue of their high crimes and misdemeanours.

Signed, *A Friend to Truth.*

THE HEADS OF INQUIRY, RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE AND CONDITION OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, SIGNIFIED BY HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE, IN HIS LETTER OF THE 5TH JULY, 1773, WITH THE ANSWERS, RETURNED TO HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE, BY THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, OCTOBER, 1774.

I. **WHAT** is the situation of the colony under your government, the nature of the country, soil and climate, the latitudes and longitudes of the most considerable places in it? Have those latitudes and longitudes been settled by good observations, or only by common computations, and from whence are the longitudes computed?

I. The situation of the first settled part of this colony is mostly from forty-one to forty-two degrees of northerly latitude, and from seventy-two to seventy-three degrees and forty-five minutes of west longitude. The soil of this colony (lying in the 5th and 6th north climate) is generally fertile, interspersed with mountainous and broken land, with some small parts thin and barren: the country healthful, although subject to the extremes of heat and cold in their seasons, and to frequent sudden changes. Two considerable places and ports in the colony are, New-London, latitude $41^{\circ} 25'$ north, longitude $72^{\circ} 15'$ west. New-Haven, latitude $41^{\circ} 18'$ north, longitude $72^{\circ} 56'$ west; settled by good observations: the longitudes computed from the royal observatory at Greenwich.

II. What are the reputed boundaries? And are any parts thereof disputed? What parts, and by whom?

II. The boundaries are expressed in our charter, viz. "All that part of his Majesty's dominions in New-England, in America, bounden on the east by Narraganset river, commonly called Narraganset bay, where the river falleth into the sea; and on the north by the line of the Massachusetts plantation; and on the south by the sea; and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony, running from east to west, that is to say, from the said "Narraganset bay on the east, to the

“south sea on the west part, with the islands thereunto
“adjoining.”

A number of the inhabitants of this colony, called the Susquehannah, and Delaware Companies, in the year 1754, for great and valuable considerations, in money, paid and satisfied to the Indians of the Six Nations, purchased of them, as early as they, the aboriginal proprietors, were willing to grant and convey their title to a large tract of land, within the bounds and limits of this colony, lying west of the river Delaware, and from thence spreading over the east and west branches of the Susquehannah river. Since such purchases a great number of our inhabitants have made settlements thereon.

The general assembly of this colony have asserted their claim to those lands: and the inhabitants dwelling within the bounds of this colony, on the west side of the Delaware river, are made and constituted a distinct town, with like powers and privileges as other towns in this colony by law have, within the following bounds, viz. bounded east by Delaware river, north by the north bound of the colony, west by a north and south line across the colony at fifteen miles distance west from a place on the Susquehannah river called Wyoming, and south by the south line of this colony; which town is called by the name of Westmorland, and is annexed to the county of Litchfield. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania dispute the right of this colony to those lands; they refuse to join, to run, or to settle the line between this colony and that province.

III. What is the size and extent of the colony, the number of acres supposed to be contained therein? What part thereof is cultivated and improved? And under what titles do the inhabitants hold their possession?

III. The size and extent of the first settled part, is from the colony of Rhode-Island on the east, to the province of New-York on the west; and from the Massachusetts on the north, to the sea on the south: two millions, six hundred and forty thousand acres, are supposed to be contained therein. The proportion of arable, meadow, pasture, wood-land, and such as is mountainous and barren, is unknown. The lands beyond the river Delaware, lately purchased from the

Indian proprietors, are still less known. The original title to the lands on which the colony was first settled, was, at the time the English came hither, in the Pequot nation of Indians, who were numerous and warlike ; their country extended from Narraganset to Hudson's river, and over all Long-Island. Sasacus, their great sagamore, had under him twenty-six sachems : he injuriously made war upon the English ; he exercised despotic dominion over his subjects ; he, with all his sachems and people, were conquered, and made tributaries to the English. The war being ended, considerations and settlements were made with such sachems and people as remained, who came in, and received to their full contentment and satisfaction ; and have at all times since been used and treated with justice and humanity. No grants are made by the general assembly, before the Indian title is purchased, agreeable to the right of pre-emption, granted by royal charter to the governor and company of this colony. Thus the greatest part of this colony was purchased and obtained for great and valuable considerations, and other parts thereof gained by conquest, and with which much difficulty, and at the only endeavours, expense and charges of persons thereby interested in the plantation of Connecticut, in New-England, and their associates. Thereupon, agreeable to our royal patent and grant, the title under which the inhabitants hold their possession, is a grant and patent made by the general assembly of the governor and company of this colony to the respective townships, or to particular persons, to them, their heirs, successors and assigns forever, according to the most free tenure of East-Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in the realm of England.

IV. What rivers are there, and of what extent and convenience in point of commerce ?

IV. The principal rivers are, Connecticut, New-London, Stratford, Delaware, and Susquehannah. The extent of the first is through New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, and this colony ; navigable to Hartford ; the second to Norwich ; the third to Derby, the northern parts of this is usually called Ousatannock river : they are all of great convenience in point of commerce.

V. What are the principal harbours, how situated, of what extent, and what is the depth of water, and nature of anchorage each ?

V. The principal harbours are, New-London, and New-Haven : The former opens to the south ; from the light-house at the mouth of the harbour, to the town, is about three miles, the breadth three-quarters of a mile, and in some places more ; from five to six fathoms water, a clear bottom, tough ooze, and as far up as one mile above the town entirely secure and commodious for large ships : The latter is situate north and south ; half a mile wide at the entrance, from thence to the town four miles ; having two fathom and one half at low water, and three fathom and four feet at common tides, and very good anchorage.

VI. What is the constitution of the government ?

VI. The constitution of the government, by royal charter, is a legislative power vested in the general assembly, which consists of the governor, or in his absence the deputy-governor, and twelve assistants (called the upper house) ; and representatives, not exceeding two from each town, chosen by the freemen of the respective towns they represent, (called the lower house.)

No act is valid without the joint concurrence of both houses : they make laws, institute judicatories, appoint judges, and other necessary officers, who are sworn to a faithful discharge of their trust. A general assembly is holden, agreeable to royal charter, in May and October, annually ; and at other times when called by the governor, or in his absence the deputy-governor, on any emergency.

VII. What is the trade of the province ? the number of shipping belonging thereto, their tonnage, and number of seafaring men, with their respective increase or diminution within ten years past ?

VII. The principal trade of this colony is to the West-India islands, excepting now and then a vessel to Ireland with flaxseed, and to England with lumber and pot-ashes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary. The number of shipping is one hundred and eighty ; their tonnage 10,317 ; seafaring men 1162 ; besides upwards of twenty sail of coasting vessels, that employ about ninety seamen :

The increase since the year 1762, in number of shipping, 76 ; their tonnage 6,790 ; seafaring men 601.

VIII. What quantity and sorts of British manufactures do the inhabitants annually take from hence ? What goods and commodities are exported from thence to Great-Britain, and what is the annual amount at average ?

VIII. The quantity of British manufactures the inhabitants do annually import hither from Great-Britain, are few ; but including those taken from the merchants of Boston and New-York, upon a medium, from the best observation, is £200,000 sterling, per annum. The sorts are almost all that are useful or ornamental in common life. The goods and commodities exported from hence to Great-Britain, are pot and pearl ashes, lumber, and some salted provisions ; the annual amount at an average may be £10,000 sterling.

IX. What trade has the province under your government with any foreign plantations, or any part of Europe besides Great-Britain ? How is that trade carried on ? What commodities do the people under your government send to, or receive from foreign plantations ; and what is the annual amount at an average ?

IX. A trade with the French and Dutch West-Indies, Gibraltar, and Barbary. Those vessels that go from hence to the French and Dutch plantations, carry horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, provisions and lumber : those for Gibraltar and Barbary, carry flour, lumber, New-England rum, and stores for muling ; they receive molasses, cocoa, cotton, and some sugar ; from the Dutch plantations bills of exchange ; and from Barbary, mules, sold in the West-Indies for bills of exchange : the annual amount is about £55,000, at an average.

X. What methods are there used to prevent illegal trade ? and are the same effectual ?

X. A careful conformity of the custom-house officers and all concerned, to their duty, which prove very effectual.

XI. What is the natural produce of the country, staple commodities, and manufactures ; and what value thereof in sterling money may you annually export ?

XI. Its natural produce is timber of all kinds, wheat, rye, Indian-corn, beans, barley, oats, and flax : the staple

commodities are the above produce, pork, beef, and pot and pearl ashes.

The manufactures are coarse linens and woollens, done in the family-way, for the use of the poorer sort, labourers, and servants; also ironmongery, but export none. The value of our exported produce and commodities, may be annually £200,000.

XII. What mines are there?

XII. Copper mines in divers parts, yet after considerable expense and labour to open them, have proved unprofitable, and now are much neglected. — Iron mines in great plenty in many places, manufactured to some advantage, but hitherto not a supply for our inhabitants.

XIII. What is the number of inhabitants, whites and blacks?

XIII. On an exact census, the number of inhabitants: whites 191,392; blacks 6,464.

XIV. Are the inhabitants increased or decreased within the last ten years? How much, and for what reason?

XIV. The inhabitants are increased since the year 1762, 52,266; also within this time, there have been frequent and numerous emigrations from hence, to settle on new lands in his Majesty's other colonies in America: which, under the Divine Benediction, we attribute to industrious, temperate life, and early marriage.

XV. What is the number of the militia, and under what regulations is it constituted?

XV. The number on the militia rolls is 26,260. It is constituted under the regulations provided in "An act for forming and regulating the militia; and for the encouragement of military skill, for the better defence of this colony." All male persons from sixteen years of age to forty-five, to bear arms, excepting civil and ecclesiastical officers, and others therein mentioned: the trainbands in each town, to attend four days in a year, for instruction in military discipline. There are eighteen regiments, with a troop of horse to each, and to some two troops; each regiment to attend regimental exercises once in four years. The militia spend their own time; the soldiers and all householders provide themselves with arms, &c. Fines and penalties are imposed for every

neglect and defect. It is no otherwise of any expense to the colony.

XVI. What forts and places of defence are there within your government; and in what condition?

XVI. A small battery at New-London, consisting of nine guns, built and supported at the colony's expense, which is small.

XVII. What number of Indians have you; and how are they inclined?

XVII. There is thirteen hundred and sixty-three; many of them dwell in English families, the rest in small tribes in various places: they are in peace, good order, and inclined to idleness.

XVIII. What is the strength of the neighbouring Indians?

XVIII. No Indians are in the neighbourhood of the first settled part of this Colony; the Six Nations border on the lands lying west of Delaware.

XIX. What is the revenue arising within your government; and how is it appropriated and applied?

XIX. It arises from a tax on polls and rateable estate, near to six thousand pounds sterling: Somewhat more than one third part is appropriated to the support of schools in the several towns, for education of children and youth: The residue is applied for the support of government.

