

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL VIII.



BOSTON:
PRINTED BY MUNROE & FRANCIS,
PRINTERS TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1802.

REPRINTED BY T. B. MARVIN, MDCCLVI.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1801.

REMARKS UPON REMARKS, ETC. IN THE FIRST PAGE OF
THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE HISTORICAL COLLEC-
TIONS.

TO blame a work confessedly unfinished, because it did not produce its authorities, is certainly wrong, unless the author's intentions are declared. So far was it from the intention of the writer to conceal them, that he had actually prepared a list of them, and even a review of them, that the world might judge of the value he put upon them. As to the danger of rendering the Institution accountable for any errors, there was no reader so ignorant as to imagine, that when he saw one man's name at the head of a paper, the accountableness belonged to another. The truth is, the work was handed in separate sheets, and the notes could not be attached to them. To be told that personalities are suppressed in a matter of mere history, is to publish that the whole is the work of an enemy; and after such a declaration, we cannot expect a very happy attempt at truth or candour. The authorities are sadly associated, as living near the times. Instead of the court records, and the records of Salem, and the works printed in the Controversy, we are referred to Morton, who lived in another colony, and Cotton Mather, whose grandfather had not then reached America, and whose father was not born. We then come down, in the same family, to Hutchinson, in our own times, and find at last, Hubbard,

of the next generation to that we are to examine. These names are thrown together to answer the same purpose as personalities.

The subject of the Remark, is the character of Mr. Roger Williams, which we are to vindicate from the aspersions of his adversaries. The character was penned with great deliberation, and without any prepossession, and admits of an ample vindication. To understand the controversy, we must examine the times in which he lived. The settlements had just begun, the government had just assumed its form, the laws had not been enacted, and the seat of government had not been fixed. It was the unhappiness of Mr. Williams to decide, that the government did not depend on the patent, nor the church upon the government. These were the great errors into which he fell; but these were points which Penn better defined, or rather admitted, free from any local controversy, and by which he gained immortality. To convince us of the importance of these questions, we should remember, that at the same time Georges projected a plan of a general government, and that, on the next year after the controversy ended, Winthrop was ordered to return his patent; and we ought also to remember, that Winthrop and the settlers did not form their government from the patent.

In short, in consequence of these opinions, Mr. Williams was obliged to leave his charge and retire to Plymouth, but soon was induced to return to Salem, with new friends who had joined him. Morton, who lived in the Old Colony, says he staid three years; Mather, about two, and truth, not one year. Upon his return, he at first contented himself with preaching, and accepted no office; but at last he was prevailed upon to become the Teacher of the Church of Salem. This so incensed the men, who had occasioned the former separation, that desperate measures were adopted to separate him from his charge. Every expedient was used for this purpose; books and papers were put into the hands of the church; preachers were sent into his charge; injurious reports were spread; and, as Governor Winthrop honestly confesses, that the claims of land were refused to the people because they chose him; and even their deputies were refused by the government.

Williams

Williams says, that his life was in danger, by his excessive labours; preaching thrice a week, by labours night and day in the field, and by travels night and day to go and return from court.

But could a man who said, as Governor Winthrop assures us, that he wrote only for private friends on the patent, and would burn the writings with his own hands to quiet the public fears, be charged with obstinacy? Did not his friends send *Delegates* to the government? Could close communion be opposed to it? Did not the government admit that it might be lawfully granted? Did he not obey every summons? Did he not appear ready to defend his cause at every opportunity? If he wrote a letter to all the churches, did not the government give the example, and was it any thing unusual at this time?— There was a meeting of this kind by letter from the government in the same year.

As to the sneer at his piety, his piety was so well known that Mr. Cotton reproaches Williams “that he held himself acknowledged, *godly and beloved.*” Such a sneer must have been indulged from some public opinion. The people of Salem were pious, if any were so, and after all the reports, Cotton gives it as his opinion in their favour, that they never did separate from the churches; it must then have been only a threatening. This church had this high opinion. And that the magistrates had an opinion of their sincerity, the officer may attest, “who denies that he thought Mr. Williams sick, and that the warrant did not oblige him to go that night, but that he had learnt *the course to him increasing*, provoked the magistrates.” So he was hurried into banishment.

As to his having never been forsaken. If the submission of the church to the act of dismissal, be a proof, then his first separation is a proof. Yet they loved him well enough to recal him when they dared, and with all that caution which expresses interest and affection. It may be affirmed that better proofs cannot exist of the permanent effect of opinion and character, than are to be found in Salem for a century. They used the greatest caution about the authority of the synods, and dared even to question the right of prior choice in the church, of the minister; and as
soon

soon as they heard of Penn's purchase, they purchased their lands of such Indians as they could find, though fifty years afterwards, still remembering the doctrine of the patent. We repeat then all our assertions. As to the refusal of the freeman's oath, it was a consequent affair.— He was one of the freemen before May, 1631; and his name is on the list of one hundred and eight, at that time. As to his separation, it is easily explained by Governor Winthrop; for he says, after the submission of Salem, *most of them* held Williams's opinion, though only a few applied for liberty of close communion. And what is this but a confession, that the submission was political, and therefore such as his true friends would never ask of him?

The candid man will find that Williams was the forerunner of Penn in this Western world. He had as hard a fate. But like Penn, after all he suffered, he is immortal. He was a father of a free colony, and even in this generation his name is blessed.

P. S. As the merit of Mr. Williams has been questioned, it may be agreeable to hear him speaking for himself. "I did not assent to the church, because undue influence was used to intimidate them, contrary to their first assent or inclination; and the voice of the church and admonition was not to desert my ministry. Some gentlemen, who consented to the sentence against me, solemnly testified with tears, that they did it by the advice and counsel of Mr. Cotton, who says, 'if he did counsel *one or two*, it would not argue the act of the magistrate!'" This good man, after his banishment, sent notice next year of the dangers from the natives, and saved the colony, which enjoyed, from this seasonable interposition, a quiet of forty years. Where shall we find more true virtue, more generous forgiveness, or a greater public benefactor? Had Governor Winthrop been at liberty to concur with Endicott, and not have been deterred by the competition of Boston and Salem, Williams would have lived and died in Salem.*

* For the future, no remarks of a polemick nature will be published in this work. These volumes are not calculated even for *historical* controversy.

The book, or any part of it, is subjective to a *review*; and there are many publications more proper for the critick to display his acumen, and to distribute either praise or censure. As the Remarks upon the History of Salem were admitted, it is but just to give place to the author's reply.

THE HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF JOHN ELIOT, THE FIRST MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN ROXBURY. COLLECTED FROM MANUSCRIPTS, AND BOOKS PUBLISHED THE LAST CENTURY. BY ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE first settlers of New-England were a pious and hardy race. The ministers of religion were equally respectable for their learning, for their activity, and their zeal. Among them, John Eliot, commonly called the Apostle to the Indians, exhibited more lively traits of an extraordinary character than we find in most ages of the church, or in most christian countries. He, who could prefer the American wilderness to the pleasant fields of Europe, was ready to wander through this wilderness for the sake of doing good. To be active was the delight of his soul; and he went to the hovels which could not keep out the wind and rain, where he laboured incessantly among the aboriginals of America, though his popular talents gave him a distinction among the first divines of Massachusetts, at a time that the magistrates and all the people held the clergy in peculiar honour.

We know but little of his connections before he left his native country. He was born in England, A. D. 1604. There is nothing related of his parents, except that they gave him a liberal education, and were exemplary for their piety;—for this their memory is precious.

“I do see,” says this excellent man, “that it was a great favour of God to me that my first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer.” Is there not sufficient encouragement to educate ingenuous youth, and impress the tender heart with lessons of wisdom, to think they will shed tears of grateful sensibility on our sepulchres?

When Mr. Eliot left the university of Cambridge, he himself became a teacher; and while he led children and youth into the paths of virtue, acquired also an acquaintance with the human heart. At this time he had an opportunity of hearing the venerable Hooker, and never lost the

the serious impressions which he received under his preaching ; to him he was always attached, as well as to his mode of administering the order of the churches.

In the year 1631, Mr. Eliot arrived at Boston ; and the succeeding year, November 5, 1632, was settled as Teacher of the Church in Roxbury. Governor Winthrop says, " Mr. John Eliot, a member of Boston congregation, whom the company intended presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury ; and though Boston laboured all they could, both with the congregation at Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alledging their want of him, and the covenant between them, yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call at Roxbury ; so he was dismissed."

When Mr. Eliot came to Boston, the preceding year, there was no minister at the First Church. Mr. Wilson had gone to England, and the religious service was carried on by Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowel, the ruling elder. Mr. Hubbard says these men accepted the charge, " knowing well that the princes of Judah, in king Hezekiah's reign, were appointed to teach the people out of the law of God."

Mr. Wilson left Boston the latter end of March, 1631. Mr. Eliot arrived November following, with the Governor's lady and sixty other persons, in the ship Lyon. He immediately joined the First Church, and preached with them till he settled at Roxbury. Had he accepted the call from the First Church, it might have been happy for the people ; but most probably the great work which he afterwards undertook, would not have been devised, and for this he was very peculiarly qualified. But had the connection taken place, those animosities might have been prevented, which afterwards divided the church, banished the christian spirit from their counsels, and disturbed the whole community. Mr. Cotton, who was called to be their teacher, was a learned and excellent man, but opinionated ; countenanced Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and others, who were spreading antinomian errors through all the churches. The pastor, Mr. Wilson, Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley, supported and defended the principles and practices of the churches before this fanatical woman,

woman, Mrs. Hutchinson, came into the country. With them were the ministers and people of the other congregations; but Vane was governor, a hot-brained enthusiast, and under his wing Mr. Cotton carried on the opposition against the pastor; the church was divided; mutual censures passed between the brethren, and every thing, especially their ecclesiastical affairs, wore a most gloomy aspect. Amidst this melancholy kind of embarrassment, the prudence and good sense of Governor Winthrop were conspicuous. Such abilities and so much candour as he possessed were absolutely necessary for the times.

The prior engagement of Mr. Eliot to settle with the people at Roxbury, who came over with him in the same ship, and to whom he was warmly attached, was sufficient to satisfy his friends of the church in Boston, and they gave him a regular dismissal. He was accordingly united with the church at Roxbury as their teacher, and Mr. Welde was called the next year to be their pastor. They lived in much harmony; and under their ministry the town grew and flourished;—it still retains a rank of distinction among the best places in the environs of the metropolis.

In the year 1641, Mr. Welde was sent to England as agent for the Province, where he continued till the reign of Charles II. He then lost his living (at Gatesend in the bishoprick of Durham) with the other ejected ministers; but he did not return again to New England. Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot happily coalesced in sentiment, were both firm in the congregational interest, and equally firm in opposing the errors of antinomianism. There is a book now extant—*Welde's Short Story of the rise, reign, and ruin of the antinomians, familists, and libertines, that infected the churches*. It is a scarce and curious book; but while it points out the extravagances of their opinions and conduct, it shows that in the bitterness of dispute, a pious author may not know what spirit he is of.

The trial of Mrs. Hutchinson is a precious document for those who would know the manners, customs, and principles of our fathers. And we may here learn something of the character of Mr. Eliot. He, with several other ministers, had visited her, conversed freely upon religious

religious subjects, and expostulated with her concerning things which were become matters of notoriety ; especially her manner of censuring the ministers of the Plantation : all of whom she condemned, except Mr. Cotton, or Wheelwright. The spiritual tone of her mind was discovered in this conversation ; nor could the apparatus of the judicial court, and the voice of the magistrates, when she was before their tribunal, and who set themselves in array against her principles, shake her mind. She was not to be softened by persuasion, nor moved by terror. The Roxbury divines were swift witnesses against her. Nor was their *zeal* tempered with much condescension or kindness. For prejudices are not *always* the effusions of a weak mind. Great and worthy men manifest sometimes that they are influenced by them. When Mr. Eliot and his colleague gave their testimony, she denied that they gave an accurate or true report. Being asked what she did say, she would give no direct answer, till they were put upon oath. Her object was to convict them of falsehood, although there were several other ministers beside the gentlemen we have mentioned, all of whom joined in the same report. She relied, however, on Mr. Cotton's evidence, and the assistance of the magistrates who were her friends, and earnest in the cause. Cunning as well as fanatical, she by her much quibbling puzzled the court ; and she had well digested her means of defence. It was a fortunate circumstance that Mr. Eliot had written down the conversation which he and the other ministers had with this woman ; and bringing forward these memoranda, he was able to show their consistency, if not their candour. " We desire to know of her," said he, " and her witnesses, what they deny ; and then we will speak upon oath. I know nothing that we have spoken of, but what we may swear to."

There is some propriety in glancing at public affairs during this period, especially what took place at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson ; for we here learn Mr. Eliot's sentiments of impulses—*those impressions* which influence the lives of many professors of the gospel beyond any moral principles, and which are not confined to one sect or denomination of christians. Mrs. Hutchinson said, in the course of her trial,

trial, that she knew *God spake to her, just as Abraham knew that it was the command of Heaven to sacrifice Isaac.*

Thus we see the propriety of connecting faith and reason, or we cannot properly describe the *christian's hope*: for we often find people, who are not obliged to answer before a court, yet have much the same idea of the witness of the Spirit, which in this age caused so much confusion. It is very difficult to discriminate between their impressions and particular revelations. When a passage was quoted from one of Mr. Hooker's sermons, to justify her manner of speaking, Mr. Eliot insisted upon it publicly that it was contrary to Mr. Hooker's mind and judgment. He also expressed his opinion against *impulses* so strongly, as to offend others, and even draw a moderate reproof from his old friend, Governor Winthrop. "I say there is an expectation of things promised; but to have a particular revelation of things, as they shall fall out, there is no such thing in the scripture." The worthy magistrate observed upon this—"We must not limit the word of God."

The famous Hugh Peters gave his oath with Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, and related the conversation which was said to be exactly as others had testified upon their word—that *Mrs. Ann Hutchinson declared Mr. Cotton preached a covenant of grace, and the other ministers a covenant of works.* Mr. Eliot further added, "I do remember this also, that she said we were not able and faithful ministers of the new covenant, because we were like the apostles before the ascension." The result of this trial is well known. The errors of that unhappy woman ought not to have caused her banishment, nor even her hard speeches to have provoked the angry return she received. Whatever were her faults, her tragical end has excited the compassion of many even of her most pointed enemies, and made them forget all her excentricities.

Before Mr. Eliot left England he had formed a connection with a lady who soon after came over to America, and they were married in Boston. With this amiable, virtuous and sensible woman he passed the journey of life. She was the tender companion of his youth, and she lived to be the staff of his old age.

In the year 1639, there was an agreement among the magistrates

magistrates and ministers to set aside the psalms then printed at the end of their bibles, and sing one more congenial to their ideas of religion. Mr. Welde, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Richard Mather, were selected to make a metrical translation. Every good Hebrewician is not a poet, and the taste for poetry is not the same with every generation. When we read the *New-England Psalms* we are not to suppose our fathers were without taste, or had no music in their souls, because WE are not ravished, as in reading the more tuneful stanzas of Watts, or the charming poetry of Addison. At that time, the only versions of the Psalms were by Ainsworth, by the Scotch Presbyterians, or the more famous metrical translation by Sternhold and Hopkins. When we speak of the *New-England version*, let it be compared with these, and we shall not be so much surprised that they passed through twenty editions. The old church of Plymouth did not receive them till the latter part of the century. They had a veneration for Ainsworth, whose character in Holland they well remembered, and who was one of the greatest scholars the Puritans had to boast of. But all the other churches in New-England adopted the versions which these divines made. They were continued in many churches within the memory of the present generation; and since the American revolution, there have been some people who reluctantly exchanged them for versions more adapted to the improvements which have been made in musical compositions and poetic arrangements.

We are told by our early writers, that the Psalms in their present form were much altered for the better by Mr. Dunster, President of Harvard College, a very accomplished scholar, who completed the translation and the metre. It seems that the ministers who undertook the work did not give satisfaction to other divines, who might perhaps feel the slight, thinking that THEY ought to be among the poets. Mr. Shepherd, of Cambridge, thus addresses them :

* 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.

It was resenting the thing in metre with a witness.

* Magnalia. Life of Dunster.

This

This narration, concerning the New-England Psalms, is not introduced to gain any particular credit to the *Subject of the Memoirs*, nor is it supposed that the reputation of moralists and divines depends upon their taste for poetry; but only mentioned as an event in his life, and to show how ready he was to every good work assigned him.

We shall turn our attention from a part of his pious labours, where few of any age have given vivid colours to their literary excellence; and contemplate the more important scenes of his life, where he has a real distinction and character among the *Angels of the churches*, and a *name to live* not only on earth, but with those good and faithful servants that have entered into the joy of their Lord. He has been frequently styled an Evangelist—the *Apostle of America*, which touched his modesty when he heard it, and which he desired might not be fixed upon him; but it has been by European writers as well as the people of America.

He certainly was the most successful Missionary that ever preached the Gospel to the Indians. His prudence and zeal, his patience, resolution, activity and knowledge of mankind, were equally conspicuous. Many have done worthily in this benevolent work; but if we unite an *apt method* of applying the truths of Christianity to the minds of the heathen with the success of his labours, he far excelled them all. He likewise claims a very peculiar character, as being the first Protestant Minister who diffused the beams of evangelical truth among the wild nations of this benighted part of the globe. The tribes that roamed through the deserts became dear to him, like his own people, and he often forsook the charms of civilized and cultivated society, to reside with men, who were not only unacquainted with every thing called *urbanity*, but who wanted comfortable means of subsistence; with whom he would associate days and weeks to instruct them in divine things—and also acquaint them how they could improve their condition upon the earth. He partook with them their hard fare, with *locks wet with the dews of the night*, and exposed to attacks from the beasts of the forests; or to *their spears and arrows* who were fiercer than wolves, and more terrible in their howling. None of these things moved him, but he

he was more collected as he was in the face of danger ; —like a brave soldier, he fought the good fight of faith, bearing every suffering with cheerfulness, and every pain with resignation.

When our Indian Apostle began his mission, there were about seventeen or twenty tribes within the limits of the English planters. But these tribes were not large, and hardly to be distinguished ; for their manners, language, and religion were the same. The *Massachusetts* language, in which he translated the bible and several practical treatises, would serve the purpose of a missionary. The first thing he did was to learn this language of the people, and then he could preach without the medium of an interpreter, which is likely to cause mistakes,—and sometimes in material points. An old Indian, who could speak English, was taken into his family, and by conversing freely with him he learnt to talk it, and soon was able to reduce it to some method, and became at last so much master of it, as to publish a grammar, which is printed in some editions of the Indian bibles.

On the 28th of October, 1646, he began to preach to the neighbouring Indians. His first discourse was from Ezekiel xxxvii. 9. “Then said he unto me, prophecy unto the wind ; prophecy, son of man, and say unto the wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they might live. So I prophesied as he had commanded me, and the truth came unto them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army.” Their mode of worship is thus described :* After a short prayer, he rehearsed and explained the ten commandments. He then described the character of Christ ; told them in what manner he appeared on earth, where he now is ; and that he would again come to judgment, when the wicked should be punished, and the good rewarded. He spake of the creation and fall of man ; then persuaded them to repent, to pray to God, and own Christ as their Saviour. After sermon, he desired the Indians to ask such questions as occurred to their minds. One asked immediately, *whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language ?* And, *whether Englishmen were so ignorant of Jesus Christ as themselves ?*

* Vid. Shepherd, Mather, &c.

themselves? Another question was, *How all the world became full of people, if they were all once drowned?* Here we see the language of nature. Other questions discovered more inquiry, and some kind of subtlety in the minds of men who were supposed to be entirely stupid. *Whether, if the child be good, and the parent naughty, God will be offended with the child; because God saith, in the second commandment, that he visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children?* Again, *How could there be the image of God, since it was forbidden in the same commandment?*

Upon the 11th of November, there was another meeting, and a larger number of Indians than first appeared. Mr. Eliot began with the children, and asked them three questions, and taught them how they should answer.—
 Q. Who made you and all the world? A. God. Q. 2. Who do you expect shall save you from sin and hell? A. Jesus Christ. Q. 3. How many commandments has God given you to keep? A. Ten. Upon this occasion also, he informed them how much Jesus Christ had done for sinners, and that they could not escape if they neglected this great salvation. His preaching appeared to touch the heart of these poor beings, the untutored offspring of Adam; and they made serious inquiries, which manifested a desire after knowledge. An old man, with tears in his eyes, asked, *Whether it was not too late for him, an old man so near death, to repent and seek after God?* Another asked, *How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they all at first had but one father?* Another inquired, *How it came to pass that sea-water was salt, and river fresh?* Another, *That if the water* was bigger than the earth, how it comes to pass that it does not overflow the earth?* When the preacher had discussed these points as well as he was able, they expressed the satisfaction they received by saying, after their manner, *They did much thank God for his coming, and for what they had heard, which was wonderful news to them.*

It must show a knowledge of human nature in this worthy Missionary, to adapt his questions to the Indians, such as we propose to children in their tender age;—and that these children of riper years should propose questions, which

which philosophers of civilized nations have disputed about, is worthy of the attention of the curious. Their minds were put into an agreeable state of surprise, whilst their hard hearts were melted with the divine compassions.

There were publications at the time, with emphatical title-pages, which gave a particular account of Mr. Eliot's *discourse*, and his *talk* with the Indians. One book was called, *Day-breaking of the Gospel in New-England*; another, *Shepherd's clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians*. These were read by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Neal, and perhaps by the authors of the *Universal History*—or they may quote from the *Magnalia*, where facts were ready to their hand, though the author is treated with so little respect.

Sometimes our laborious preacher met with opposition from the aboriginals. We read, that going a third time to Nonantum, he was worried with the Powaws, whom he chose to combat rather than to avoid.

The sachems likewise did every thing in their power to obstruct the work; for they thought that they should lose their power and influence, if men had any other law to govern them than the authority in their hands, and Mr. Eliot has been met in the wilderness by those men so inimical to religion and threatened with every evil if he made any more conversions. But he told them, "I am about the work of the great God, and he is with me, so that I fear not all the sachems of the country, I'll go on, and do you touch me if you dare." This was courage, such as brave men have. They consider the dangers that lie in their way, and that to overcome them, is not to be afraid. With a body capable of enduring fatigue, and a mind firm as the mountain oaks which surrounded the path he trod, he went from place to place, and gathered sheep for the fold of Christ, leading them from dry places into green pastures, and to the pure streams which flow from the Fountain of life. "Having first entered upon the teaching of these poor creatures," says a writer of his life, "it is incredible how much time, toil, and hardship, he underwent in the prosecution of his undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tiresome journeys he endured; and how many terrible dangers he experienced. If you would know what he felt, and what carried

carried him through all, take it in his own words, in a letter to the Honorable Mr. Winslow. "I have not been dry, night or day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth; but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God, 1 Tim. ii. 3, Endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Mather.

It has been a question, whether the Indians must be civilized before they can be converted. Some have said, that if they believe christianity, the civilization will follow, and all that missionaries have to do is to tell them, Believe the gospel. Others say, that all attempts to convert them in their present state are absurd, and that the labour has proved fruitless. As soon as they leave their fires, and have consumed the provisions which pious persons have gathered for the good of the body, while the soul is to be edified with divine instruction, they lose all impressions of seriousness, though they may retain some favourable sentiments towards the white people. One season of hunting makes them complete Indians.

It was Mr. Eliot's opinion, that the Indians should be "taken off from their wild way of living," and brought into some kind of civil society; and there is an act of the General Court to this purpose, dated May 26, 1647:

"Upon the information that the Indians dwelling among us are brought to some kind of civility by the ministry of the word, and are desirous *to have a court of ordinary jurisdiction* set up among them; it is therefore ordered by the authority of this Court, that one or more of the magistrates shall, once every quarter, keep a court where the Indians ordinarily assemble to hear the word of God, to hear and determine all causes, both civil and criminal, not being capital, concerning the Indians only; and that the Indian sachems shall have liberty to take orders in the nature of summons, or attachments, to bring any of their people to these courts; and to keep a court of themselves every month, if they see occasion, to determine small causes of a civil nature, and such smaller criminal causes as the magistrates shall refer to them; and the said sachems shall appoint officers to serve warrants, and to execute the orders

orders and judgments of either of the said courts; which officers shall be allowed from time to time by the said magistrates in the quarter courts, or by the governor. And that all fines, imposed upon any of the Indians, in said courts, shall go and be bestowed towards building of some meeting-houses for the education of their poorer children in learning, or other public use, by the advice of said magistrates, or of Mr. Eliot, or some other elder, who shall ordinarily instruct them in true religion. And it is the desire of this Court, that these magistrates, or Mr. Eliot, or such other elders, as shall attend the keeping of said courts, will carefully endeavour to make the Indians understand our most useful laws, and the principles of reason, justice and equity, whereon they are grounded; and it is desired that some care may be taken of the Indians on the Lord's-day."

There was a town laid out, impaled, or separated by stone walls. They were also provided with domestic utensils and instruments of agriculture, a decent appearance was introduced in their houses, and some considerable order in their manner of living. Several were able to get a comfortable subsistence by making baskets, brooms, staves, &c. while others sold the wild berries and different kinds of roots, and enjoyed some reward for a very little labour. There always was a difference in the tempers of Indians who went upon *hunting* parties, and those who reside near *ponds* and *rivers*, and sell their fish, and cultivate the ground; if we may so call the raising corn or a few necessaries. The first never could be civilized. The latter, with all the assistance and encouragement from the whites, never could or never would labour like other men.

Mr. Neal tells us, that while these things were done at Noonatomen, the Indians about Concord expressed their desires of being civilized and receiving the christian faith;—that Mr. Eliot went there and preached to them;—that he addressed the Government for a spot of ground;—that the sachems met at Concord, and agreed upon the following laws for their civil and religious government:

That there shall be no more *powawing* upon the penalty of twenty shillings.

That

That whosoever shall be drunk, shall forfeit twenty shillings.

That if any be convicted of stealing, he shall restore four fold.

That whosoever shall prophane the sabbath, he shall pay twenty shillings.

That whosoever shall commit fornication, shall pay twenty shillings, if a man, and ten shillings, if a woman.

Wilful murder, adultery, and bestiality, to be punished with death.

None to beat their wives upon the penalty of twenty shillings.

They resolved to lay aside their howling, greasing their bodies, adorning their hair ; and follow the English fashions.

They agreed to pray in their wigwams, and to say grace before and after meat.—These and other orders they agreed upon, and they were published.

Other churches were also planted by this pious missionary in the wilderness of Massachusetts. He left the fruit of his labours in many places. Whilst some of the sachems were disposed to receive instruction, others discovered a resentment at his conduct. They found that they lost their influence and their tribute, and therefore opposed the conversion of their subjects. Mr. E. was the object of their hatred, and they would have killed him, but they had a terror of the English people, and they had a kind of reverence for the character of the man, which hindered them from carrying their designs into execution ; or which, mingling with some of their superstitious notions, kept in awe the enemies of the Gospel, whether they were *Powaws* or *Princes*.

This worthy minister of our divine religion went upon his evangelical mission every fortnight, though he frequently exposed himself to perils from the heathen, and while he knew that some of the chiefs were plotting his destruction.

It cannot appear strange to those who have become acquainted with human nature from observation, that the aborigines of this country should oppose the progress of Christianity. Has it not been a complaint of pious men in other periods of the world ;—and do we not learn the

same thing from the late efforts which have been made in Europe to convert the inhabitants of Islands in the South Sea? We may borrow the expression of one whose lips were wet with celestial dews, who said, "Have any nation changed their gods who were no gods?"

The sentiment contained in the words show the amazing power of habit. It is difficult to civilize barbarians, but wonderful that they should become Christians.

All men have a veneration for the religion of their ancestors, and the prejudices of education are insuperable. Apply this to the labours of Mr. Eliot. A judicious historian thus speaks of the opposition he met with: *

The Indian princes and priests looked upon him as a man who designed to overturn their civil and religious policy. The prince was jealous of his prerogative, and the priest of his gain; and so both joined together to oppose the progress of the new doctrines. The *Monhegin* Indians were so jealous of the General Court's influence, obliging them to pray to God, that Uncas, their chief sachem, went to Hartford unto the General Court to protest against it.

Cutshemoquin, another chief, came to the Indian lecture and openly protested against their building a town; telling the English that all the sachems in the country were against it. He was so honest as to tell Mr. Eliot the reason of it; for, said he, the Indians that pray to God do not pay me tribute as they formerly did; which was in part true: for before, the sachem was absolute master of the subject; their lives and fortunes being at his disposal. They now gave him no more than they thought reasonable; but to wipe off the reproach that Cutshemoquin had laid upon them, those few praying Indians told Mr. Eliot what they had done for their sachem the two last years, leaving him to judge whether their prince had any reason to complain. At one time, they gave him twenty-six bushels of corn, at another time, six. On two hunting days they killed him fifteen deer. They also broke up two acres of ground; they made him a great house, or wigwam; made twenty rods of fence; paid a debt for him, three pounds, ten shillings. One of them gave him a skin of beaver, two pounds, besides many days planting corn altogether: yea, they said they would do more, if

* Neal.

he would govern them justly by the word of God. But the sachem swelled with indignation at this unmannerly discourse of one of his vassals, turned his back upon the company, and went away in a rage; though, upon better consideration, he himself turned christian not long after.

In 1651, an Indian town was built on a pleasant spot on Charles-River, and called Natick. Here was a house raised, which served for a school and for public worship; and a place was also provided, for the prophet's chamber. In the corner of the room, Mr. Eliot had his bed, and frequently made it his lodging. As soon as they were well fixed in their habitation, he procured them certain privileges, and gave them a form of government, such as we find in Exodus xviii. 21. On the 6th of August, *one hundred met, and chose one ruler of one hundred, two of fifty, and ten of ten, and then renewed their covenant, saying,* "We are lost in Adam, we and our fathers have been a long time lost in our sins, but now the mercy of God begins to find us out again: therefore the grace of God helping us, we do give ourselves and our children to God; he shall rule us in all our affairs, not only in religion and the affairs of the church, but also in all our works and affairs in this world: God shall rule over us, the Lord is our Judge, our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. The wisdom which God hath taught us in his book, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. O Jehovah! teach us wisdom, to find out thy wisdom in the scriptures; let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God; send thy Spirit into our hearts and let it teach us; Lord take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

These and many other things, Mr. Eliot wrote down, which they spake during his friendly and pastoral visits to them; which he afterwards collected and published in a volume, called *the Tears of the Indians—or; Repentance, &c.*

In this book there is the confession of Powampum, made in public on a fast-day.

The exhortation of Waban, an Indian, and of Nishokou.—These are preserved in Mr. Eliot's *Letters to the Corporation in London*, as well as in *the Tears of Repentance*: Several of them are in Neal's History of New-England.

Concerning

Concerning these specimens of sacred friendship and zeal, this wise author says: "That they show the high esteem in which he was held by the new converts. That they consulted him as their oracle in all difficult cases; that they loved him as their lives, and would run any hazards to serve him. He really deserved well of them, for no man ever took such pains in the missionary work as himself; his name therefore will be mentioned with honour as long as there is a *Christian Indian* in the world."

He himself tells us, "that he had not, knowingly or wilfully, made their confessions better than they made themselves; but he is verily persuaded, upon good grounds, that he has rather rendered them weaker than he delivered them, partly by missing some words of weight in some sentences, partly by abbreviating some passages, and partly by reason of the different idioms of their language and ours."

It was not the design of the writer of these Memoirs, to exhibit the state of the Indians, or describe their conversions only as they were connected with the life of a man, who was so conversant with them. In a letter, which Dr. Increase Mather wrote to Professor Leusden, any reader will see the progress made in this business *during the 17th century*. But it becomes us to be more particular in describing the church at Natick, the first *Indian church*, formed in 1660. They were incorporated according to the manner of the Congregational churches in New-England. Mr. Eliot was commissioned by the church at Roxbury to administer unto them *baptism*, and the Lord's-supper.

The other churches planted in Massachusetts, of the aboriginal tribes, were branches of this first Indian church. They had frequently the benefit of his labours; but his pastoral care was more immediately over the flock in the town of Natick. These sheep no longer wandered through the rough paths of the desert; but enjoyed in a measure the blessings of civilized and cultivated society; and were refreshed with the streams which issued from the Fountain of life.

Enjoying the *word*, and walking in the ordinances of the gospel, they continued much longer in a body, and
preserved

preserved the form of a church, than other plantations in Massachusetts, where Indians and English have resided together.

When age and infirmities made his burden heavy, this active and zealous divine did not wholly relinquish the work, but had the assistance of catechumens, and also of ministers who were connected with the neighbouring churches; whose opportunities, and sense of duty prompted them to engage in this extensive field of usefulness. Some appeared to take delight in the business, and imitated the Man who went about doing good; but the labourers were few in comparison with the harvest.

Beside preaching to the natives, Mr. Eliot instructed one of the untutored race to be a schoolmaster among them. His name was Monequessin. He thus tried every way to make them useful to society, and indulged a hope that some would be ambitious of a liberal education, and that the next generation would see good preachers to the natives, and Indian pastors of churches. But sorrow and disappointment were expressed by the worthy missionary before his death; for he saw how much the Indians abused their privileges, and that too many preferred the darkness and vices of their former state to the blessings of the gospel. He had been made the humble instrument of calling them to knowledge and virtue; and he beheld the *dew-drops* of the morning after a long *night* of ignorance. But the Sun of Righteousness, after rising upon their hills, seemed to enter a cloud. "There is a cloud," said he, "upon the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper the work, and grant it may live when I am dead."*

When

* The church in Natick continued an Indian church many years after the decease of this evangelist. Not only the ministers of the neighbouring church, but some from a distance, whose zeal and benevolence led them to visit a spot which resembled the garden of the Lord rather than the rest of the wilderness, afforded them much assistance. Mr. Daniel Gookin preached to them a number of years about the end of the 17th century. They had also an Indian pastor named Daniel. Mr. Gookin was the son of the famous Major-General Gookin, the companion of Mr. Eliot, and, like him, the Indians' friend when the resentment of the country was high against the aboriginal nations, and there were unthinking

Mr. Welde having left America, Mr. Eliot was sole teacher of the church at Roxbury, for some years. He had several colleagues afterwards, and having arrived at fourscore years, he desired to give up his salary, and to be freed from the labours of the office. The people requested him to preach and pray when he was able, and unanimously chose Mr. Nehemiah Walter for their assistant minister, upon whom descended the spirit of the first planters. Here were united the wisdom and prudence of grey hairs with the strength and popular talents of a young preacher, who paid every tribute of respect to his venerable colleague, and from whom he experienced every tender affection. "The good old man, like Aaron, disrobed himself with an unspeakable satisfaction, when he beheld his garments put upon a son that was so dear to him."* He often pleaded that it would be wrong to the souls of his people

thinking men who wished to destroy the *praying* tribes with those who were actually engaged in war. General Gookin left several sons; the eldest was minister of Cambridge; the second, Daniel, was settled at Sherburne, and preached to the Indians at Natick. Between the years 1700 and 1745, several missionaries were appointed, who resided in the town with the *praying* Indians. During that year many went into the wars and were scattered; their number has lessened ever since, and now hardly a pure Indian can be found in this plantation.

The missionary who was sent to instruct the Indians at Natick, some years before the American revolution, is now alive. From this gentleman, who is a man of sense, we should expect considerable information concerning a religious society so venerable for its age, if it had lost all other claim for the respect and attention of the present generation. But from his letter to the Historical Society, [vid. 5th volume of the Collections,] very little knowledge could be obtained. He says, that he has no printed materials, nor manuscripts but the church records, &c. Had these been well kept, they would give the desired intelligence. It is very strange that from these, and from the *records of the proprietors of the town*, we have no conclusive documents of the numbers of Indians, or their state at any particular period. Though such diligence was given by the *Subject of these Memoirs* to plant this church, and the magistrates of the country engaged earnestly in the business, yet no complete account of the *baptisms*, of the *converts*, of their past condition, can be found. "The number of church members is now reduced to two or three." Suffice it to say, that in such a world as this, we may expect great changes; but notwithstanding the revolutions in families, in towns, and the American nation, we view with astonishment this remarkable inattention, and inexcusable neglect.

* Mather.

people "for him to do any thing among them when they were so well supplied otherwise."

The expressions flowed from his humility and charity, for he always spake acceptable words when he ascended the pulpit. His age was, however, a sufficient excuse for retiring from ministerial duties. Whoever preaches constantly and abundantly, such a number of years, when the very strength is labour and sorrow, ought to rest from his labours, and be held in honour by those who are on the stage of action.

The last sermon he preached was on public fast; his subject, the 83d Psalm. He then told his hearers, that his strength failed, that his sermons were broken performances, and added, *my dear brother will mend all.*

From his contemporaries, and from his writings, we learn, that he always preached in a plain manner, but had a happy facility of communicating his ideas upon subjects adapted for his people. He was warm and diffusive, tender and pathetic, rather copious than correct in his language; but though his style was not varied with much art, his public performances were acceptable in all the churches. His method was natural, his expression easy, his voice audible, and his manner very interesting. Out of the abundance of his heart his mouth spake, in preaching and praying; and no pastor of New-England saw more of the fruit of his labours. His discourses are without those quibbles, gingling words, and quaint turns, which mark the false taste of the age; but were as common in English as in American sermons. This strain of preaching was introduced here by scholars educated in European seminaries, and too successfully imitated by the sons of our college. The author of the *Magnalia* abounds even with puerile conceits, and on this account has not received that tribute of respect from literary men of this generation, which he deserves, for preserving many facts, or such minute circumstances of events, as are entertaining to read, without his peculiarities of style; and are of infinite service to all who would know the affairs of their own country. To this author, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Eliot, we are indebted for an extract of a sermon upon the heavenly conversation, which exhibits

bits the preacher in his common attitude ; for the words were taken as they dropped from his mouth, without his supposing that they would ever appear in print. We certainly can form a more correct opinion of the preacher's talents than from the description in his biography, where he tells us, that "lamb's might wade into his discourses, on those texts and themes wherein elephants might swim."

In the sermon on Philippians iii. 20, Mr. Eliot thus explains his text : "Behold the ancient and excellent character of the true christian ; it is that which Peter calls *holiness in all manner of conversation*. For, in the first place, a seventh part of time is always spent in heaven, when people are zealous in the service of God. Besides, God has written at the head of the commandments, *Remember*, which looks forward and backward ; and thus a good part of the week will be employed in sabbatising.—Secondly, We have many days both for our fasting and thanksgiving, in our pilgrimage, and here are so many sabbaths more.—Thirdly, We have our lectures once a week, and pious people will not miss them if they can help it.—Fourthly, We have our pious meetings, in which we pray, and sing, and repeat sermons, and confer together about the things of God, and being come thus far we are in heaven almost every day.—Fifthly, We perform family duties every day. We have our morning and evening sacrifices, wherein, having read the scriptures in our families, we call upon the name of God, and now and then catechise them that are under our care.—Sixthly, We shall also have our daily devotions in the closet, with some serious meditations. A *David* will be at this work no less than three times a day.—Seventhly, We have many ejaculations, &c. like Nehemiah, in whatever place we come into.—Eighthly, We have occasional thoughts, &c.—Ninthly, In our *civil* callings we keep up heavenly frames ; we buy, and sell, and toil, yea, we eat and drink, with some eye both to the command and honour of God in all. Behold, I have not left now an inch of time to be carnal, it is all engrossed for heaven ; and yet, once more, lest this should not be enough, we have our *spiritual warfare*. We are always encountering the enemy of our souls, which continually raises our hearts unto our *Helper and Leader*

Leader in the heavens. Let no man say, It is impossible to live at this rate. For we have known some to live so, and others, that have written of such a life, have but spun out a web from their own experiences. New-England has examples of this life; though, alas! it is to be lamented that the distractions of the world, in many professors, do becloud the beauty of a *heavenly conversation*. In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we ask, Where are we to be to-day? the answer is, *In heaven*. In the evening, if we ask, Where have we been to-day? our souls must answer, *In heaven*. If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest: and when thou diest, heaven will be no strange place to thee; no—thou hast been there a thousand times before.”

As to his moral and christian character, it was as exemplary as his ministerial qualifications were excellent. His mind was governed by a sense of duty, and not a mere ease and complacency of humour, which make a man good-natured when he is pleased, and patient when he has nothing to vex him. He brought his religion into all his actions. A stranger to artifice and deceit, he disliked the appearance of them in others. He felt equal obligations to perform the duties of piety, virtue, and benevolence. Such was the man. He cloathed himself with humility as with a *robe*. Literally speaking, he wore a leathern girdle about his loins. Perhaps this might show too strong prejudices against dress; but all his actions discovered a temper free from vanity, and a desire to *be* humble, rather than to gain the praise of men. He was very temperate: one dish was his homely repast. When he dined abroad, he would not indulge himself in the luxuries of the table. He drank water, and said of wine, “it is a noble, generous liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it, but, as I remember, water was made before it.” His maintenance was a free contribution, or raised upon pews, and the people of Roxbury cheerfully supported two ministers. It was his request, to give up his salary when he could no longer preach. “I do here,” said he, “give up my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God shall make a pastor.” But the society,

in their answer, told him, that they accounted his presence worth any sum granted for his support, even if he were superannuated so as to do no further service for them. The youth of the congregation called him their father and their *friend*, and their affection chased away the gloom so apt to hover around the evening of life. Such attentions from the rising generation, are like medicine to the spirit of a man sinking within him. The reflection of a life well spent, and the kindness of his friends, made his old age pleasant.

In domestic life, Mr. Eliot was peculiarly happy. His lady was an excellent economist, and by her prudent management enabled him to be generous to his friends, and hospitable to strangers. It ought to be mentioned to the credit of this excellent woman, that with a moderate stipend and her prudence, he educated four sons at Cambridge, who were among the best preachers of that generation. A small salary, where a proper arrangement is made of the expenses, and the wife *looks well to the ways of her household*, may answer generous as well as necessary purposes: But when frugality is despised, and prudence called a niggardly virtue; when the fragments which might be gathered are lost, it is not the income of the most lucrative stations, much less the salaries of pastors of churches, that will maintain people in ease and independence.

By the influence of Mr. Boyle, his honorable friend, Mr. Eliot was allowed fifty pounds, annually, from the Society *de propaganda fide*. This enabled him to gratify his benevolent propensities; the poor Indians, to whom the Gospel was preached, shared the most of the donation. His charity is thus celebrated by one of his biographers:—"It was a brilliant star in the constellation of his virtues, and the rays of it were various and extensive. He gave largely from his own income to the poor, and promoted all kinds of useful distributions, especially if he could serve the cause of religion. When his age unfitted him for public employment, he reflected that he did good as he had opportunity. "Alas!" said he, "I have lost every thing—My understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, but I thank God my charity holds out still."

It becomes necessary to mark the minute circumstances of

of a person's character, if we would obtain just views of his temper and actions. Hence biography differs from history, whose province is to describe great events which elevate the mind of the reader; and which require a dignity of manner with the glow of sentiment. But in the narrative of private life, we survey the man in all his various attitudes, frequently without a design to *point* a moral: We follow him through the vales and descents of his situation, and feel interested in every thing which concerns him, till, by dwelling upon *kindred* images, he grows into a familiar acquaintance.

Most men have their oddities and strange humours. Among the prejudices of Mr. Eliot was one very strong against *wearing wigs*. He preached against it; he prayed against it; he thought all the calamities of the country, even Indian wars, might be traced to this absurd fashion. Many things have been told by the people of Roxbury, which were handed down to them by their ancestors, that seem only like amusing stories, of the good man's resentment. And in the written account by Cotton Mather, it is said that he thought it a "luxurious, feminine protexity for men to wear their hair long." Especially, a shame for ministers of the gospel to "ruffle their heads in excesses of this kind." The Doctor touches lightly upon this subject, *for he himself wore a wig*; and he makes a judicious observation—"Doubtless," said he, "it may be lawful in us to accommodate our hair to the modest customs which vary in the church of God; and it may be lawful for them who have not hair of their own, enough for their health, to supply themselves according to the sober modes of the places where they live." Mr. Eliot lived to see the prevalence of the fashion, to see many an orthodox minister wear a great white wig, and it is reported that he gave over the utterance of his grieved spirit, saying only as a *last word* of complaint that the "lust was insuperable."

His prejudices were as strong against the use of tobacco. He thought it was a sacrifice of precious time—a silly amusement, disgusting in itself; that Christians ought not to become slaves to such a pernicious weed, and besotted by

by its influence. But he might as well have preached to the moon, as to resist the tide of fashion ; or fought with the stars in their courses, as to struggle with the pride of opinion, or the appetites of sense ; and try to persuade men not to use a weed which carries a charm with it for its intoxicating quality ;—which equally tends to exhilarate their spirits and amuse their leisure hours.

The use of ardent spirits was then hardly known. Hugh Peters, a friend of his, and contemporary writer, says : He never saw a man, woman, or child, drunk in the streets of Boston—nor recollects hearing an *oath*. Stern virtue had a dominion or authority which she has lost since, and it may be long before we recur to the practices or principles of the New-England planters.

Our Roxbury divine has been accused by some of versatility in his opinions and conduct : By others, of being too set and rigid in his notions. If there is an inconsistency in this, it is what we see every day. Persons think themselves right and are warm in defending a sentiment—The same sensibility of mind may be manifested after they have altered their way of thinking. Hutchinson quotes a letter of Hooker, where he says : “ A copy of Mr. Vane’s expressions at Roxbury, I desire to see and receive by the next messenger. I have heard that my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion ; I have writ to him—I would fain come to a bandy with him, where I might be a little rude in the business, for I do as verily believe it to be false, as I do believe any article of my faith to be true.” From his behaviour at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson, we rather think Mr. Hooker was misinformed. He never was a partizan of Vane, but always adhered to Governor *Winthrop*.

His setness of opinion was also manifested in controverting with the great Dr. Owen the proper observation of the Sabbath, but he thought the Doctor’s name and character might carry more weight than his arguments had intrinsic excellency.

His political opinions more than once brought him into trouble. He spake with freedom against the Indian treaty, and was obliged to recant before the magistrates. Roger Williams and he were of the same opinion, but the one

was

was convinced, and confessed his error; the other was not so easily moved or convinced.*

This was in the year 1636. Afterwards he discovered more of a democratic spirit, by writing against monarchy, when it was not safe for puritan divines to speak of the ruling power, and the republicans in the mother country had their tongues locked in silence. Hutchinson tells us, in the first book of his history, that the Governor and Council, in the year 1660, took notice of a book published by Mr. Eliot not long before, intitled, the *Christian Commonwealth*, full of seditious principles and notions, in relation to all established governments in the christian world, especially against the government established in their native country. Upon consultation with the elders, their censure was deferred until the next General Court, that Mr. Eliot might have an opportunity, in the mean time, of making a public recantation. At the next session, Mr. Eliot gave in his acknowledgment to the Court :

“Understanding, by an act of the honoured Council, that there is offence taken at a book published in England by others, the copy whereof was sent over by myself about ten years since, and that the further consideration thereof is commended to this Honourable General Court, now sitting in Boston. Upon perusal thereof, I do judge myself to have offended; and, in a way of satisfaction, not only to the authority of this jurisdiction, but also to any others that shall take notice thereof, I do hereby acknowledge to this General Court, that such expressions as do

* Bentley's Hist. of Salem.

Governor Winthrop says: Mr. Eliot, the teacher of the church at Roxbury, had taken occasion in a sermon to speak against the peace made with the Pequods, and to lay some blame upon our measures for proceeding therein without consent of the people, &c. We took order that he should be proceeded with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Welde, to be brought to see his error, and to heal it by some explanation of his meaning; for the people begun to take occasion to murmur against us for it.

The sforesaid three ministers, upon conference with the said Mr. Eliot, brought him to acknowledge his error, in that he had mistaken the ground of his doctrine, and that he did acknowledge that for a peace only (whereby the people were not to be engaged in a war) the magistrates might conclude, plebe inconsulto; and so promised that he would express himself the next Lord's-day. *Winthrop's Journal, page 86.*

do manifestly scandalize the government of England by king, lords, and commons, as antichristian, and justify the late innovator, I do sincerely bear testimony against, and acknowledge it to be true, not only a lawful, but eminent, form of government.

“2. All form of civil government deduced from scripture, I acknowledge to be of God, and to be subjected to, for conscience sake; and whatsoever is in the whole epistle or book inconsistent herewith, I do at once most cordially disown. JOHN ELIOT.”

The books were ordered by the Court to be called in, and this acknowledgment to be posted up in the principal towns of the Colony.

During the war with the sachem Philip, 1675, our Roxbury divine appears in a character very interesting to the community. The traces of war are blood and slaughter. The people of Massachusetts, in their phrenzy, would have destroyed the *praying* Indians with the savages whose feet were swift to spread destruction in every path. Mr. Eliot was their advocate and friend. They were put under a kind of duress, which was injurious to them if they were innocent, but which was more aggravating because they took a decided part against their own nation; *this* they bore with patience, or a very faint expression of complacency. Mr. Eliot not only was persuaded that they were friendly, but that they were of great service to the English, with whom they would live or die, rather than mingle with *heathens*. Being assisted by General Gookin, he defended their cause, and protected them against those men of violence who were less in the *image of God* than those poor *outcasts* of human society;—*men*, who lost their reputation, as Christians, because they gave way to the fury of their passions. Every thing was said against the minister and magistrate which could be uttered by the foul mouth of the vulgar, or from the lips of some whose education was liberal; and whose religion ought to have made more candid, but who stimulated the bitter sarcasms of the multitude. Nothing could shake the resolution of such men, conscious of rectitude, and we never behold the *Subject of these Memoirs* to more advantage than he appears when he
pleads

pleads the cause of these poor, friendless beings.* It is no wonder, therefore, that having shown his abilities and firmness, he acquired such an influence over the various tribes as no other missionary to the Indians could ever obtain. We can overlook a multitude of errors, where such divine charity throws the purest lustre upon the character. We can excuse such prejudices, which by themselves seem like *effusions of human weakness*, when, in the same life, we see the *charms of virtue*; nor let us blame even an obstinacy of humour, if mingled with a firmness that gives dignity to human nature. Having mentioned certain oddities in his disposition, or a few singularities, or puerile antipathies against new customs, which in the present day would cause a smile of ridicule, let these be balanced by the honesty and frankness of his manners. He was as tenacious of truth and justice as of his own opinion. He must also have possessed some of those rare qualities which conciliate popularity, an uncommon affability to gain an influence in society which could never be acquired by ministerial gifts and graces, although these might make him an ornament to the pulpit.

There is a story which perhaps should not be omitted. It is related by *one* fond of the marvellous—(Cotton Mather.) Mr. Eliot was in a boat, that was overset by a vessel running against it. A prophane wretch, one who clamoured for the extirpation of the *praying Indians*, said, he wished the man of God had been drowned. In a few days this man was drowned in the very place where Mr. Eliot had received his deliverance.

After living eighty-six years in this world of trial, the *spirit* of this excellent divine took his flight to a better world. For many years he *had his conversation in heaven*; his faith seemed to be swallowed up in vision, and his hopes in fruition. He lost his most amiable companion two years before. He was then sick and expected and longed for his own departure. Their children they had followed to the *grave*, and had comforted each other as they drank the bitter ingredients from the cup of adversity. He died in the year 1690.

Few of his family were alive to lament his death; but he

* Vid. 7th vol. Letter from the poor church of Natick.

he was lamented by the whole family of virtue, and by all the sincere friends of religion. The poor church at *Natick* not only joined with those who dropped a tear upon his dust, but streams of sorrow flowed from the heart. Though he lived many years, they were filled with usefulness; succeeding generations mentioned his name with uncommon respect; his labours were applauded in Europe and America; and all who now contemplate his active services, his benevolent zeal, his prudence, his upright conduct, his charity, are ready to declare his memory precious. Such a man will be handed down to future times, an object of admiration and love; and appear conspicuous in the historic page when distant ages celebrate the *Worthies of New-England*.

Publications by John Eliot, teacher of the First Church in Roxbury.

Whether he preached any Sermons upon particular occasions, such as Election and Artillery Election, we cannot ascertain. It is probable that he did. The ministers were few. Some preached several times, who were less celebrated. The latter part of *the sixteenth century* he was aged and continually employed in his *missionary business*.

He published a number of small Tracts.

The True Commonwealth.

Tears of Repentance, &c. and

A work, in small quarto, called the *Harmony of the Gospels*, printed in 1678. This is recommended by four of the principal characters of the New-England plantation.

“We have perused it,” say they, “and observed the prudence and diligence of the gracious and worthy author in compiling it. In the reading of it, we have been edified and affected. We are persuaded that through the blessing of Him that hath put it into the head of the reverend author to lay out himself this way, it will serve to promote the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the good of souls, and therefore do affix our *imprimaturs*.”

Thomas Thacher.
James Allen.

Urian Oakes.
Increase Mather.”

For the benefit of the Indians, he published several Catechisms ;

An *Indian Grammar* ;

An *Indian Psalter* ; and

The *whole Bible*, in the same language. A second edition of this, was afterwards published by Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, with the *Grammar*.

In the files of the Historical Society there is a leaf of the Indian Bible, which belonged to his colleague, the Rev. *Samuel Danforth*, in which there are several corrections from the hand of this worthy gentleman. He was settled at Roxbury, about the year 1662, and died 1674, aged 48. He was the brother of the Deputy-Governor of the same name.

The Lord's Prayer. Mat. 6. ix. &c.

Our Father which art in heaven	Nooshun keesukqut
Hallowed be thy name	Quttianata munach koowesuonh *
Thy kingdom come	Perganmoonch kukketassoota- moonch
Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven	Kuttenantamoonck nennatch ok- keils neene kesukqut
Luke 11. ii. Thy will, &c. as in heaven so on earth	Kuttanantamóonk ne nai, neyane keesukquot kah okkeit
Give us this day our daily bread	Nummeetswongesh esékeesukokish assimaisean yeyen kesusok
Luke 11. ii. Give us day by day our daily bread	Assimaisean ko ko ke sukodac nu- tase sukoke petuk qunneg
And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors	Kah ahquoantameünnean num- matchongagh neene matchen- chukqueogig nutch quontee móonnunog
Luke 11. ii. Forgive as we forgive every one that is indebted to us	Newatche nenewun menk natch quoanta móonnugog nighnoh pasuh moonmontukquohwoan

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil	Akque sagkompaginaiican en qutch huasuganit, webe pohquohwus- sinnean wutchmelchitut
--	--

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, &c.	Newutche kutahau ketessoota- moonk kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumoouk michemé. Amen.
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Errata. Acts xxiv. 16. 1 Cor. xv. 31. As here translated, countenances swearing by a creature, or gift of God.

Mcm. Part of Hosea wanting—or transposed.

Corrigenda. Gen. xliii. 28. *He is in good health*, omitted wholly.

Longest word. Mark i. 40. Wuttappesitukquosunnoohwehtunkquoh.

Quere. Whether thorns and briars grew on Adam's body.

Whether the corrections were made in the succeeding edition, the transcriber of these notes is unable to say.

Not being versed in the original language of old Massachusetts, he must make an apology to those *genuine anti-quarians* of their country, who *are* acquainted with it, for any mistakes that may be in *Indian words*; such especially as using the *h* for *k*.

ADDENDA.

From hearing a report that prevailed in Roxbury, where the *Writer of the Memoirs* once resided, that the tomb in which *Mr. Eliot* was laid, and also *Anne his wife*, by particular permission, was claimed by the family on this account, (though it was purchased only for a ministerial tomb,) he was induced to search for information on this head, and received the following answer to his query from Thomas Clark, Esq. who for many years was Town-Clerk of Roxbury, and their Representative in the General Court.

Boston, 3d November, 1802.

SIR,

WITH singular pleasure I comply with your request, to relate what I have met with among the records and manuscripts in the town of Roxbury, relative to the interment

terment of the remains of the Rev. John Eliot, generally called "the Apostle."

It does not appear that any record was made at the time, relative to the building of the tomb in which his remains were deposited; nor is it probable that any account of it would have been preserved but for the peculiar circumstances attending it. Many years subsequent to the decease of Mr. Eliot, (about fifty, perhaps,) Major John Bowles, a respectable character in the town of Roxbury, claimed the tomb as the property of the Eliot family, of which, I think, his lady was one. This led to an investigation, and a reference; and, no record being found, the affidavits of a number of very aged people were taken, and recorded to perpetuate the remembrance of them, all of which agreed in the following facts, viz. That several years before the death of Mr. Eliot, an inhabitant of Roxbury was taken by the Turks, and kept in bondage: when his friends heard of his deplorable situation, they were greatly affected, and raised, by voluntary contribution, a sum of money (the amount is not mentioned) and sent it by a friend for his ransom; but before the money arrived the person for whose relief it was designed was dead; in consequence of which the money was brought back, and the owners being unwilling it should be applied to any common purpose, appropriated it to the building a tomb for the burial of their deceased ministers; and I think one or more of the deponents affirmed, that before the tomb was finished the good old gentleman died.

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS CLARK.

The prejudice against the use of tobacco, was not confined to the character of individuals. It was the prevailing sentiment of the people that it had a bad tendency, and may serve for an excuse for Mr. Eliot, who so often admonished persons who made too free with it. Governor Winthrop says:—

"At this Court (1634) were many laws made against tobacco, and immodest fashions and costly apparel, &c. as appears from the *Records*."

GOVERNOR DUDLEY'S LETTER TO THE COUNTESS OF
LINCOLN.

*To the Right Honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady
Bridget, Countess of Lincoln.*

Madam,

YOUR letters (which are not common nor cheap) following me hither into *New England*, and bringing with them renewed testimonies of the accustomed favours you honoured me with in the *Old*, have drawn from me this narrative retribution, which (in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great note amongst us) was the thankfullest present I had to send over the seas. Therefore I humbly intreat your Honour this be accepted as payment from him, who neither hath, nor is any more, than

Your Honours

Old

Thankful Servant,

THOMAS DUDLEY.

*Boston in New England,
March 12th, 1630.*

FOR the satisfaction of your Honour, and some friends, and for the use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in *New England*, I have in the throng of domestick, and not altogether free from publick business, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrival here; which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire-side upon my knee, in this sharp winter; to which my family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not.

Concerning the *English* that are planted here: I find
that

that about the year 1620. certain *English* set out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their course for *Hudson's* river.

These being much weather beaten, and wearied with seeking the river, after a most tedious voyage, arrived at length in a small bay, lying north-east from *Cape Cod*; where landing about the month of *December*, by the favour of a calm winter, such as was never seen here since, begun to build their dwellings in that place, which now is called *New-Plimouth*: Where after much sickness, famine, poverty, and great mortality, (through all which, God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now grown up to a people, healthful, wealthy, politick and religious; such things doth the Lord for those that wait for his mercies. They of *Plimouth* came with patents from King *James*, and have since obtained others, from our sovereign, King *Charles*, having a Governour and Council of their own: There was about the same time, one Mr. *Weston*, an *English* merchant, who sent divers men to plant and trade; who sate down by the river of *Wesaguscus*, but these coming not for so good ends as those of *Plymouth*, sped not so well; for the most of them dying and languishing away, they who survived were rescued by those of *Plymouth*, out of the hands of *Chickatabott*, and his *Indians*, who oppressed those weak *English*, and intended to have destroyed them: And the *Plymotheans* also, as is set down in a tract, written by Mr. *Winslow* of *Plymouth*: Also since, one Captain *Wollaston* with some thirty with him, came near to the same place, and built on an hill, which he named *Mount Wollaston*; but being not supplied with renewed provisions, they vanished away as the former did. Also divers merchants of *Bristol*, and other places, have yearly for these eight years, or thereabouts, sent ships hither at the fishing times, to trade for beaver, where their factors dishonestly for their gains, have furnished the *Indians* with guns, swords, powder and shot.

Touching the plantation which we here have begun: it fell out thus. About the year 1627. some friends being together in *Lincolnshire*, fell into discourse about *New England*, and the planting of the gospel there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons, by letters and messages to some in *London* and the *West Country*; where it was

was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation so ripened, that in the year 1628. we procured a patent from His Majesty for our planting between the *Massachusetts* bay and *Charles* river on the south, and the river of *Merrimack* on the north, and three miles on either side of those rivers and bay ; as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass : And the same year we sent Mr. *John Endicott*, and some with him, to begin a plantation ; and to strengthen such as he should find there, which we sent thither from *Dorchester*, and some places adjoining : from whom the same year receiving hopeful news : The next year, 1629. we sent divers ships over, with about three hundred people, and some cowes, goats and horses, many of which arrived safely. These by their too large commendations of the country, and the commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on, that Mr. *Winthrop* of *Suffolk*, (who was well known in his own country, and well approved here, for his piety, liberality, wisdom and gravity) coming in to us, we came to such resolution, that in *April*, 1630. we set sail from *Old England* with four good ships. And in *May* following, eight more followed ; two having gone before in *February* and *March*, and two more following in *June* and *August*, besides another set out by a private merchant. These seventeen ships arrived all safe in *New England*, for the increase of the plantation here this year 1630. but made a long, a troublesome and costly voyage, being all wind bound long in *England*, and hindred with contrary winds, after they set sail, and so scattered with mists and tempests, that few of them arrived together. Our four ships which set out in *April*, arrived here in *June* and *July*, where we found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before ; and many of those alive, weak and sick ; all the corn and bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight : insomuch that the remainder of an hundred and eighty servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them, we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them, by reason that the provisions shipped for them, were taken out of the ship they were put in ; and they who were
trusted

trusted to ship them in another, failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extream loss, to give them all liberty; who had cost us about sixteen or twenty pound a person, furnishing and sending over. But bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the place of our sitting down: For *Salem* where we landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose, some were sent to the Bay, to search up the rivers for a convenient place; who upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon *Mistick*; but some other of us, seconding these, to approve or dislike of their judgment; we found a place liked us better, three leagues up *Charles* river: And thereupon unshipped our goods into other vessels, and with much cost and labour, brought them in *July* to *Charlstown*; but there receiving advertisements (by some of the late arrived ships) from *London* and *Amsterdam* of some *French* preparations against us (many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers, and the scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far) we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at *Charlstown*, which standeth on the north-side of the mouth of *Charles* river; some on the south-side thereof, which place we named *Boston* (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on); some of us upon *Mistick*, which we named *Meadford*; some of us westward on *Charles* river, four miles from *Charlstown*, which place we named *Watertown*; others of us two miles from *Boston*, in a place we named *Roxbury*; others upon the river of *Saugus*, between *Salem* and *Charlstown*: And the Western men, four miles south from *Boston*, at a place we named *Dorchester*. This dispersion troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon; and the time too short to deliberate any longer, least the winter should surprize us before we had builded our houses. The best counsel we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed us thereunto, after we should have fortified our selves against the injuries of wet and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had health to labour, fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with

with sickness, and many dyed weekly, yea, almost daily. Amongst whom were Mrs. *Pinchon*, Mrs. *Coddington*, Mrs. *Phillips*, and Mrs. *Alcock*, a sister of Mr. *Hookers*. Inso-much that the ships being now upon their return, some for *England*, some for *Ireland*; there was as I take it not much less than an hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses; and partly through fear of famine, not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves) which returned back again; and glad were we so to be rid of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their own disposition, which were planted at *Pascataway*, went from us to them; whereby though our numbers were lessened, yet we accounted our selves nothing weakned by their removal: Before the departure of the ships, we contracted with Mr. *Peirce*, master of the *Lyon* of *Bristol*, to return to us with all speed, with fresh supplies of victuals, and gave him directions accordingly; with this ship returned Mr. *Revil*, one of the five undertakers here, for the joynt stock of the company; and Mr. *Vassal*, one of the assistants, and his family; and also Mr. *Bright*, a minister sent hither the year before: The ship being gone, victuals wasting, and mortality increasing, we held divers fasts in our several congregations, but the Lord would not yet be deprecated; for about the beginning of *September*, dyed Mr. *Gager*, a right godly man, a skilful chyrurgeon, and one of the deacons of our congregation. And Mr. *Higginson*, one of the ministers of *Salem*, a zealous and a profitable preacher; this of a consumption, that of a fever: And on the 30th of *September*, dyed Mr. *Johnson*, another of the five undertakers, (the Lady *ARBELLA* his wife being dead a month before.) This gentleman was a prime man amongst us, having the best estate of any; zealous for religion, and the greatest furtherer of this plantation; he made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantation, than it could have been any other way. He left to us a loss greater than the most conceived. Within a month after, dyed Mr. *Rossiter*, another of our assistants, a godly man, and of a good estate, which still weakned us more: So that now there were left of the five undertakers, but the Governour,
Sir

Sir Richard Saltonstall, and myself, and seven other of the Assistants. And of the people who came over with us, from the time of their setting sail from *England*, in *April* 1630. until *December* following, there dyed by estimation about two hundred at the least; so low hath the Lord brought us! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged, but bearing Gods corrections with humility, and trusting in his mercies; and considering how after a lower ebb he had raised up our neighbours at *Plymouth*, we began again in *December* to consult about a fit place to build a town upon; leaving all thoughts of a fort, because upon any invasion, we were necessarily to lose our houses, when we should retire thereinto: So after divers meetings at *Boston*, *Roxbury* and *Watertown*, on the twenty-eighth of *December*, we grew to this resolution, to bind all the Assistants (Mr. *Endicott*, and Mr. *Sharp* excepted, which last purposeth to return by the next ship into *England*) to build houses, at a place a mile east from *Watertown*, near *Charles* river, the next spring, and to winter there the next year; that so by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munition thither, all who were able might be drawn thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage, be compelled so to do; and so if God would, a fortified town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. I should before have mentioned how both the *English* and *Indian* corn being at ten shillings a strike, and bever being valued at six shillings a pound; we made laws to restrain the selling of corn to the *Indians*, and to leave the price of bever at liberty, which was presently sold for ten, and twenty shillings a pound. I should also have remembered, how the half of our coves, and almost all our mares and goates, sent us out of *England*, dyed at sea in their passage hither; and that those intended to be sent us out of *Ireland*, were not sent at all; all which, together with the loss of our six months building occasioned by our intended removal to a town to be fortified, weakned our estates, especially the estates of the undertakers, who were three or four thousand pounds ingaged in the joynt stock, which was now not above so many hundreds; yet many of us laboured to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembering the

the end of our coming hither, and knowing the power of God, who can support and raise us again; and useth to bring his servants low, that the meek may be made glorious by deliverance.