XX. What are the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of your government?

XX. The ordinary annual expenses are near four thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the schools: there hath been no extraordinary expenses since the last war; the burden of that is felt to this day.

XXI. What are the establishments, civil and military, within your government; and by what authority do the officers hold their places? What is the annual value of each office, civil and military? How are they respectively appointed, and who are the present possessors?

XXI. The civil officers of the colony, are; the governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistants, annually chosen in May, by the freemen of the colony, and take their several and respective corporal oaths, according to our royal charter: at the same time is chosen and

sworn according to law, a treasurer, and secretary. By law are established, one superior court, whereof is one chief judge, and four other judges; which court is held in each county twice in a year: an inferior or county court in each county, whereof is one judge, and two or more justices of the quorum: courts of probates in eighteen districts, whereof is one judge in each district: justices of the peace for each county, whereof there is one or more in each town: one sheriff, and one King's attorney in each county.

The military officers established by law, are; the governor for the time being, is captain-general and commander in chief of and over all the military forces within this colony; the deputy-governor for the time being, is lieutenant-general of the same: one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel and one major of each regiment: one captain of each train-band, and troop of horse, with subaltern officers.

All officers, civil and military, hold their place by commission from the governor.

The governor's salary is £300 lawful money, per ann.

The deputy-governor's is £100.

The treasurer's is £180.

The secretary's is £20, with certain perquisites.

Other civil officers are rewarded for their services according to the time they attend the same.

All officers, both civil and military, are appointed by the governor, council, and representatives, in general court assembled.

The civil officers are appointed annually in May; the military officers from time to time as vacancies happen.

The names of the present civil officers, are as follows, viz.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, GOVERNOR,
MATTHEW GRISWOLD, Deputy-Governor.

Assistants.

Jabez Hamlin,	Abraham Davenport,
Shubael Conant,	William-Samuel Johnson,
Flisha Shelden,	Joseph Spencer,
Eliphalet Dyer,	Oliver Wolcott,
Jabez Huntington,	William Pitkin,
Roger Sherman,	James-Abraham Hillhouse,

John Lawrence, Treasurer,
George Wyllys, Secretary.

The Superior Court.
Mathew Griswold, Chief Judge.
Eliphalet Dyer, }
Roger Sherman, } Judges.
William Pitkin }
Samuel Huntington, }

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT.

At a general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, holden at New-Haven, on the second Thursday of October, 1774.

RESOLVED by this Assembly, that his Honour the Governor be, and he is hereby desired to cause six hundred copies of the queries from the Secretary of State, dated 5th July, 1773, and the answers thereto, prepared by his Honour, and laid before this Assembly, to be printed, and cause the same to be distributed to the several towns in this colony, in proportion to their list of estates.

GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'y.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERE DROUGHT IN 1749,
FROM A MS. OF MR. JAMES BLAKE, OF DORCHESTER.

“**T**HIS summer was the severest drought in this country that has ever been known in the memory of the oldest persons among us. It was a dry spring; and by the latter end of May the grass was burnt up, so that the ground looked white: and it was the 6th day of July, before any rain (to speak of) came. The earth was dried like powder to a great depth; and many wells, springs, brooks, and small rivers were dried up, that were never known to fail before: and the fish in some of the rivers died. The pastures were so scorched, that there was nothing green to be seen; and the cattle waxed poor, and by their lowing seemed to call upon their owners for relief, who could not help them.

Although the dry grass was eaten so close, that there were but a few thin spires to be seen, yet several pastures took fire, and burnt fiercely. My pasture took fire near the barn, by a boy's dropping a coal as he was carrying fire to the water-side ; and though there seemed to be so little grass, yet what there was, by the ground's being so dry, blazed and flashed like gun-powder, and run very fast along the ground, and in one place burnt some fence : and we were forced to work hard to keep it from the barn, and to extinguish it ; having the help of sundry men that happened to be here. It spread over about half an acre of ground before we could stop it ; and where there were lumps of cow-dung, it would burn till the whole lump was consumed, and burn a hole in the ground ; and we were obliged to use much water to quench it.

“ There was a great scarcity of hay, being but a very little cut of the first crop ; and salt-marsh failed nearly as much as the English meadow. English hay was then sold for £3 and £3-10, old tenor, per hundred. Barley and oats were so pinched, that many had not much more than their seed again ; and many cut down their grain before it was ripe, for fodder. Flax almost wholly failed, as also garden herbs of all sorts ; and the Indian corn rolled up and wilted. And there was a melancholy prospect of the greatest dearth that ever was known in this land.

“ In the time of our fears and distress, the government ordered a day of public fasting and prayer : and God was graciously pleased to hear and answer our petitions in a very remarkable manner : for, about the 6th of July, the course of the weather altered, and there came such seasonable and plentiful rains, as quite changed the face of the earth ; and that grass which we generally concluded was wholly dead, and could not come again under several years, was revived, and there was a good second crop of mowing, it looking more like the spring than the latter part of the year : and the Indian corn recovered, and there was a very good harvest.

“ And whereas it was thought, in the fall of the year, that a multitude of cattle must die for want of food, inso-much that they sent and fetched hay from England ; yet

God in his providence ordered us a moderate winter, and we were carried comfortably through it, and I did not hear of many, if any, cattle that died. But by reason of so many cattle having been killed off last fall, beef, mutton, and butter are now, in May, 1750, very dear. Butter is 7s. 6d. old tenor pr. lb.

“ Upon the coming of the rains, and renewing of the earth, last fall, the government appointed a day of public thanksgiving.

“ [This summer, June 18th was said to be the hottest day that was ever known in the northerly part of America.]”

GRAND JURY'S BILL AGAINST MARY OSGOOD.

*Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, } Anno R. & Reginae
in New England. Essex, ss. } Gulielmi et Mariae
Anglice, &c. Quarto.*

Annoq. Domini 1692.

THE jurors for our sovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, present, that Mary Osgood, wife of Capt. John Osgood, of Andover, in the county of Essex, about eleven years ago, in the town of Andover aforesaid, wickedly, maliciously, and feloniously, a covenant with the Devil did make, and signed the Devil's Book, and took the Devil to be her God, and consented to serve and worship him, and was baptized by the Devil, and renounced her former Christian baptism, and promised to be the Devil's, both body and soul forever, and to serve him; by which diabolical covenant, by her made with the Devil, she the said Mary Osgood is become a detestable Witch, against the peace of our sovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, their crown and dignity, and the laws in that case made and provided.

Billa vera. ROBERT PAGE, Foreman.

Ponit se. Non cul:—found.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE REV. JAMES NOYES,
FIRST MINISTER OF NEWBURY.

REVEREND JAMES NOYES was born in England, at Choulderton, in Wiltshire, in the year 1608. His father was a minister of that town: His mother a sister of the Rev. Robert Parker.

He had his education, chiefly, under Mr. Thomas Parker, the son of Robert. By him he was invited from Brazen-nose College, in Oxford, to assist in the care and charge of the public school at Newbury; and which they kept together until they came into New-England, in 1634.

Soon afterwards they began a settlement, to which they gave the name of Newbury; gathered a church, and Mr. Parker became the pastor, and Mr. Noyes the teacher. In this station, Mr. Noyes continued for something more than twenty years.

His sickness was long and tedious, which he bore with patience, and even cheerfulness, and died October 22d, 1656, in the 48th year of his age. He left six sons and two daughters, all of whom *lived to be married*. Two of his sons, James and Moses, were educated at Harvard college; commenced in 1659, and were settled in the ministry in Connecticut.

James was pastor of a church in Stonington, and died December 30th, in the year 1719, in the 81st year of his age, and 56th of his ministry.

Moses was pastor of a church in Lyme. He died Nov. 10th, 1729, in the 86th year of his age, after having resided with his people 60 years.

A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
ISLES OF SHOALS.

SITUATION.] THERE are *eight* Islands in the cluster that bears this name, compactly situated, viz *Hog* Island, of about 350 acres; *Star* Island, of about 150 acres; *Haley's* or *Smutty-Nose* Island, of about 100 acres. These are the principal, and the only ones that

are habitable. The others are *Cedar, White, Londonner's, Malaga,* and *Duck Islands*; the largest of which contains about eight acres, the smallest one acre. They lie nine miles S. E. of Portsmouth light-house, (N. H.) and 21 N. E. of the light-houses at Newburyport. N. lat. $42^{\circ} 59'$ W. Long. from London, $70^{\circ} 30'$. The line, which divides New-Hampshire from Maine, passes between these islands, leaving *Haley's, Hog, Duck, Cedar,* and *Malaga* isles, on the N. E. in Maine; and the others on the S. W. in New-Hampshire.* Some have entertained the idea, that these islands, at some former period, joined to some of the points or bluffs, that project from the main, near Hampton. The Rev. Mr. *Tuck* was of this opinion.†

DISCOVERY.] These islands were discovered by the celebrated Capt. JOHN SMITH, in 1614, and by him named *Smith's Isles*. For reasons unknown to the writer, they shortly after obtained their present name. The deed given by the Indian sagamores to John Wheelright and others, in 1629, includes "the *Isles of Shoals*, so called by the English." ‡

HARBOUR.] The only secure harbour in these islands is *Haley's*, which opens to the S. W. having *Haley's* island S. E. *Malaga* N. W. a wall, built by Mr. *Haley*, between 70 and 80 paces in length, on the N. E. This little, well-sheltered harbour is of great importance, not only to the fishermen of these islands, but to merchant vessels coming on this coast, who, not infrequently, have been obliged to put into the Shoals, in distress. Many lives and much property have been saved by means of this harbour, and the timely and humane exertions of these hardy islanders. The wall, which secures this harbour, is in a state of decay. The enterprising proprietor

* In Governor Wentworth's commission of 1764, the boundaries of New Hampshire are described in part as follows: "And by a dividing line, parting the *Isles of Shoals*, and running through the middle of the harbour between the said islands to the sea, on the south-easterly side, the south-westerly part of said Islands, to be accounted part of our province of New-Hampshire." The above line meets the south line of New-Hampshire, at a point a few miles eastward of the Shoals.

† MS. Letter of Judge Sewall to the author.

‡ See Belknap's History, vol. I. Ap. p. 2.

is unable to make the necessary repairs. The security and enlargement of this harbour is an object which deserves the attention of the public. These islands are conveniently situated for the smuggling trade; and unless some measures be taken by the government of the United States, to prevent it, by establishing a free port here, or making it a place of strength, it may be used for that purpose.*

FACE OF THE ISLANDS, &c.] These islands have a dreary and inhospitable appearance, and but for their advantageous situation for carrying on the fisheries, would probably never have been inhabited. They are a bed of rocks, raising their disjointed heads above the water. The greater part of their surface is covered with a thin soil, yielding grass sufficient to support, during the summer and autumn, twenty or thirty cows, and about 150 sheep. The sheep raised here are usually killed before winter. Nearly half the sward, on Star Island, has, within a few years, been cut up by the necessitous inhabitants, dried and burnt, instead of more solid fuel.

Upon all the islands there are chasms in the rocks, several yards wide, and from one to ten deep, occasioned, if we may judge from appearances, by some violent earthquake. In some places, acres of rock are broken off from the rest of the island; and through the cracks or guts, the water, at high tides and in storms, rushes in torrents. The most remarkable of these chasms is on the S. E. point of Star island, in which is a place, where, tradition says, one *Betty Moody* secreted herself when the Indians visited the island, and carried off many female captives, and thence called, to this day, "*Betty Moody's hole*." Others say she was drowned here.

CLIMATE.] The worthy Mr. Tuck used to say, that, in the winter season, the weather at the Shoals was "a thin under waistcoat warmer, than in the same parallel of latitude on the main." About a century ago, the ice extended from Star to Hog island. In January, 1697, the

* In 1766, the town of Gosport (Star Island) voted to petition the General Court of New-Hampshire for a lottery to build a pier in the cove before the town.† What became of this petition is not known. A pier was afterwards begun, but never finished. It is a work much wanted in that place.

† Town Records.

men were obliged to cut the ice, in order to get their shallows into the cove.* As will easily be supposed, the weather is very bleak here in winter, but it is delightfully cool and salubrious in summer, and at all seasons very healthful. Amidst all the exposures necessary to their occupation, the inhabitants have seldom need of a physician; and no one of this profession has lived on the island for more than twenty years.† The inhabitants are not remarkable for longevity. A considerable number perish at sea. “In 1632, a fishing shallop at the Isle of Shoals was overset.”‡ Many boats and men were destroyed by a violent N. E. storm in February, 1695; and the year following, six or seven boats were taken by the French.§ In the winter of 1801, a fishing schooner, with all her hands, was lost in the same way. Such accidents have very frequently happened to the inhabitants of these isles; but we have not dates or particulars of these events.

PRODUCTIONS.] These islands lie in common, except a few small inclosures for gardens and mowing ground; the former yielding to their proprietors a scanty supply of roots, and other garden stuff for summer; the latter from about three to six tons of hay.|| A few willows and lombardy poplars, planted by the inhabitants, are the only trees on these islands. Whortle-berries, choak-plums, and a few cranberries, are found on Hog and Haley’s isles.

WATER.] There are no fresh-water streams on these islands, and but one perennial spring, which is on Hog island.¶ The wells, which are rare, are none of them

* Kelley’s Journal MS.

† The physicians of Portsmouth have usually attended the sick on these isles.

‡ Winthrop’s Journal, p. 37.

§ Kelley’s Journal.

|| A woman, by the name of *Pusley*, died on Star island about the year 1795, nearly 90 years old. In her lifetime she kept two cows. The hay, on which they fed in winter, she used to cut in summer, among the rocks, with a *knife*, with her own hands. She usually collected in this way about half a ton. Her cows, it was remarked, were always in excellent order. They were taken from her, and paid for, by the British, about the year 1775, and killed, to the no small grief of the good old woman. The beef was pronounced to be of the very best kind.

¶ See the petition of Cutts, &c. under another head.

more than twelve feet deep, generally less. The clouds furnish the inhabitants with the greater part of their water for domestic uses.

FORT.] On the west point of Star island, on an eminence, are the ruins of a small fort, which was defended formerly by nine cannon, four-pounders. This fort was dismantled at the commencement of the late war, and the cannon carried to Newburyport.

POPULATION.] For more than a century previous to the American revolutionary war, these islands, considering their size and situation, were populous, containing from three to six hundred souls. On Hog island, which is now without an inhabitant, there were between twenty and thirty families, who, in general, were good livers. In so prosperous a state were these islands formerly, that gentlemen, from some of the principal towns on the sea coast, sent their sons here for literary instruction. They had a court-house on Haley's island; a meeting-house, first on Hog island, and afterwards on Star island. This island, under the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire, was erected into a town, by the name of *Gosport*,* (at some former period called *Appledore*), which was organized with the proper officers, and its political concerns managed with great propriety. But it was found that these islands afforded sustenance, and recruits, to the enemy, early in the war; in consequence, the inhabitants were ordered to quit the islands. In obedience to government, the greater part of the people dispersed into the seaport towns along the coast, and most of them never after returned. About twenty families removed to Old-York, where their descendants now live. The few who remained, four or five families excepted, have been a miserable set of beings, extremely poor, dirty, and wicked. In the autumn of 1800, there were but eighteen families on all these islands, fifteen on Star, and three on Haley's island, containing in all 112 souls. These islands, being probably the best situation for carrying on the fisheries in America, if the patronage of government could be extended to them, and a few men of capital, industry and integrity were to establish themselves here, might furnish

* In 1728, *Gosport* paid into the treasury of New-Hampshire £16-00-4, as her proportion of a tax of £1000.

employment, support, and even affluence, to 600, or even 1000 people; and be an excellent nursery for seamen to man our infant navy.

PRESENT STATE OF THESE ISLANDS.] At the close of the year 1800, there were, on Haley's island, three decent dwelling houses, occupied by Mr. Haley, an ingenious and respectable old gentleman, of seventy-six, and his two sons, with their families. In these three families were twenty souls. Mr. Haley has expended a handsome fortune in erecting the expensive wall before mentioned, wharves, and other useful works. Among these are a wind-mill, rope-walk, 270 feet long, saw-works, erected before the war, a bake-house, brewery, distillery, built in 1783, and a blacksmith's and cooper's shop. These works, in consequence of the unprosperous state of these islands, are all going to decay.

On Star island, are eleven dwelling-houses, if they may be so called. Four excepted, they appear to be, of all abodes of human beings, the most loathsome. In the fall of 1800, by the hand of charity, they received some slight repairs. Interspersed among these, are ten other buildings for curing and storing fish.

FISHERIES.] Before the war, when the islands were in a flourishing state, there were annually caught here, and cured for the market, from *three to four thousand* quintals of fish. At that time, seven or eight schooners, besides boats, were employed in this business; and some used to extend their fishing voyages to the banks of Newfoundland.

About the year 1730, and afterwards, the fisheries on these islands increased to that degree, that three or four ships used to load here, annually, with winter and spring merchantable fish, for Bilboa, in Spain, and smaller vessels for other places. Besides, a large quantity of cod and scale fish were carried to Portsmouth, for the West-India market.*

The usual drink of the fishermen, at that period, was a liquor which they called *bounce*, composed of two thirds *spruce beer* and one third *wine*. But, in a course of years, they gradually left off the use of this wholesome drink, and substituted in its place, ardent spirits, which

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Esq.

has been a principal mean of the lamentable degeneracy of these people.*

Whale-boats, only, are now employed in this fishery. In the autumn of 1800, 13 boats, 10 owned on Star, and three on Haley's island, belonged to these islanders. From a thousand to fifteen hundred quintals of fish are caught here annually; from 100 to 250 quintals of which are what is called *winter* or *dumb fish*. In the winter and spring of 1800, when bait was plenty, and the season favourable, about 300 quintals of winter fish were taken; in 1788, when bait was scarce, and the season bad, only thirty-five quintals were caught.

The winter or dumb fish are thought, by the fishermen, to be a "fairer, larger, and thicker fish," than those caught in the same places in summer. This difference may probably be satisfactorily accounted for, from the difference in the season of the year. The winter and summer fish are doubtless of the same species. They are cured also in the same manner, except that the former, on account of the coldness of the weather, require less salt. The trouble of taking and curing the winter fish is much greater than of the summer, because the days are shorter, and the season unfavourable for drying them. The hardships endured in taking the winter fish are inconceivable by all but eye witnesses. In summer, the fishing is carried on chiefly in the night.

The following is the process of making the fish.

The fish, in the first place, are thrown from the boats in piles on the shore. The *cutter* then takes them and cuts their throats, and rips open their bellies. In this state he hands them to the *header*, who takes out the entrails, (detaching the livers, which are preserved for the sake of the oil they contain) and breaks off their heads. The *splitter* then takes out the back-bone, and splits them completely open, and hands them to the *salter* who salts and piles them in bulk, where they lie from ten to twenty hours, as is most convenient. The shoremen and the women then wash and spread them on the flakes. Here they remain three or four weeks, according to the weather; during which time they are often turned, piled

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Esq.

in fagots, and then spread again, till they are completely cured for the market.

The winter or dumb fish lie from ten to fourteen days in salt, and are very carefully dried, and secured in bad weather. The season for catching and curing these fish is from February to May, as the weather will allow.

The haddock and hake (there is a great resemblance between these fishes) are caught in summer and fall, during the night. They lie in pickle from twelve to thirty-six hours, and then are *dry salted*; after which they are spread upon the flakes; and in good weather, their cure is completed in a week.

The fish of all kinds, made on these islands, have the preference in market, and command a higher price. The dumb fish is consumed chiefly in New-England, and is considered, by connoisseurs in fish, the best in the world. Its price is from six to ten dollars a quintal.

The hake is shipped to the West-Indies, to Spain, &c. The price at the Shoals is commonly about *two dollars* a quintal. The spring fish, which is next in quality to the dumb fish, is usually sent to Maderia. The summer codfish, called Jamaica fish, which goes to the West-Indies, is about three dollars a quintal.

From the year 1754, to 1771, it appears from the records, that the salary of the Rev. Mr. Tucke was paid him in merchantable winter fish, a quintal a man. There were from eighty to a hundred men then on these islands; and a quintal of fish was estimated at a guinea. His salary was considered, in his situation, as one of the most valuable, at that time, in New-England.

MISCELLANIES, HISTORICAL AND HUMOROUS.] Mr. *William Pepperell*, and a Mr. *Gibbons*, from Topsham, in the west of England, two respectable gentlemen, were among the first settlers at the Shoals. For a year or two they carried on the fisheries in this place. They soon found it too limited for their views, and concluded to remove to some part of the main. To determine them whither they should go, they set up each a stick, and left them to fall as *Providence* should direct. *Pepperell's* fell N. W. *Gibbons's* fell towards the N. E. Each pursued, with enthusiasm, the course his stick pointed him; and the former established himself at the mouth

of Piscataway river ; the latter is said to have obtained a grant of the tract, since called the *Waldo Patent*.*

The following curious petition, &c. with the annexed remarks, were handed to the writer of the foregoing, by the Hon. David Sewall, Esq. of York.