I have no leisure to review and insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must set them down as they come to memory. About the end of *October*, this year 1630. I joyned with the Governour, and Mr. *Maverick* in sending out our pinace to the *Narragansetts*, to trade for corn, to supply our wants; but after the pinace had doubled *Cape Cod*, she put into the next harbour she found, and there meeting with *Indians*, who shewed their willingness to truck; she made her voyage there, and brought us an hundred bushels of corn, at about four shillings a bushel, which helped us something. From the coast where they traded, they saw a very large island, four leagues to the east, which the *Indians* commended as a fruitful place, full of good vines, and free from sharp frosts, having one only entrance into it, by a navigable river, inhabited by a few *Indians*, which for a trifle would leave the island, if the *English* would set them upon the main; but the pinace having no direction for discovery, returned without sailing to it, which in two hours they might have done: Upon this coast they found store of vines full of grapes dead ripe, the season being past; whither we purpose to send the next year sooner, to make some small quantity of wine, if God inable us; the vines growing thin with us, and we not having yet any leisure to plant vineyards. But now having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other mens coming to this place, or their abstaining from it; after my brief manner, I say this: That if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him: But if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him: *viz.* Materials to build, fewel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breath in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made; which together with the coves, hoggs and goats brought hither already, may suffice for food; as for fowl and venison, they are dainties
here

here as well as in *England*. For cloaths and bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envyed, but endure much to be pittied in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, least other men should fall short of their expectations, when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did; by means of letters sent us from hence into *England*; wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here: if any godly men out of religious ends will come over, to help us in the good work we are about: I think they cannot dispose of themselves, nor of their estates more to God's glory, and the furtherance of their own reckoning: but they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years. For we have found by experience, that they have hindred, not furthered the work: and for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondred at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our *Macedonia*, and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment: for others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business.

Touching the discouragement which the sickness and mortality which every first year hath seized upon us, and those of *Plymouth*, as appeareth before, may give to such who have cast any thoughts this way (of which mortality it may be said of us almost as of the *Egyptians*, that there is not an house where there is not one dead, and in some houses many) the natural causes seem to be, the want of warm lodging, and good dyet, to which *English* men are habituated at home; and in the sudden increase of heat; which they endure that are landed here in summer; the salt meats at sea having prepared their bodies thereto; for those only these two last years dyed of fevers, who landed in *June* and *July*; as those of *Plymouth*, who landed in winter, dyed of the scurvy; as did our poorer sort, whose housing and bedding, kept them not sufficiently warm, nor
their

their dyet sufficiently in heart : other causes God may have, as our faithful minister, Mr. *Wilson* (lately handling that point) shewed unto us ; which I forbear to mention, leaving this matter to the further dispute of physicians and divines.

Wherefore to return, upon the third of *January*, dyed the daughter of Mr. *Sharp*, a godly virgin, making a comfortable end, after a long sickness. The plantation here received not the like loss of any woman, since we came hither ; and therefore she well deserves to be remembered in this place.

Amongst those who dyed about the end of this *January*, there was a girl of eleven years old, the daughter of one *John Ruggles*, who in the time of her sickness, expressed to the minister, and those about her, so much faith and assurance of salvation, as is rarely found in any of that age ; which I thought not unworthy here to commit to memory : and if any tax me for wasting paper with recording these small matters ; such may consider, that *small things in the beginning of natural or politick bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in bodies full grown.*

Upon the fifth of *February*, arrived here Mr. *Pierce*, with the ship *Lyon* of *Bristol*, with supplies of victuals from *England* ; who had set forth from *Bristol* the first of *December* before. He had a stormy passage hither, and lost one of his saylors not far from our shore, who in a tempest having helped to take in the sprit sail, lost his hold as he was coming down, and fell into the sea ; where, after long swimming, he was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the ship, who beheld so lamentable a spectacle, without being able to minister help to him, the sea was so high, and the ship drove so fast before the wind, though her sails were taken down. By this ship we understand of the fight of three of our ships, and two *English* men of war coming out of the *Straits*, with fourteen *Dunkirks*, upon the coast of *England*, as they returned from us, in the end of the last summer ; who through Gods goodness, with the loss of some thirteen or fourteen men, out of our three ships ; and I know not how many out of the two men of war, got at length clear of them. The *Charles*, one of our three, a stout ship, of 300 ton, being so torn, that

that she had not much of her left whole above water. By this ship we also understand of the death of many of those who went from us the last year to *England*, as likewise of the mortality there ; whereby we see there are graves in other places as well as with us.

Amongst others who dyed about this time, was Mr. *Robert Welden*, who in the time of his sickness we had chosen to be captain of 100. foot, but before he took possession of his place, he dyed, the sixteenth of this *February*, and was buried as a souldier, with three vollyes of shott. Upon the twenty second of *February* we held a general day of thanksgiving throughout the whole colony, for the safe arrival of the ship which came last with our provisions.

Upon the eighth of *March*, from after it was fair day light, until about eight of the clock in the forenoon, there flew over all the towns in our plantations, so many flocks of doves, each flock containing many thousands, and some so many, that they obscured the light, that it passeth credit, if but the truth should be written ; and the thing was the more strange, because I scarce remember to have seen ten doves since I came into the country : they were all turtles, as appeared by divers of them we killed flying, somewhat bigger than those of *Europe*, and they flew from the north-east, to the south-west ; but what it portends, I know not.

The ship now waits but for wind, which when it blowes, there are ready to go aboard therein for *England*, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, Mr. *Sharp*, Mr. *Coddington*, and many others ; the most whereof purpose to return to us again, if God will. In the mean time, we are left a people poor and contemptible, yet such as trust in God ; and are contented with our condition, being well assured, that he will not fail us nor forsake us. I had almost forgotten to add this, that the wheat we received by this last ship, stands us in thirteen or fourteen shillings a strike, and the pease, about eleven shillings a strike, besides the adventure, which is worth three or four shillings a strike ; which is an higher price than I ever tasted bread of before.

Thus, *Madam*, I have as I can, told your Honour, all our matters ; knowing your wisdom can make good use thereof.

thereof. If I live not to perform the like office of my duty hereafter, likely it is, some other will do it better.

Before the departure of the ship (which yet was wind-bound) there came unto us sagamore *John*, and one of his subjects, requiring satisfaction for the burning of two wigwams, by some of the *English*; which wigwams, were not inhabited, but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when upon occasion, they should travel that way. By examination we found that some *English* fowlers, having retired into that which belonged to the subject; and leaving a fire therein carelessly which they had kindled to warm them, were the cause of burning thereof. For that which was the sagamores, we could find no certain proof how it was fired: yet least he should think us not sedulous enough to find it out, and so should depart discontentedly from us; we gave both him and his subject, satisfaction for them both.

The like accident of fire also befel Mr. *Sharp*, and Mr. *Colborn*, upon the seventeenth of this *March*; both whose houses (which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the plantation) were in two hours space burned to the ground; together with much of their household-stuff, apparel, and other things; as also some goods of others, who sojourned with them in their houses; God so pleasing to exercise us with corrections of this kind as he hath done with others. For the prevention whereof, in our new town intended this summer to be builded; we have ordered that no man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented unto; for that divers other houses have been burned since our arrival.

Upon the eighteenth day of *March*, came one from *Salem*, and told us, that upon the fifteenth thereof, there dyed Mrs. *Skelton*, the wife of the other minister there. She was a godly and an helpful woman, she lived desired, and dyed lamented, and well deserves to be honourably remembred.

Upon the twenty fifth of this *March*, one of *Watertown* having lost a calf, and about ten of the clock at night, hearing the howling of some wolves not far off, raised many of his neighbours out of their beds, that by discharging

ing their muskets near about the place where he heard the wolves, he might so put the wolves to flight, and save his calf: the wind serving fit to carry the report of the muskets to *Roxbury*, three miles off, at such a time; the inhabitants there took an alarm, beat up their drum, armed themselves, and sent in post to us to *Boston*, to raise us also: so in the morning, the calf being found safe, the wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to breakfast.

I thought to have ended before, but the stay of the ship, and my desire to inform your honour of all I can, hath caused this addition: and every one having warning to prepare for the ships departure to morrow, I am now this twenty eighth of *March*, 1631. sealing my letters.

Your Honours

Old

Thankful Servant,

THOMAS DUDLEY.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF
 COLONEL EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, AND OF WILLIAMS
 COLLEGE, FOUNDED IN 1793, IN CONSEQUENCE OF
 HIS LIBERAL BEQUEST.

COLONEL Ephraim Williams was born at Newtown, near Boston. He was the oldest son of Colonel Ephraim Williams; who, afterwards, was one of the first settlers of Stockbridge, and a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in the County of Hampshire. Colonel Ephraim, the son, for several years in early life, followed the seas; but, by the persuasion of his father, relinquished that business. In his several voyages to Europe, he visited England, Spain, and Holland; acquired graceful manners, and a considerable stock of useful knowledge. He possessed uncommon military talents; and in the war between England and France, from the year 1740 to 1748, he found opportunity to exert them. He was appointed Captain of a company in the army raised in New-England, in what was called the Canada service. Afterwards he commanded the line of Massachusetts forts, on the west side

side of Connecticut river. During this command, his principal place of residence was Hoosack fort. This stood on the bank of Hoosack-river, in Adams, about three miles and a half east of Williamstown. He had also under his command a small fort in Williamstown, which stood on an eminence a few rods north-west of the meeting-house. Under the protection of these forts, the first settlers in this part of the country began their improvements. Colonel Williams was much conversant with them; and witnessed, with humane and painful sensations, the dangers, difficulties, and hardships which they were obliged to encounter. To encourage them, he intimated his intention of doing something liberal and handsome for them.

After the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, he resided chiefly at Hatfield, in the County of Hampshire. When war again broke out between England and France, in 1755, he had the command of a regiment in the army raised in this, then, Province, for the general defence. While at Albany, and on his way to join the army, he, on the 22d of July, 1755, made his last will. Early in September following, he fell—being shot with a musket ball through the head, in the memorable battle fought with the French and Indians near Lake George. He was then a little more than forty years of age; and had always lived a single life.

In his person, he was large and fleshy. He had a taste for books; and often lamented his want of a liberal education. His address was easy, and his manners pleasing and conciliating. Affable and facetious, he could make himself agreeable in all companies; and was very generally esteemed, respected, and beloved. His kind and obliging deportment, his generosity and condescension, greatly endeared him to his soldiers. By them, he was uncommonly beloved while he lived, and lamented when dead.

When Captain at Fort-Massachusetts, he frequently entered into the pastimes of his soldiers, upon an equal footing with them, and permitted every decent freedom; and again, when the diversions were over, he, with ease and dignity, resumed the Captain.

His politeness and address procured him a greater influence at the General Court than any other person at that day possessed. He was attentive and polite to all descriptions

tions and classes of men, but especially to gentlemen of dignified characters ; and sought the company and conversation of men of letters.

The property of Colonel Williams, at the time of his death, was not very considerable. It consisted principally in notes, bonds, and obligations ; and in new lands, in the two western counties of the Commonwealth. Yet, as far as his circumstances enabled him, he generously made provision in his will, to answer the expectations which he had raised in the minds of the first settlers of Williamstown. After several small bequests to his relatives and friends, he willed, " That the remainder of his lands should be sold, at the discretion of his executors, within five years after an established peace ; and that the interest of the monies arising from the sale, and also the interest of his notes and bonds, should be applied, to the support of a Free-School, in a township west of fort Massachusetts ; provided the said township fall within Massachusetts, upon running the line between Massachusetts and New-York, and provided the said township, when incorporated, be called Williams-town."—Both of these conditions took place.

John Worthington, Esq. of Springfield and Israel Williams, Esq. of Hatfield, the executors of the will, sold the lands, agreeably to the direction of the testator. The monies arising from the sales were loaned to responsible men ; and mortgages taken to secure the payment of principal and interest. The yearly interest was again loaned ; and thus, by the provident and faithful management of the executors, the fund was annually increased. In the year 1785, they applied to the General Court for an act to enable them to carry into effect the benevolent intention of the testator. An act was accordingly passed, incorporating " William Williams, Theodore Sedgwick, Woodbridge Little, John Bacon, Thomson J. Skinner, Israel Jones, and David Noble, Esquires, the Rev. Seth Swift and the Rev. Danel Collins, trustees of the donation of Ephraim Williams, Esq. for maintaining a Free-School in Williams-town."

In the year 1788, the trustees voted to erect a building for the accommodation of the Free-School. A lottery was granted them by the General Court to raise the sum of

4,000 dollars; and the inhabitants of Williamstown raised by subscription, 2,000 dollars more towards the expense of the building. In 1790, a brick building, eighty-two feet long, forty-two wide, and four stories high, was erected; containing twenty-eight rooms for the accommodation of the students, and a chapel, which occupies the space of four rooms. The expense of this building, when finished, was estimated at about 11,700 dollars. The funds then remaining at interest amounted to about the same sum.

In October, 1791, the Free-School (as the act, in conformity to the will, termed it) was opened, under the direction of a preceptor and an English schoolmaster. An usher was soon afterwards appointed. This school consisted of two departments; a grammar-school, or academy, and an English free-school. The latter was almost wholly composed of boys from the higher classes in the common schools in Williamstown. They were taught reading, writing and arithmetick. In the former, all the arts and sciences, which compose the usual course of education in the New-England colleges, were taught. This department rapidly increased in numbers. Youth resorted to it, not only from the county and vicinity, but from New-York, Canada, and other distant parts of the country. Its usefulness, in several respects, and especially in one, was soon experienced. Many young men came to this Academy to qualify themselves to become useful and reputable instructors of common schools. Not a few of them had before taught school; though very imperfectly qualified for the business. The happy consequence was, that many of the common schools in this part of the country were soon furnished with much more competent instructors than had before been employed.

In this situation as to officers and instruction, and in a state of increasing reputation and usefulness, the Free-School and Academy continued till September, 1793. In June of that year, the General Court incorporated the institution into a College; and, in honour to Colonel Williams, whose liberal donation laid the foundation of the funds, they called it **WILLIAMS COLLEGE**. All the gentlemen, who were trustees of the Free-School, were made trustees of the College; and to them were added the

the Rev. Stephen West, D. D. (elected vice-president at the first session of the board) Henry Van Schaack, and Elijah Williams, Esquires, and the president of the College for the time being. The charter, or act of incorporation, allowed the board of trustees to consist of seventeen members, including the president—empowered them to fill all vacancies which might take place by death or resignation—to confer the usual academick degrees, and doctorates after the first day of January, 1800—and to hold property to the clear annual amount of six thousand pounds.—The General Court accompanied this charter with a liberal grant of 4,000 dollars, payable out of the treasury of the Commonwealth, at four annual instalments.

To the gentlemen of the board of trustees, whose names are inserted in the charter, three have since been added by election. These are the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, late lieutenant-governor of the state of New-York, the Rev. Job Swift, of Bennington, Vermont, and the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, of Norfolk, Connecticut.

In October, 1793, the College was duly organized, and three small classes were admitted. The English Free-School was discontinued; but the Grammar-School, or Academy, was continued in connection with the College.

In 1794, a convenient house was built, and a lot of six acres of land adjoining was purchased, for the use and accommodation of the president.

The General Court, at their session in January, 1796, granted to the president and trustees of Williams College the right of locating two townships in the District of Maine. One of these was sold in May following, for about 10,000 dollars, and the avails of it, with about 2,400 dollars more, applied to the erection of another college edifice. This also is of brick, one hundred and four feet by twenty-eight, four stories high, and contains thirty-two chambers for the accommodation of students. Adjoining to each chamber is a bed-room and study; except three only, which have no bed-room nor study, and are used by the three upper classes as recitation chambers. This edifice was finished in 1798. The same year, a large and elegant meeting-house, built in Williamstown by subscription, was completed and dedicated. Towards this, the treasurer of
the

the corporation, by their order, subscribed and paid one hundred pounds; on condition that convenient pews and seats should be assigned to the officers and students of College, and that the corporation should have the use of the house on commencement day, and on other publick days.

About six hundred dollars have been expended for a philosophical apparatus. The articles it contains have been very judiciously selected; principally by the advice and direction of the Rev. Dr. Prince, of Salem. It wants several very useful and important articles; which, from the scantiness of the funds, cannot at present be procured.

The library contains between seven and eight hundred volumes only; but they are principally the best classick, or the most approved modern works. This library, though so small, with the aid of a good collection of three or four hundred volumes belonging to two societies of under-graduates, furnishes the officers of College and the students with a tolerable supply of useful and necessary books. For the privilege of using the library, each student of the two higher classes pays twenty-five cents, and each student of the two lower classes seventeen cents quarterly. The money thus raised amounts annually to seventy or eighty dollars; and is a fund, appropriated by law, to repair and augment the library. It is the duty of the president to draw it annually from the College treasury, apply it to this purpose, and render an account of its application yearly to the board of trustees. This wise regulation enables the president to add every year to the library some of the best European and American publications.

The executive officers and instructors are a president, a vice-president, and three or four tutors. The vice-president has no salary, and takes no part in the instruction or government of College, but in case of the death or resignation of the president, and until another president is elected and inducted into office. The salaries of the president and tutors are very moderate; amounting, when there are four tutors, to only one thousand nine hundred dollars, exclusive of twenty dollars to the senior tutor, as librarian; viz. to the president, eight hundred dollars, and to each tutor, two hundred and seventy-five dollars.

Commencement

Commencement is held on the first Wednesday of September annually. The first commencement was held in 1795. One hundred and five students of the College, and thirty other gentlemen, have received its public honours. One hundred and three students now belong to the four under-graduate classes.

In the course of ten years, viz. from 1789 to 1799, the trustees expended, in necessary buildings and accommodations for the officers and students, and in a small library, and apparatus, about twenty-eight thousand dollars. These expenditures were, in their opinion, absolutely necessary, in order to meet and encourage the rapid increase of the institution. While they gratefully acknowledge the liberality of their first benefactor, Colonel Williams, and the generous aid afforded them by the Legislature of the Commonwealth; they entertain pleasing hopes that Providence will raise them up other friends, benefactors, and patrons, as their necessities call for assistance. A chapel, and additions to the apparatus are, at present, very much wanted.

The situation of the College, in a decent, thriving country town, is found, by experience, to be highly favourable to the improvement, and morals of the youth. Comparatively few temptations to dissipation and vice are presented to them. The happy consequence has been, that close application to study, due observance of the laws, decent manners, and good morals, have, with very few exceptions, characterized the youth who have resorted to the College for education. And it is hoped, that the same orderly conduct, application, decency of manners and purity of morals will continue, through every successive generation of students.

Williamstown, Jan. 26, 1802.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF
MARBLEHEAD.

THE town of Marblehead in the county of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was originally a part of Salem in the same county; detached therefrom, and incorporated as a town, May 2d, 1649. The town is divided from Forest river principally, on each side of which, in Salem as well as Marblehead, are some tolerable situations for agriculture. The first settlers made their pitch on the eastern side of the town, taking advantage of a very good harbour, running north-east and south-west, and towards half a mile on an average.* At the south-west end of the harbour the town is connected with the *Great Neck*, so called, by a very narrow isthmus, separating the waters of Lynn bay from those of the harbour.

About the year 1728, it was found that the sea was fast encroaching on the south-west side of this isthmus, so as to endanger the preservation and security of the harbour. The government of the province at that time attended to the subject, as it respected not only the town in particular, but the trade of the province in general; and ordered by an *Act* the sum of thirteen hundred and twenty-eight pounds, to be paid out of the public treasury, for *necessary repairs*. It seems that about the year 1762, some *necessary repairs* were made. In the year 1790, although the town had carefully endeavoured to *secure, support, and keep the same in good repair*, the Government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, considering that the preservation of the said harbour was a matter of public concern, &c. granted a sum of £.1000 to be raised by a lottery or lotteries, the proceeds whereof should be applied in repairing the fortifications of the isthmus, before that time made, and in further securing the same.

This

* The soil is very rocky, if any part of this rough spot can be called *soil*—to a stranger it appears more like a ridge of rocks than ground for cultivation. In the oration upon the death of President Holyoke, who had been once a minister in this town, it is described,

“*Marmaracria, oppidum maritimum, saxis abundans: inde, novanglicè dictum, Marblehead. Asperrima vox, aures latinas horridè perstringens.*”

This indulgence was peculiarly opportune and acceptable, as the town suffered by distresses consequent upon the American revolution. About the year 1742, this town was authorized by the Government, it seems, with a grant of £.690 to erect within the town or harbour a good and sufficient breast-work, and a platform built for the accommodation of 12-pounders or other guns equivalent, and suitable warlike stores. This fort was of course erected, and carefully attended, under the inspection of the late Captain Thomas Gerry, the commanding officer, and others, till it became the property of the United States of America, with usual provisos, attending such publick property; and is now become a very respectable fortification as a key to protect the interior part of Salem, its fort and citadel, and the interior part of Beverly.

The body of the town is near four miles in length, and two miles wide, containing about 3,700 acres. The *Great Neck*, so called, is about one mile in length and half a mile wide on an average, and contains about 300 acres. The whole may be estimated about 4,000 acres, exclusive of two small islands. The town is bounded on the north, the east, and south-west, by Salem bay, the sea, and Lynn bay; and west, and north-west, by Salem and Forest-river; so solitary and detached, that it is not a thoroughfare to other places.

The first settlers, though few in number, and small in means, attached themselves in part to agriculture, but principally to the cod-fishery and merchandize, which has been the case very much with their posterity.

In the year 1714, the place is thus described by one* who was capable of making just observations upon men and manners; and who lived long enough to see it in the most flourishing state: "There were two companies of men, badly clothed, who attempted to do military duty, but trained to no military discipline but that of *whipping the snake*, as they called it. Now, (in 1766) and for years past we have seen it, a distinct regiment is completed of seven companies, well clad, bright countenances, vigorous and active men; so well trained in the use of their arms, and the various motions and marches, as to exceed most other regiments in the country, and equal the

* Rev. Mr. Bernard's diary, in MS.

the best in the appearance of spirited men, and the manual exercise."

The same writer observes, that the town improved in every thing else equal to the excellence exhibited at a military review. Early in the century, or before 1720, "There was not a carpenter, a tailor, nor mason, nor butcher in the town; nor any thing of a market worth naming. They had their houses built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and supplied themselves with beef and pork from Boston, which drained the town of its money. Some years after, the town abounded with artificers, good workmen of every description, and the market had a full supply. At the time before mentioned, there was not one foreign vessel, although the town always possessed every advantage for a free and extensive navigation. The people contented themselves to be slaves to work in the mines, leaving it to the merchants of Salem, Boston, and Europe, to carry off the gains, by which means the town was poor, and in debt:—so much were they involved in debt to merchants of other places, that very few families, not more than twenty, were independent as to their circumstances. They were generally a rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting crew, but as they increased in numbers, they made improvements in social life, in virtue and good morals. By the middle of the century, the manners of the people were so much cultivated, as to be remarkable for their civilities, and especially for their hospitality to strangers. There were not only gentleman-like families, and pious and well behaved people in the town, but the very fishermen rose superior to the rudeness of the former generations. When they were persuaded by individuals of publick spirit to send their fish to foreign markets, they soon became conversant with the mysteries of trade, they soon likewise became sensible of the advantage they should reap by it. And while individuals grew rich, the town also received the benefit.

"Mr. Joseph Swett, a young man of strict justice, of great industry, enterprising genius, quick apprehension, and firm resolution, but small fortune, was the first man who engaged in it. He sent a cargo to Barbadoes, and from the profits of the voyage found that he increased his stock, and
went

went on building vessels: Till he was enabled to send vessels to Europe, loading them with fish, and pointing out to *others the path to riches*. The more promising young men of the town followed his example; and from this small beginning, Marblehead became one of the first trading towns of the *Bay*. In the year 1766, there were between thirty and forty ships, brigs, snows, and topsail schooners engaged in foreign trade.

The town before the American revolution (in the words of a respectable gentleman, who preached the sermon at the ordination of Mr. Hubbard) "as to its numbers and opulence, swarmed with inhabitants, was a pattern of industry, flourished in trade, and abounded with wealth; from hence, as from a fountain, streams of wealth flowed out, which greatly enriched the vicinity, and penetrated far into the country."

About the year 1770, this town was supposed to contain a greater number of inhabitants than any other town of the province, Boston excepted; its proportion in the province tax was next to Boston, and was supposed at that time to have imported more hard money than any other town in the province.

The locality of the immediate and direct business of the cod-fishery, renders it very natural that disasters attending the same might be concentrated to one point of view; while the extensive ramifications of mercantile business from the District of Maine to the State of Georgia, does not afford the advantage of a central point at which to average losses in this last respect.

The town of Marblehead is one of the few that have earnestly entered into this business of cod-fishery. In general, the town have been successful; but at some periods their success has been checked. A striking instance of it is that in the year 1771. The disasters they met with in that time were such, as to leave, in a helpless situation, a very considerable number of widows and fatherless children. Much to the credit of the government of the province at the time being, and of the good people thereof, it must be observed in this recital, that by means of a *Brief*, issued by the government, the sum of £.117-16-10- $\frac{3}{4}$ was collected for the relief of the poor and distressed persons

sons in said town of Marblehead, and committed to a respectable committee for distribution. In contrast to the disaster last mentioned, it may be remarked, with gratitude to Him who permits Zebulon to rejoice in his goings forth, that, in August 4, 1800, arrived into the port of Marblehead sixteen bankers from the fishing banks, averaging 650 quintals each; total, 10,400 quintals of fish: besides remarkable success during both the years 1800—1801. On July 18, of the last mentioned year, one fishing schooner arrived from the banks, on her first fare, with 28,000, tantamount to 900 quintals.

After the year 1771, their numbers and opulence, at this given period, considered, began a series of disasters "*horrenda dictu.*"

The first was on the introduction of the small-pox into the town, and the destruction of the hospital at Cat island, near the town. This island belonged to the town of Salem, and the trespass was against the town as well as the proprietors of the hospital, as the island was their soil. It was to be attributed to the rude and uncultivated conduct of some individuals, unrestrained by government, influenced by private piques, and not led by animosities of any other kind.

Their next and a prominent inconvenience took place at the commencement of the American revolution: having been nearly exhausted in property, they were overtaken in a common resentment of injuries offered to the provinces by their *parent country*. Through this revolution they passed, perhaps in greater distress than any other place in the United States. Their opulent merchants leaving their stand for business, submitting their property to be sacrificed, and retiring to interior parts for immediate safety: another class of citizens being obliged to do the same; and a different class forced into the land and sea service, contrary to their former habits; besides another class that took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and stood by the stuff.

In the politicks of their country they have ever taken a part. The compiler* of this, well remembers an instance in the publick rejoicing on the repeal of the *Stamp Act*: in the course of which, an excellent member of soci-

* ISAAC MANSFIELD, Esq.

ety,

ety, civil and ecclesiastical, from pure and unadulterated patriotism, displayed his feelings by a golden candlestick for the place of the king, and a silver candlestick for each of his ministers, beautifully illuminating his illuminated house!

In the distresses to which the town of Boston was reduced by the *Boston Port Bill*, which took place, June 1, 1774, and by other subsequent acts of parliament, while large supplies of provisions were furnished by different towns, Marblehead was not deficient. It appears, by their instructions to their representative, June 6, 1774, that their feelings were alive for the distressed, but truly respectable Bostonians; directing that the Bostonians should not be suffered to bear more than their proportionable part of the unrighteous sacrifice then making of their interest; proposing that the same should be equally borne, if not by the provinces in general, by this in particular; averring, that in supporting them, they should be propping the tottering liberties of America. At the same meeting of the town, by a vote, they directed the selectmen to accommodate the inhabitants of Boston, and other towns immediately affected by the Port Bill, during its operation, with the use of their publick buildings, free of any expense. At the same time, their merchants, partaking of the same philanthropick and patriotick principles, opened their stores, and offered their wharves, to the convenience of such of their oppressed neighbours as might be thereby accommodated.

In the year 1775, the town of Marblehead furnished of its own inhabitants to the publick service one intire regiment, completely officered and manned; the value of this regiment at that trying period, composed of men inured to fatigue and danger, and not wasted by sickness in any *one* instance, is best determined by a recollection of their patience, bravery and effective service.

The valiant JAMES MUGFORD, who was the commander in taking a powder ship from the enemy, early in the course of the American war, and lost his life in the enterprise, and whose family has never yet received the bounty provided by government in such case, was an inhabitant of this town. In the year 1780, a brig, with the commander and his crew, belonging to this town, was captured by a
British

British privateer; they soon took possession of the privateer, and thereby availed themselves of the brig.

In the year 1782, three lads were put on board a brig at Quebec, to be sent to England; after having been at sea a few days, they took possession of her, and conducted her in safety to this town, the place of their nativity. In the same year, the ship *St. Helena*, escorting an American fleet from Havana to Philadelphia, was taken by the British sloop of war *Lively*, commanded by Michael Stanhope, Esq.; about ten of the prisoners, under the direction of three lads, of this place (each of them under twenty-one years of age) retook the *Lively*, and conducted her into Havana, where she was sold for a very handsome price. Indeed, the particular narration of similar enterprizes, appropriated to the inhabitants of this place, would swell this recital too much; for which the compiler must very particularly apologize to the readers and others interested.

	<i>Rateable Polls.</i>	<i>Tons of Shipping.</i>	<i>Inhabitants.</i>
1772	1203	12,313	—
1780	544	—	—
1783	873	1,509	4443
1790	1112	—	5661
1800	1108	—	5204

The census of 1800, compared with that of 1790, shews a decrease; this decrease is to be attributed in part, if not wholly, to the emigration of many families and individuals, as well as the waste of many other individuals in the sea service, who had been enumerated in the census of 1790. In a natural state of things, the number of females in the human species is about equal to the number of males; and *while*, for some purpose hidden in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom, wars, &c. are permitted, a proper balance is preserved between the sexes, notwithstanding the usual and common waste or deficiency, occasioned by wars and sea service; such an accurate proportion continued between males and females, tends very greatly to prove the providential government of God, if such proof or confirmation can be wanting or found convenient. However, it may be considered as singular, that in the late census of this town, there are found

found to be, including all ages, two hundred and eighty four females more than males.

At a meeting of this town of Marblehead, on March 16, 1789, it was voted to present his Excellency JOHN ADAMS, Esq. (then *second* in rank to GEORGE WASHINGTON, the father and saviour of his country) with an address; which address was in the following words, viz.

“ SIR,

“ The inhabitants of Marblehead, in common with
“ their fellow-citizens, have ever felt strongly impressed
“ with sentiments of gratitude and satisfaction for the em-
“ inent services rendered by you to the United States of
“ America in all their foreign negociations, which have
“ been committed to your charge. In considering the
“ result of these negociations, we find ourselves under very
“ peculiar obligations for your faithful and unshaken pat-
“ ronage of the fishery, which we apprehended to have
“ been in danger from the politicks and interests of pow-
“ erful nations.

“ We therefore, now being legally assembled in town-
“ meeting, pray your Excellency to accept this our unan-
“ imous address, as expressing our sense of those essential
“ benefits, which we now enjoy in the preservation of the
“ fishery, for which we believe ourselves more especially
“ indebted to your Excellency.

“ While we are enjoying the fulness of those benefits,
“ we pray your Excellency will indulge us to furnish your
“ table with a small share of the fruits of your good ser-
“ vices, which we wish may be accepted as a mark of our
“ gratitude.”

It may be observed, that an increase of natural and moral evil, will bear some proportion to an increase of population and its concomitants. It seems designed by Providence, that various and differing kingdoms, nations, &c. shall at some period, become united as one; commerce naturally tends to this object: but, as it is necessary to check an undue ambition, the wisdom of Providence permits an evil to attend this important tendency; and, commonly dissipation and vice are mutually and alter-
nately

nately imported and exported ; though the same Providence gives a remedy in the case by supplying the growing number of inhabitants with the means of encouraging institutions of religion and education, and frequently we find a disposition in mankind to devote a part of their attention to these important objects. Where institutions of religion are supported and connected with a liberal toleration of different denominations, and where education is encouraged with the same indulgence, considering the very great variety in the improvement of the human mind, under such advantages, it must be very strange, to find all agreeing entirely in opinion ; and in fact, we may plainly trace the wisdom of Providence in this respect, inasmuch as difference in opinions on religious or political subjects, if attended with a generous toleration, may operate in mollifying discordant apprehensions, and extinguishing violence of party spirit. The common differences in opinion on these subjects have ever been preserved in this place in the bonds of peace, and a common medium, between the extremes of intolerance, has been invariably pursued.

It is very singular, that, notwithstanding the inhabitants of this town have ever distinguished themselves, as well by their attachment to means of education as to those of religion, at the same time displaying their patriotism and sense of the importance of publick virtue ; so few of their sons were found honoured with a place in the catalogue of the Harvard University, previous to the American revolution. Directed by his own sense of the importance of education, the Rev. John Barnard, by his last *will*, deposited with the said University a testimonial of his regard to the interests of religion and literature.

At or about the commencement of the American revolution, the finances of the town were such as to render it convenient to them, as well as to their duty, to address themselves to the important subject of education of the rising generation, and support an adequate number of schools for the purpose : but *inter arma silent leges*. In other words, all institutions for the regular government of political bodies of men and for education of their rising posterity, must be prostrated in a state of war.

Gradually.

Gradually advancing from the embarrassed circumstances, in which the late revolution left them, about the beginning of the year 1788, the parents of four or five and twenty youths in Marblehead, observing that the publick grammar-school and writing-schools upon private establishment there, were so much crowded with scholars, that their children could not have that attention of the masters, however well qualified they might be for their respective departments, that they (the parents) conceived necessary for their making such progress in literature, as they might reasonably expect, had in contemplation, and formed a design, of procuring a preceptor to teach their children only reading, writing, English grammar, the Latin and Greek languages, arithmetick, accounts, geography, musick, rhetorick, the art of speaking, &c. And at the same time to instil into their minds, virtuous and religious principles; whereby they might become useful members of society:—and out of their number they selected certain persons, as their trustees, to carry their design into execution, by procuring a proper person for a preceptor, and engaging him a suitable salary, providing a proper place for attending the instruction of the pupils, and to regulate the school respecting the instruction and government thereof; and to these trustees the parents of the pupils were to pay their proportion of the charges, quarterly.

The trustees of this institution so exerted themselves, that about the first of April, 1788, the school was opened, in a building of Mr. Jeremiah Proctor, in the north-west part of the town, being the most convenient place then to be obtained: the school having the name of *the Academy* applied to it.

The preceptor, for the first six months, was Mr. Freeman,* a gentleman of such accomplishments as to afford the proprietors (or undertakers) of the school a prospect equal to their fondest wishes for their children. Mr. Freeman was succeeded by Mr. Harris,† not less accomplished
for

* Graduated at the University of Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1787.

† Graduated at the University aforementioned, 1786.

for the important service, who continued in the preceptor's chair several years.

In the beginning of the year 1789, a number of publick spirited persons, among whom were some, if not all the trustees of the academy, taking into consideration the propriety of there being in the town of Marblehead, a building adapted to publick uses, such as an assembly-room, occasional exhibitions, meetings of the selectmen, assessors, and other town-officers, academical exercises, &c. have, with great dispatch, erected an elegant building, in a place now called School-street.—One part of this building being accommodated to the purposes of a school, with a special view to the trustees of the academy procuring and hiring it for that purpose; gives occasion of the whole edifice being called by the name of *Academy-Hall*. The scholars of the academy moved unto this edifice, June 30th, 1789; and, on the 6th day of July, there was had there, a publick annual exhibition of academical exercises; to the general satisfaction of near three hundred spectators from this* and the neighbouring towns.

Mr. Joseph Prince, a young gentleman of seventeen years of age, having been, about four or five years before, initiated in Latin grammar, at the publick school, where he read Cheever's *Accidence*, Clark's *Corderius*, *Æsop's Fables*, and perhaps *Erasmus*; and afterwards having been employed by a shop-keeper; became a pupil in the academy, at its first opening, in 1788, beginning his studies there by reading *Castalio's Dialogues*; and, without any extra and special care and attention of the preceptors, has been fitted for college, and was some time in the said month of July last offered at and admitted a student of the University of Cambridge, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

This young gentleman, the first fruit of this academy, appeared to give credit to it; he passed the term of his education at the University with discretion, and advantage to himself; soon after he received the usual honours of the same, he retired into the interior parts of New-Hampshire, where he became the preceptor of an academy.

Having been impressed in a serious manner in his younger years, he now displayed his promising talents as a preacher,

* Marblehead.

preacher, and was very soon invited to take *the pastoral care* of a church, to which he had early devoted himself.

But the great Head of the church was pleased, in infinite wisdom, to nip the bud, and check rising expectations by his death, after a very short sickness, and before he could be regularly separated to the work of a gospel minister.

Beside the last mentioned, several others have been initiated in this academy into the first principles and rudiments of the dead languages, some having completed their college education ; and others now progressing.

Of persons <i>not</i> born in Marblehead, <i>inhabitants</i> ,	
and graduated at Harvard College, the number is	21
Of persons born in Marblehead and graduated, &c.	30
Of another class, not graduated,	6
Now progressing in education at the University,	4

In addition to the standing school, capable of accommodating from one hundred to two hundred pupils, the town has erected two buildings for publick schools, beside supporting other schools for the benefit of the lower classes of pupils.

May it be found, that among the *rough rocks* there are *stones* to be met with, capable of receiving a proper polish ; may light be emitted equal to the lustre of the choicest diamonds ; and the ancient observation be verified,

———Sint Mæcenates
Nunquam deserunt Marones.

Present your geniuses capable of improvement, they shall be supplied with able instructors !

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.]—The ecclesiastical affairs of so respectable a people as the inhabitants of Marblehead, merit some more particular attention than a general account of the pastors, or the order of the churches. No place in Massachusetts can be mentioned where they have paid more respect to the clergy, or have been more regular in their attendance upon publick worship.

The Rev. Samuel Cheever, their first minister, was ordained 1684. He had preached with them sixteen years previously to his settlement ; and died in the year 1724,

aged eighty-five. He was a man furnished with good abilities, both natural and acquired; a constant and zealous preacher. Above fifty years, he preached without being taken off from his labours one sabbath. In October, 1719, the infirmities of age obliged him to take leave of his stated exercises, which he did from those words, John ix. 4. *I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day, &c.* He was a man of peace, and a catholic mind; would never join himself to any party in the town, but those which were for God and religion against vice and immorality. It was a signal favour to Marblehead, that he lived to such an age, and that he was blessed with such a constitution and firm health, as to be able to say that he never was sick in all his life. When he died, the lamp of life fairly burnt out; for he felt no pain even in his expiring moments. He left a widow, who had been his companion fifty-four years, and several children. Some of their descendants remain to this day; among them, have been worthy ministers, and others equally respectable in a different line of life.*

In the year 1714, Mr. Cheever being aged, though not otherwise infirm, the church invited candidates to preach; and after hearing several well accomplished young men, made choice of Mr. John Barnard, for their assistant pastor. He was born in Boston, 1681, and died in January, 1770, at Marblehead. His education was begun at the grammar

* The family of Cheevers have been remarkable for longevity. The famous Ezekiel Cheever, author of the *Accidence, Scripture Prophecies, &c.* was the father of Mr. Cheever of Marblehead. He died in the year 1708, aged ninety-four. He had been for seventy years a school-master, first at New-Haven, in the year 1637; then at Ipswich; then at Charlestown; and from the year 1670 to his death was preceptor of Boston grammar-school. There have been several of the family who died near ninety, and at fourscore. They were equally remarkable for florid health while they lived, as for the number of years.

It is among the desiderata of the Historical Society to have biographical sketches of the excellent master *Ezekiel Cheever*, who was so useful to the town of Boston and the whole country. His *Accidence* has been through more than twenty editions, and retains its credit now among the very best books for children when they are taught the rudiments of the Latin tongue. The sermon, preached at his death by Dr. Cotton Mather, was reprinted at the expense of Ezekiel Price, Esq. S. H. S. his great-grandson.

grammar-school in Boston, and in the year 1696, he entered Harvard College, where he graduated in the year 1700. This man was reckoned famous among the divines of our country, and was looked up to as the father of the churches, during the latter part of his life; having a vigour of mind and zeal uncommon at such an age. His stature was remarkably erect, and never bent under the infirmities of eighty-eight years. His countenance was grand, his mien majestick, and there was a dignity in his whole deportment. His presence restrained every imprudence and folly of youth; and when the aged saw him, they arose and stood up.*

He was fond of active life; and in his youth discovered such a spirit of enterprise, that he was one of the first that entered the fort at Boston, when the people took possession of it, in the time of Sir *Edmund Andross*. He was appointed, by Governor Dudley, one of the chaplains that went with the army to Port-Royal, in 1707, (now Annapolis) to reduce that fortress to the British crown. In an attempt to take a plan of the fort, a cannon ball was fired at him, that covered him with dirt; but did no other harm, except diverting him from his purpose.

In 1709, upon repeated invitations by Captain John Wentworth, (afterwards Lieut. Governor of New-Hampshire) he sailed with him to Barbadoes and London. While he was in London, happened the affair of Dr. Sacheverel, of which he would often speak, mentioning such minute circumstances as we might expect from the prejudices of an American puritan, united with the garrulity of old age.—All parties now view the business of Sacheverel's trial, as a political rather than a religious phrensy, and the succeeding generation looked with contempt upon what had excited the indignation of their fathers. Mr. Barnard was intimate with some of the famous dissenting ministers, such as Dr. Oldfield, Mr. Fleming and Dr. Calamy, and had some advantageous offers of settlement if he would remain in England. It is mentioned in his own diary, that he also had the offer of going to Ireland with Lord Wharton, as his chaplain, but refused to conform to the articles of the national church. Soon after this, he returned to seek a settlement in his own country.

* Vid. Whitwell's funeral sermon.

When

When the north end of Boston grew very populous, the *Second Church* was too much crowded for the convenience of those who attended worship there; several of the brethren agreed to purchase a spot, and erect another building. They conversed with Mr. Barnard upon the subject, and it was mutually agreed that he should be the pastor. The church was erected, and in May, 1714, he preached the dedication sermon, and supposed that Divine Providence had here fixed the bounds of his habitation. But a more popular candidate being invited, at the desire of Dr. Cotton Mather, to preach for this people, they chose him for their pastor. Mr. Barnard was hurt by the unkind treatment he received, and never spoke of it without a pathos of resentment, even to the day of his death.* During this year he settled at Marblehead, and preached as a colleague with Mr. Cheever, nearly ten years; but from 1719, the service was performed by him. He preached a funeral sermon upon the death of Mr. Cheever. He often printed occasional discourses, and was the author of several books of devotion, which from time to time were emitted from the press. Beside single discourses, a volume of sermons upon *the mystery of the gospel*, another on *the imperfection of the creature*; and one upon *the confirmation of the christian religion*, show his theological knowledge, and good talents for composition. His style of writing is diffuse and plain, but warm and energetick. As a poet, he did not make the figure which he did as a divine. His version of the Psalms, which he fondly hoped would be sung in all the New-England churches, was never introduced into any church

* The meeting-house built for Mr. Barnard, and dedicated by him, May 23, 1714, from Gen. xxviii. 17, was taken down during the present year, 1802, in the month of August. The corner-stone of the new house was laid, September 23, 1802. A collection of silver currency of the country, and a silver plate, are deposited underneath. The inscription on the plate is,

New North Church, built A. D. 1714.
 Repaired and much enlarged, 1729.
 A tower and steeple erected, 1764.
 Taken down *pro bono publico*
 A. D. 1802.
 John Eliot, Pastor of said Church.
 Laus Deo.

church out of the town where they were composed. He could not warble with Watts in lyric songs, nor did he discover that he had musick in his soul by versifying the Psalms of David.

His knowledge, however, was not confined to theology, but he turned his attention to scientifick subjects, studied mathematicks, and excelled in a skill for naval architecture : Several draughts of his, have been commended by master ship-builders. Such were the amusements of his leisure hours.

By prudence in his affairs he saved considerable property, yet gave tythes of all he possessed. His charity was worthy of imitation. It was not to give encouragement to beggars, nor to act from the mere impulse of compassion, like those who listen to the story of vagrants ; but he sought those objects of the good man's bounty, who modestly hide their wants. The poor were often fed, and the widow's heart sang for joy, but knew not where to return thanks except to that God who is a friend of the wretched. One kind of charity was peculiar—He kept two boys at school, whose parents were unable to bear the charge, which has been of much service to the community, beside the benefit the children received from the generosity of their benefactor. By his last will, he gave two hundred pounds to that ancient seat of learning, Harvard College. He left a widow, but no children, except such as he had adopted. With the property to his heirs, he left to the town and country a better name than great riches.

Mr. Barnard was the second minister who died in Marblehead, except one worthy gentleman of the Episcopal church, Mr. Bours, who was taken off in the midst of his days and usefulness. Mr. Cheever and he were continued more than a century, from the time that gentleman preached to the people in 1668. The one never knew what sickness was, and the other was never obliged to leave official duties but once, in the summer of 1746.

In the year 1762, Mr. William Whitwell was ordained assistant minister of this First Church of Marblehead : a very respectable, serious and worthy man, of strict integrity and good sense. He was ordained the fourteenth of January, and was pastor only twenty years. He died at a
time

time when the inhabitants of the town were in great straits and difficulties, and needed the advice, friendship, and consolations of such a minister, who naturally cared for them, and was interested in their sufferings.

Mr. Ebenezer Hubbard succeeded Mr. Whitwell, was ordained January 1, 1783, and died 1800, in the month of October.

It seems like a repeated frown of divine Providence, that, amidst their other troubles, they should also partake of this kind of sorrow. They, who had been blessed with the labours of two ministers for near a century, had to mourn the death of two in quick succession.

The expense attending the death and resettlement of pastors would be considered, by a people less remarkable for the beneficent virtues; but a noble and generous spirit, frankness of speech and manners, characterise the inhabitants of this commercial spot. Fallen from circumstances of ease and affluence, they are always ready to support the clergy, and pay every tribute laid upon them for the good of the community.

Mr. Samuel Dana was ordained pastor of the First Church, October 7, 1801.

The Second Church in Marblehead was formed when Mr. Barnard was settled assistant pastor with the aged Mr. Cheever. Mr. Edward Holyoke was one of the candidates who supplied the pulpit, and gained a respectable minority in his favour; who, rather than make a dispute in the society, parted with their brethren on friendly terms, and erected another meeting-house. He was much esteemed as a scholar and gentleman, and when President Wadsworth died, was chosen president of Harvard College, and introduced to that respectable station, A. D. 1737. He died, A. D. 1769; and his character is thus drawn by one of the Fellows of the College.

“Those, who have subdued nations and ravaged empires, have not failed of writers, who have recorded their heroick deeds, and raised literary monuments to their memory. But let not the hero—rather the homicide, who has, in one day, ruined whole provinces;—let not the tyrant, who has owed his greatness to the slavery of millions, be celebrated

celebrated in the records of fame, while the patron of science, the friend of mankind, and the advocate of religion, who has always aimed at promoting the happiness of the world, have his actions passed over in silence, and his name buried in oblivion ! Rather, let those publick robbers—the enemies of their species, be held in everlasting contempt and detestation ; while these worthies, who, like the all-cheering sun, have diffused their benign influences around, have their names transmitted with honour to the latest posterity.

“ To commemorate the virtues of men of this latter character, who have acted their part well on the stage of life, is always grateful to generous minds ; and while benevolence and gratitude prompt to it, the voice of the world justly demands it. Of this character was the Reverend EDWARD HOLYOKE, late President of Harvard College, who departed this life last Thursday, about three o'clock in the morning, in the eightieth year of his age. An attempt therefore, to produce to view some of the many excellent qualities that distinguished him, cannot but be approved by all, but the foes of virtue.

“ This venerable man was descended from an ancient and reputable family ; but far from intirely deriving his dignity from *that*, which is too often the case of many, his own worth would have adorned any family.

“ His natural powers, which were very good, were greatly improved by an education at the College ; and after he had received its honours, he did not neglect his studies, but prosecuted them with vigour and success, and accumulated a great fund of useful knowledge, in history, the learned languages, and the sciences in general ; but especially natural philosophy and the mathematicks, in which he was eminent.

“ Such a man could not remain long unnoticed ; he was therefore soon elected a Tutor of the College, and not long after a Fellow of the Corporation ; both of which stations he filled with reputation to himself, and advantage to the society, with whose interests he was so nearly concerned.

“ While he was promoting the cause of literature, and preparing youths for usefulness among mankind, he prosecuted

ecuted the study of theology, to fit himself for advancing the cause of religion in the church of God. And after he had served the College for a few years, he was called to take upon him the pastoral care of a flock of Christ in Marblehead. This charge he executed, as he did all others, with care and fidelity, and exhibited in his life, a comment upon the doctrines he taught, shewing, by his conduct, that the religion of Jesus had an abiding influence upon his own heart. Though he was fixed in his principles of religion, and openly defended what he thought to be the pure doctrines of the gospel; yet he was far from being severe against those who differed from him in some things, if at the same time they appeared to be sincere inquirers after truth. He considered catholicism as an excellent part of the character of a good man; and harshly to censure and anathematize those, who cannot think in all points of religion just as we do, appeared to him to discover, not only an arrogant disposition, but also a great want of that amiable temper, and that extensive charity which the gospel of Jesus recommends. While he was in his pastoral charge he shone much as a preacher, his pulpit performances attracting a general notice; and his distinguished figure as a publick speaker, in conjunction with his many other excellent accomplishments, pointed him out as a person proper to fill some more conspicuous station in life. Accordingly, when the Presidentship of the College was vacant, in Anno 1737, he was chosen by the honourable and reverend Corporation and Overseers, to fill that important place; for which, as it is well known to every one who has had the happiness to be under his care, he was finely turned. Indeed he seemed to be by nature formed for the government to which he was elected, having an admirable talent for commanding the respect and reverence of those committed to his charge, and supporting the honour of his station. His publick appearances were noble, and the affairs of commencement were always conducted by him, with a dignity peculiar to himself. For strict integrity and impartial justice, he was an example worthy the imitation of all who have any concern in publick life: neither family connexions, nor the ties of friendship could ever bias him; and in determining censures,

censures, he was always governed by the nature of the offence, and the good of the society. But though he had the strictest regard to the preserving of government and good order, yet he was far from taking pleasure in punishing offenders, and often did it with a reluctant heart, though for the publick good he thought it necessary. Among his pupils he always distinguished merit far beyond birth or fortune; and the virtuous and ingenious were always sure (however low their circumstances might be) of obtaining his peculiar notice. The distinguishing of such, he justly thought, had a direct tendency to advance literature, and subserve the interests of the College, which he was ever desirous of promoting to the utmost of his power.

“ In his private character, he was truly amiable. As a husband, he discovered a manly tenderness, which could not but inspire the sincerest regard and most lasting esteem. As a father, he shone in the government of his family, which, though strict, was ever gentle. While, by a certain dignity of behaviour, he commanded the reverence of his children, by the winning mildness of a friend, he conciliated their affections, and gained their greatest confidence and tenderest love; and their obedience, not flowing from a servile fear, but from more generous principles, was never by constraint, but always yielded with pleasure.

“ He had a most friendly heart, and his friendships were lasting: no turns of fortune, with regard to those he had once accounted his friends, ever induced him to alter his conduct towards them; and by nothing could they forfeit his esteem, but by discovering that they were not possessed of those virtues for which he had taken them into his friendship.

“ He had such an honesty of mind as is seldom found. Whenever he passed any encomiums, they were not the words of empty adulation, but the real dictates of a sincere heart. When he told any of their faults (which he never declined, when he thought it would answer any valuable purpose) he did it with all plainness; but yet free from the bluntness of a rustick, he executed in such a manner, that it seldom failed of being well received.

“ He had a liberal soul that devised liberal things; and his ears were ever open to the cries of the distressed: he

was always ready to acts of kindness, and he never dealt his favours sparingly. Many of the sons of Harvard can witness to his bounty, which has often relieved them in difficulties, and assisted them in their education. When any thing for the publick good was set on foot, he was ever ready to help it forward to the utmost of his power, and when he bestowed any thing for such a purpose, the largeness of his mind was always discovered.

“As a man of piety he was far from being ostentatious, but his whole behaviour was strictly virtuous and exemplary; his attendance on religious exercises, steady and devotional, and his walk with God in secret, constant.—In short, in whatever character we view him, he appears to have been possessed of so many excellencies, as cannot fail to attract the esteem of all those who regard merit.

“He retained his vigour of body and strength of mind to an uncommon degree in his advanced age, and continued to perform all the duties of his function, with his usual punctuality, till about ten months ago; when it pleased the sovereign Ruler of the universe to visit him with a severe disorder, which soon reduced him to a very languid state, and left no hopes of his recovery. Till about ten days before his death, he was able to walk about, but after that was entirely confined to his bed. Through his long sickness he discovered great patience, and a resignation to the divine will; and we doubt not, that patience had its perfect work, and that he is now gone from this world of sickness and pain, to the heaven of rest; where his labours are at an end, and his works follow him.”

“The funeral was attended yesterday in the afternoon,* by the honourable and reverend Overseers and Corporation of the College, the honourable House of Representatives of the province, a great number of ministers from various parts of the country, and by many other gentlemen of distinction.—The attendants upon the funeral being too numerous for the College chapel, the corps was carried to the meeting-house; where a Latin oration, suitable to the mournful occasion, was delivered by Professor Sewall, a prayer made by the Rev. Mr. Appleton, and the solemnity there closed with a funeral anthem, by the

* June 6, 1780.

under-graduates of the College.—The corps, preceded by the tutors, librarian, resident graduates, and under-graduates, was carried round one of the squares in the lower part of the town, thence to the College, and through a part of the yard, to the burying-ground, where it was deposited.—Thus were committed to the dust the remains of that truly excellent man—President Holyoke : may those who attended this solemnity, not content themselves with having paid the funeral rites, but continue to adorn his memory, by following his amiable example ! ”

When Mr. Holyoke was elected President of Harvard College, the Second Church of Marblehead proceeded to the choice of another pastor. Mr. Simon Bradstreet, son of the Rev. Simon Bradstreet,* was ordained, January 4, 1738.

* The elder Mr. Bradstreet was minister of Charlestown ; a most learned man, of strong mind, tenacious memory, lively imagination, but subject to hypochondriack complaints, which made him afraid to preach in the pulpit some years before he died. He delivered his sermons in the deacons' seat, without notes, and which were generally melancholy effusions upon the state of man and vanity of the world. He possessed such a catholic spirit, and such liberal views of the gospel dispensation, that some of the more zealous brethren accused him of *Arminianism* ; but the only evidence of this, was his fondness for *Tillotson's* sermons, and being rather a *practical* than a *doctrinal* preacher. He seldom or ever appeared with a coat, but always wore a plaid gown, and was seen with a *pipe* in his mouth. When he was introduced to Governour Burnet, who was himself a fine scholar, it was said of him that here was a man who could *whistle Greek*. The late Judge Russell was present, a young lad, when Lieutenant-Governour Tailor thus introduced Mr. Bradstreet to his Excellency. Governour Burnet afterwards spoke of him as one of the first literary characters and best preachers he had met with in these American regions.

The children of Mr. Bradstreet were very respectable for their good sense and their good manners. Several of the third and fourth generation, now living in Charlestown, Boston, and other places, claim the esteem of their acquaintance, for their good qualities as well as honourable descent. Mr. Bradstreet, of Marblehead, was an excellent scholar ; but, in the latter part of his life, owing to nervous disorders, was less animated in the delivery of his sermons, and less disposed to mingle with mankind. There are none of his sermons, if he ever published any, now to be met with.

A specimen of the classical taste of old Mr. Bradstreet, is on the files of the Historical Society, a copy of which we here give to the publick.

It contains a biographical sketch of a celebrated character ; and his predecessor at Charlestown.

1738. The pastor of the First Church, Mr. Barnard, gave the charge on this occasion ; and he thus speaks of this gentleman, in a manuscript of his : “ Mr. Bradstreet proves a most worthy, pious, devout Christian, and faithful pastor ; aiming and labouring to bring over people to God, and Christ, and holiness ; has the hearty affections of his people, equal to what Mr. Holyoke had ; and with whom I live in brotherly correspondence.”

In May, A. D. 1771, Mr. Isaac Story was settled in the Second Church of Marblehead, in conjunction with this gentleman.

Mr. Bradstreet died within a year after his settlement.— Mr. Story married the daughter of Mr. Bradstreet ; continued his relation to the church as pastor for thirty years, and is now in another line of business. The church is vacant.

One of the first Episcopal societies in Massachusetts was planted in Marblehead. Their first minister was Mr. Mousam,* who was succeeded by Pigot, Malcom, &c. Mr. Bours

Sacræ & sempiternæ

Rev^{ti} plurimum et clariissimi viri

Dom. CAROLI MORTONI,

Ecclesiæ Charlestoniensis Pastoris instructissimi :

Nec non Collegii Harvardini Vice Presid. primi æque ac insigniter
in omni Literar^{um} genere versatiq,

Viri deniq ; tum in Anglia, (ubi natus fuit et maximè floruit) tum
in Nov-Anglia, (ubi senilis obiit) permultis nominibus celebrandi,
Qui vitæ hæc ærumnosâ probè defunctus, April. die xi. Anno D.
MDCXCVIII ætatis suæ LXXII.

Ex parte sui Immortali ac nobilissimâ in Cælis triumphat : Ex altera
verò, corruptibili scilicet, in hoc Monumento paupisper quiescit ; expectans dum vocem audierit Filii Dei, quâ revocatus a morte in Vitam
verè vitalem quum gloriosus in æternum regnabit.

Epitaphium

Inclita *Mortonus* musarum gloria quondam

Et sacer Æterni Regis Legatus Jesu

Post varios casus, post funera multa suorum

Sic cadit in cineres resolutus ab hoste supremo,

Ut Domini Virtute sui victrix resurgens

Gaudeat æternis, absorptâ morte, Triumphis.

* Mr. Mousam was either the *first* or *second* minister. In the account of Marblehead, printed in the *Salem Register*, the names of the preachers are Mousam, Pigot, Malcom, Bours, &c. But the fact is, there were two

Bours was the *fifth* minister of this church, and his character is thus given in the manuscripts of father Barnard : "The worthy Mr. Bours, of Rhode-Island, bred at our College, a man of an excellent temper, good learning, and great piety ; whose good character gained more to the church of England, than all who had preceded him. The people

two missionaries before Mr. Pigot. This gentleman, their third minister, was a considerable scholar, and published a pamphlet upon the observation of Christmas, December 25th, in opposition to the opinion of Delaune, Whiston, and especially the Reverend John Barnard, who had provoked the controversy by printing a sermon against the prevailing sentiment of the Episcopal church. The writer of this note has read Pigot's work with great pleasure, though of a different persuasion.

The second minister, whoever he might be, is described in a MS. frequently quoted in this account, very unlike *the first*, who was not respectable ; but this man was both a scholar and a gentleman. When he first came over, he was ever declaiming against dissenters, but afterwards grew candid towards them. Upon being asked the reason, he said : "Before I came to America I was filled with prejudices against you, as an irreligious and heathenish people, full of spleen and rancour against the Church of England ; but when I had been among you some time, I found you a virtuous, religious, civilized people, and of moderate temper towards the Church, and therefore I altered my conduct." He afterwards removed to Virginia.

Mr. Malcom, the fourth minister, was a man of great learning, and being originally of the kirk of Scotland, retained some fondness for it. He left this church and went to Maryland : Which occasioned their sexton to say—"that their church was the healthiest church in America, for they had never buried a minister, though they had had four."

Another thing may be mentioned in this note, as it sets Bishop Gibson's character in a particular point of view. In the year 1727, John Checkley, *Vir claro nomine* in *Nov. Anglia*, a wit, a fine classical scholar, but more remarkable for the eccentricities of his temper and conduct than for his piety or his learning, went to England for Orders, and meant to fix at Marblehead. Mr. Barnard and Mr. Holyoke agreed to write to the Bishop of London, and give his true character. They declared that he was a *Non Juror*, a bitter enemy to other denominations, and that he never had received a liberal education. Mr. Newman presented the letter to Bishop Gibson, and he refused to ordain him. And desired Mr. Newman to acquaint the gentlemen, that he never would appoint a person who was "disagreeable to the people in general ; but a good man, of a catholick temper and loyal to the government." He had his eye upon Mr. Price, but *he* preferred going to Boston. The Bishop of London read the letter to the late Governour Shute, and inquired of him concerning the state of New-England, who confirmed all which had been written.

John Checkley was afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Exeter, and was sent to Narraganset.

people, of the town were fond of him, and kind to him, and made him presents as though he had been their minister. The last time he was abroad he had some conversation with the ministers of the town, which manifested his catholic and christian spirit. He died after a sickness of a few days, and the Congregational ministers were among his pall-bearers."

Mr. Weeks succeeded him ; " a virtuous, sweet tempered, learned gentleman."

For several years after the revolution, the church was destitute. Mr. Thomas Oliver was then invited to settle with them, who removed to Providence, and was succeeded by Mr. William Harris, the preceptor of the academy. Both these gentlemen were educated at Harvard College. Mr. Harris is now a respectable minister in the state of New-York.

He was succeeded in the church in Marblehead, by Mr. James Bowers, who was graduated at Cambridge, A. D. 1794 ; and when the Episcopal convention met in Boston, May 25th, of the present year, was ordained in *Trinity Church*, by the hands of the Rev. Bishop Bass : the assistant minister of the church, the Rev. John Gardiner, preached upon the occasion.

Beside the places for publick worship already mentioned, a number of the inhabitants of Marblehead erected a meeting-house, in 1789, for those " whose *opinions* differed from the *opinions* of their neighbours."

In the year 1800, a meeting-house was built for the *Methodists*.

The people of various denominations live together in harmony. May they have no other emulations but to provoke unto love and good works !

Boston, December 10th, 1802.

P. S.—In compiling the above, a free use has been made of newspapers, sermons, and a large manuscript, written by the late venerable Barnard. But we are greatly indebted to the *Topographical Account*, published in the Salem Register the last year, written by Isaac Mansfield, Esq. and have also received many documents from the papers and manuscripts, which, by the kindness of that gentleman, have been handed to the Society.