The humble petition of Richard Cutt and — Cutting, sheweth, That John Renolds, contrary to an act in court, that no woman shall live upon the Isle of Shoals, hath brought his wife thither, with an intention there to live and abide ; and hath also brought upon Hog Island, a great stock of goats and hogs, which doth not only spoile and destroy much fish, to the great damage of several others, and likewise many of your petitioners ; but also doth spoile the spring of water that is on that island, by making it unfit or serviceable for any manner of use, which is the only relief and sustenance of all the rest of the islands. Your petitioners, therefore, pray that the said Renolds may be ordered to remove his said goats and swine from the islands forthwith. Also that the act of court, before mentioned, may be put in execution, to the removal of all women from inhabiting there ; and your petitioners shall pray, &c."

Order of Court on the above.

“Whereas, by the abovementioned request, the general complaint of the chief of the fishermen, and others, of the Isle of Shoals, that it is a great annoyance and prejudice for Mr John Renolds to keep his swine and goats at the Isle of Shoals ; it is by mutual consent of this court ordered, that Mr. Renolds shall, within twenty days, remove his swine and goats, that he hath at Hog Island, from thence, or any of those islands, that are inhabited with fishermen. And as for the removal of his wife, it is thought fit, if no further complaint come against her, she may as yet enjoy the company of her husband. Dated the 20th of Oct. 1647.”

Why a resolve or ordinance should have been made to prevent the residence of women at the Shoals, is left to conjecture. That there was, in fact, such a resolve, (although it is not to be found on record,) seems to be recognized by the court, in their order on Cutt and

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Esq.

Cutting's petition against Renolds. Perhaps some women of loose morals had occasionally gone thither, and disturbed the inhabitants ; a representation of which to the legislature (who, concerned for the morals of the people, appear to have exercised some extraordinary powers on certain occasions) may have induced them to pass such a resolve. On the records of Maine, is a precept from the court to a constable of Saco, to forbid a certain man, who was reported to be a married man, and to have left his wife in England, from paying his addresses to a widow woman, or even to go into her company ; and upon his persisting, after such notice, to carry him before a magistrate, to give bonds to comply with the order.

While Mr. Brock resided at the Shoals, he persuaded the people to enter into an agreement, that, besides the Lord's-day, they would spend one day in every month together, in the worship of God. On a certain day, which, by their agreement, was to be devoted to the exercises of religion, the fishermen came to Mr. Brock, and requested that they might put by their meeting that day, and go a fishing, because they had lost many days by the foulness of the weather. He pointed out to them the impropriety of their request, and endeavoured to convince them that it would be far better for them to stay at home and worship God, according to their agreement, than to go a fishing. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, however, *five* only consented to stay at home, and *thirty* determined to go. Upon this, Mr. Brock addressed them thus: "As for you, who are determined to neglect your duty to God, and go a fishing, *I say unto you catch fish if you can.* But as for you, who will tarry and worship the Lord Jesus Christ, *I will pray unto him for you, that you may catch fish till you are weary.*" Accordingly the *thirty* who went from the meeting, with all their skill, caught, through the whole day, but *four* fishes ; while the *five*, who tarried and attended divine service, afterwards went out and caught *five hundred*.*

* This story is related from Mather's Magnalia, as "credibly attested," by the Rev. Mr. Fitch, of Portsmouth, in a sermon preached at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Tucke, July 26, 1732.

“ A fisherman, who had with his boat been very helpful to carry people over a river for the worship of God, on the Lord’s-day, in the Isles of Shoals, lost his boat in a storm. The poor man lamented his loss to Mr. Brock, who told him, “ Go home, honest man, I will mention the matter to the Lord ; you will have your boat against to-morrow.” Mr. B. now considering of what consequence this matter, that seemed so small otherwise, might be among the untractable fishermen, made the *boat* an article of his prayers ; and behold, on the morrow, the poor man came to him rejoicing that his boat was found ; the anchor of another vessel, that was undesignedly cast upon it, having strangely brought it up, from the unknown bottom, where it had been sunk.” *

During the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Moody at the Shoals, one of the fishing shallops, with all hands on board, was lost in a N. E. storm in Ipswich bay. Mr. Moody, anxious to improve this melancholy event, for the awakening of those of his hearers, who were exposed to the like disaster, addressed them in the following language, adapted to their occupation and understanding : “ Supposing, my brethren, any of you should be taken short in the bay, in a N. E. storm, † your hearts trembling with fear, and nothing but death before you, whither would your thoughts turn ? what would you do ? ” — “ What would I do,” replied one of these hardy sons of Neptune, “ why I should immediately hoist the foresail and scud away for Squam.” ‡

At a time when the famous *Low* and other pirates infested the American coast, they proved very troublesome to the fishermen at the Shoals, though they could obtain but little booty from them. One of these fishermen, (Charles Randall) with others, were taken by them, and having no property, these barbarous pirates whipped them with much severity ; after which they said to them, “ You know old Dr. Cotton Mather, do

* Mather’s *Magnalia*.

† It must be noted, that when these fishermen are overtaken in the bay, between Cape Ann and the Shoals, in a N. E. storm, and the wind is so violent, that they cannot carry sail so as to beat in against it, *Squam* harbour, on the north side of Cape Ann, is their dernier resort.

‡ C. Chauncey’s MS. letter.

you?"—"Yes," they replied, "we have heard of him as a very good man." "Well, then," said the pirates, "our orders are to make each of you jump up three times, and to say each time, "*Curse Parson Mather*," otherwise you are all to be hanged." To save their lives, they all complied. This information the writer of the letter had from Randall himself.*

A worthy deacon, reading the following line in the old version of the Psalms,

"And I know more than all the *Ancients* do"—read, by mistake, thus,

"And I know more than all the *Indians* do"—one of the assembly, who had more wit than piety, acquainted with the *craftiness* and *shrewdness* of Indians, rose and addressed the good deacon, in a loud voice, "If you do, you are a plaguy cunning man." †

At an early period after the settlement of these islands, tradition says, that a house, belonging to a Mr. *Tucker*, situated on the rocks near the water, on *Haley's* island, ‡ during a violent storm, was washed from its foundation, and carried entire to Cape Cod, where it was taken up, and a box of linen, papers, &c. taken out of it, by which it was discovered whence it came. The family had just time to escape before the house went off.

HISTORY.] These islands, as has been already mentioned, were discovered as early as 1614. The convenience of their situation for carrying on the fisheries, which was a principal object of the first settlers, induced them to fix on these islands as a place of their first settlement. Among the first inhabitants were the respectable names of PEPPERELL and GIBBONS; the former an ancestor of the celebrated Sir WILLIAM PEPPERELL. The first settlers of these islands were a religious people, and felt the importance of having the worship of God regularly maintained among them. And it is remarkable, that till the year 1775 there was a constant succession of preachers of the word on these islands, though none of them except Mr. *Tucke*, was ordained to the pastoral office in this place.

Sometime before the year 1641, the inhabitants of

* C. Chauncey's letter.

† Ibid.

‡ The spot where it stood is now shewn.

these islands erected a meeting-house on Hog island ; and at this period the Rev. Mr. HULL was their minister ; * he was probably the first who preached on these islands. When he began his ministry here, what was his character, and at what time he died or removed, is unknown.

About the year 1650, the Rev. John Brock was invited to take the pastoral charge of the people on these isles. This worthy man came over to America when a youth, about the year 1637 ; six years after he entered Harvard College ; and in 1648 commenced a preacher of the gospel, first at *Rowley*, then he preached at these islands, till the year 1662, when he removed to Reading, where he continued to minister in holy things till June, 1688, when he died, in the 68th year of his age. He was a pious youth, a good man, a laborious minister, preaching not only on the sabbath, but frequent lectures, to the members of the church, and to young people. These extraordinary religious exercises, he considered as means of rendering his public labours effectual to the people of his charge. He was faithful and diligent in his pastoral visits ; and from his happy talent in conversation, he made them instructive and useful. So remarkable was he for his piety and holiness, that it was said of him, by an eminent and venerable divine, † that "he dwelt as near heaven as any man upon earth." Like the martyr Stephen, he was "a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." Several remarkable stories, some of which are "credibly attested," illustrative of his great piety, and of the efficacy of his prayers, are recorded by Dr. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*. Some of these are related under another head.

After the removal of Mr. Brock, the Rev. Mr. Belcher, a "worthy and excellent man," ‡ preached for some time to the people on these islands.

It was about this time that the inhabitants on Hog island, either through fear of the Indians, who frequented Duck island, and thence made their plundering excursions upon them, and carrying into captivity their women,

* Neil's History of New England, vol. i. page 196.

† Rev. Mr. J. Mitchell, of Cambridge.

‡ Mr. Fitch's sermon, before mentioned.

while they were abroad, a fishing, or from some other cause, deserted that island, and removed to Star Island, as a place of greater safety. Here they erected a new meeting-house, 28 by 48 feet, with a bell; and some years afterwards (in 1706) invited Mr. Moody, a native of Salisbury, Massachusetts, to be their minister. He was a man of piety, and a pathetic and useful preacher, and remained here till 1733, when he left the Shoals, and settled as a schoolmaster at Hampton, and afterwards at Newburyport, where he died of an apoplexy, April 17, 1768, aged 82 years. To him succeeded the Rev. John Tucke, who commenced his ministerial labours at the Shoals about the year 1730. In December of the following year, they gave him an unanimous call to settle among them in the work of the ministry, and offered him a very generous support.*

* The following extracts from the town records of Star island, alias *Gosport*, are inserted as highly honorary to the character of those concerned in the transaction recorded.

1731. The freeholders being legally warned, met on the 13th of December, 1731, and unanimously chose Rev. John Tooke † to be their minister.

They voted to give him a salary of £110, money or bills of credit, so long as it shall please God to continue him among us in the work of the ministry, *nem con.* Voted to pay Mr. Tooke two thirds of his salary by the last of May, annually; and one third by the last of September.

Voted, to give Mr. Tooke £50 in money, by the last of May next, towards building him a house, if he choose to build a house himself; but in case he should hereafter remove, Mr. Tooke to give to the inhabitants the refusal of purchasing the house, and to abate £50 in the price.

[N. B. This house was taken down by Mr. Tooke's son-in-law, and carried to O. York, about the year 1780.]

Voted to give Mr. T. a convenient place to set his house upon, and a garden spot, where he may choose.

[N. B. This was on the top of the hill, near the meeting-house, and is still reserved as a parsonage lot.]

Voted, to proceed to the ordination of Mr. Tooke, at a convenient time in the spring, in case of his acceptance of our call.

1732. April 28th. The freeholders of the town of Gosport, alias Star island, at a legal meeting, renewed their call to Mr. Tooke, and confirmed their former offer of support, with the addition, ¶ That as the value of money shall fall, we will make the aforesaid one hundred and ten pounds as good as it now is, and will be ready to enlarge his salary as his circumstances shall require, and our own abilities allow. [An honourable evidence of their disposition to do justice.]

† The true spelling of his name is *Tucke*.

Mr. Tucke was ordained to the work of the ministry, with the unanimous consent of the people, being the first and only minister of the gospel who was ordained

Voted, that Mr. T.'s salary should begin the 1st day of October last.

Voted, that we will give the Rev. John Tooke a constant contribution during his ministry among us; the money that shall be marked shall go towards his salary; and the money that shall not be marked, shall be given.

Voted, that we will give Mr. Tooke the privilege of keeping one cow on the aforesaid island.

The 26th of the next July was fixed for the ordination, provided the weather should permit the people on shore to come over; if not, the first suitable time after.

Voted, that the 13th day of July next, be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, to beg God's blessing on the affair of settling a minister among us.

A committee was appointed to make provision for carrying into effect the foregoing votes.

[N. B. Mr. Thomas Lambert was appointed to record these votes. They are in a very neat hand-writing, well spelt, and correct in composition. The whole proceedings remarkably regular.

Letter to the Rev. John Tooke.

The freeholders and inhabitants of Star island, alias Gosport, assembled at the meeting-house, on said island, this 28th day of April, wishing health.

Sir,—We at this meeting have voted and agreed to sundry things, which, by the enclosed, you will be acquainted with. Mr. Andrew Chace, sen. and Mr. Samuel Emmery, are a committee to bring your answer to this meeting, that we may proceed farther, as to what is necessary and remaining. We beg you will send your answer as soon as possible, being all waiting. We remain your most humble servants,

John Michamere, }
Wm. Michamere, } Selectmen.
Ambrose Downs, }

Answer.

To the freeholders and inhabitants of Star island, alias Gosport, this 23th day of April, assembled at the meeting-house on said island.

Brethren,—It is some time since you called me to the work of the ministry among you; to which call, by reason of many discouragements, and withal the very heavy stroke of Divine Providence, which has befallen me among you, has deferred my answer till this time; and now, by the committee sent to me by you, I understand that you have both renewed that call, and confirmed former offers; and also hoping that there is a prospect of doing good among you, I, relying on the strength of divine grace, accept of your call to me. But, brethren, I must say to you as in 1 Cor. ix. 14, *So hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel.* The same I expect amongst you. I desire your prayers for me. In

to the pastoral office in this place.* Among the ministers, who assisted at his ordination, was the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, who, in the course of the ordination service, used the following pertinent expressions: "Good Lord, thou hast founded a church here upon a rock; may the gates of hell never prevail against it." †

These islands, in former times, were in a very respectable and flourishing state. The inhabitants were industrious, prudent, temperate, and regular and decent in their attendance on the institutions of religion. They had magistrates and other officers annually chosen by the people, to execute their wholesome laws and regulations, and to maintain order and peace in the society. ‡ The inhabitants were respectful, kind, and generous to their minister; and considering the nature of their employment, and their consequent habits, they dwelt together in a good degree of harmony. Such appears to have been the prosperous and happy state of the inhabitants of these islands, particularly during the ministry of Mr. Tucke. This good man died, deeply and universally lamented, on the 12th of August, 1773; having buried his wife two months before. They "were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided."

Mr. Tucke was a man of an affable and amiable dispo-

praying for me, you will pray for yourselves. The Apostle says, 1st of Thessalonians, v. 25, *Brethren, pray for us.* And I hope that my poor prayers will be to God for you. I hope to say with the Apostle, Col. i. 9, *I do not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding.*

I am yours to serve in the gospel,

Gosport, April 28, 1732.

JOHN TOOKE.

Voted, that every fall of the year, when Rev. Mr. John Tooke has his wood to carry home, every man who will not come, that is able to come, shall pay forty shillings old tenor.

* Mr. Fitch's Sermon, preached from Matth. iv. 19, at his ordination.

† Judge Sewall's letter to the author.

‡ Their records inform, that the following officers were annually chosen: A moderator, three selectmen, a constable, town-clerk, two tything-men, two cullers of fish, and two corders of wood.

sition, of easy and polite manners, of humble and unaffected piety, of diligence and fidelity in the service of the ministry. He was "given to hospitality, and apt to teach." In history and geography he was eminently learned, beyond most of his cotemporaries. He acted in the double capacity of physician of body and of soul. In imitation of his Divine Master, he went about doing good among all classes of the people of his charge, and his labours were not in vain in the Lord. Under his nurturing, pastoral care, his people increased in numbers and in wealth, in knowledge, piety and respectability. Few parishes in New-England, at this period, gave a more generous support to their minister, and few congregations were more constant and exemplary in their attendance on public worship. Such is the account of the character of this venerable man, and of the fruits of his labours, which I have received from many aged and respectable people, who were personally acquainted with him.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Tucke, the Rev. Jeremiah Shaw was invited to preach on these islands, and here he remained, for the greater part of the time, till the dispersion of the inhabitants in 1775. The troubles occasioned by the war, with some other causes, prevented his settling here, agreeably to the wishes of the people.

Since this period, so small have been the numbers, and so impoverished the circumstances of these islanders, that they have not had the ability, and, by degrees, have lost the disposition, to support the ordinances of religion. The laws and regulations, by which their fathers were governed, and which were means of preserving order and harmony in their little commonwealth, were laid aside. The people neglected the annual choice of town officers. They had no regular schools for the education of their children. The sabbath was neglected and profaned. In consequence of these deviations from the "old paths and good ways" of their fathers, the people rapidly degenerated. The vices of cursing and swearing, drunkenness, quarrelling, and disobedience to parents, became, in an awful degree, prevalent. The people have grown up in a great degree ignorant of the great doctrines and duties

of religion, and of the first rudiments of science and letters ; and, in the near neighbourhood of Christians, were degenerating fast to a state of heathenism.

The deplorable state of these people, in a moral and religious view, was made known to the "Society for Propagating the Gospel," in Boston ; and immediately, at their expense, a missionary was engaged, who spent three months among them, at the close of the year 1799. In the summer of 1800, the Society sent one of their own members, to inquire into the circumstances of these people, with a view to afford them the necessary relief and instruction. In consequence of his report, and the advice of *Dudly A. Tyng*, Esq. of Newburyport, who has been the prime mover and agent, in all the proceedings for the benefit of these poor people, a subscription was opened for the purpose of raising money to erect a place of worship on these islands. Gentlemen of humane feelings and of liberality, in Salem, Newburyport, Portsmouth, Exeter, Ipswich, Boston, and Charlestown, in the two places first named especially, subscribed generously ; and from the avails, an edifice of stone, with a cupola, was erected in September and October, 1800, on the highest spot on Star island, which answers the treble purpose of a place of worship, a school-house, and a land-mark for seamen.* At the same time, these suffering people received a liberal supply of clothing, bedding, wood, &c. from a number of charitable people in Newburyport, Salem, and Charlestown. The Society for Propagating the Gospel, and several booksellers in Boston, gave books and stationery suited to their circumstances, sufficient, with proper usage, to last several years. A missionary, (*Mr. Josiah Stephens*) under commission from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, went to these islands in April, 1801, preaches on the sabbath, and has

* This house is 36 feet long, and 24 wide, on the outside. The walls are two feet thick, and eleven in height in the clear ; the whole building is painted white. The inside is finished in a plain style, and furnished with a stove, for the accommodation of the school in winter. This house was dedicated, in a formal and solemn manner, on the 14th of Nov. 1800. The sermon was preached, and the other services performed, on this occasion, by the Rev. J. Morse, D. D. of Charlestown. His discourse was founded on Psalm cxviii. 25. "*O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity.*"

a school of about thirty scholars during the week, and is evidently in a sphere of great usefulness.

From the dispersion of the inhabitants of these isles in 1775, till November 14, 1800, the few, who remained, had lived, for the most part, without law or order, destitute of the means of religious or moral instruction, and had, of course, degenerated into a pitiable state of ignorance, poverty, anarchy, and wickedness. At the period last mentioned, when their new meeting-house was dedicated, the inhabitants assembled, and, by the written compact annexed,* formed themselves into a social state, and in a formal manner, pledged themselves to abide by certain regulations, and elected two of their number, as assessors, who, with the missionary, for the time being, were invested with power to carry said compact into effect.

In consequence of all these things, these islands are renovating in their appearance; and a hope is entertained, that they will soon rise to their former state of regularity, and respectability. Should Massachusetts and New-Hampshire cede their right in these islands to the United States, (a plan which some have contemplated,) and the federal government should think it expedient to establish them as a *free port*, and form a harbour, and erect the necessary fortifications and lights, they would soon become a place of much importance to the United States.

NOTE.

* *Articles of Agreement entered into by the Inhabitants of the Isles of Shoals, Nov. 14, 1800.*

WHEREAS the islands now commonly called *the Isles of Shoals*, but heretofore named *Smith's Island*, in honour of the renowned Capt. JOHN SMITH who first discovered them, have fallen into a lamentable state of decay, since the revolution war; and the inhabitants, from their extreme poverty, and other unhappy circumstances, have long been destitute of the means of religious and moral instruction; and whereas some pious and charitable persons have generously erected a com-

modious and durable building, to be solely appropriated to the public instruction of the inhabitants, and the Massachusetts Society for Propagating the Gospel have appointed a missionary to reside at the said islands, as a religious and moral teacher to the inhabitants, and an instructor of the youth ; and whereas there is ground to hope for further charities from the said society, and other humane and benevolent persons, should the good effects of their present bounty be visible in the improvement of the morals, manners, and conversation of the inhabitants ; and whereas from the local situation of the said islands, it is very difficult to resort to the laws for the decision of disputes which unavoidably arise :

We the said inhabitants do hereby solemnly and mutually covenant and agree with each other in the following articles, all which we promise to observe and keep, viz.

First. We engage to treat with kindness and respect all such worthy and godly persons as shall come to instruct and reform us ; to render them as comfortable as we can, and to attend with sobriety and diligence on all their instructions, whether the same be public in the meeting-house, or private and personal in our own houses.

Second. We engage that our children shall also attend the school at the stated hours, and that we will, by setting them sober and good examples, and by needful corrections, labour to make them better, as well as more decent and mannerly in their behaviour.

Third. We promise our best endeavours to abstain from all brawling, quarrelling, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, idleness, dishonesty, and all other conduct which is offensive to God, and all good beings.

Fourth. Should any disputes arise amongst any of us, we promise to submit the same to the decision of the missionary for the time being, and two assessors, who shall be annually chosen in the month of January ; and we promise to abide by, and perform their award touching such disputes.

Fifth. The house lot and garden, heretofore occupied by the Rev. Mr. Tucke, shall be forever appropriated to the use of the public teacher for the time being.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS AND
THE OLD COLONY OF PLYMOUTH.