BILL OF MORTALITY OF THE TOWN OF MIDDLEBOROUGH,
FROM THE YEAR 1779 TO 1801.

Middleborough, 7th March, 1802.

REV. SIR,

AFTER complimenting you with my sincere regards, &c. agreeably to my promise to you, I hereby inform, that the deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough (which contains about fourteen or fifteen hundred persons) since the beginning of the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, are as followeth, viz.

Date.	Over 90.	Between 70 & 90.	Between 50 & 70.	Between 20 & 50.	Under 20.
1779	1	3	3	3	4
1780		1	4	3	5
1781	1	5	9	3	9
1782	1	6	4	1	19
1783		4	4	2	6
1784	1	5	3		19
1785	1	6	6	6	10
1786		5	3	4	10
1787		7	3	2	11
1788	1	3	6	3	9
1789	1	3	6	5	10
1790	1	4	1	5	11
1791		7	1	4	11
1792	2	1	3	4	9
1793	1	5		2	7
1794	2	7	3	4	1
1795	1	8	3	1	7
1796		5	2	5	10
1797		3	1	3	9
1798	1	2	4	3	6
1799	2	2	3	4	4
1800		5	6	12	8
1801	3	3	5	4	4

Which is submitted for the benefit of the Historical Society, from your's in sincerity,

ISAAC THOMPSON.

Rev. John Eliot, D. D.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF MARSTON WATSON, ESQ.
MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MR. WATSON was a descendant from one of the branches of an ancient and respectable family, in the town of Plymouth. He was born, May 25th, 1756. After receiving an excellent school education, and being qualified for admission into the university, he was, at the age of fourteen, placed an apprentice with Colonel Jeremiah Lee, then an eminent merchant at Marblehead. Upon the death of Colonel Lee, in 1775, Mr. Watson resumed his classick studies, with an intention of entering College, in advance, and had actually made arrangements, at Cambridge, for that purpose; but the revolutionary war having then commenced, and Colonel Glover offering him a lieutenancy in his own regiment, Mr. Watson, reluctantly abandoning his literary pursuits, accepted the commission, and in the month of December, 1776, was actively engaged in the battles of *Trenton* and *Princeton*, in which Glover's regiment bore a distinguished share. He was particularly patronized by General Charles Lee, and acted as his temporary *aid-de-camp*. General Lee had made arrangements for his permanent establishment in that office, and he served in that capacity at the battle of Monmouth. But upon the suspension of General Lee, his hopes of immediate promotion being checked, he relinquished the army and engaged in commerce. His activity and industry were prospered. He married in 1779, and established himself at Marblehead. In 1790, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Marblehead regiment, and in about three years afterwards, was Lieutenant-Colonel commandant. In 1794, when eighty thousand of the militia of the United States were provisionally detached, under the apprehensions of a rupture with Great-Britain, Colonel Watson was selected to command a regiment detached from the division to which he belonged.

In the year 1792, he represented the town of Marblehead in the General Court.

In May, 1797, he removed from Marblehead to Boston, where

where his extensive commercial concerns could be more conveniently and advantageously conducted.

In this situation, he greatly extended his business and connexions, and, in the midst of a community where the able and intelligent merchant is sure to be duly estimated, he was highly respected. His residence in the town was considered as a publick benefit, and the prosperity which attended his commercial pursuits was regarded with complacence, as the just reward of strict integrity,* unblemished honour, and well directed exertion. To great industry and application to business, he united the virtues which adorn and elevate the human character. He was hospitable, beneficent, publick spirited, friendly, and sincere. In his domestick relations the deep sensibilities of his afflicted family and friends, afford affecting evidence of his tenderness and worth.

The busy engagements of active life, never extinguished that attachment to letters, to which he was prompted by the native bent of his mind and by early education. All the leisure he could command, was devoted to mental improvement and attentions to the education of a numerous family. The Massachusetts Historical Society, from a conviction of his literary attainments, and his regard to the objects of their institution, elected him a member of their Society, April 29th, 1800.

He died August 7th, 1800, after a short illness, in the 45th year of his age. d. j. d.

* An honourable instance of this gentleman's scrupulous regard to justice deserves to be recorded. About seven years before his removal to *Boston*, a deranged state of his affairs, the effect of mere misfortune, rendered it necessary for him to seek a composition with his creditors, who gave him a discharge, receiving only a portion of their demands. In a few years afterwards, when his renewed exertions were blessed with success, his first care was to pay those creditors in full, though they had no legal demand against him.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THOMAS BRATTLE, ESQUIRE, MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THOMAS BRATTLE, Esquire, was born at Cambridge, February 11th, 1742. He was the son of the Honourable William Brattle, Esquire, and grandson of the Reverend William Brattle,* who was an eminent and highly respected minister in that town. His mother was the daughter of GURDON SALTONSTALL, Esquire, who was, in early life, minister of New-London, in Connecticut, and afterwards, for many years, Governour of that Colony.

Mr. Brattle received his education at Harvard College, the honours of which were conferred in 1760 and 1763. He afterwards received the degree of A. M. at Yale and Nassau.

The mercantile life was the object of his early choice ; in which line he was employed several years, in Boston.

In 1775, war commencing, and commercial business being suspended, he executed a design, which he had, for years, contemplated. He went to England, carrying with him an ample testimonial of his patriotism, from the Committee of Inspection and Correspondence in Boston. After spending a considerable time in visiting the several parts of Great-Britain, he made a tour through Holland and the Netherlands into France. Americans, and the friends of his country, were his friends. Accordingly, he was honourably noticed by the first diplomattick characters, as well as other gentlemen of distinction. Having gratified his curiosity, in viewing and examining the various objects in those countries, demanding the attention of the inquisitive, he returned from Paris to London.

Finding, on his arrival, many of his countrymen confined in prisons, he generously exerted himself to procure them relief, and contribute to their comfort. These benevolent exertions not only attracted the notice, and conciliated the affections, of similar characters in England ;
but

* See his character, in the Collections of the Historical Society, for the year 1800, p. 55.

but pleaded effectually against some suspicions of his patriotism, which had been excited during his absence, and which he found himself obliged to combat after his return to his native country. For though possessed of a disposition calculated to render him happy as a citizen of the world, and though enjoyment equalled expectation, his attachment to his native land was not diminished. He returned in 1779. Landing at Rhode-Island, and residing there while it was a station for a large body of French troops, he rendered them such signal services, that they were announced to the royal ear. The French king's sentiments of their importance, and of the benevolence of their author, were, by his order, conveyed, in a very polite letter from his minister in the United States, to Mr. Brattle.

In 1784, the obstacles to his return into his native state being surmounted, he took possession of his patrimony. This he assiduously improved and embellished; and, by his urbanity and hospitality, rendered a pleasing resort both of friends and strangers. Horticulture was his favourite pursuit. He superintended all his plans for amelioration. These were not confined to his own property, but extended to the roads, walks, publick buildings, and conveniences in his vicinity. His last labour of this kind, was employed in directing and superintending the construction of a bathing place in Charles river—erected especially with a view to preserve the lives of the students of the University, to a number of whom, at different periods, that river had proved fatal.

Mr. Brattle's taste and judgment were frequently consulted, and their effects became subjects of the warmest approbation. His humanity and charity gave employment to the labourer; cordials to the sick; and relief to the distressed. He was honoured as a man of science, as well as humanity, by being elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Historical, the Agricultural, and the Humane Societies.

For several years before his death, his health visibly declined. In December, 1800, an incipient mortification made its appearance in one of his feet, which baffled the art of the best physicians. He foresaw, and met with the

utmost

utmost calmness, his approaching dissolution. On the 7th of February following, he expired; and on the 11th his remains were respectfully entombed.

The following summary character, drawn by a gentleman,* who had long been in habits of intimacy with Mr. Brattle, was published in the *Columbian Centinel* of February 11th, 1801.

- “Major Brattle was one of those men, who prudently choose the middle way of life. His family connexion, which is of ancient respectability, and his fortune, which was ample, afforded him the advantage of describing his own sphere of life. A correct judgment, founded in a good natural understanding, and a liberal education led him to avoid extending it beyond what he could fill with propriety. This cautious mode of conduct assured to him the approbation of those, who knew him. Without vainly attempting things beyond his reach, he studied to improve the talents committed to his charge, and, by a perfect acquaintance with them, rendered himself peculiarly useful to society and agreeable to his friends. His reading and travel enabled him to place a just estimate on the world.

“Major Brattle exercised a deep reverence to the principles of government, and was a cheerful subject of the laws. He respected men of science as the richest ornament of their country. If he had ambition, it was to excel in acts of hospitality, benevolence, and charity.

“The dazzling splendour of heroes, and the achievements of political intrigue, passed unnoticed before him; but the character of the man of benevolence filled his heart with emotions of sympathy.

“When he was in Europe, in the time of the late war, his assiduous liberality, in relieving the distresses of his countrymen, who were prisoners, drew upon him the attention of many good men. As a compliment to his feelings, exhibited on that occasion, a fine piece of painting was presented to him, the picture of the “Man of Ross,” celebrated by Mr. Pope,

“Behold the market-place with poor o’erspread,
The Man of Ross supplies the daily bread.”

The

* Hon. James Sullivan, Esq.

The lineaments of charity on that face were ever contemplated by the Major with peculiar delight. He loved agriculture and gardening, because in those he rendered himself useful to his country. His table was filled with the best viands, and his side-board with the choicest wines—This was a luxury to him, because his friends enjoyed it:—he was moderate, and latterly abstemious himself. In his death, the sick, the poor, and the distressed, have lost a liberal benefactor; politeness an ornament; and philanthropy one of its most discreet and generous supporters. Major Brattle's life, as to morals, was irreproachable; he revered the religion of the bible, and frequently honoured his character by appealing to its precepts as the rule of his religion.” *g. m.*

NOTICE OF EZEKIEL PRICE, ESQUIRE, MEMBER OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BEFORE the revolution Mr. Price was the confidential secretary of several of the governours of the province. Soon after independence was declared, he was appointed clerk of the courts of common pleas and sessions for the county of Suffolk; in which services, as well as those of notary publick and magistrate, he remained twenty years. He was also, for a long time, chairman of the board of selectmen for the town of Boston. And in these, and many other stations, he acted his part well in society; until that decay, which so often attends the age of three-score years and ten, made it necessary for him to retire to his family. In private life he was amiable, as in publick he was useful. April 30th, 1793, he was elected a member of the Historical Society, to which he was a liberal benefactor. He died July 15th, 1802, aged seventy-four years. *j. t. d.*

CHARACTER OF THE HON. GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT,
ESQ. JUDGE OF PROBATE IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK,
AND JUDGE OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT IN BOSTON:
EXTRACTED FROM AN ELOGY DELIVERED A FEW DAYS
AFTER HIS DEATH.

AS the virtues of George Richards Minot were the fruits of early cultivation, in delineating his character, it is necessary to begin with the period of infancy. The youngest child of respectable parents, and descended from a line of honourable ancestors*, he was born under auspicious circumstances†. That peculiar tenderness, with which the youngest child is treated in affectionate families‡, he was so happy as to experience. From the beginning he was an object, who employed the care and engaged the hearts of his numerous relatives. On a mind naturally good kindness has the best effects. Though it is confessed that many infants have been injured by improper indulgence, yet others have been ruined by vexations and undue severity. The love, which he received from all who surrounded him, early moulded his heart to that benevolence, which formed so distinguishing a part of his character during every period of his life.

In the ninth year of his age§ he was admitted into the South Latin school in Boston, at that time under the superintendance of Mr. Lovell, a gentleman of classical knowledge and exquisite taste. As I was always convinced that this eminent instructor had a large share in forming the character of my friend, I enjoy a melancholy satisfaction in mentioning his name, and in paying the tribute of grateful respect to his memory.

In this seminary young Minot was soon distinguished for his diligence in study, his kindness to his school fellows, and his respect to the masters. There were contracted his earliest friendships, which by him were not forgotten

* See Note I. at the end of this article.

† Born in Boston, Dec. 22d. 1758, the youngest of ten children.

‡ See Note II.

§ July, 1767.

forgotten till the last moment of his life. Long before his literary course was completed, he was known to be the favourite pupil of his instructor, though no boy felt any envy on that account, convinced of his superiour claims to distinction.

This notice naturally led him to be watchful in his conduct, that he might not lose that esteem, which he had so happily obtained. Discretion marked his whole deportment; and even at that age there was a decorum, and I may almost say, a dignity, in his behaviour, which was uncommon for his years.

When the important moment approached, in which he was to leave school, he was not only called upon by his master to compose his own oration, a task which, I believe, is expected seldom or never to be executed by a boy himself, and which he actually performed, but he was also enjoined to assist more than one of his classmates in the same work.

These circumstances, which I dwell on, because I suppose that they are not now generally known, contributed to form his character; and there were also several other causes, which conduced to the same end. Among these might be particularly mentioned the good fortune of possessing a father of a liberal education, who attended in part to his instruction at home; and who allowing no more moments for recreation, than those which were absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health, kept him constantly employed the rest of his time either in study or business;—the mild and affectionate demeanour of an excellent mother, who cultivated with assiduity his amiable heart:—but above all, the example of an elder brother, Francis Minot, a gentleman of great purity and elevation of sentiment. This model of every thing which was worthy was constantly before his eyes; and his highest ambition was to copy into his own character those traits, which rendered his brother the object of the veneration and love of all who knew him. Greatly would it have contributed to his peace of mind, if he had not been deprived of this brother at an early age*. But death had not power to destroy the effect of the example; for whilst
with

* Francis Minot died Dec. 1774, aged 28.

with fondness he cherished the remembrance of departed virtue, its image was constantly present to his heart, to inspire him with fortitude amidst temptation.

By these and other causes, the character of young Minot was in a great measure established even before he left school. He had already acquired the habits of diligence and sobriety, of benevolence to his equals, and respect to his superiours, of the love of learning, of self command, and of magnanimity of sentiment. The principal enemy, which he had to contend with, was a temper by nature irascible. This part of his mental constitution was known to few of his friends; perhaps to none of them, except from his own confession; for before this period the enemy was subdued; and the ardour, which was still left in his mind, served only to give warmth to his heart and fire to his genius.

The youth of Mr. Minot commenced with his admission into college*; and his conduct there was a continuation of the same virtues, which he had practised at school. The love of learning, graceful modesty, amiable manners, and goodness of heart still distinguished him. He now began to cultivate those branches of literature, which were his favourite pursuits during the rest of his life; history and belles lettres. To these objects he devoted a great portion of his time, reading with uncommon care and diligence the best authors that he could procure. By this study his mind was stored with historical facts, and his taste and style were gradually formed.—The two authors, who were his most admired models, were the celebrated Robertson, and Burke in the historical part of the Annual Register.

But from no source whatever did he derive more advantage in the cultivation of his talents, than from the conversation of several young men, at that time members of the University, who even then gave presages of future eminence, and now in manhood occupy some of the most important stations in society. These generous youths courted his acquaintance; and several of them formed with him those firm bonds of friendship, which death itself has not power to loosen.

Thus

* At Cambridge, July, 1774.

Thus happy in the affection of his equals, he was not less esteemed by the governours of the university. The college was at that time favoured with several instructors, who were beloved by the students in general. Of one of them, the enlightened Wadsworth, I may speak without reserve. He was a man of eminent talents, of clear conceptions, a perspicacious reasoner, fluent in speech, and above all, mild in the exercise of authority. In the midst of his usefulness he was snatched from the university by a fatal disease*. The bosoms of the students were filled with consternation. "What honours shall we pay to the memory of so beloved a tutor?" They address the governours of the college:—"Do not, by appointing one of your own body, deprive us of the melancholy pleasure of pronouncing his panegyrick. Let one of our number be the organ of the rest, and speak the grateful sentiments of our hearts." The request was granted; and Mr. Minot was selected to deliver the funeral oration. With what pathos and eloquence he performed the duty, his contemporaries well remember. They never can forget his impassioned tones, the deep sorrow which clouded his own brow, and the grief which filled the breasts of all his hearers. This oration established his reputation; and henceforward his classmates were eager to confer on him every honour, which it was in their power to bestow.

Upon leaving college†, he entered on the study of the law under a gentleman‡, for whom he had a high esteem and friendship, which were warmly returned. In the office of this respected master he enjoyed a peculiar advantage, the nature of which I cannot with delicacy particularly point out, though it will be understood by many of my auditors. I will only say in a word, that his own genius caught fire from the flame, which burned so intensely in the imagination of his friend; and that he then predicted the splendid reputation, which this friend would in future acquire.

His legal studies were completed not long after the time,
in

* See Note III.

† July, 1788.

‡ Hon. William Tudor, treasurer of the Historical Society.

in which he took his second degree. The university, which had been depressed by war, was beginning to revive; and publick commencements, which had been discontinued during several years, were again introduced. On this occasion he was appointed* to deliver the valedictory oration; a part which is usually assigned to the best scholars, to scholars, who are not only eloquent, but learned. The brilliancy of his diction in this performance, his speaking eye, the dignity of his air, and his graceful gestures, are still impressed on the memories of those who were present.

He was now leaving the period of youth, and entering on that of manhood; and he was introduced on this third stage of life with the reputation of a correct and elegant scholar, a polished gentleman, a man of purity, benevolence, and religion. The most important part of his existence had passed, in which he had established his character, fixed his principles, and formed his habits. What for the future principally remained for him, was to gather the fruits of his labours; to cultivate the flowers of classical literature, which he had with such assiduity and success planted in his mind; to benefit his fellow citizens by his exertions; and to enjoy the society of those friends, whose hearts he had gained by his talents and virtues.

The path, which was obviously pointed out to him, when he entered on the theatre of the world, was to practise in that useful and liberal profession, the rudiments of which he had spent several years in studying. But a circumstance, which may be regarded as beneficial to the publick, and which eventually proved fortunate to himself, prevented him from devoting to it his whole attention. The new constitution of Massachusetts had just begun its operation; and there was wanted for the house of representatives a clerk, who would do honour to a place, which under the provincial government had frequently been occupied by men of celebrity and talents. He was appointed to the office†; and with his accustomed prudence accepted it thankfully. With what propriety, fidelity, and impartiality, he discharged the obligations which he had taken
on

* July, 1781.

† In the year 1781.

on him, is well known to all the members of the legislature, particularly to the able speakers, who presided in the house during that period. The records were kept with remarkable care; and through the obliging assistance afforded by him to several worthy gentlemen, who, from the want of education, were not able to express their ideas in proper terms, a precision and neatness marked many of the votes and resolves, in which his accurate pen could be easily traced. I mention this without hesitation, because it has been often gratefully acknowledged by those who received his aid.

Being clerk of the representatives at the time, when the causes which finally produced the insurrection were operating, he had an opportunity of being well acquainted with the debates and proceedings of the house, which were uncommonly interesting to the publick. Of these transactions he undertook to write a sketch, which was communicated through the channel of the *Boston Magazine**, and continued as long as that miscellany was kept alive. In this production, which was universally applauded for its correctness and impartiality, he is generally supposed to have happily imitated the style, which he so much admired.

At length, when the insurrection had distracted the heads and embittered the hearts of a portion of the people; and had been successfully quelled by the patriotism and fortitude of a majority of the citizens, he planned and executed a work of still greater importance: a faithful history of the whole transaction. By this composition, which was equally praised for its truth, moderation, lucid order, and elegance of language, he became entitled to a high rank among the American authors†.

The insurrection of Massachusetts was one of the causes, which led to the formation of the constitution of the United States. Of the convention, which was chosen to consider it in this commonwealth, he was appointed the secretary. In this situation he gained many new friends, and his character and talents were further made known to the public.

When

* For 1784 and 1785.

† See Note IV.

When therefore, in the course of years, the office of judge of probate for the county of Suffolk became vacant, all eyes were fixed on him as the proper person to succeed to that important station; and to the universal joy of his fellow citizens, he was nominated by the governour and approved by the council*. Faithful and impartial, upright, patient, and humane, Judge Minot had now gained the place for which his Maker had formed him.

The other publick offices conferred on him are so recent in the remembrance of those who hear me, that they need not be particularly mentioned. Should I attempt to describe the manner in which he sustained them, I should only repeat the encomiums which have already been bestowed on the dignity of his department, his wisdom, his integrity, and philanthropy†.

Amidst his numerous publick avocations, he found time to search into the archives of his country, and to write a history of Massachusetts, beginning at the period where Hutchinson leaves it‡. Of this interesting work one volume has already been presented to the world; and a second volume would have been completed, if the health and life of the author had been spared one month longer. It is hoped, that, from want of encouragement of the patrons of literature, the part which he had finished will not be lost to the publick.

Whilst he thus devoted his time and talents to the service of his fellow citizens, their grateful approbation attended his steps. Literary institutions imparted to him the honours of their fellowship||; philanthropick incorporations bestowed on him the marks of their esteem. Of the Charitable Fire Society he was elected the president; and from the commencement of that useful association, he was one of the most active springs, which put in motion its benevolent operations. Its respected members with warm affection lament his death; fondly do they cherish

* Jan. 1792.

† See two characters of Judge Minot, published in the Boston newspapers soon after his decease; one by his master, Judge Tudor; the other by his young friend and pupil, Mr. Charles P. Sumner.

‡ See Note V.

|| See Note VI.

cherish the remembrance of the mild dignity, with which he presided in their meetings; and deeply impressed on their hearts are the precepts of benevolence, which with so much pathos and eloquence he taught them in his admired Address*.

His fellow citizens in general, on more than one occasion, testified the confidence which they felt in his abilities and moderation. He was the man, on whom the eyes of all parties were fixed, to express that grief, with which the hearts of all parties were pierced, by the death of the beloved Washington†. As the virtuous, however differing in rank and external acts, belong to the same family, and a kindred likeness may be traced in the features of their minds, in delineating the character of the first of men, he could not avoid describing in part his own correct example. The resemblance is so striking, that it has been perceived by many.

But fame and publick confidence were not the only rewards of his merit. Through the liberal and grateful aid of the government and his fellow citizens, prosperity smiled on him. This enlarged his power of doing good and of communicating pleasure. His friends were welcomed with ardour to his hospitable board; and his bounty flowed in copious streams on those who asked or needed his assistance.

Such was the life, such the honours, and such the prosperity of Judge Minot. You love the man, who excelled in so many virtues; and you rejoice in the favours with which heaven visited his mansion. Will you permit me to make him still farther known to you; and to delineate parts of his character, which have not already been painted? It is not my intention to exhaust the subject: others of his friends are eager to praise him; and I ought to leave untouched topicks of encomium, on which they can enlarge‡. I shall suppress therefore the greatest part of the thoughts, which crowd on my mind.

The understanding of Judge Minot possessed an astonishing variety. Those who were acquainted with him the longest

* Delivered before the Society May 29th. 1795.

† See Note VII.

‡ See Note XII.

longest can say, that there was always a novelty in his conversation, either as to substance or form. This arose from his great industry and inquisitiveness; in consequence of which he was always learning. When visited by his friends, he appeared to express his best ideas in his best manner. But before there was an opportunity of seeing him again, he had obtained the knowledge of a new fact, or had acquired a new grace of expression. This, in addition to the sprightly sallies which frequently burst from his lips, the benignity, the gentle radiance, the mind and character, which shone in his face, rendered him a most interesting and pleasant companion.

In his company every one felt himself at perfect ease; and fancied himself wiser, not only from what he learned at the moment, but also from the stores of information treasured up in his own mind, and of the possession of which he was before hardly conscious. For our friend had the happy talent of uncovering the knowledge which was veiled by diffidence, and of drawing out in appropriate language the conceptions of those, who, from want of use, had not learned the art, either of speaking, or of speaking in proper terms. This rendered him the delight of ingenuous young men, who oftentimes have this defect, and on that account miss the reputation, to which they are entitled by their science and talents.

In judging of his own powers, his opinion was guided by modesty*; but he possessed none of that bashfulness, which quenches emulation, and annihilates exertion. He doubted whether he was capable of some things, for which his friends thought him well qualified; but he yielded to their persuasions, and made the attempt; and he generally succeeded better than his fears had anticipated†. Without sitting still and idly wishing for fame, he entered the career of glory, and ran for the prize, assured that if he missed it, he at least deserved applause for his well directed labours.

In judging of the characters and abilities of others he was eminently candid. His opinion was, that few men are so vitious, as not to possess some good quality; or so ignorant,

* See Note VIII.

† See Note VII.

ignorant, as not to have acquired some valuable branch of science. For these he praised them ; but never for talents and virtues to which they had no title. He was candid ; but abhorrent to his feelings was that counterfeit candour, which applauds equally the saint and the sinner : he has often been heard to speak with pointed indignation against the artful and dishonest, particularly against false patriots and political impostors.

As a politician, his moderation is well known, and has often been the subject of encomium. He wished well to both the parties into which the state is divided : both parties would have been happy to have called him their own* : but as he never concealed or disguised his sentiments, it is certain that he belonged to one only. Without denominating it by the exclusive and honourable title of *federal*, it will be accurately described by saying, that it was the party of which the respected Bowdoin was the head ; which placed in the chair of government the much lamented Sumner ; and which approved the administration of the late president of the United States. I ascribe no merit to him for his opinions ; but for his firmness and independence of spirit, he deserved the highest applause.

He was as candid, zealous, and honest in his religious as in his political opinions. On all proper occasions he openly declared what he believed ; but the truth is, that he laid little stress on the dogmas of any particular sect†, paying more attention to the duties than the speculations of christians. Humble‡ and devout, he loved God, and trusted entirely to his mercy for salvation. He complied with all the rites and ordinances of christianity ; and though he was persuaded that these practices are not the most essential parts of religion ; yet he felt it to be his duty publickly to manifest before all who observed his conduct, that he was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.

In private and domestick life his conduct was exhibited to great advantage. At an early age he was united to the woman whom he loved ; and he loved her as long as consciousness

* See Note IX.

† See Note X.

‡ See Note XI.

consciousness remained. Satisfied with the warmth of her affection, and with the respect and tenderness of his own and his adopted children, his happiest hours were passed in the bosom of his family. There was he often seen, by the friends who were admitted to join the harmonious circle, smiling with complacency on all around him, and imparting delight to every breast.

Should I more particularly describe these endearing scenes, I should only aggravate that sorrow, which it is my desire to soften. For never more will his wife, his children*, his venerable parent†, his fond brothers, his disconsolate nephew, his grateful nieces, behold his benign face; never more will they listen to his voice of love: "cold he now lies in the grave below" ‡; his warm heart has ceased to beat §; and all their joys are remembered as a dream.

r. s.

NOTES.

Note I.

The first ancestor of Judge Minot, who came to New England, was George Minot, son to Thomas Minot, Esquire, of Saffron Walden in Essex. He was one of the first settlers of Dorchester, and ruling elder of the church thirty years. He died Dec. 24th. 1671, in the 78th. year of his age, "much lamented by a town, whose weal he sought and liberties defended."

His father, Stephen Minot, great great grandson of George Minot, was a gentleman of education, liberal principles, and exemplary character. He died in Boston, Jan. 14th. 1787, aged 75 years.

His mother, Sarah, only daughter of Jonas Clarke, Esquire, of Boston, died, "happy in the reflection of an amiable and virtuous life," Jan. 10th. 1783, in the 64th. year of her age.

His intermediate ancestors were gentlemen of respectable characters.

Note

* Judge Minot left two children, a son and a daughter.

† Mrs. Speakman, the mother of Mrs. Minot.

‡ Chatterton.

§ Judge Minot died Jan. 2d. 1802, and was buried the 6th.

Note II.

The Indians of New England had, to express this relation, an appropriate word, which in the dialect of the Nauset Indians was *taushents*. It has been adopted by the descendants of the English in many parts of the Old Colony of Plymouth, and is applied as a term of endearment to the youngest child.

Note III.

In the present year, 1802, a monument has been erected to the memory of Mr. Wadsworth by a few contemporary friends, who loved and honoured his character, and several pupils, who enjoyed at the university the benefit of his instructions. On this monument is the following inscription.

Huic tumulo mandantur exuviæ
 JOHANNIS WADSWORTH A. M.
 Duxburgiæ nati,
 Collegii Harvardini Alumni,
 Cujus
 Septem per annos
 Fideliter, utilissimèque
 Tutoris officium præstitit ;
 Et modo aptissimo, facillimo, gratissimoque,
 Optimis præceptis ac institutis
 Juvenum animos imbuit,
 Moresque ipsorum amicè ac sedulè curavit.
 Hujus temporis tres per annos et ultrà
 Senatus Academici Socii munera peritè explevit.
 Ingenio sagaci et acutissimo
 Literis scientisque penitè instructo,
 Etiam facilitate mira sententias impertiendi
 Omnium observantiam in sese attraxit.
 Amicitia ingenua atque constanti,
 Et consuetudinis suavitate facetiisque,
 Amor ac deliciæ fuit amicorum.
 Inter alias virtutes,
 Pietas erga Parentes et affectio Fraternalis
 Præcipuè fuerunt insignes.
 Viri tam boni ac utilis, omnibusque cari,
 In ætatem senectam spes vitam produxerat.

Ah spes inanis !
 Variolis (illo generis humani flagello) correptus,
 Animam efflavit
 Die Julii 12^{mo} Anno Salutis MDCCLXXVII
 Ætatisque suæ XXXVII.

Note IV.

Since the elogy was delivered, the author has had an opportunity of perusing Judge Minot's manuscripts. Among others he finds a private journal, which was begun, discontinued, and resumed. In these notes nearly of the whole of it will be given. The following extract relates to the History of the Insurrections.

"The opinions respecting my History of the Insurrections have been very favourable. If any thing could lessen the pleasure arising from this circumstance, it is the surprise of many judicious persons at my performing it so well. 'It is well done, as I expected it would be,' is a much more flattering approbation, than, 'I am astonished—who could have thought that *he* could have done it so well?' We do not love to think that we once stood in an inferior light, however elevated we may now be, in the opinion of our friends.

"Mr. ——— thinks I have extricated myself very well from the danger of incurring the resentment of the jarring administrations, which any improper comparison between them, or decisive eulogium of either, would have inevitably drawn upon me. He thinks that there are secrets respecting the mode, in which the last orders to General Lincoln were procured from the Council, which ought to be told at a future day: but Governour Bowdoin knows nothing of these.

"I showed the History to the principal actors in the suppression of the insurrections, in order that they might object to any thing relative to their conduct, before it appeared in print. On this occasion I observed to General Lincoln, that I ought to insert the name of ———, which at that time was not introduced, at some convenient place, as well as the name of Governour Bowdoin, which was subscribed to his orders. The General replied, 'Yes;' and taking up the manuscript, 'You may insert it

it here, or here, or, in short, any where, just as they mark down *snow* in an almanack.

“I sent a copy of the History to General Washington with the following letter.

“ Sir,

Permit me to offer for your perusal a copy of the History of the late Insurrections in Massachusetts. The share, which you had in the great and glorious events of America, must interest your feelings in all subsequent transactions; and I hope that this little narrative will not be unacceptable to you, as a continuance of information upon the important subject of domestick history.

“The difficulty of publishing facts on the spot where they happen, and under the view of the actors, will readily occur, and must be my apology with you, in reading the book. If this circumstance, however, has had influence in checking the remarks of the writer, I hope it has had none in the relating of the events, which is the part wherein the publick are most concerned.

“General Lincoln has kindly offered to introduce my production to your notice; and my confidence in the goodness of your character has led me to anticipate a favorable reception to an effort, which was dictated by a love of truth, and a wish to preserve the reputation of my country.

“With the highest respect, I am, Sir, &c.

Boston, 7. Aug. 1788.

“This letter was delivered with the book to General Lincoln, who forwarded it with a letter, which I did not see; and I received the following answer.

“Mount Vernon, Aug. 28. 1788.

“ Sir,

Your favour of the 7th. of this month has been duly received; and I lose no time before I acknowledge the obligations under which you have placed me, by offering a copy of your History as a present. Aside of the honourable testimony of my friend General Lincoln, the intrinsic

sick merit of the work (so far as I am able to form a judgment from its perspicuity and impartiality) carries a sufficient recommendation to ensure a favourable reception.