P R E F A C E .

DR. Mather wrote an ecclesiastical history of this country, a large book, now very rarely seen. The facts are communicated in so strange a style, and mingled with so many oddities of opinion and fabulous representations, that few are disposed to look into it for the sake of the information. Many things, there related, the candid reader imputes to the weakness of the age; the most candid will see, too often, the prejudices and false zeal of the author.

Mr. Neal published his history of New-England in 1719. It is well written, and deserves more credit than Hutchinson allows, when he says, it is only an *abridgment of the Magnalia Americana*. It is an impartial and entertaining account of their civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Some things are contained in it, which were not known either to Dr. Cotton Mather, or any other writer of this "American strand."

It is superior in style to the later work of Gov. Hutchinson, though the materials for history were much greater which this gentleman possessed; and we are indebted to him for many facts, in the early periods of the settlement, which, but for his care, would have been entirely lost; also for a fund of information, concerning the country, after he had become a leader in the public transactions.

The compiler of the present work confines himself to ecclesiastical history, having consulted many old MSS. beside all the printed accounts of the congregational churches; and he prefers to publish in the Historical Collections, where many useful, interesting, and important documents are preserved, which will be of infinite service to future writers, as they have been to himself.

After giving an account of the church in New-Plymouth, and the ancient form in Massachusetts, he will consider the changes which have been made, the prevailing opinions, the controversies among those of the congregational mode of worship, as well as those which have been carried on with churches of other denominations; and to exhibit to view the present *state* of religion.

Hubbard's MS. has afforded him some assistance, a book excellent of the kind, and which ought to have been printed many years ago, for its historical information, and the reputation of the author. He was the best writer in New-England while he lived; learned, judicious, and capable of giving a proper arrangement to his facts. With exception to a few quaint expressions, common to all the puritan divines in England, as well as North-America, this book is valuable for the composition. Why was it never published? He left it complete, and a fair copy was transcribed for the press. It fell into the hands of some, who were disposed to make a liberal use of it for their own purposes, and then kept it from the public eye. All who have written any account of Massachusetts, are more indebted to it than they are willing to own; yet there is not even a biographical sketch of the man to be found. We know, however, that he left behind him a good name, which is better, in the opinion of the wise, than any *perfume* or *niche* in the temple of fame.

SECTION I.

Account of the First Church in Plymouth. The Piety and Sufferings of the Planters. The good Order of the Church, and Difficulties attending the Settlement of a Pastor.

A SPIRIT of enterprise has often made the discovery of new countries, and to this, combined with a love of science in the breast of Columbus, we are indebted for the knowledge of our part of the globe. But it was the love of religion, which prompted the settlers of New-England to prefer the wilderness of distant climes to the ease and affluence they could enjoy at home.

It was not their object to open new and rich sources of commerce, like the merchants and princes of Portugal; nor to plan schemes of speculation, which so often proved vain and chimerical to individuals of other European nations, when they were stimulated by the desire of gain; but *they* were the fairest patterns of religious zeal, of firmness, patience, and heroic virtue: they were men whose

souls were tried by the most adverse circumstances, and yet not subdued by the blows of their adversity. Their hopes gilded the scenes around them; and while they looked at the *land of promise*, they were more distinguished by active and social virtues, than vain contemplations.

According to the Abbe Raynal, "*Superstition* first settled New-England." He calls every thing *superstition*, which is of a religious nature. What the best writers describe the *sentiment of the heart*, HE calls the effusion of a *weak mind*. That which has been considered in all ages, and by men of the most enlarged understanding, as the offspring of heaven, is confounded by him with the creatures of a vain imagination. He might have said, it was the "concussion of religious opinions," which is a favourite expression of his, upon some occasions, and come near the truth, as well as saved his reflections upon christianity.

Another writer goes further than the Abbe R. and calumniates the character of our ancestors in every respect; for he says, "the inhabitants of America are of a bad stock, from the dupes of *puritanick cant*, from sour, tasteless asceticks, whose tempers desired anarchy while at home, and practised intolerance abroad." *

This man seems to have an idea, that the religious spirit is an *innate traditional evil*, which he would find a mistake if he had tarried long enough in the country to observe *our manners*, instead of running through the States for the sake of telling the world how far he had travelled. It is well known, that too many of the present generation are wholly unmindful of the principles and practices of their fathers; and too many join in the sarcasms of the French philosophy, or some other style, *as anti-puritanick* as this writer would wish, when they are told what *grave and good men their fathers were*: — Pious men, who made this declaration, "that it was for the glory of God, and the propagation of the gospel, that they transplanted themselves from his Majesty's dominions to these *almost unknown regions of the west*."

* The author above mentioned freely grants, that these men were the best progenitors of the present race of Americans; for he says, "the transported felons, who contributed to settle Virginia, have left behind them a race of drunken, gambling, lewd, rapacious spend-thrifts; keen, quick, courageous, hospitable race." *Don Von Bulow*.

The form of church government our fathers preferred was completely congregational; this has distinguished the churches in Massachusetts and the old Colony from the other churches which have been formed, and approached more or less to the Presbyterian establishment. They did not choose to be called Independents. This name the churches of Massachusetts disclaimed, as we see frequently in their charges to candidates for the ministry, though it might have been given them with some propriety, as most of Mr. Robinson's church had been Puritans of the most rigid separation, in a former reign. When they came to America, however, they possessed sentiments of moderation, which would do honour to any denomination of Christians. Vid. his address in Prince's Annals.

We must ascend to the first reformers, to get an idea of the principles and motives of separation from the other protestant churches, and which distinguished those who have been styled, in later times, the members of the congregational establishment. The reformation was gradually introduced into England. King Henry the VIIIth, though he cast off the Pope supremacy, and happily introduced the scriptures for the use of the people, retained in his heart a fondness for the superstitions of the church of Rome, and was too haughty a despôt to have his will disputed. In the reign of Edward the VIth, whose character the friends of virtue are so fond of delineating, and whose premature death caused so many tears of humanity to be shed, the work of reformation succeeded. Those who conducted it were liberal and devout men, and wished to make the sacred scriptures the guide of their faith and practice, and to diffuse them among all the classes of the community. But the light of truth was soon obscured, and the day, which was ushered in with such a bright and beautiful morning, hung heavily in clouds: For Mary, a weak and malicious bigot, became a Queen. During her reign, all, who were attached to civil or religious freedom, suffered; and it was a crime to love one's country. In an island, where so many have thought it decorous to die for it, this was made a terrible crime; the torch of persecution flamed against all who dissented from the minutest ceremonies of the Romish

church ; and no wonder that the reformers were enveloped in the thickest dangers. Some poured out their blood on the scaffold, many hung their harps upon the willows in a foreign land.

When Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the kingdom, upon the death of her sister, the reformation was taken up where Edward had left it. It was the design of several eminent persons to carry on the work to a degree of purity which the national church were not willing to allow : they were desirous to proceed till the worship and discipline should be divested of those rites and ceremonies, which they looked upon as the inventions of men ; and therefore a disgrace, rather than an ornament, to the church of Christ. If they could not obtain what they *most earnestly desired, to have these uninstituted rites entirely excluded, and their worship reduced to its primitive simplicity ; yet they pleaded to have things left indifferent, which were so in their nature.*

But a most powerful party sprung up to oppose them. It was the interest of such as disliked the reformation, to prevent a further secession from the church of Rome than was contemplated by some, and they joined their power and influence to set aside the views of the Puritans. The Queen was fond of show and pomp in religion, and soon declared herself on the side of those who were ready to establish a national church, with many gorgeous appendages : and being importuned by the high church party ; being also imperious in her own temper, obstinate in her prejudices, and impatient of contradiction ; she set herself not only to restrain, but to punish those who resisted her will. The establishment would have been easily borne, had those who differed been allowed to worship God in their own way, or according to the dictates of their consciences. But such an intolerant spirit prevailed, that if any scrupled entire conformity, or used a form except that contained in the *book* of common prayer, they were silenced and fined, deprived, censured and imprisoned.

Some time elapsed in fruitless expectation of better days ; then, as their own condition grew intolerable, they were induced to separate not only from the church of England, but from a government that was so arbi-

trary. They formed a church on independent principles, and set themselves down in Holland; where, for some years, they enjoyed the pleasures of religious freedom, and contemplated the great events which were conceiving in the womb of Providence.

The first congregational church, since the days of primitive Christianity, was gathered at Geneva, and the Rev. William Whittingham was chosen pastor; a famous Puritan, who fled from England in the reign of Queen Mary, leaving an estate of £1100 sterling a year, which was a great estate in those times, and shews how conscientious principles will subdue the passion of avarice in good minds.

It is very wrong to class the *Congregational* churches with the *Brownists*. Though individuals had been connected with Brown, and, supposing him honest and zealous in the cause of truth, had not been sensible enough of the consequences where there is such a latitude of opinion and imprudence of conduct, yet the churches in general disclaimed that church anarchy which it was his design to introduce, nor were they guilty of the like extravagances.

Oldmixon styles the members of Mr. Robinson's churches, in general, *Brownists*; and says that they were driven to the extreme they went, by the persecution of the *high church party*. And, as though this was against their reputation, Mr. Prince takes pains to exculpate them. But whatever Mr. Robinson might have written in favour of ecclesiastical democracy, it is evident *his* character is very good; and why should this bring any discredit upon the New-England churches, who conducted all their ecclesiastical business with decency and order?

When James ascended the throne, the Puritans flattered themselves they should have indulgence at least, if they were not openly patronized and supported; as he had been educated a Presbyterian, and frequently had spoken against the Episcopal church. But they soon found their mistake. Arbitrary in his disposition, and pushed on by an intolerant, bigoted clergy, he was inimical equally to civil and religious liberty. He carried his measures with a higher hand than his predecessor had done in the plenitude of her power and self-complacence.

cy ; whose wisdom was much greater, and who was much better acquainted with the people of England. Her nobleness of disposition, also, made her ashamed of many things which were quite congenial to his weak mind. Those who had emigrated to Holland, seeing no prospect of returning to their own country, then turned their thoughts to America. "The reasons of their removal were debated in public and private ; and a very considerable part of the church were persuaded that it was a call from heaven ; and had not this sentiment prevailed, it would have been very difficult to fix their resolutions and act with unanimity."* These are the words of a worthy writer ; and, if we may be allowed to mingle our observations with his, may we not say, that except a sense of religion has its influence upon mankind, we should *want*, upon occasions less important, *something* to rest our wearied expectations upon, to animate our hopes, and to prevent uncertain prospects from settling into despondency and gloom ?

Mr. Neal mentions, as a reason why Mr. Robinson advised that they should seek out a new settlement, the fear lest the church should be dissolved, several members dying, and others mingling with the Dutch. Hence they resolved to transport themselves to America.

All who write the history of these times allow, that our fathers supported a most excellent character in Holland. It is much to their credit, that they lived among themselves, and in peace with their neighbours ; and that this testimony is given of them, "that for the ten years they lived there, they could bring no suit or accusation against them."

In the 95th number of the *New-England Courant*, a paper printed by the Franklins, is the following letter. "In the year 1610, a number of christians from the north of England, having Mr. John Robinson for their pastor, removed to Leyden in Holland, that they might peaceably worship God according to the institutions of the gospel, which they could not do in their own land. Thirteen of this congregation, not liking the baseness of the Dutch, nor to lose their interest in the English nation, did think and agree about removing across the At-

* Hubbard.

lantick. Part of them were to do it before the rest, to see what encouragement they could find. Accordingly, part of them, among whom was Mr. Brewster, the assistant of Mr. Robinson, removed from Holland the latter end of June, 1620, and arrived at Cape Cod in November, the same year. At this place they drew up an engagement, acknowledging themselves the subjects of king James, and combining themselves into a body politick, and became the first colony of New-England. From Cape Cod they went one way and another, to find a convenient place of abode, and at length settled together at Plymouth; and were the first church in New-England; the only one till 1629."

The character of Mr. Robinson was very respectable in the line of his profession. He had great wisdom and worth, as we learn from the account, not only of the members of his church, but his other contemporaries, and from his writings. These discover a talent for reasoning, and close attention to theology. Mr. Bradford* says that he was prevailed upon by the Calvinists, to dispute publickly with Episcopius, who led in the controversy which then engaged the attention of the *reformed churches*; and which has been since the cause of difference, and frequently a contentious spirit, in the churches of America as much as Europe. Episcopius was the champion of the doctrines propagated by James Arminius, who was first the disciple of Beza and Calvin, but afterwards changed his opinion, and opposed the sentiments taught in their school. The opinions of Arminius received great support from the reputation and learning of Episcopius, who emitted *theses*, and engaged to defend them against *original sin*, *particular election*, and other points of doctrine. By his zeal and knowledge, his skill in managing a controversy, many of the first characters of Leyden, and the Dutch republick, were brought over to the same way of thinking, and declared the full conviction of their minds, that the great light of Geneva had mistaken the sense of the scriptures.

Mr. Robinson stepped forward to defend the doctrines of Calvin, and was superior to Episcopius, according to

* The MS. of Gov. Bradford is lost, except the few extracts to be found in *Prince's Annals*.

the account given of the dispute by the members of his church. Whether the admirers of Episcopi thought so, we are not convinced, as no other account of the matter is handed down to us. Perhaps the prejudices of opinion and friendship might influence each party to think their champion victorious; and on each side might mingle shades of error with the light of truth. The zeal of many absorbed all their *moderation* at that time; and it had the same effect upon the deliberations of statesmen, as upon the sentiments of divines, issuing in tumults, as little congenial to true policy, as the spirit of the gospel.*

But it is not connected with my plan, to consider the state of Europe, or the effect of religious prejudices upon the inhabitants of other countries, only as these introduced events, which were combined with the character and conduct of our ancestors, who were pious men, strictly Calvinistical in their principles, exemplary in their walk and conversation. Whenever they manifested more zeal than candour, (which some men in all ages have done), it was owing to their attachment to peculiar principles, and thinking others must be inconsistent and absurd, who had a different kind of belief.

If Mr. Robinson was selected to manage the dispute, it shews the confidence they had in his abilities. If he thought himself equal to the controversy, his enthusiasm was more prominent than his talents; or, to say the least, it remains uncertain whether the vigour of his mind or *saint-like* zeal were most conspicuous. A bold disputant may appear by *his manner* to gain an advantage, when he has really weakened his argument by his declamation. Zeal is the first thing requisite for public disputants when popular assemblies are to judge; and he who thinks himself in the right supposes others confuted who differ, whatever opinion candid people, not interested in the controversy, may see fit to embrace.

Had Mr. Robinson come over to Plymouth, it would have been of great advantage to the settlement. He had been convinced of some of his errors, those obliquities of sentiment concerning the discipline and worship of the congregational churches; and he was a man so judicious in other respects, that he was capable of giving them advice and direction in all their affairs. But it

* Vid. Histoire medallique des Hollandois.

pleased heaven to cut short his days in the midst of his usefulness. We can see only a short way into the scheme of providence; what we know not now, we may know hereafter. His friends in Holland were soon deprived of his instructions and society. And his friends, who longed to hear his voice in this American wilderness, which they were subduing with great labour, and in the midst of dangers, had to *sorrow* that they should see his face no more. The news was more grievous to the members of his church, because it came in a time of their mourning for their friends and relatives, who were swept away by a raging pestilence. This was a wound which called up all the feelings of their hearts.

Among the very active and sensible persons of this Leyden congregation, who came over to Plymouth, was Mr. Brewster, an elderly, worthy man, to whom the colony felt indebted for good services in the first period of their settlement.

The English historians speak of them all as of the rigid separation, and most of them had been, without doubt, violent in their opposition to the episcopal church, especially to their forms and ceremonies, and had blamed the other Puritans for things which only discovered more prudence, and were worthy of commendation. Mr. Brewster acted as elder of the church, but no one was looked upon as their pastor; and for a long time this first church of New-England wanted a man to execute this office. We, who make no such distinction of offices, think it strange that there should have been such difference between pastor and teaching elders; for we suppose, any man, who can feed the people with knowledge, is qualified for one office equally with another. But it appears from the ecclesiastical history of this country, that a very great distinction was made in the early state of their settlement. They esteemed many to be excellent *teachers*, whom they would not endow with the *pastoral care*. It was offered to Mr. Brewster, but he was too modest to accept it; and the church, not being able to procure such a teacher as would unite the offices, were for many years like sheep without a shepherd. They had assistance from the magistrates, who were wise and devout men. It was then requisite to the character of a

governor to be a man of piety, and able to expound the scriptures, which led those in civil office to interest themselves in all the concerns of the churches. We have a particular instance, in Winthrop's Journal, of the conduct of our rulers. He tells, that "he went to Plymouth, attended the church meeting, and prophesied."

Mr. Hubbard says, "that a christian church, to carry on the forms of worship, must have suitable officers; but the church of Plymouth were a very serious people, who knew their own principles; not like many of their followers in some parts of the country, properly termed *Seekers*, of which it may be said, as our Lord speaks of the Samaritans, *They know not what spirit they were of.*"

It may be proper to mention other gentlemen, beside Mr. Brewster, who were officers of this congregational church, and who assisted in every part of worship, except the administration of the ordinances, which was peculiar to the office of Pastor. Governor Carver was deacon of the first church, as well as chief magistrate of the colony. He was elected to this office while they were in Holland, at the same time with Mr. Samuel Fuller, "an eminent surgeon, and man of great piety." The deacons they chose, after they arrived here, were Mr. Richard Masterson and Mr. Thomas Blossom, whose praise is yet in the church at Plymouth. They were useful men, famed for their virtues, diligence, and active services.*

There was a distinction made in the first church between a *ruling elder* and *teaching elder*, beside the distinction we have observed between pastor and teacher. This was owing to the peculiar desire of these good men to preserve every name mentioned in the evangelical writings, without considering that the discipline of the church is *discretionary*, and must be adapted, in some measure, to local situation, circumstances of the age, or that many things were very unnecessary in succeeding ages, that might be very proper for the primitive church. How far the churches in Massachusetts fell in with the sentiment of their brethren at Plymouth, and how far this entered into the platform of their church agreed upon at Cambridge; whether it was a partial or universal rule; when alterations were made, and why the

* Cotton's Relation of the Church in Plymouth.

office of ruling elder is now laid aside, may become suitable topics of discussion in the course of this history.

Mr. Brewster was made *ruling elder* in the church of Plymouth, and united this with the business of instruction, to which he had been confined. He continued thus to perform the several duties till his death, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Cushman, son of Robert Cushman, one of the most important and worthy characters among those who formed the first settlement.*

In March, in the year 1624, Mr. Lyford came over to Plymouth. When he first came, he discovered such fondness in the mode of his salutation, that he would have kissed their hands who extended them in the common tokens of friendship; but this loving brother, and hollow saint, soon manifested that the kiss of charity was accompanied with the smile of deceit. He is represented, by Morton, as a man who "croucheth and humbleth himself;" and as a treacherous Ismael, who killed Gedeliah, according to what we read in the prophecy of Jeremy. The worthies of the new settlement gave him a very cordial reception, and supposed he would be a great help to them in their solitary condition. The governor treated him with the like respect as he did Mr. Brewster.

But although this man was admitted to the church, and made great professions of his goodness, confession of former wickedness, and declarations of the soundness of his faith, he spit the venom of the asp from his tongue, and discovered the malignity of a demon, who was sent to mar the happiness of the settlement and disturb the peace of the church. The air was tainted with the slanders he wrote and spread for the service of men who were enemies of the plantation: for such men there were in the old country, both of the clergy and the state, who seemed determined to persecute this little flock, that had fled into the wilderness, as if the sandy deserts were too good for them.

One letter in particular the governor intercepted. A

* Mr. Robert Cushman preached to these pilgrims, our venerable fathers, in 1621. The sermon contains the best advice, and may be read by their posterity, for other reasons beside this, that it is a curiosity worth preserving among the ancient things of this country. The text is 1 Cor. x. 21.

prudent use was made of it, till he could expose all the scenes of his villany.*

In describing the state of things appertaining to the ecclesiastical History of New-England, I am necessarily led to speak of civil history, which I would avoid as much as possible; leaving this to those whose opportunities and diligence of research enable them to give a fairer and more complete view of the subject: but it is well known that our fathers blended religion with all their concerns; and when civil transactions are necessarily mingled with the account of the church, should one part only be mentioned, the relation would be lame, for want of the connexion it had with the other.

I have no doubt that the behaviour of Lyford sprung from political motives. He was calculated to serve the views of certain mercenary wretches, who sent him to America with lucrative, and *not* pious intentions; or else he was employed by those, who, being inimical to all dissenters from the established church, and every species of republican government, wished to destroy this rising commonwealth. King James only connived at the settlement. He did not tolerate principles and practices which opposed ecclesiastical dominion; and especially was his ire excited, when men despised the *folly*, which is sometimes equal to the *fury* of *despotism*. The spies of Charles's court would also search the uttermost parts of the earth, for the sake of destroying men's liberty.