“The series of events, which followed from the conclusion of the war, forms a link of no ordinary magnitude in the chain of the American annals. That portion of domestick history, which you have selected for your narrative, deserved particularly to be discussed, and set in its proper point of light, while materials for the purpose were attainable. Nor was it unbecoming or unimportant to enlighten the Europeans, who seem to have been extremely ignorant with regard to these transactions. While I comprehend fully the difficulty of stating facts on the spot, amidst the living actors and recent animosities, I approve the more cordially that candour, with which you appear to have done it.

“I will only add that I always feel a singular satisfaction in discovering proofs of talents and patriotism, in those who are soon to take the parts of the generation, which is now hastening to leave the stage; and that with wishes for your prosperity, I remain,

Sir,

y^r most obed^t & very hble serv^t.

G^o Washington.”

Note V.

“Copy of my letter to President Adams with my first volume of the continuation of the history of Massachusetts Bay.

Boston. 9th. Feb. 1798.

“Sir,

The enclosed volume of a continuation of Massachusetts history is introduced more abruptly to your notice, than I intended it should have been. The dedication, being official, is less the subject of apology on this account, than the matter itself, of which your knowledge is so great, that I flattered myself with an opportunity of opening my design to you in person, previous to my publication. That I did not do this certainly was not owing to any difficulty of access on your part, and was rather owing to a misfortune

misfortune than a fault in mine. After settling with my friend, Dr. Welsh, the best manner of doing it, an accidental deviation from a visit, which we understood you proposed in town, frustrated my intention at that time; and unavoidable avocations afterwards prevented my going to Quincy until your departure.

“ I beg your acceptance of this copy. The nature of the subject may induce you to read it even amidst the many affairs of importance, which your high office throws upon your attention. If, after a perusal, you shall judge it not devoid of merit, I have to request, that in case there are any documents lying by you, not destined for some happier use, I may be favoured with a view of them, to enable me to correct any errors that may have arisen, and to assist my future progress. I am, Sir, &c.

“ Answer of the President of the United States to my letter of the 9th of Feb. 1798.

Philadelphia, Feb. 28. 1798.

“ Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 9th. of this month, with its elegant companion, the first volume of your Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from the year 1748. For this valuable present I pray you to accept my thanks.

“ I have read the work with great pleasure. The style of it is a model of historical eloquence: the narration is very perspicuous; and the matter only such as becomes the dignity of history.

“ I should have been happy to have received you at Quincy last fall, and shall be very glad to see you at any other time: but I have no hope of giving you much assistance in your literary researches. My life has been that of a bird, too volatile to have collected information of much consequence to your purpose.

“ I hope you will pursue the subject onwards: and look back too to the beginning of our history. I am not satisfied with Hutchinson, though his work is valuable. Annals too I should think preferable to history, and minuter details

details even of the Indian wars, than have hitherto been published in print.

“ With great and sincere esteem, I am, &c.

John Adams.” *Journal.*

Note VI.

The Historical Society was planned by Drs. Belknap, Thacher, and Eliot, and Judge Winthrop and Judge Tudor. These gentlemen associated with them five others, of whom Judge Minot was one. The whole met together and organized the Society. From the beginning Mr. Minot was an active and useful member ; and though he wrote nothing, yet many valuable papers were with much pains collected by him, and published in the Society’s volumes.

Note VII.

“ 1800. January. I was suddenly alarmed by a visit from three members of the Committee of arrangements for the ceremonies on General Washington’s death.— Their business was to inform me of my being appointed to deliver an eulogy on that occasion before the inhabitants of Boston. I was sick, dejected, and so weak as convinced me, that I could neither compose nor deliver the work requested. I begged their excuse with as much fervour as a criminal would beg the remission of his sentence. I obtained only a reprieve until the afternoon, when I determined to bring my physician [Dr. Dexter] to my aid. His opinion of my ill-health availed nothing : I was forced to accept. They gave me ten days to prepare myself. What were my feelings in this short time ? My only refuge was in an enthusiastick pursuit of my subject, which stimulated what little powers I possessed to their utmost exertion. A candour and mild expectation prevailed through all ranks of people, which encouraged me. A like kind of attentive silence enabled me to deliver myself so as to be heard. I sat down, unconscious of the effect, feeling as though the musick was at once playing the dirge of Washington’s memory and my own literary reputation. I was soon astonished at my good fortune : all praised me :
a whole

a whole edition of my Eulogy sold in a day. The printers presented me with an additional number of copies on account of their success. Invitations are sent me to dine in respectable companies. My friends are delighted; and although nearly exhausted by sickness, I am happy. Such was the successful issue of the most unpropitious undertaking that I ever engaged in." *Journal.*

Note VIII.

"In the month of August, 1796, I was appointed to act as State's Attorney for the county of Suffolk, the Attorney General being absent upon the business of the boundary river, St. Croix. A number of disagreeable events, which I shall ever recollect with the greatest pain, concurred at this time to disqualify me for the task; which I felt conscious of, but could not well decline it. A prepossession that one will do ill never fails to verify our fears; and accordingly I did ill enough; of which I had a due sense, and made suitable acknowledgments to my evil genius. Whilst I was in the paroxysm of my mortification, Mr. Sharpless, an ingenious portrait painter, sent me a note, acquainting me, that he was making a collection of portraits of the most eminent and publick characters in the United States; and requested to know when it would be convenient for me to sit to him. I really thought so meanly of myself, that I did not seem worthy to be hung up in a shoemaker's shop, under the last words and dying speech of Levi Ames; and nothing appeared to be wanting to my disgrace, but suffering myself to be held up among the great worthies of America. Accordingly I sent my compliments to Mr. Sharpless, thanked him for his intended politeness; but disclaimed all right of being ranked among the eminent and publick characters, which he was collecting together; and so refused sitting. The chief justice Dana afterwards called on me, and requested me to sit. Out of deference to him I said, if it was his opinion that I ought, I would no longer decline. But luckily Mr. Sharpless never troubled me again with an invitation." *Journal.*

Note

Note IX.

“ 1796. November. Colonel Dawes and Mr. Otis are chosen, the one elector of president and vice-president, the other a representative to Congress. Some days before the choice, — came to me and said, that the Federalists had serious apprehensions that they should not be able to carry Mr. Otis; but that he was of opinion, that the two parties would cordially unite in me; and asked me, if I would suffer myself to be set up as a candidate for representative. I told him that the idea was wholly new to me, but as I must give up the probate office, I thought it would be imprudent. He would not take so sudden an answer, but required me to consider it until the next day, which I did, and then, after consulting with one friend, returned him the same answer, which ended the affair.” *Journal.*

Note X.

“ 1784. December 12th. Sunday. I verily think that my salvation does not depend upon my believing the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead; nor am I a better christian, for enlisting under the banners of Christ to support his equality with the Father, or for assisting the omnipotence of the Father in maintaining his superiority over the Son, than if I sincerely imitated the example of the one, and reverentially adored the other.” *Journal.*

Note XI.

“ 1797. September 11th. The fate of man is pitiable: nothing but great powers can raise him, when endowed with sensibility, above misery. These are not at his option. Application may do much to strengthen small talents; but after all they will scarcely screen him from contempt: and application is not always in a man's power: it is itself a faculty of creating abilities. Innocence is the only refuge to shelter mediocrity of parts. This is in every man's command.—Yet, let us reflect:—happy were it so! Can weakness be a match for temptation? No. To resist it requires strength of mind, command of all the appetites and passions, a vigilant, inflexible prudence. What is the weak man of sensibility then

then to do? Hard is his lot. In attempting to learn courage, the wounds he receives in the conflict justify his ideas of danger. In fortifying the mind with firmness, he finds not deranged materials to be set in order, but a vacancy of powers, a link by nature omitted in the chain of reason. Let him address himself to heaven, implore its benevolent aid, and by endeavouring to become good, lay a foundation for confidence in himself, which may extend in time, beyond the particular objects of piety, and like the healing bark in the wounded tree, cover his nakedness, invigorate his growth, and multiply his fruits. To do this may God help me!" *Journal.*

"1797. October 31st. I have frequently resolved to keep a journal; but never could be brought to put it into practice. Of what should it consist? Of resolutions and relapses; of many faults and few virtues; of fears without danger, and misfortunes without forecast. Of what avail would such a picture be?" *Journal.*

Note XII.

As was anticipated, several persons have, since his decease, paid the tribute of respect to the memory of Judge Minot. The following just portrait of his character is by the pencil of his friend, the Hon. John Quincy Adams.

"Are you an observer of men, and has it been your fortune only once in your life to behold George Richards Minot? You have remarked the elegance of his person and the peculiar charm of expression in his countenance—Have you witnessed his deportment? It bore the marks of graceful simplicity, of dignified modesty, of unassuming urbanity—Have you listened to his conversation? It was the voice of harmony; it was the index to a penetrating and accurate mind; it was the echo to a warm and generous heart. Such appeared Mr. Minot, on a first and transient acquaintance; from which period, to that of the most confidential intimacy, our own knowledge, and the unvaried testimony of indisputable authority concur in affirming that every trace of pleasing first impression was proportionally deepened; every anticipation of sterling worth abundantly fulfilled. His character, as the citizen

of a free country, was not less exemplary. The profoundest historian of antiquity has adduced the life of Agricola, as an extraordinary proof that it is possible to be a great and good man, even under the despotism of the worst of princes. Mr. Minot's example may be alleged as a demonstration equally rare under a free republic, that in times of the greatest dissension, and amidst the most virulent rancour of factions, a man may be great and good, and yet acquire and preserve the esteem and veneration of all. In the bitterness of civil contention, he enjoyed the joint applause of minds the most irreconcilable to each other. Before the musick of his character the very scorpions dropped from the lash of discord; the very snakes of fashion listened and sunk asleep! Yet did he not purchase this unanimous approbation by the sacrifice of any principle at the shrine of popularity. From that double-tongued candour which fashions its doctrines to its company; from that cowardice in the garb of good nature, which assents to all opinions because it dares support none; from that obsequious egotism, ever ready to bow before the idol of the day, to make man its God, and hold the voice of mortality for the voice of heaven, he was pure as the chrystal streams. Personal invectives and odious imputations against political adversaries he knew to be seldom necessary; he knew that when unnecessary, whether exhibited in the disgusting deformity of their nakedness, or tricked out in the gorgeous decorations of philosophy, whether livid with the cadaverous colours of their natural complexion or flaring with the cosmetick washes of pretended patriotism, they are ever found among the profligate prostitutes of party, and not among the vestal virgins of truth. He disdained to use them: but as to all the great questions upon principle, which are at the bottom of our divisions, there was no more concealment or disguise in his lips, than hesitation or wavering in his mind. So far was he from courting the prejudices or compromising with the claims of faction, that he published the history of the insurrections in this commonwealth, at a time when the passions, which had produced them, were still vigorous and flourishing: and although nothing contributed more than that work to consign the rebellion it recorded

corded to infamy, none of its numerous abettors ever raised a reclamation against the veracity of the history, or the worth of the historian.

“The community to which such a man as this belongs, confer honour upon themselves by every token of distinction they bestow upon him. Mr. Minot was successively employed in various offices of trust and of honour. To vice a merciful but inflexible judge; to misfortune a compassionate friend; to the widow, a protector of her rights; to the orphan, one in place of a father: in every station which the voice of his country called him alternately to fill, he displayed that individual endowment of the mind and that peculiar virtue of the heart, which was most essential to the useful exercise of its functions. During the latter period of his life, his occupations were multiplied beyond the performance of an ordinary man. He not only accomplished them all with facility, but found hours of leisure for his favourite studious pursuits, and hours of relaxation for the enjoyments of social intercourse and convivial festivity.

“His attainments in literature outstripped the slow advance of years; in the bloom of youth he was associated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Historical Society recognize in him one of their founders. Of his occasional performances, it may be said without disparagement to others, that there is little difficulty in distinguishing their characteristic excellence. His Oration on the 5th of March; his Eulogy on the first of American patriots and heroes, and his address to your Society, from the spot whence this feeble tribute to his memory is now offered, deserve a particular enumeration among the productions of his mind. He had an ardent and inextinguishable thirst of general knowledge; but the department of history was that towards which some casual incident, of those which are wont to point the magnet of genius to its polar star, had originally turned the bias of his preference. The result of his labours in this field, is chiefly before the publick, and is duly appreciated by all who deem any such labours objects of regard. As an historian, authenticity, impartiality, penetration and sagacity, are obvious characters of his writings. His narrative
is

is perspicuous ; his arrangement well delineated : he traces events to their causes, with discriminating eye, and though sparing of his own reflections upon their issue, he skilfully collects and concentrates their rays upon the mind of his reader. He makes no ostentatious display of his moral and intellectual wealth, but gives you the key to the chambers containing them : it is but opening the door, and treasures in profusion are before you. His selection of subjects was dictated by a vigorous judgment, and a well meditated sense of utility. The insurrections of the year 1786, form one of the most instructive periods in the history of our country. Occasions like that, elicit and display many of the virtues and vices, accomplishments and defects of publick bodies and private individuals, of constitutions and constituted authorities, which remain latent in times of cooler composure. The younger part of our fellow-citizens especially, will find themselves amply rewarded for any time and meditation bestowed upon that work. It will give them a deeper insight into the character of this people, a more extensive view of our social organization, and its internal operations at critical times, than they could obtain by years of personal observation. The progress of collisions in publick sentiment, until they kindle into civil war, in a country where publick sentiment is the final earthly arbiter of all publick measures, and where the efficacy of obedience is in ordinary times secured by the mildness of authority, there reveals a precious mine, to the search of contemplation. There a citizen of Massachusetts may learn not to despair of publick virtue, even when apparently extinguished by the violence of party, and the pressure of distress. There an American may be informed that our Constitutions have within them a principle of self-preservation, beyond the letter of the law, which can redeem them from dissolution even when apparently suffocated by the overwhelming torrents of faction.

“ The revolution which separated these States from their connexion as Colonies with Great Britain, and their subsequent confederation, have taken from our local history some of its magnitude and moment. These events have expanded the circle, and increased the multitude of our civil
civil

civil relations. In forming the idea of our country, we are no longer bounded by the scanty dimensions of a petty province. The largest portion of this Continent is united under a social compact, which makes its inhabitants equal fellow-citizens of one great and growing empire. To preserve, to strengthen, to perpetuate this union, is the first political duty, as it ought to be the highest glory of every American. Since its establishment our history has become the history of the nation : and had it been consistent with the wise decrees of Providence to prolong the life of Mr. Minot, we might have hoped that the period which came within the compass of his observation, would have been transmitted to future times, with that simplicity and purity of style and manner, that zeal for the civil and religious liberties of man, that instinctive and reflected love of virtue and abhorrence of vice, which flowed spontaneously from his pen. But before he could commence upon this arduous task, there was a previous chasm in our history to be filled. It was a period of less general interest than those which preceded and followed it ; less propitious therefore to the talents and reputation of its historian. But Mr. Minot's primary consideration was the publick utility, and not his own personal fame.— It was a labour inadequate indeed to his powers, but necessary to connect the chain of our annals ; and unless undertaken by him, it might have remained unaccomplished. Of this work, one volume is in possession of the publick. He was just closing the second, when the pen was wrested from his hand, by that king of terrours, whom the most elevated human capacity and the most perfect human virtues are alike impotent to resist.”

Address to the Members of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, May 28. 1802.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN COAST OF THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, FROM CAPE COD, OR RACE POINT, IN LATITUDE $42^{\circ}. 5'$. TO CAPE MALEBARRE, OR SANDY POINT OF CHATHAM, IN LATITUDE $41^{\circ}. 33'$. POINTING OUT THE SPOTS, ON WHICH THE TRUSTEES OF THE HUMANE SOCIETY HAVE ERECTED HUTS, AND OTHER PLACES WHERE SHIPWRECKED SEAMEN MAY LOOK FOR SHELTER. OCTOBER, 1802.

THE curvature of the shore, on the west side of Provincetown, and south of Race Point, is called Herring Cove ; which is three miles in length. There is good anchoring ground here ; and vessels may ride safely in four or five fathoms of water, when the wind is from north-east to south-east.

On Race Point stand about a dozen fishing huts, containing fire places and other conveniences. The distance from these huts to Provincetown, which lies on Cape Cod harbour, is three miles. The passage is over a sandy beach, without grass or any other vegetable growing on it, to the woods, through which is a winding road to the town. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for a stranger to find his way thither in the dark ; and the woods are so full of ponds and entangling swamps, that if the road was missed, destruction would probably be the consequence of attempting to penetrate them in the night.

Not far from Race Point commences a ridge, which extends to the head of Stout's Creek. With the face to the east, on the left hand of the ridge is the sandy shore ; on the right is a narrow, sandy valley ; beyond which is naked sand, reaching to the hills and woods of Provincetown. This ridge is well covered with beach grass ; and appears to owe its existence to that vegetable. Beach grass, during the spring and summer, grows about two feet and a half. If surrounded by naked beach, the storms of autumn and winter heap up the sand on all sides, and cause it to rise nearly to the top of the plant. In the ensuing spring the grass sprouts anew ; is again covered with sand in the winter ; and thus a hill or ridge continues to ascend, as long as there is a sufficient base to support it, or till the
circumscribing

circumscribing sand, being also covered with beach grass, will no longer yield to the force of the winds.

On this ridge, half way between Race Point and the head of Stout's Creek, the Trustees of the Humane Society have erected a hut. It stands a mile from Peaked Hill, a land-mark well known to seamen; and is about two miles and a half from Race Point. Seamen, cast away on this part of the coast, will find a shelter here; and in north-east storms, should they strike to the leeward of it, and be unable to turn their faces to the windward, by passing on to Race Point, they will soon come to the fishing huts before mentioned.

At the head of Stout's Creek the Trustees have built a second hut. Stout's Creek is a small branch of East Harbour in Truro. Many years ago there was a body of salt marsh on it; and it then deserved the name of a creek. But the marsh was long since destroyed; and the creek now scarcely exists, appearing only like a small depression in the sand, and being entirely dry at half tide. The creek runs from north-west to south-east, and is nearly parallel with the shore on the ocean, from which it is at no great distance. Not far from it the hills of Provincetown terminate; and should not the hut be found, by walking round the head of the creek, with the face to the west, the hills on the right hand, and keeping close to the shore on the harbour, in less than an hour the shipwrecked seamen would come to Provincetown.

The Humane Society, several years ago, erected a hut at the head of Stout's Creek. But it was built in an improper manner, having a chimney in it; and was placed on a spot where no beach grass grew. The strong winds blew the sand from its foundation, and the weight of the chimney brought it to the ground; so that in January of the present year it was entirely demolished. This event took place about six weeks before the Brutus was cast away. If it had remained, it is probable that the whole of the unfortunate crew of that ship would have been saved, as they gained the shore a few rods only from the spot where the hut had stood.

The hut now erected stands on a place covered with beach grass. To prevent any accident from happening to
it,

it, or to the other hut near Peaked Hill, the Trustees have secured the attention of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Dr. Thaddeus Brown and Capt. Thomas Smalley of Provincetown have engaged to inspect both huts, to see that they are supplied with straw or hay in the autumn, that the doors and windows are kept shut, and that repairs are made, when necessary. The Rev. Mr. Damon of Truro has also promised to visit the hut at Stout's Creek twice or thrice in a year; and the Rev. Mr. Whitman of Wellfleet, distinguished through the county for his activity and benevolence, has undertaken, though remote from the place, the same charge.

From the head of Stout's Creek to the termination of the salt marsh, which lies on both sides and at the head of East Harbour river, the distance is about three miles and a half. A narrow beach separates this river from the ocean. It is not so regular a ridge as that before described, as there are on it one or two hills, which the neighbouring inhabitants call islands. It may without much difficulty be crossed every where, except over these elevations. By these hills, even during the night, the beach may be distinguished from those hereafter to be mentioned. It lies from north-west to south-east; and is in most parts covered with beach grass. The hills have a few shrubs on the declivities next the river. At the end of the marsh the beach subsides a little; and there is an easy passage into a valley, in which are situated two or three dwelling houses. The first on the left hand, or south, is a few rods only from the ocean.

The shore, which extends from this valley to Race Point, is unquestionably the part of the coast the most exposed to shipwrecks. A north-east storm, the most violent, and fatal to seamen, as it is frequently accompanied with snow, blows directly on the land: a strong current sets along the shore: add to which that ships, during the operation of such a storm, endeavour to work to the northward, that they may get into the bay. Should they be unable to weather Race Point, the wind drives them on the shore, and a shipwreck is inevitable. Accordingly, the strand is every where covered with the fragments of vessels. Huts therefore, placed within a mile of each other, have been thought

thought necessary by many judicious persons. To this opinion the Trustees are disposed to pay due respect; and hereafter, if the funds of the Society increase, new huts will be built here for the relief of the unfortunate.

From the valley above mentioned the land rises, and less than a mile from it the High Land commences. On the first elevated spot, the Clay Pounds, stands the Light House. The shore here turns to the south; and the High Land extends to the Table Land of Eastham. This High Land approaches the ocean with steep and lofty banks, which it is extremely difficult to climb, especially in a storm. In violent tempests, during very high tides, the sea breaks against the foot of them, rendering it then unsafe to walk on the strand, which lies between them and the ocean. Should the seaman succeed in his attempt to ascend them, he must forbear to penetrate into the country, as houses are generally so remote, that they would escape his research during the night: he must pass on to the valleys, by which the banks are intersected. These vallies, which the inhabitants call Hollows, run at right angles with the shore; and in the middle, or lowest part of them, a road leads from the dwelling houses to the sea.

The first of these vallies is Dyer's Hollow, a mile and a half south of the Light House. This opening is about two hundred yards broad from summit to summit. In it stands a dwelling house, a quarter of a mile from the beach.

A mile and a half south of Dyer's Hollow, is a second valley, called Harding's Hollow. At the entrance of this valley, the sand has gathered; so that at present a little climbing is necessary. Passing over several fences, and taking heed not to enter the wood on the right hand, at the distance of three quarters of a mile, a house is to be found. This house stands on the south side of the road; and not far from it, on the south, is Pamet river, which runs from east to west through a body of salt marsh.

The third valley, a half of a mile south of Harding's Hollow, is Head of Pamet Hollow. It may with ease be distinguished from the other hollows mentioned, as it is a wide opening, and leads immediately over a beach to

the salt marsh at the head of Pamet river. In the midst of the hollow the sand has been raised by a brush fence, carried across it from north to south. This must be passed; and the shipwrecked mariner will soon come to a fence, which separates what is called the road from the marsh. If he turn to the left hand, or south, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, he will discover a house. If he turn to the right hand, at the distance of half a mile, he will find the same house, which is mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

The fourth opening, three quarters of a mile south of Head of Pamet, is Brush Valley. This hollow is narrow, and climbing is necessary. Entering it, and inclining to the right, three quarters of a mile will bring seamen to the house, which is situated at the Head of Pamet. By proceeding straight forward, and passing over rising ground, another house may be discovered, but with more difficulty.

These three hollows, lying near together, serve to designate each other. Either of them may be used; but Head of Pamet Hollow is the safest.

South of Brush Valley, at the distance of three miles, there is a fifth opening, called Newcomb's Hollow, east of the head of Herring river in Wellfleet. This valley is a quarter of a mile wide. On the north side of it, near the shore, stands a fishing hut.

Between the two last vallies the bank is very high and steep. From the edge of it, west, there is a strip of sand, a hundred yards in breadth. Then succeeds low brushwood, a quarter of a mile wide, and almost impassable. After which comes a thick, perplexing forest, in which not a house is to be discovered. Seamen therefore, though the distance between these two vallies is great, must not attempt to enter the wood, as in a snow storm they must undoubtedly perish. This place, so formidable in description, will lose somewhat of its terour, when it is observed, that no instance of a shipwreck on this part of the coast is recollected by the oldest inhabitants of Wellfleet.

Half of a mile south of Newcomb's Hollow, is the sixth valley, called Pearce's Hollow. It is a small valley. A house

house stands at the distance of a little more than a quarter of a mile from the beach, west by south.

The seventh valley is Cohoon's hollow, a half of a mile south of Pearce's Hollow. It is not very wide. West from the entrance, several houses may be found at the distance of a mile. This hollow lies east by north from Wellfleet meeting house.

Two miles south of Cohoon's Hollow, the eighth valley is Snow's Hollow. It is smaller than the last. West from the shore, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, is the county road, which goes round the head of Blackfish Creek. Passing through this valley to the fence, which separates the road from the upland and marsh at the head of the creek, a house will immediately be found by turning to the right hand, or north. There are houses also on the left, but more remote.

The High Land gradually subsides here, and a mile and a half south terminates at the ninth valley, called Fresh Brook Hollow, in which a house is to be found a mile from the shore, west.

The tenth, two miles and a half south from Fresh Brook Hollow, is Plum Valley, about three hundred yards wide. West is a house, three quarters of a mile distant.

Between these two vallies is the Table Land.

After this there is no hollow of importance to Cape Malebarre.

From Fresh Brook Hollow to the commencement of Nauset Beach, the bank next the ocean is about sixty feet high. There are houses scattered over the plain, open country : but none of them are nearer than a mile to the shore. In a storm of wind and rain they might be discerned by day light ; but in a snow storm, which rages here with excessive fury, it would be almost impossible to discover them either by night or by day.

Not far from this shore, south, the Trustees have erected a third hut, on Nauset beach. Nauset beach begins in latitude $41^{\circ}. 51'$. and extends south to latitude $41^{\circ}. 41'$. It is divided into two parts by a breach, which the ocean has made through it. This breach is the mouth of Nauset or Stage harbour ; and from the opening the beach extends north two miles and a quarter, till it joins the main land.

land. It is about a furlong wide and forms Nauset harbour; which is of little value, its entrance being obstructed by a bar. This northern part of the beach may be distinguished from the southern part by its being of a less regular form; storms have made frequent irruptions through the ridge, on which beach grass grows. On an elevated part of the beach, stands the hut, about a mile and a half north of the mouth of Nauset harbour. Eastham meeting house lies from it west south west, distant a mile and three quarters. The meeting house is without a steeple; but it may be distinguished from the dwelling houses near it by its situation, which is between two small groves of locusts, one on the south, and one on the north, that on the south being three times as long as the other. About a mile and a quarter from the hut, west by north, appear the top and arms of a windmill. The Rev. Mr. Shaw and Elisha Mayo, Esq., of Eastham have engaged to inspect this building.

The southern part of Nauset beach, most commonly called Chatham beach, and by a few persons Potanumaquut beach, begins at the mouth of Nauset harbour, and extends eight or nine miles south to the mouth of Chatham harbour. It is about fifty rods wide. A regular, well formed ridge, which in the most elevated part of it is forty feet high, runs the whole length of it; and, with the exception of a few spots, is covered with beach grass. This beach forms the barrier of Chatham harbour, which from Strong island north receives the name of Pleasant bay. A mile south of the entrance of Nauset harbour, it joins the main land of Orleans, except in very high tides, when the sea flows from the north-eastern arms of Pleasant bay into the harbour of Nauset, completely insulating the beach. By those who are acquainted with the shallow, it may be safely forded at any time; but strangers must not venture to pass it, when covered with water, as below, the channel is seven feet deep. On this beach, about half way between the entrances of Nauset and Chatham harbours, the Trustees have erected a fourth hut. The spot selected is a narrow part of the beach. On the west, the water adjoining it is called Bass Hole. Salt marsh is north and south of it next the beach, but is here interrupted.

Orleans

Orleans meeting house lies from it north-west. The meeting house is without a steeple, and is not seen; but it is very near a windmill placed on an elevated ground, a conspicuous object to seamen coming on the coast. It may be necessary to add that there are three windmills in Orleans forming a semicircle, that the mill referred to is on the right hand, or north-east point, and that the mill in the middle point of the semicircle stands on still higher ground. The meeting house of Chatham is situated from it south-west. This meeting house is also without a steeple, and is concealed by Great Hill, a noted land mark. The hill appears with two summits, which are a quarter of a mile apart. The hut lies east from Sampson's island in Pleasant bay. Timothy Bascom, Esq. of Orleans has undertaken to inspect this hut.

Lest seamen should miss this hut, by striking to the leeward of it, the Trustees have erected another on the same beach. It stands a mile north of the mouth of Chatham harbour, east of the meeting house, and opposite the town.

Another spot on the same beach would be a proper situation for a hut. It is north of the fourth hut, and east of the middle of Pochet island. The highest part of the ridge is near it, south. A break in the ridge, over which the sea appears sometimes to have flowed, divides this high part from the northern portion of the beach.

On the beach of Cape Malebarre, or the Sandy Point of Chatham, the Trustees have built a sixth hut. This beach stretches from Chatham, ten miles into the sea, towards Nantucket; and is from a quarter to three quarters of a mile in breadth. It is continually gaining south: above three miles have been added to it during the past fifty years. On the east side of the beach is a curve in the shore, called Stewart's Bend, where vessels may anchor with safety, in three or four fathoms of water, when the wind blows from north to south-west. North of the Bend there are several bars and shoals. A little below the middle of the beach, on the west side, is Wreck Cove, which is navigable for boats only. The hut stands two hundred yards from the ocean, south-east from the entrance of Wreck Cove, a half of a mile. Between the mouth of the Cove

Cove and hut, is Stewart's Knoll, an elevated part of the beach. The distance of the hut from the commencement of the beach is six miles, and from its termination four. Great Hill in Chatham bears north by west, distant six miles; and the south end of Morris's island, which is on the west side of the beach, north by east, distant four miles. Richard Sears, Esq. of Chatham, has engaged to visit the two last mentioned huts.

Two miles below the sixth hut is a fishing house, built of thatch, in the form of a wigwam. It stands on the west side of the beach, a quarter of a mile from the ocean. Annually in September it is renewed; and generally remains in tolerable preservation during the winter.

Another spot, a few rods from the sea, four miles south from the commencement of the beach, and a half of a mile north of the head of Wreck Cove, would be a proper situation for a hut. A little south of this spot, in storms and very high tides, the sea breaks over from the ocean into Wreck Cove.

Cape Malebarre beach may be distinguished from the two beaches before described, not only by its greater breadth, but also by its being of a less regular form. It is not so well covered with grass as Chatham beach. From Stewart's Knoll, south, to the extremity, it is lowest in the middle. In this valley, and in other low places, fresh water may be obtained by digging two feet into the sand. The same thing is true of Nauset and Chatham beaches.

The six huts, the situation of which has thus been pointed out, are all of one size and shape. Each hut stands on piles, is eight feet long, eight feet wide, and seven feet high; a sliding door is on the south, a sliding shutter on the west, and a pole, rising fifteen feet above the top of the building, on the east. Within, it is supplied either with straw or hay; and is farther accommodated with a bench.

The whole of the coast, from Cape Cod to Cape Malebarre, is sandy, and free from rocks. Along the shore, at the distance of a half of a mile, is a bar; which is called the *Outer Bar*, because there are smaller bars within it, perpetually varying. This outer bar is separated into many parts by guzzles, or small channels. It extends to Chatham; and as it proceeds southward, gradually approaches the

the shore and grows more shallow. Its general depth at high water is two fathoms, and three fathoms over the guzzles ; and its least distance from the shore is about a furlong. Off the mouth of Chatham harbour there are bars which reach three quarters of a mile ; and off the entrance of Nauset harbour the bars extend a half of a mile. Large, heavy ships strike on the outer bar, even at high water ; and their fragments only reach the shore. But smaller vessels pass over it at full sea ; and when they touch at low water, they beat over it, as the tide rises, and soon come to the land. If a vessel be cast away at low water, it ought to be left with as much expedition as possible ; because the fury of the waves is then checked, in some measure, by the bar ; and because the vessel is generally broken to pieces with the rising flood. But seamen, shipwrecked at full sea, ought to remain on board till near low water ; for the vessel does not then break to pieces ; and by attempting to reach the land before the tide ebbs away, they are in great danger of being drowned. On this subject there is one opinion only among judicious mariners. It may be necessary however to remind them of a truth, of which they have full conviction, but which, amidst the agitation and terrour of a storm, they too frequently forget.

r. s.

DESCRIPTION OF SANDWICH, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. 1802. BY WENDELL DAVIS, ESQUIRE.

SANDWICH is a post town, situate on the westerly part of Cape Cod. The original grant of the township was from the Old Colony of Plymouth, in the year 1639.