* It seems this Lyford, with others, especially Mr. Oldham, intended to make a separation or division in the church; to alter the government, and become men of distinction, as many turbulent spirits have done, who have soon fallen from the high places where their own giddy imaginations have placed them. Too many are ready to do mischief, when they are active, and want the disposition to do good. It was fortunate for the country, that such schemes as Lyford and Oldham contrived for the destruction of New-Plymouth, were so early frustrated, and that they lost their influence before they could make the worst use of it. They progressed, however, so far as to set up a different place of worship, and made every attempt to disorganize the first church. They left the communion without acquainting the officers and brethren, or speaking to the governor upon the subject, and met by themselves every *Lord's-day*. Beside this open violation of their duty, they were guilty of other insults of the authority, of wicked plots and practices, inconsistent with the character of good men, and members of the *commonwealth*, and wholly opposite to the *spirit, precepts, and institutions* of Christianity.

From long experience in human artifice and deception they well knew that a man must *seem to be religious* to carry a point against a people, who lived in all "good conscience," and, for the enjoyment of religion, had left their native land.

Lyford was so well instructed, as to act his part admirably well : for he joined this community of christians, and was so zealous, that they would have chosen him for their minister. He actually obtained the confidence of Moses and Aaron, to whom Gov. Bradford and Mr. Brewster bore some resemblance, according to the style of our early writers. One of them says, " that the church was troubled with a factious spirit, which arose from a man who came over to New-England with the best of characters, but with what frequently answers for worst of moral excellencies, a zeal to do more than others ; and hence a great confidence was put in him by the Governor, and by the members of the church. He was of their communion till he set up a different place of worship ; and there he administered the sacraments till he was brought to a humble confession of all his wickedness, and was put under censure. He appeared at first sincere, and acknowledged the lenity of the people towards him, and then played the hypocrite by writing against the country, and justifying his former writings. The time being expired for his censure to take place, he gave no evidence of his reformation ; but other crimes appearing against him, he was banished. He went to Nantasket, then to Salem, and afterwards to Virginia, where he died."

The conduct of Oldham is less connected with the history of the church, and needs not to be pointed out so minutely in this work. Suffice it to say, that he lived some time after he left Plymouth, and obtained credit again with the people, so that they permitted him to trade till he was killed by the Indians. This unhappy event has been often mentioned ; and no wonder it should claim such particular notice, as it was the origin of the Pequod war.

The discipline of the church was very strict. It accorded with their ideas, though perhaps their ideas were not exactly scriptural, or so near as they imagined to the foundation of the prophets and apostles. They pro-

ceeded with much regularity, and the members generally submitted to the rules prescribed for their conduct. As those men lost their reputation, who excited difficulties, such, on the other hand, as had a high reputation in the church for their piety and christian graces, were most likely to be distinguished with the first honours in their civil society. Offenders could not escape ecclesiastical censure; but were obliged to submit, and to study a greater decorum of behaviour; and thus the dignity of the christian profession was preserved; a church began to blossom in the wilderness, and to make these solitary places rejoice with the consoling beams of evangelical truth, which had been hidden in pagan darkness.

The fathers of New-Plymouth were without a pastor to rule and administer the ordinances till the year 1629, when they were increased by numbers, who had belonged to Mr. Lathrop's church in England, and also by as many as thirty-five families of those who were associated with them in Leyden; to whose assistance they cheerfully contributed, looking unto another world for the reward. They certainly could never expect a return of what they expended, which was equal to £5000 sterling; a great sum to be taken from these mansions of poverty; but "where the spirit of religion influences people, they are rich in the fruits of benevolence."

Mr. Ralph Smith then came over to Massachusetts; and at the desire of the church in Plymouth, connected himself in the pastoral relation, for which he was not qualified. It is said that he wanted candour, prudence, knowledge, and experience, and resembled his predecessors in nothing, except that he was of the strictest sect of the Puritans. Such a man was no way fit to come after Mr. Robinson, who was exemplary and learned; so judicious as to advise his people to avoid his errors, and be guided by the wisdom which is without partiality, which is pure and peaceable; gentle, and easy to be intreated, proceeding from the Father of lights. But Mr. Smith was zealous and imprudent: his zeal was that ebullition of temper, which has done much mischief in society, as well as created confusions in the church; which leads to follies and extravagance, and stirs up all manner of party spirit.

No one,* therefore, could be more unfit to settle with a people so well instructed in righteousness, acquainted with the principles of christianity, and used to such order in the church. Mr. Smith soon laid down his office, and this reflection was made: "That many times the total vacancy of an office is easier to be borne, than the under-performance of it." †

Mr. Cotton, who wrote a particular relation of the first church in Plymouth to the year 1760, being in possession of the records and other authentic documents, speaks of Mr. R. Smith, ‡ "as a man who was chosen the pastor after some time of trial; a grave man, who continued in the ministry four or five years. But finding him a man of low parts and gifts, they, as Providence gave opportunity, improved others as his assistants; particularly Roger Williams, a young man of bright accomplishments, but unstable judgment, who preached among them four years. But at last, beginning to vent some errors, which were disagreeable to the church, they, at his desire, gave him a dismissal to the church of Salem; where, being called to office, he openly propagated his principles, and did much mischief, as the ecclesiastical historians of this country give an account. The next year, Mr. Smith resigned his ministry, partly of his own accord, as thinking it too heavy a burden; and by the persuasion of others, who apprehended him not sufficiently qualified for the work."

During the time of Mr. Smith's ministry, they employed Mr. Edward Winslow, who was sent agent to England, to procure them a minister, as colleague with Mr. Smith. He accordingly agreed with Mr. Glover, an able dispenser of the word of God, to come over with them; but he ended his life in London, soon after his engagement. Afterwards, Mr. Winslow providentially meeting with that worthy man, Mr. John Norton, then intending for New-England, he treated with him about supplying Plymouth, and coming over with Mr. Winslow; he landed there, and preached with them one winter, but declined settling, though earnestly pressed to it.

* Except Mr. Rogers, who came over in 1628, without any particular invitation; who, being subject to fits of insanity, created only the expense of sending him back.

† Hubbard's MSS.

‡ Hist. Collect. vol. iii.

Thus was this poor church, as Mr. Cotton observes, disappointed from time to time in their attempts to settle the gospel among them, so as to enjoy the ordinances with the word of life. His idea of the order of the churches is, that none but an ordained pastor can administer the ordinances. But why should a man be thought worthy to pray, to teach, to prophecy, or explain the scriptures, and yet not be qualified to baptize? Mr. Cotton was very much attached to the forms of Geneva and Cambridge; and we may make the same observation upon most of those worthy divines, who organized the religious societies of New-England.

When we reflect upon the sufferings of these early settlers, we cannot help admiring their fortitude and perseverance! They suffered more in their own country than others who came over to America. They had more difficulties to encounter than the people of Massachusetts, who landed and formed their settlement. They had less assistance from the property and wealth of others, had fewer friends abroad, and more enemies at home. They had enemies among themselves, who wounded their spirits; and they well knew that deep and malicious schemes were laid in England to disturb their peace, and set aside the principles of their establishment.

Lyford would have accomplished more than he did, had those men, whom he and others wished to injure, been the dupes of his subtlety, and mean, hypocritical grimace. But he had to deal with persons *not* superficial in their inquiries, nor feeble in spirit. They were ready to receive to their friendship, and to their bosom, all who resembled the *dove*, but were on their guard against the *vulture*, which darts upon its prey. When their fellow-men, (more cruel than birds or beasts of prey,) whose teeth were spears and arrows, and their tongues as sharp swords, calumniated their reputation, they trusted in One, who was the shield of their excellency, the health of their countenance, and their God.

May we not repeat the sentiment, that they supported their character and good name; the peace and order of the churches; the laws and ordinances of their little community, when they had none to guide them in the

pastoral office. As the difficulties increased, they encouraged one another, and were sensible of their mutual interest ; an example to christians of all denominations, who may see so many virtues to imitate, and such pure characters for faith and patience as are seldom to be met with in the pages of ecclesiastical history.

Mr. Hubbard makes these serious reflections, not unworthy of our attention, and which will please readers of a religious turn of mind : * “ In all their changes, the over-ruling hand of providence was to be acknowledged, that at the last found out a resting place for them, by sending the angel of his presence to go before them, and safely conduct them through so many dangers, and so many deaths.

“ Our blessed Lord, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, would have his hearers pray that their flight be not in the winter ; but such was the dispensation of the Almighty to this poor, despised company, that, having hardly escaped the violence of many furious storms at sea, they were no sooner set on shore, than they were called immediately to encounter with hard and rough weather in the desert, and barren land, on the verge of winter. The sun had, in a great measure, withdrawn his delightful beams, giving them a short visit, after tedious, long, and doleful nights, many times brought in with boisterous storms of snow or rain. The earth also was dismantled of all its comely and pleasant ornaments, by the early approach of hard and sharp frosts, presenting them with no other aspects than the ruthless and weather-beaten face of winter. The barbarians, the apostle Paul met with after his shipwreck, shewed them no small kindness, kindling them a fire, and suffering them to gather bundles of sticks for that end ; whereas these barbarous tribes were at the first unwilling to spare them any bundle or stick, but such as were turned into arrows, and improved to wound their new-come guests, which, after a passage over the vast and wide ocean, were entertained, at the first sight, only with the sight of withered grass on the surface of the cold earth, and the grim looks of the savage enemy. Surely such pilgrims and strangers had need of some other more inward sup-

* Hubbard's MSS.

port and comfort, than this world can give. They had need of a good conscience within, to administer matter for a continual feast, as they were of all other supplies to sustain their hearts. It would have tried the faith of Abraham, when sent from Ur of the Chaldeans, if he had been directed to the Arabian wilderness, and not into the land flowing with milk and honey. But they that had the same faith that Abraham had, were, when put upon trial, not unwilling to follow the conduct of divine providence, into a land not sown, not knowing indeed, it may be said, whither he went, yet hoping that God, who, by his special guidance, had brought them into a wilderness, would not be a wilderness to them therein, as since they have found."

In the year 1730, Mr. Prince preached the Election Sermon. From this sermon, and other writings of this celebrated divine, we may gather much information, and learn lessons of piety. His labours have saved the historians of this country many particular researches. He was better able to collect materials, and had more industry than most men.

In addition to the manuscripts of Dr. I. Mather, Cotton Mather, and Mr. Hubbard, he procured the diaries and observations of private gentlemen. He was able, with such assistance, to gather every minute circumstance, and a library of ancient books, extremely valuable, which he arranged in a proper manner, and put into the Old South Church. Some relicks of them are to be seen at this day, but great depredations have been made by the teeth of time; and also by the hand of violence, when the British troops had possession of the temple. Many manuscripts, likewise, have been kept by those who *meant* to borrow.

Every thing may perish for want of *care* — an observation the antiquary frequently makes, who bewails, that valuable records, which would have been useful to others, and increased the pleasures of his own mind, should be the food of insects, or perish in the same neglected corner with the moth and the worm.