The court of assistants having assembled at Plymouth in the year 1685, and it being then represented to said court, that Mr. William Bradford and his associates had previously granted liberty to Mr. Edmund Freeman, Henry Feak, Thomas Dexter, and others, to establish a plantation, since called Sandwich, in this government, the same grant was then confirmed, under the signature of Governour Hinckley, to the above-named grantees, their heirs and assigns forever.

The

The boundaries of the township are described in that instrument in the following manner: "Beginning, west-erly, by the dividing line between the town of Plymouth and the said town of Sandwich, and on the east by the line which divides the town last mentioned from the town of Barnstable, which runs north-east to the sea; and south-west into the woods; and is bounded northerly by the sea; southerly partly by the dividing line between them and Suekanussett and partly by the Indians' land, according to the known and accustomed boundaries." It appears that the persons, employed in running these lines, were Capt. *Miles Standish* and Mr. *John Alden*, characters well known in the early history of this country.

The quality of the soil in the extreme parts of this township is generally light and unproductive; yielding however a large quantity of pine wood, interspersed with oak, which of late years have assumed considerable value from the growing scarcity of that article in other towns distant, where it frequently is vended. One of the first natural advantages of this township consists in the extensive tracts of wood land, which are found within its limits.

The traveller on the publick road from Plymouth to Sandwich would probably be often induced, from the sandy condition of the roads, and the unsettled state of the country, to anticipate with some solicitude the close of his pilgrimage. To those, however, who love to cherish the remembrance of "the days of old," the view of the sacrifice rocks in his way, which the untutored Indian, in compliance with a religious usage, has covered with pine knots and broken pieces of wood, may afford some relief to beguile the solitude of his ride. *Clam-Pudding Pond*, another object of attention to the antiquarian traveller, will also present itself to his view, where our ancestors, in travelling from the Cape to Plymouth, used to sit and regale themselves with clams and pudding, the staple dishes of those primitive times. After riding through a body of wood, twelve miles in extent, interspersed with but few houses, the *settlement of Sandwich* appears with a more agreeable effect to the eye of the traveller.

The first group of houses, after leaving the woods, is called after the Indian name of *Scussett*; and the brook
through

through which the traveller must pass, in going through *Scussett*, is in the course of the long contemplated canal across the isthmus of Cape Cod. The quality of the soil upon the east side of the road, extending to Barnstable line, is good, well cultivated, and productive. On the *west* side, it is far less so.

About three miles from *Scussett* is the village of *Sandwich*. It is embellished with a large and beautiful pond of water in its centre, and a fall of water, on which are situated a grist-mill and fulling-mill that are supplied from an inexhaustible fountain. This stream shapes its course to the sea, fertilizing the lands and meadows through which it passes. Round this pond stand the principal houses of the village, together with a number of shops for the different mechanick arts. The meeting house of the first precinct and a handsome academy occupy two neighbouring eminences. There are two *publick inns* in this village, which are excelled by few, if any, in the State.

Proceeding further eastward, the next group of houses is at a place called *Spring Hill*. Here is situated the meeting house of the Friends, who constitute a considerably numerous and respectable class of the inhabitants.

The employment of the people on this shore is both maritime and agricultural. The town in its general character is more agricultural, however, than otherwise, and more so than any other in the county. The inhabitants in general are substantial *livers*. From their vicinity to the sea, they are enabled to draw a considerable portion of their subsistence from its bosom. They generally occupy small farms, and till them to the best advantage, and with far less labour than a stubborn soil would require. All sorts of grain are raised with facility, and on spots of ground apparently the most unpromising to the eye of the husbandman; resulting perhaps from the contiguity of the soil to the humid atmosphere of the sea. The great extent and excellence of the meadows and marshes in this place is a great source of wealth and improving husbandry. By means of them, they are enabled to keep large stocks of cattle in the winter, and food for their subsistence through the remainder of the year, if necessary. It is computed that about one hundred loads of salt hay are annually

annually sold, to supply the wants of neighbouring towns to the westward of Sandwich. The township is excellent for the raising of sheep of the best kind, which run at large in the forests and plains. They average in the month of October, when they are sold to the drovers from the northward and westward, about one dollar and upwards per head. The meat is greatly preferred by connoisseurs.

The township abounds in ponds and brooks. At the places called Snake Pond, and Hog Pond, in the south-westerly part of the town, better known by the popular name of *the Woods*, are several small settlements of houses, and a few valuable farms.

Pocassett is an Indian name for the second parish in Sandwich. This precinct is situated on Buzzard's bay, and contains a meeting house for publick worship, with a small number of families. They have had but one settled minister, since their establishment as a precinct. It is now vacant. Here, the oyster beds are found in such excellence and plenty. Wild deer are often taken in the woods of *Pocassett* and in different parts of the town. Of late, they have much increased, and a recent law of the Commonwealth, forbidding the killing of them but within a certain period of the year, and in a regulated manner, will tend greatly to augment their number.

A little to the northward and eastward of *Pocassett* is a place called *Monumet* after the Indian appellation. These aboriginal names probably derived their origin from the circumstance, that the several places which they represent were once favourite resorts of the sachems and natives of this country. *Monumet*, the last mentioned place, contains a small collection of houses and a publick meeting house. The clergyman of the first precinct officiates therein one sixth part of the time, as it forms a part of his precinct. In *Buzzard's* and *Buttermilk* bays and also in *Monumet* river are found fish of various kinds : such as bass, sheep's head, tau taug, &c.

The projected canal, if it ever should be accomplished, will open almost a new creation to this part of the town. Where now are seen a few scattered dwellings, hundreds would then appear. Employment to large numbers of the
inhabitants

inhabitants would be rapidly furnished. Real property situated on its borders would be greatly enhanced in value. Constant markets and an easy transportation of wood, which is the staple article of business, would be obtained. Ware houses would probably soon be erected on its banks ; and a trade between the southern and northern States facilitated, calculated to confer immense advantages on the vicinity of such a channel of communication. If, from this partial and local consideration of the subject, we extend our thoughts to the aggregate of national blessings, which would attend its execution, both as it respects the preservation of life and property, our ideas of its importance and utility would become infinitely enhanced. There have been repeated surveys of the ground through which the proposed canal would probably pass, under the immediate eye of publick committees for that purpose. The documents accompanying their reports will be far more correct data, on which to found an enlightened opinion relative to the practicability of this enterprise, than any information within the knowledge of the writer of this paper. A more recent survey however, which was prompted by the reward of private benefaction, has been made under the direction of Mr. *Bachelor*, a man of reputed knowledge and experience in works of this nature, which impressed the mind of the undertaker with a favourable idea of its practicability and success. At the time the last survey was taken, the proprietors of land generally came forward and expressed their dispositions to give them to the publick towards accomplishing so important an object.

There are several inlets in the town, which form safe, and in some instances, commodious harbours, viz. at Pocassett, Monumet, Scussett, Spring Hill, and the Town Harbour, so called. The Town Harbour is about a mile and a half below the meeting house of the first precinct. It is a small and irregular inlet, capable of receiving only vessels of small tonnage. These vessels are principally employed in the coasting business to Boston and the eastern shore. Wood is the principal article of transportation. The fisheries have been repeatedly attempted, but never with general success. This line of business has always been prosecuted with more advantage in the eastern than in the

western

western part of the county. About *thirty sail of vessels* constitute the whole navigation of the place.

Some of the enterprising inhabitants have of late turned their attention to the manufacture of salt by the rays of the sun on the lands near the sea shore. It has been estimated that a capital of above a hundred and thirty thousand dollars is already vested in this kind of property in the several towns within the county of Barnstable. Several patents for improved modes of building the works have been obtained by ingenious individuals on the Cape. The net profits upon this manufacture of salt is by general estimation twenty-five per cent upon the capital employed. When the success, with the security and permanency of this species of property is considered, together with the handsome income it will always probably yield from the extensive demand of this important article, we may reasonably expect that this branch of business will become an increasing source of opulence to this portion of the Commonwealth. The salt is remarkably pure and white, and the Glauber salts are recommended as of the best quality.

It is much to be lamented that the landholders in the county have not bestowed more attention to the cultivation of *trees*. Beside the beauty and worth they confer on any country, they would be of singular advantage to this Cape, by defending the soil from the inroads of driving wind and sands. More trees are however to be found in Sandwich than in other parts of the county. Some orchards succeed here extremely well. One cider press in Sandwich is the only one known to the writer on this Cape. From the peculiarity of our local situation, the fruit trees are always exposed in the spring to rude and severe blasts. By giving the orchards a more northern or eastern aspect, and retarding the early blossoming of the trees, the preservation of fruit from these untimely blasts would probably be greatly prevented.

By the late census, the enumeration of the inhabitants stood at two thousand and twenty-four souls; houses, at two hundred and ninety-six. The town may be considered as favourable to longevity.—The table of mortality annexed to this description will confirm this observation.

The

The ecclesiastical history of this place cannot be fully given for want of church memoranda. The records of the First Congregational Church, previous to the ordination of the Rev. Roland Cotton, are lost. He was ordained November 28, 1694, and died March 18, 1721-2, O. S. The Rev. Benjamin Fessenden was ordained September 12, 1722, and died in the ministry August 8, 1746. Rev. Abraham Williams was ordained June 14, 1749, and died in the ministry August, 1784. Rev. Jonathan Burr, the present pastor, was ordained April 18, 1787.

The inhabitants of Sandwich generally manifest a fond and steady adherence to the manners, employments, and modes of living, which characterized their fathers; a resemblance, which at this day, will constitute no impeachment of either their virtue or taste.

Bill of mortality for the First Congregational Society in Sandwich, from January 1, 1790, to January 1, 1800.

<i>Years.</i>						<i>Number of Deaths.</i>
1790	-	-	-	-	-	24
1791	-	-	-	-	-	19
1792	-	-	-	-	-	12
1793	-	-	-	-	-	22
1794	-	-	-	-	-	20
1795	-	-	-	-	-	19
1796	-	-	-	-	-	39
1797	-	-	-	-	-	13
1798	-	-	-	-	-	6
1799	-	-	-	-	-	10

Total number of deaths in 10 years, 184

The average number of deaths in a year, is $18\frac{4}{10}$.

Supposing the number of souls to be 1500, the proportion of deaths is as 1 to $81\frac{1}{2}$.

Of

Of the above number, 31 died before the end of the first year.

18	between 1 and 5 years.
9	5 and 10
15	10 and 20
24	20 and 30
13	30 and 40
16	40 and 50
12	50 and 60
16	60 and 70
14	70 and 80
10	80 and 90
6	90 and 100

184

Farther deductions.

From the above, it appears that the proportion of those who live 90 years and upwards is nearly as 1 to 30

80	1 to 11
70	1 to 6
60	precisely 1 to 4
50	1 to 3
40	1 to $2\frac{7}{8}$
30	1 to $2\frac{30}{77}$
20	1 to $2\frac{1}{11}$

Considerably more than one half of the above one hundred and eighty-four lived between 10 and 20 years.

The following table exhibits the number of inhabitants in Sandwich at four different periods.

In 1764	1449 inhabitants (including 73 Indians)
1776	1912
1790	1991
1800	2024

NOTE ON FALMOUTH, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

FALMOUTH is situated in latitude $41^{\circ} 33'$ N. and longitude $70^{\circ} 35'$ W. from Greenwich. It is bounded on the north, by Sandwich; on the east, by Mashpee, from which it is separated in part by Waquoit bay; on the south, by Vineyard sound; and on the west, by Buzzard's bay. The length, north and south, is ten miles; and the breadth, east and west, six. The distance of the principal meeting house from Boston is seventy-eight miles.

A chain of hills, which is continued from Sandwich, runs on the west side of the township, at no great distance from Buzzard's bay, and terminates at Woods' hole. The rest of the land is remarkably level. The soil is thin, but superiour in quality to the light lands in the eastern part of the county. It produces Indian corn, rye, oats, and a small quantity of wheat and barley. More English hay is cut here than in any other township of the county. The salt marshes, when compared with those of Barnstable and Sandwich are not extensive. They yield, however, about five hundred tons of hay.

A forest, consisting of pitch pines and a few oaks, is situated between the villages of Falmouth and Sandwich. One of the best roads in New England, it being hard, level, and free from stones, passes through it. A second road branches from this, and leads through Mashpee to Barnstable. A third road turns off from the second, and goes to Waquoit bay. These roads, though not as good as the first, are better than the Cape roads in general. A fourth road which is rough and stony passes from Falmouth to Sandwich, by Pokeset meeting house, and on the west of the first. The road from the town to Woods' hole, which is at the distance of four miles, is also bad.

There are not less than forty ponds in the township. Several of them are situated near the village and add variety and beauty to its prospects.

Falmouth contains between two and three hundred dwelling houses, eight mills, one of which is a fulling mill,
and

and a number of shops and other buildings. The greatest part of the houses lie in one street along the Sound, are two stories* in height, large and well built, and constitute a pleasant village, which commands a fine view of the water, and Martha's Vineyard beyond it. The Congregational meeting house, a new and neat edifice, stands in a handsome square; and near it is a mason's hall, with an apartment under it for an academy. Another Congregational meeting house has lately been erected at the distance of five miles from the town, for the accommodation of the inhabitants who live near it. There is, however, one church only, and one minister, who preaches in the latter house two Sundays in five. The Quakers also have a meeting house, which stands on the Pokesset road, not far from Chapoquit or Hog island harbour.

The mouth of Waquoit bay is very narrow, and is choked with sand; so that a small coaster, loaded, cannot enter it. West of this bay the shore on the Sound is intersected by several small rivers and salt water ponds; but none of them afford a harbour. Woods' hole, which is situated at the south-western extremity of the township, is an excellent harbour, containing from three to six fathoms of water. It is not large, but is well sheltered by points of land and Nonnymeset island. On the west side of the township are several small inlets, communicating with Buzzard's bay.

As Woods' hole is remote from the village, the inhabitants complain of the want of a good harbour near them. It is in their power, with no great expense and labour, to obtain what they wish: for at the distance of not more than two or three hundred rods, west-south-west from the meeting house, is a pond, a third of a mile in length, and sixty fathoms deep: the nearest part of this pond is about a quarter of a mile from the Sound; and if a communication was opened, it would form an excellent harbour.

Falmouth is a flourishing place. The inhabitants own about sixty vessels, containing, on a medium, fifty-five tons each.

* By two stories, in New England, are meant apartments on a ground floor, and apartments above them. A house of this description is, in some parts of the world, if the writer mistakes not, styled a building of one story only.

each. Six are fishing vessels ; of which two go to the Straits of Belle Isle ; and four catch fish on the Shoals. The rest are coasters : upwards of thirty of them follow the business of carrying lumber ; and sail to the Southern States and the West-Indies.

The following Table exhibits the state of population in Falmouth at four different periods.

In 1764	1225 inhabitants (including 62 Indians.)	
1776	1355	
1790	1637	
1800	1882.	r. s.

A DESCRIPTION OF DENNIS, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, SEPTEMBER, 1802.

DENNIS is situated in latitude $41^{\circ}. 45'$. N. and longitude $70^{\circ}. 08'$. W. from Greenwich. It extends across the county, having Barnstable bay on the north, and Vineyard sound on the south. It is bounded on the east by Harwich, from which it is separated by Quivet creek, and by a line running from the creek south, six degrees and a half east, nine hundred and thirty-six chains (fifty links to a chain) to the Sound. On the west it is bounded by Yarmouth, from which it is separated by Bass river, Kelley's pond, and Follen's pond, communicating with the river, and by various lines beginning at Follen's pond, and terminating in a creek, called Chase Garden river, which runs through a salt marsh into Barnstable bay. The length of the township, from north to south, is eleven hundred chains : the breadth on the north shore, from east to west, a thousand chains ; on the south shore, near six hundred ; and in the narrowest part, two hundred and fifty. The distance of the old meeting house from Boston is eighty miles, and from Barnstable court house eight.

The township is naturally divided into two parts by a large tract of wood, which is chiefly in the centre. This wood consists of a little white oak, of some red and black oak, but principally of pitch pine. The upper road to Harwich, which is called the County road, passes through the wood, near the head of Follen's pond, where it com-

mands a pleasant prospect of part of Bass river, and the new meeting house and flourishing village near it. Not far from this pond, east, a road branches off to Chatham, leading through the south precinct of Harwich. These two roads, as far as they extend through Dennis, are sandy and heavy; but they are not so bad as that which goes through the north part of the township.

The wood is bounded on the north by a range of hills, a part of the chain, which extends from Sandwich to Pleasant bay. In Dennis, these hills are a mile from the north shore; and on their summits there is a prospect of the shore on Barnstable bay, from Cape Cod to Monument Point in Plymouth, a compass of seventy or eighty miles. The view has not much of the beautiful in it; but it communicates a strong emotion of the sublime. North of the hills the land is uneven; but south it is in general a plain.

A half of a mile east of the old meeting house, the rough hill of Scargo extends from the chain. This is the highest land in the county, and is the first which is made by seamen approaching the south shore.

The mouth of Chase Garden river is called Bass Hole. It is shallow; but it affords a small harbour, in which fishing vessels can conveniently be laid up in the winter. The largest body of salt marsh in the township is about this creek.

A mile north-east of the old meeting house, a bend in the shore forms a cove, which is denominated the Bite. On the west of it runs a point of rocks, which is dry at low water, but the greatest part of which is covered at high water. This point extends a quarter of a mile into the bay, north; and affords a shelter against north-west winds. A pier carried out to the east of the Bite would form a convenient harbour. As however the banks are continually washing away, they ought to be secured by a sea-wall.

Not far to the eastward of this place, nature has afforded to the inhabitants an opportunity of obtaining a still better harbour. Crow's or Flax pond lies a quarter of a mile from the bay. It covers sixty acres, and in the deepest part is not less than eleven fathoms. It is supposed by
many

many that a canal of communication might easily be cut from this pond to the sea. The canal would run near a quarter of a mile to the east of the Bite. The digging would be principally through a swamp and low grounds; and a point of rocks, which lies off Suet Neck, and which is called Suet Neck Point, would in a great measure guard the entrance of the canal against the violence of north-east storms.

Suet Neck lies between the bay and Suet creek, the course of which is east and north-east to its mouth. Around it is a body of marsh. The sandy flats, which lie in front of Harwich, Orleans, Eastham, and part of Wellfleet, begin at Suet.

Not far east of this neck is that of Quivet, which is formed by the bay and Quivet creek. The course of the creek is north-east to its entrance. About it is a body of salt marsh larger than that on Suet.

As the high land comes so near the north shore, it is evident that these two creeks cannot run a great distance. The mouths of both are obstructed by bars, on which are about eight feet at high water, common tides. They afford however small harbours for fishermen.

Beside these creeks there are two brooks on the north shore. One empties into Hockanom creek in Yarmouth: the other falls into Quivet creek.

The most important inlet is on the south shore. This is Bass river, already mentioned as the boundary between Dennis and Yarmouth. The length of this river, from Follen's pond to the sea, is four miles. Its mouth is formed by two beaches, terminating in points; one on the east, extending from the entrance of Swan pond creek a mile and a half; another, on the west, extending, from the entrance of Parker's river in Yarmouth, a mile. From point to point the distance is about thirty-five rods.— Within, the river is somewhat wider for two miles, where it gradually grows narrow. At its entrance is a bar, on which are five feet only, at high water, common tides. Vessels therefore must be lightened, before they can come into the harbour. Within, the river is ten or eleven feet deep at high water, for a short distance. On the inside of the first mentioned beach, within the limits of Dennis, is a
body

body of salt marsh. Much of the water, which flows from the sea, passes through the cuts which are in it; and thus the channel of the river is rendered less deep.

Beside Follen's and Kelley's ponds, which have already been mentioned, there are other salt water ponds communicating with Bass river on its eastern side, covering in the whole seventy acres. South of the new meeting house, on the same side of the river, is Grand cove, the extent of which is also seventy acres. These ponds and coves are of more value to the inhabitants than the same quantity of land, as they are filled with fish, and their shores abound with clams. A small brook, the only one in the south part of Dennis, issues from a swamp, and empties itself into Bass river on its eastern side.

On the western side, Wear-mill brook rises in Yarmouth, runs east, and discharges itself into Follen's pond. This brook, the whole of which is in Yarmouth, is properly the head of Bass river. From it, it is supposed, a canal might easily be cut into Yarmouth harbour, the intervening land being low, and the distance not great.*

A mile, east-south-east from the mouth of Bass river, begins a bar, called Dog-fish bar, which extends six miles west to Point Gammon in Yarmouth. It affords to vessels which lie within it a harbour, called Deep hole. From the end of this bar, on which is a buoy, the course into the river is west-north-west. Half way between the river's mouth and the end of the bar stands a pier, thirty-seven feet long, and thirty-one broad, on which is a store. There is good anchorage two cables' length east of it, in twelve feet at low water. Common tides rise here four feet.

Such is Bass river: The harbour which it affords, might be improved by art. Mr. Sylvanus Crowell, who lives on the Yarmouth side, and who also built the pier, has endeavoured to confine the water of the river within the main channel, and to prevent it from flowing through the marsh on the eastern side; but his laudable attempts have hitherto failed of success. Persevering labour may perhaps in time effect the wished for object.

The

* See Vol. 3, p. 17. of Coll. Hist. Soc.

The only creek, which remains to be spoken of, is Swan pond creek, the head of which is Swan pond, covering a hundred and twenty acres. On this creek is a body of salt marsh. Between it and the Sound is Crocker's neck, in the south-eastern part of the township. The creek is not deep; and being near Bass river, will probably never become of much value.

The whole of the ponds in Dennis, including others, which are not of sufficient importance to be particularly mentioned, cover four hundred and fifty-five acres.

Beside these ponds there is a number of swamps, five or six of which have cedar in them. Several of these swamps are capable of being converted into good land.

The best land in Dennis lies on the bay, in and near Quivet and Suet necks, and in Nobscusset, north-west of the old meeting house. With the exception of these and a few other small spots, the soil of the township is light and sandy.

The light land produces not less than eight, and with manure, frequently as much as twenty bushels of Indian corn on an acre; and, on an average, eight or ten bushels of rye. The good land in the north part of the township yields, with manure, about thirty bushels of Indian corn, but rye not in a greater quantity than the light land. At present very little wheat is raised.

Thirty tons only of English hay are cut; but the marshes afford sufficient salt hay for the use of the inhabitants.

Sufficient butter is made for summer; also vegetables enough for the same season are raised; but both butter for winter and many vegetables are imported. More onions however, grow than are consumed by the inhabitants, a quantity being every year sent to market.

There are several small orchards of apples, most of which have lately been planted. The trees do not attain much height; and in bleak situations are liable to decay in a few years.

A tract of ground not larger than Dennis, with a soil so unproductive, would in an inland situation, be capable of supporting few inhabitants. But, when the census was taken in 1800, there were found on it fourteen hundred souls.

souls. A great number of these persons derive their subsistence from the sea ; and by the advantages which they enjoy, and their industry in improving them, are enabled to supply themselves with all the necessaries, and many of the pleasures of life.

These inhabitants occupy a hundred and eighty-eight dwelling houses ; the greatest part of which are neat and in good repair. On the north of the county road are eighty-eight of the houses, thirty of which are two stories in height. They are divided into two villages by Scargo hill.

The village in the north-west quarter of the township, situated between the hill and Yarmouth, is called Nobscusset.* It consists of fifty-two dwelling houses and the old meeting house, a neat and convenient building without a steeple. Sunner's Lodge of free masons, instituted the last year, have just erected near the meeting house a handsome edifice, forty feet by twenty, the upper apartment of which is a well finished hall, and the lower apartment a school room. Masonry in this, and in the other towns of the county where lodges exist, is in good repute, the brethren being in general respectable both for their property and moral characters. There are also two wind-mills near the meeting house ; five more mills being in others quarters of the township. Belonging to this village are five sail of fishermen and three coasters, from thirty to forty tons. The lower road from Yarmouth to Harwich passes through Nobscusset. It is deep and heavy ; and there is little on the sides of it to please the eye, the land appearing barren, and the wind having made great ravages on the hills which border the village.

The village of Suet† is situated between Scargo hill and Harwich. It contains thirty-six dwelling houses, which stand on Suet and Quivet necks and the land adjacent ; and belonging to it are five sail of fishermen. When compared with Nobscusset, it may be denominated a pleasant village ; but in comparison with the village of Sandwich, there is little or no beauty in it. It is a flourishing place ; and

* Or Nobsquassit. See Vol. 1. p. 197. Coll. Hist. Soc.

† Or Sesuet. See Vol. 1. p. 232. Coll. Hist. Soc.

and what contributes principally to its prosperity is its numerous and valuable salt works.

Within the course of the past thirty years frequent attempts have been made to manufacture marine salt from sea water. During the late war with Great Britain, when this necessary article was scarce and dear, it was sometimes produced, particularly in the county of Barnstable, by boiling the salt water. But the salt obtained was impure; and as the operation was expensive, it was discontinued at the peace. Several years ago, General Palmer, a worthy and enterprising gentleman, undertook to make salt by the sun alone in the marshes on Boston neck, where the vestiges of his works are still to be seen. But as they were not covered from the rain, the attempt proved abortive. The only person who has been completely successful in obtaining pure marine salt, by the rays of the sun alone, without the aid of artificial heat, is Capt. John Sears of Suet.

In the year 1776, this ingenious seaman constructed a vat a hundred feet long and ten feet wide. Rafters were fixed over it; and shutters were contrived to move up and down, that the vat might be covered, when it rained, and exposed to the heat of the sun in fair weather. By this simple invention the rain was excluded, the water in the vat was gradually exhaled; and at length, to his inexpressible joy, Capt. Sears perceived the salt beginning to chrySTALLIZE. His works however were leaky; and he had such bad success in his operations the first year, that he was able to obtain no more than eight bushels of salt. He was exposed besides to the ridicule of his neighbours, who scoffed at his invention, styling it Sears's Folly.

Capt. Sears persevered. The second year the works were made tight; and thirty bushels of salt were obtained. In this and the third year the salt water was poured into the vat from buckets; a tedious and painful operation.

In the fourth year a pump was introduced: it was worked by hand, which was still great labour. This method of conveying the salt water into the vat continued to be practised till the year 1785, when at the suggestion of Major Nathaniel Freeman of Harwich, who had seen at a distance a similar construction, Capt. Sears contrived

trived a pump to be worked by the wind. By this lucky invention the labour was greatly abridged.

Covers to move on shives, that is, rollers or small wheels, such as are contained in the blocks of ships, were invented by Mr. Reuben Sears, a carpenter of Harwich, in 1793. These covers are shaped like the roof of a barn, or what is commonly styled a gable roof. The shive, which is placed under the cover, rolls over a narrow piece of plank fixed across the vat; and the motion is farther facilitated by shives moving on each side of the same slip of plank horizontally, the first mentioned shive moving perpendicularly. When the cover is drawn off, which can be done without a great exertion of strength, it rests on a frame placed by the side of the vat.

In 1798, Mr. Hattil Kelley of Dennis contrived another mode of constructing the vats and moving the covers. By Mr. Sears they are placed in a string, or direct line; but by Mr. Kelley they are placed like the squares of a chess-board. Two black squares will represent the first and second vats. At the point where their angles touch is fixed a crane, consisting of a perpendicular beam, supporting a horizontal beam. From each half of the last beam is suspended a cover, shaped like a hipped roof, that is, a roof composed of four triangles, rising from each of the four sides, and meeting in a point at the top. The third vat will be represented by the white square, which is in a line with the second black square of the chess-board: and the fourth vat, by the white square, the angle of which touches it. At this point is fixed a second crane; and so the vats and cranes are continued to any extent the proprietor chooses. By these cranes the covers are moved with great ease. It is a subject of dispute, which is the best invention, Sears's or Kelley's: experience only can decide the point.

Capt. Sears was greatly assisted in the invention and improvement of the works by Capt. William Crowell, Capt. Christopher Crowell, and Capt. Edward Sears of Dennis. These persons resigning to him their right and title to the invention, he applied to the national government for a patent, which he obtained in 1799.

Such is the account which Capt. Sears himself gives. It is now alleged by several persons, that he has not made a new

new discovery; and consequently has no right to a patent. But whatever may be thought of Capt. Sears's merit as an inventor, there can be no dispute that he is entitled to applause for first introducing an important manufacture, by which he has contributed greatly to the prosperity of the village in which he resides, and to that of the county at large; and which will probably in the event be productive of lasting advantages to Massachusetts, and to the United States in general.

The salt works in their present state may be briefly described as follows. The bottom of the vats is constructed of boards; and the sides of plank; and they rest on frames, which are supported by small piles. These vats are divided into three or four rooms, the second falling three or four inches below the first, and the third as much below the second, and so on. A pipe, which runs underground, and which communicates with the sea, conveys the salt water into a well about four feet deep. In this well is fixed a pump, which is connected, by means of a spout, with the first vat, called the water room. In this vat, which is longer than any of the others, much filth is deposited. After a proper time the water is drawn off into the second vat, called the pickle room, in which calcareous matter, or lime, is deposited. If there are four vats, the third is named the lime room. In this vat, or in the second, when there are no more than three, a pellicle of salt begins to gather on the surface of the water, lime is plentifully deposited, and the pickle is drawn off into the last vat, called the salt room, in which only the crystals are permitted to be formed.* The vats are nine or ten inches deep. In dry weather, during the summer, with a north wind, the evaporation is a third of an inch in a day. The salt produced resembles Lisbon salt, but is purer, is strong, and free from lime. The mean weight of a bushel of it is eighty pounds. During

* It was the writer's intention to have given a more minute description of the salt works; but discovering that Dr. James Thatcher of Plymouth had anticipated him, in a paper presented to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he with pleasure foregoes the task, referring the reader, who wishes to obtain complete information, to the valuable memoir of that gentleman.

During the winter the Glauber salt, said to be of an excellent quality, crystallizes. No great quantity of Epsom salt and magnesia has yet been produced. The Rev. Mr. Briggs of Chatham, an industrious and ingenious chemist, has however succeeded in obtaining both; and though his magnesia is not perfectly white, his Epsom salt appears to be incapable of improvement.

As the vat first constructed by Capt. Sears was ten feet wide, in estimating the dimensions of salt works, it has become customary to adopt the language which was then introduced. A foot therefore intends ten square feet. Three hundred such feet are calculated to produce a hundred bushels of marine salt, and four hundred and fifty pounds of Glauber salt, in a year. The cost of a foot, three years ago, was a dollar; but it will amount at present to as much as a hundred and twenty, or even a hundred and fifty cents. The marine salt is worth seventy-five cents a bushel, and the Glauber salt one sixteenth of a dollar a pound. The value of the Epsom salt and magnesia is not estimated, as the quantity which may be obtained is unknown. From these data and the following table, the great importance of this new manufacture to the county of Barnstable will appear.

	<i>No. of works.</i>	<i>No. of feet.</i>
In Suet are	24	containing 19,500
Nobscusset	23	14,300
Yarmouth	4	16,630
Barnstable	14	11,717
Sandwich	4	2,702
Falmouth	4	1,900
Harwich	21	18,600
Chatham	6	11,500
Orleans	11	3,080
Eastham	12	9,100
Wellfleet	2	180
Truro	1	700
Provincetown	10	11,404
<i>Total,</i>	<u>136</u>	<u>121,313</u>
		Calculated

Calculated to manufacture in a year forty thousand, four hundred, and thirty-eight bushels of marine salt ; and one hundred and eighty-one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-nine pounds of glauber salt ; worth, in the whole, forty-one thousand, seven hundred dollars.

In the ensuing year, will be erected, in the county of Barnstable, twenty thousand, five hundred and seventy-eight feet of additional works. These are all intended ; and for many of them contracts are actually made. What additions there will be in future years, it is impossible to foresee ; but they will undoubtedly be great. Without the limits of the county of Barnstable, the manufacture is already established in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Plymouth, Kingston, Rochester, Hingham, Dorchester, and probably in other places, from which the author has not heard. Few of these works have existed more than two or three years.

But it is time to conclude the description of Dennis. On the south side of the county road are a hundred dwelling houses ; two of which only are two stories in height. The greatest part of these houses are situated near Bass river, and constitute a well-built village, the inhabitants of which are increasing in wealth and population. In the year 1795, they erected an elegant meeting house, with a steeple ; but they continue their connexion with the parish, the minister of which preaches here one Sunday in three. There is besides a small Quaker meeting house, situated on the east side of Follen's pond. Five families only in Dennis belong to it ; but it is attended by a few Friends from Yarmouth and Harwich. There are also thirteen families of Baptists in this village. The rest of the inhabitants, in every part of the township, are Congregationalists, who are warmly attached to their pastor, and not disposed to change.

There are no salt works yet in Bass river village ; but it is expected that several will soon be erected. The inhabitants own nineteen sail of fishermen of about forty tons burthen each, and four coasters. Three small wharves have been built on this eastern side of the river.

Dennis enjoys the advantage of a great variety and plenty of fish in common with the other towns in the county.

county. There are sea perch in Bass river. Bass enter this river in November, and remain there, and in Follen's pond through the winter. Eels may be caught in all the creeks; but they are found in the greatest abundance in Follen's pond and Bass river. In the same pond and in Wear-mill brook, about a hundred barrels of alewives are taken in a year. Clams are plenty, particularly on the south shore, where quahaugs also are found, and a few good oysters. Sufficient clam bait for the fishing vessels is collected in the river: and about fifty barrels are annually sold.

On the north shore there are wild fowls; but they are not as plenty as in Chatham.

The climate is healthful. Bilious and nervous disorders, rheumatism, and pulmonary consumption are the most common diseases.

A bill of mortality has not been obtained; but the following table exhibits the number of marriages from March 1794 to March 1802.

1794	12	1798	14
1795	17	1799	23
1796	18	1800	22
1797	32	1801	14
Total			152

The history of Dennis is short. In the year 1721, the east part of Yarmouth was set off as a precinct*; and June 19. 1793, it was incorporated into a town.

The church was gathered, and the first pastor, Rev. Josiah Dennis, was ordained, June 22d. 1727. Mr. Dennis died August 31st. 1763, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The inhabitants have manifested their respect to his memory by naming their town after him.

The present pastor, Rev. Nathan Stone, was ordained October 17th. 1764. *Vir humilis, mitis, blandus, advenarum hospes; suis commodis in terrâ non studens, reconditis thesauris in cælo.*

r. s.

NOTE ON THE SOUTH PARTS OF YARMOUTH AND
BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

ON the Yarmouth side of Bass river there are six wharves, three near the mouth of the river, and three a mile north of it. There are here twenty-one vessels. One brig sails immediately to the West-Indies. Ten coasters, from thirty to forty tons burden, sail to Boston, Connecticut, or the Southern States, and thence to the West-Indies. The other ten vessels are fishermen. One is of a hundred tons: the rest are from forty to seventy tons. The fishing vessels go to the straits of Belle-Isle, the shoals of Nova Scotia, or Nantucket shoals. On a medium, a fishing vessel uses seven hundred bushels of salt in a year. One or two vessels are annually built on Bass river, chiefly on the western side.

In Lewis's bay in Yarmouth, there are four coasters, of about forty-five tons each, and ten sail of fishermen, from forty-five to fifty tons: They catch fish on the coast, from Nantucket shoals to Nova Scotia.

On the Barnstable side of Lewis's bay there are nine sail of fishermen, of about forty tons each, which also fish on the same coast; likewise four coasters, of about forty-five tons each.

At Oyster Island there is one fishing vessel of forty tons, and eight coasters of about forty-five tons each.

These facts, in addition to those which have been already, and which will hereafter be, mentioned in this volume, show the present flourishing state of the south shore of the county of Barnstable, a part of Massachusetts not often visited, and little known. r. s.

NOTE ON THE SOUTH PRECINCT OF HARWICH, IN THE
COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

THE south precinct of Harwich, which is situated between Dennis and Chatham, is naturally separated from the north precinct by woods and ponds. The land is level and sandy. On this part of the coast there is neither

ther a harbour nor a creek, into which vessels can enter. The only shelter that they have, is a bar, which lies the length of the precinct, two thirds of a mile from the shore. On this bar are from seven to nine feet of water, in common tides. North of it the depth is nine feet at full sea; but there are many holes, in which the water is a little deeper. Fifteen or twenty vessels, containing on an average forty tons each, and about half of them owned in the precinct, are employed in the shoal fishery on the coast. Four vessels of a hundred tons each, which go to the banks of Newfoundland and the Straits of Belle-Isle, sail also from this place, and obtain their men here. The whole number of men and boys engaged in the cod-fishery is about two hundred; but several of them sail from Chatham, Bass river, and the north precinct. Two miles and a half, west of the Chatham line, there is a salt water pond, twenty feet deep, and a hundred and eighty rods in circumference. It is not more than two hundred yards from the shore, in which part there is one of the deep holes. About half the year the sea flows into the pond; and a small boat can then enter it. At an inconsiderable expense, perhaps ten thousand dollars, this pond might be converted into a safe and convenient harbour.

It is remarkable, that not long after marine salt began to be made in Dennis, by the sun alone, Mr. Amiel Weeks of this precinct, without the knowledge of Capt. Sears's invention, constructed a vat, about eight feet long, and six wide, from twelve to fourteen inches deep, and with a cover to exclude the rain. In this vat he manufactured salt for his own consumption; and continued the practice a number of years. The water was brought a mile, the salt was very impure, and no improvement was made in the first-essay.

r. s.

A DESCRIPTION OF CHATHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

CHATHAM lies in latitude 41°. 42'. N. and longitude 69°. 56'. W. from Greenwich. The length of the township, east and west, exclusive of the harbour, is four miles; and the breadth, north and south, from two miles to four.

four. It is bounded east by the ocean ; south, by Vineyard Sound ; west and north-west, by Harwich ; and north by Pleasant bay, which separates it from Orleans. The distance of the meeting house from Boston is ninety-three miles ; from Barnstable court house, twenty miles ; and from the meeting house in the north parish of Harwich, eight miles.

The township consists of hills and ridges, with narrow vallies, small depressions, ponds, and swamps between them. As the hills are nearly of the same height, and the vallies at a short distance are not perceived, the land appears like an elevated plain. Great Hill which is a third of a mile east of the meeting house, towers above the rest of the township. This is the first land made by seamen coming on this part of the coast. From its two summits there is an extensive prospect ; and even Nantucket is visible, when the land looms. The tops of the ridges and smaller hills also command a fine view of the sea.

There are two principal roads in Chatham ; the first, leading through the south precinct of Harwich, to Barnstable ; the other, to the north precinct of Harwich. From this second road branches a third, which passes through Orleans to Cape Cod. These roads are sandy ; but they are better than those of Wellfleet or Truro.

Few towns in the county are so well provided with harbours as Chatham. The first and most important is on the eastern side of the town, and is called Old harbour. It is formed by a narrow beach, which completely guards it against the ocean. The haven on the western side of this beach is extensive ; but the harbour of Chatham is supposed to reach not farther north than Strong island, a distance of about four miles. Above that the water, which is within the limits of Harwich and Orleans, is known by other names. The breadth of the harbour is about three quarters of a mile. Its entrance, a quarter of a mile wide, is formed by the point of the beach, and James' head east of it on the main land. On the inside of the beach are flats and salt marsh. There is also a piece of marsh on the southern part of Strong island. These marshes are covered during every tide.

There are no rocks either within or near the harbour ; but its mouth is obstructed by bars, which extend east and south-east

south-east of the point of the beach three quarters of a mile. On each side of this mouth is a breaker; one called the North; and the other, the South breaker. There are also several bars in the harbour within the outer bars. These bars are continually shifting: the causes of which are storms, and a strong current, which sets in and out of the harbour. At low water there are seven feet on the outer bars, common tides rising about six feet. North of them the shore is bolder. There is good holding ground in the harbour. At the entrance the bottom is sandy. Farther in there is a muddy bottom. The depth at low water is about twenty feet.

Not only do the bars alter, but the mouth of the harbour also is perpetually varying. At present it is gradually moving southward by the addition of sand to the point of the beach. The beach has thus been extended, above a mile, within the course of the past forty years.

In the year 1626, there was an entrance into Monamoyick harbour, opposite Potanumaquut, six miles north of the present mouth. The ship mentioned by Prince* came in here, and was stranded on the beach, where its ruins were to be seen about twenty years ago. This part of the beach still bears the name of the Old ship. The entrance has been closed for many years. Several passages into the harbour have been opened and shut since that time. At a late period, there were two openings into the haven; one of which, that which now exists, was styled the Old harbour; and the other, the New harbour.† Though the mouth of the New harbour is entirely choked up with sand, yet the name, Old harbour, is still retained.

It is not easy to give directions for sailing into so inconstant a port. None but a pilot, who is well acquainted with its yearly variations, can guide in a vessel with safety. On a signal's being made, however, boats are ready to put off from the shore, to yield assistance. In a north-east storm, in which a pilot cannot leave the land, a vessel, by getting to the south of the South breaker, may at present ride with safety. But how long this will be true, it is impossible to say.

The

* Annals, p. 163. See also Morton's Memorial, p. 89. A. D. 1627.

† See Des Barres' accurate chart of the coast.

The principal business of the town is done near Old harbour. To this it is well suited, not only by its proximity to the ocean, its superiour extent, but also by the convenient coves and creeks, with which its western shore is indented, bringing a harbour within a short distance of every man's door. The names of the principal, or of the points which form them, follow. South of Harwich line is Monamesset neck, which is bounded on the north by Pleasant bay: the east end of it is opposite Strong island. South of this neck is Eldridge point. Between the point and neck is situated Crowell bay. South of Eldridge point is Eldridge cove. South-east of this cove is Covell's river, a salt water creek, at the head of which is a small body of marsh. East of Covell's river is Muscle point; south-east of Muscle point is Nickerson's point; and south of Nickerson's point is Morris's cove, which is separated from the harbour by Little beach.

Not far south from James' head commences a long beach, the extremity of which at present is called Sandy point; but in ancient maps, Cape Malebarre. As there is also a Sandy point in Nantucket, to prevent confusion, the old name ought to be revived. This beach is described in another part of the volume.* The following particulars are added here. Stewart's Knoll is so denominated from a person of that name, who forty or fifty years since kept a tavern on it, for the accommodation of seamen making a harbour on the western side of the beach. The house stood at no great distance from the point, though at present the knoll is at least four miles from it. In the valley which is south of it, and which has been gained from the sea, there is a doubtful appearance of a soil's beginning to be formed. It is styled *doubtful*, because it would not be observed by every eye, and perhaps not acknowledged by many. Beach grass, the beach pea†, beach ivy, and the
several

* See Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable, p.117.

† A young gentleman, a native of Truro, has communicated to the author the following note on the beach pea.

"*Pisum maritimum*. (Lin. 870.) With. p. 629. V. 3. Petioles flattish above: stem angular: stipules arrow shaped: fruit stalks many flowered. Whole plant, excepting the upper surface of the leaves, slightly

several other vegetables, which obtain nourishment amidst the minute fragments of stone which constitute sand, grow here luxuriantly. The roots of plants, which have grown here in past years, seem to have rotted by the frequent rains that have fallen on them; and a solitary pine, which is not yet two feet high, has already found its way hither. Perhaps the whole beach, if untrodden by the feet of man and beast, would at the end of a few centuries be covered with wood, and in time with vegetable mould.

On the western side of this beach there are pieces of salt marsh, the greatest part of which are around Morris's island and west of it. As the wind is perpetually driving the sand over them, they are diminishing every year.—Whilst the marsh is wasting in one place, it is true that spots are gradually forming in others. But, on the whole, it loses more than it gains: formerly it was so extensive, that a hundred and fifty tons of hay were annually cut on it; but at present it does not yield more than sixty tons.

Morris's island was once surrounded by water; and the passage between it and the beach was a quarter of a mile wide, in the year 1752. The strait was gradually filled up, and has been entirely closed above thirty years. Whilst this junction has been making, the beach has wasted on its eastern side; so that now the island, as it is still denominated, is nearer to the ocean, than it was formerly to the eastern side of the strait. At the same period there was,
from

slightly downy: root creeping striking deep in the earth. Leaves numerous alternate: Flowers towards the end of the fruit stalks, crowded, on short pedicles. Blossoms pale red and purple.

Sea pea. Sea shores. Flowers in August.

(Found by Mr. Stackhouse on the sharp ridge running from Portland Island to Bridport, amongst loose pebbles, about fifteen or twenty feet above high water mark, &c.) (With. p. 630. V. 3.)

"In 1555, during a time of great scarcity, the people about Orford in Sussex were preserved from perishing by eating the seeds of this plant, which grew there in great abundance upon the sea coast. Cows, horses, sheep, and goats eat it.

"Dr. Cutler describes this as a plant of New England (in *Memoirs Am. Acad.* Vol. 1. p. 472.) So that I think there is no doubt of its being the same that grows on the sandy beaches of Cape Cod."

That the seeds of the beach pea are edible, is the opinion of several persons in the county of Barnstable; but the author cannot learn that any of them have ever made the experiment.

from Old harbour into Stage harbour, a passage, through which vessels might sail, the beach being then an island; but for above thirty years it has joined the main land.

Another change has taken place in this voluble mass of sand. In the year 1770, during a violent storm, the sea rushed through the beach. But by degrees the breach then made was filled up with sand, and in two years was completely closed.*

On the west side of Cape Malebarre, in the south part of Chatham, is another harbour, called Stage harbour; which is about a mile long, and a half of a mile wide. The entrance into it, which is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, is between Morris's island and Harding's beach or neck, which runs from the west. It is barred, there being not more than eight feet in the mouth at high water, common tides rising here four feet; but within there are twenty feet at low water. The anchorage is good, on a muddy bottom. This, as well as Old harbour, is completely land locked.

Oyster pond, about three quarters of a mile long, and a half of a mile broad, communicates with Stage harbour by Oyster pond river. There are six feet of water in this river at high tides; and vessels which draw five feet only can go into the pond.

North-east of Stage harbour, and communicating with it by Mitchel's river, is Mill cove. Connected with the cove is Mill pond, on which is a piece of salt marsh. East of Mill cove is Tom's neck.

There is good anchorage for large vessels on the outside of Stage harbour, south of Harding's beach, close to the shore, opposite a bunch of pines.

A mile

* The following remarkable fact of the same kind is related by a respectable writer.

"When the English first settled upon the Cape, there was an island off Chatham, at three leagues distance, called Webb's island, containing twenty acres, covered with red cedar or savin. The inhabitants of Nantucket used to carry wood from it. This island has been wholly worn away for almost a century. A large rock, that was upon the island, and which settled as the earth washed away, now marks the place: it rises as much above the bottom of the sea, as it used to rise above the surface of the ground. The water is six fathoms deep on this spot."

Mass. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 151.

A mile and a half west of Stage harbour is Cockle cove river ; navigable for flat boats only, and communicating with a salt pond north of it. On it is a small body of salt marsh.

West is Tumblen's cove, which also communicates with a salt pond, named by the Indians Matchapoxet. This cove is very shoal.

Proceeding still west is Red river, a small stream, navigable by boats only, forming the boundary between Chatham and Harwich. On both sides of it is salt marsh. These inlets are not far asunder, Red river being not more than a mile from Cockle cove.

Beside the salt water ponds which have been mentioned, there are not less than thirty ponds of fresh water. Fish are plenty in them ; but not being as highly esteemed as those which are caught in the sea, they are not much used. Their bottoms in general are sandy ; and they supply those, who live near them, with good water. There are also many springs of excellent water, though there are no brooks. Soft water is obtained from the wells, few of which are more than twelve feet deep.

There is a number of small swamps, several of which have been cleared, and converted into pastures and meadows. From these swamps, within the past five years, considerable quantities of peat have been dug.

Not a fruit tree grows in Chatham ; and not more than sixty-five acres of woodland are left. It is situated near the line of Harwich, and consists principally of pitch pine. The greatest part of the fuel, which is consumed, is brought from the district of Maine ; and costs at present about seven dollars a cord. Five cords of wood are considered as a sufficient yearly stock for a family.

The soil of the township is in general sandy and free from stones. There is good land, however, near Oyster pond and the coves. Very little English hay is cut ; but the marshes yield salt hay enough for the use of the inhabitants. Butter is made in summer ; but butter for winter and cheese are procured from Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and Boston. Beef and provisions of all kinds for the fishermen are brought from the last mentioned place. Not more than half enough Indian corn for the consumption

of

of the inhabitants is raised : the average produce to an acre is twelve bushels. Rye, the average produce of which is six bushels, is raised in the same proportion. Thirty years ago a small quantity of wheat was grown ; but at present it is wholly neglected. There are many good gardens, in which a sufficient quantity of roots and herbs are produced. The mode of husbandry is in general similar to that which is practised in Truro.* Materials for manure might be procured in plenty by those, who live near the shore. Attention of late begins to be paid to this article. As the land, particularly in the centre and south part of the township, is every year growing worse, by the drifting of the sand, there is little to encourage agricultural industry. The inhabitants, having to pursue other objects, which they deem more important, do not avail themselves of all the advantages that they possess for the improvement of their grounds. Besides sea weed and the king crab on their shores, there are also spots which contain clay,† a well known fertilizer of a sandy soil. But husbandry is pursued with little spirit, the people in general passing the flower of their lives at sea, which they do not quit till they are fifty years of age, leaving at home none but the old men and small boys to cultivate the ground.

A few of the young and middle aged men are engaged in mercantile voyages, and sail from Boston ; but the great body of them are fishermen. Twenty-five schooners, from twenty-five to seventy tons, are employed in the cod-fishery. They are partly owned in Boston and other places, but principally in Chatham. About one half of them fish on the banks of Newfoundland ; the rest on Nantucket shoals, the shores of Nova Scotia, and in the straits of Belle-Isle. On board these schooners are about two hundred men and boys, most of whom are inhabitants of Chatham ; and they catch one year with another seven or eight hundred quintals to a vessel. Beside these fishing vessels, there are belonging to the town five coasters, which sail to Carolina and the West Indies.

Fish

* See Vol. 3. p. 198. Coll. Hist. Soc.

† Bricks are seldom made in Chatham.

Fish are plenty on the coast. In addition to those, which are enumerated in the description of Truro, are the sheep's head, drummer, shad, and tautaug.

Shell fish are found in great abundance on the shores, particularly quahaugs and clams. Great quantities of bait are dug for the use of the fishermen. There are excellent oysters in Oyster pond ; but they are scarce and dear, selling for a dollar a bushel.

In no part of the country can wild fowls be obtained in such plenty and variety.

Food can so easily be procured, either on the shores or in the sea, that with the profit which arises from their voyages, in which it must be confessed they labour very hard, the people are enabled to cover their tables well with provisions. A breakfast among the inhabitants, and even among those who are called the poorest, for there are none who are really poor, consists of tea or coffee, brown bread, generally with butter, sometimes without, and salt or fresh fish, fried or broiled. A dinner affords one or more of the following dishes : roots and herbs ; salted beef or pork boiled ; fresh butcher's meat not more than twelve times a year ; wild fowl frequently in the autumn and winter ; fresh fish boiled or fried with pork ; shell fish ; salt fish boiled ; indian pudding, pork baked with beans. Tea or coffee also frequently constitutes a part of the dinner. A supper consists of tea or coffee and fish as at breakfast, cheese, cakes made of flour, gingerbread, and pies of several sorts. This bill of fare will serve with little variation for all the fishing towns in the county. In many families there is no difference between the breakfast and supper ; cheese, cakes, and pies being as common at the one as at the other.

Chatham contains more inhabitants in proportion to its extent, than any other township in the county : by the census of 1800, there were thirteen hundred and fifty-one souls ; and they have increased a little since that time. The number of dwelling houses, as returned in the valuation of the last year, is an hundred and fifty-eight. They are small, four only being two stories in height. The meeting house, near the centre of the township, is in good repair. There are five schools, in which reading, writing, and

and arithmetick are taught to children of both sexes: education is encouraged. The other buildings are a ropewalk, a tan-house, a number of barns, and six windmills.

The inhabitants are very industrious. The women are engaged in the domestick employments and manufactures usual in other parts of Massachusetts, and a number of them in curing fish at the flake yards.

Fogs are more frequent in Chatham than in any other part of the county; and they serve in summer, instead of trees, to shelter the houses against the heat of the sun. To those who delight in extensive vision, they are unpleasant; but they are not found to be unhealthful. The air of the township is justly regarded as very salubrious: one proof of which is, that there is not sufficient employment for a physician. Epidemick distempers, it is true, have sometimes visited the place; but not more frequently than other towns in the county. In the year 1764 the small-pox carried off a great number of persons.

Monamoy*, as the settlement was during many years denominated, is one of the original plantations of the county, not being formed out of other towns. April 10th. 1665, William Nickerson bought of John Quason, alias Towsowet, sachem of Monamoy, a tract of land near Potanumaquut; bounded east by the Great harbour; south by a line, which extends west by south into the woods, from Wequaset to a pine tree† marked upon four sides; and north by a line extending to the farther head of a pond, to a place called Porchcommock. June 19th. 1672, Mattaquason and John Quason, sachems of Monnamoiet, for the consideration of one shallop, ten coats of trucking cloth, six kettles, twelve axes, twelve hoes, twelve knives, forty shillings in wampum, a hat, and twelve shillings in money,—sold to the same William Nickerson a tract of land and meadows at Monnamoiet, at the west side of Muddy cove, and extending southerly to Matchapoxet pond, and thence by a creek to the sea; and extending easterly

* So is the name pronounced at present; but in ancient books and records it is written Monnamoiet, or Monamoyick.

† Near the cart way, which goes from Chatham to Saukatucket mill in Harwich.

easterly to Oyster pond.* Again, March 29th. 1678,† August 16th. 1682, and at divers other times, he purchased lands and meadows of the Indians.

In the year 1665, Thomas Hinkley, John Freeman, Nathaniel Bacon, and their partners, obtained from the colony court of Plymouth the grant of a right to purchase, of the natives, land at Monnamoiet and places adjacent. This interfered with the property of Nickerson, who had made several of his purchases without previously procuring such a grant, which was necessary to render his title valid. But on the 3d. of July, 1672, Hinkley and his associates, for a valuable consideration, conveyed to Nickerson their grant, and all the lands which they had bought in consequence of it. This made his title good; and it was afterwards confirmed to his heirs by the legislature.‡

After the settlement of the village or district of Monamoy, which appears to have been not long after the purchases were made, it was considered as one of the towns in the colony; for in June, 1686, it was ordered to choose a grand-juryman§; and on the 11th. of February, 1691, liberty was granted to its inhabitants to elect and send a deputy to the general court.|| In the ensuing March the bounds of the village were enlarged. This was the last act of the colony court of Plymouth respecting it.¶

It was incorporated into a township, by the legislature of Massachusetts, and its name altered to that of Chatham, June 11th. 1712.

Eight years after the incorporation, the inhabitants had become

* Plymouth Records, Lib. 12. Fol. 251.

† Plym. Rec. Lib. 16. Fol. 463.

‡ The family of Nickerson is one of the most numerous in the county; and a number of the name remain in Chatham.

§ At a colony court held at Plymouth in June, 1686, Plymouth was ordered by said court to choose three grand-jurymen; Duxborough two; Scituate four; Marshfield three; Bridgewater two; Middleborough one; Barnstable three; Yarmouth three; Sandwich three; Eastham three; Monnamoiet one; Succonessett one; Sippican one; Bristol three; Taunton three; Rehoboth three; Dartmouth two; Swansey two; Little Compton one; Freetown one. Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 1.

|| Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 52.

¶ Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 56.

become so numerous as to be able to support a settled minister of the gospel. No particular account, however, of their numbers can be obtained till the year 1764. From the census which was then taken, it appears that there were a hundred and five dwelling houses, a hundred and twenty-seven families, and six hundred and seventy-seven souls; but it is remarkable, that though above five hundred Indians remained in the county, yet not one was left in Chatham.* From comparing the census of 1764 with that of 1800, it appears that the number of the inhabitants has doubled in thirty-eight years. That it has not increased more is owing to the frequent emigrations which have been made during this period.

In the year 1774, Chatham had become so flourishing a town, that it employed twenty-seven vessels in the cod-fishery.

Another census was taken in 1776, when there were found in Chatham a hundred and sixty-five families, and nine hundred and thirty souls.

The town suffered greatly by the revolutionary war. Many of the men were captivated by the enemy, and died in prison ships. In the year 1783, four or five vessels only were left in the harbours; but the town was filled with widows, mourning the loss of their husbands and sons. With the return of peace, the fishery revived, the tears of the wretched were wiped away; and since that period the inhabitants have been increasing in wealth and population.†

The names and succession of the pastors will conclude the description of Chatham. June 15th. 1720, the church was

* There is not an Indian now in Chatham.

† A traveller who visited Chatham in the year 1790, and who observed every object with an accurate eye, informs the publick, that forty vessels were then employed in the cod-fishery. It would appear therefore, at first view, that the number of vessels, as it is not more than twenty-five at present, has diminished during the past twelve years. The truth is, that the inhabitants of Chatham did not, in 1790, own forty fishermen; but at that period, a number of vessels, which with their crews wholly belonged to other places, came into the harbour of Chatham, and the fish which they brought was cured on its shores. See *Mass. Mag.* Vol. 3. p. 74.

was first gathered, and Rev. Joseph Lord ordained. He died June 6th. 1748. Rev. Stephen Emery was installed May 17th. 1749, and died May 24th. 1782. Rev. Thomas Roby was ordained October 22d. 1783, and dismissed at his request October 22d. 1795. The present pastor, Rev. Ephraim Briggs, was ordained July 20th. 1796. *Seip, sepoese, sepoemese, wechekum.* r. s.

A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF EASTHAM, IN THE
COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER. 1802.

EASTHAM is situated in latitude $41^{\circ}. 51'$. N. and longitude $69^{\circ}. 56'$. W. from Greenwich. Its distance from Boston, following the road, is ninety-four miles; from Plymouth, the capital of the Old Colony, fifty-two; and from Barnstable, the shire town, twenty-two. The distance from Boston, in a straight line, is sixty-eight miles. It is bounded on the east by the Atlantick ocean; on the north by Wellfleet; on the west by Barnstable bay; and on the south and south-east by Orleans; from which it is separated by a line beginning at Rock harbour river, and running by various courses to Boat meadow river; thence running up the middle of the river to its head; thence running southerly, through the centre of the meadow, to a swamp; thence through the swamp, and along Jeremiah's gutter, into the middle of Town cove; thence running down the centre of the cove to Stone island; and thence running an east-south-east course into the Atlantick ocean. The length of the township is six miles; and the breadth, from two miles to two and a half.

In sailing from Race point south, the first opening into the beach, on the eastern side of the county of Barnstable, is found in Eastham. There is here a small harbour, called Nauset, or Stage harbour, the entrance of which is narrow and obstructed by a bar, on which are not more than eight feet of water at full sea. It is divided into two arms, one of which extends north, and the other south-west. The northern arm is shallow. A body of salt marsh, containing two hundred acres, lies in it, and

is protected from the ocean by a narrow beach. The south-western arm, which is denominated Town cove, has fourteen feet in the deepest part, at high water, common tides. As it is completely secured against every wind, if a passage could be opened from it into the ocean, it would afford an excellent harbour; but this, it is conceived, is impossible, because if the channel was deepened by art, it would soon be choked up again with sand, driven into it by storms.

A sandy flat, a mile wide, extends along the western shore, from Suet to the bounds of Wellfleet. It is left dry about three hours, and may easily be crossed by horses and carriages. Of consequence there can be no good harbour on this side of the township. There are however several creeks, which at high water admit small vessels into them.

The first is Great meadow river, the mouth of which is situated south-west from the meeting house. East of it is a body of salt marsh.

About a half of a mile south of Great meadow river is Boat meadow river, which runs from the south-east. Its entrance lies south-south-west from the meeting house, and is eight feet deep at high water. A body of salt marsh extends from the mouth of this river to within four rods of Town cove, leaving a narrow ridge for a road. The marsh is not more than fifteen rods from the swamp, which is the head of Jeremiah's gutter; and as the land is low between them, in very high tides, the sea flows across from the bay to the ocean, completely insulating the northern part of the county.

About a half of a mile south of Boat meadow river is Rock harbour river; which will again be mentioned in the Description of Orleans.

Beside these creeks there are three brooks which empty themselves into the bay.

The first is Indian brook, which forms the boundary between Eastham and Wellfleet, and runs into the harbour of Silver springs.

Three quarters of a mile south of Indian brook is Cook's brook, which is dry half the year.

A mile

A mile south of Cook's brook is Snow's brook, which runs the greatest part of the year, but is very small.

Grape swamp, a mile south of Snow's brook, sometimes discharges water into the bay.

On the eastern side of the township, in the fertile tract, the road passes over a small stream, which contains fresh water at low tide.

Jeremiah's gutter may also be called a brook, though it is very narrow, and not more than fourteen rods in length.

As there is little room for these brooks to run, they are necessarily formed on a minute scale.

Fresh ponds are not numerous in Eastham, there being eight only. The most remarkable are Great pond and Long pond. Great pond is a quarter of a mile from the western shore. A communication was opened between it and the bay, for the purpose of suffering alewives to pass into it: it soon closed. A narrow neck, about forty feet wide, separates it from Long pond; the distance of which from Mill pond, connected with the northern arm of Nauset harbour, is not more than a furlong. Here those who think it as easy to dig through the land, as to mark a line on a map, will be disposed to cut a canal from the ocean to the bay. As the ground is generally low, the labour would not be great; but unfortunately the canal, if made, would not long exist.

The soil of the township is various. A large proportion is sandy and barren.* On the west side, a beach extends from the north line, near a half of a mile wide, till it comes to Great pond, where it stretches across the township almost to Town cove. This barren tract, which does not now contain a particle of vegetable mould, formerly produced wheat. The soil however was light. The sand in some places, lodging against the beach grass,† has been raised into hills fifty feet high, where twenty-five years ago no hills existed. In others it has filled up small vallies and swamps. Where a strong-rooted bush stood, the appearance is singular: a mass of earth and sand adheres to it, resembling a small tower. In several places rocks, which were

* See Mass. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 75.

† See Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable, p. 110.

were formerly covered with soil, are disclosed ; and being lashed by the sand, driven against them by the wind, look as if they were recently dug from a quarry.

On the eastern side of the township, is a tract of about two hundred acres, equal, and by many supposed superior, to any land in the county. Three cedar swamps on the west of it, three quarters of a mile in length, still guard it in a great measure against the irruptions of the sand. This good land will yield, with manure, thirty-five, and sometimes forty-five, bushels of Indian corn to an acre, and from twenty to thirty bushels of rye.

North of the fertile tract on the eastern side of Eastham, the land is light and sandy ; but, except for the distance of a half of a mile from the bounds of Wellfleet, is good for the lower part of the county. In this part of the township the greatest quantities of corn are grown.

As very little of the land is good for grass, the raising of grain is the principal business to which the farmers attend. More corn is produced than the inhabitants consume ; and above a thousand bushels, about half of which are sold in Wellfleet, are annually sent to market. Five and twenty years ago, three times this quantity was exported. The soil being free from stones, a plough passes through it speedily ; and after the corn has come up, a small Cape horse, somewhat larger than a goat, will, with the assistance of two boys, easily hoe three or four acres in a day. Several farmers are accustomed to produce five hundred bushels of grain annually ; and not long since, one of them raised eight hundred bushels, on sixty acres. This, however, was extraordinary, and may never be done again.

In Eastham and in Orleans a little wheat and flax are raised, particularly on the best land. The former is subject to be blasted in both townships. There is sufficient salt hay ; but very little English hay is cut in Eastham.

Except a tract of oaks and pines, adjoining the south line of Wellfleet, and which is about a mile and a half wide, no wood is left in the township. The forests were imprudently cut down many years ago ; and no obstacle being opposed to the fury of the wind, it has already covered with barrenness the large tract above described, and threatens

threatens the whole township with destruction. For the present its rage seems in some degree to be checked by enclosures and planting beach grass. These measures, if persevered in, though they may not retrieve the soil already lost, will guard the fertile grounds, which still flourish amidst a desert of sand.

The high land of Cape Cod, which begins at the Clay pounds in Truro, on which, in the year 1798, a light house was erected, terminates a mile north of Eastham. This township is chiefly a plain. There are a few rising grounds and vallies, particularly in the fertile tract. Most of the houses, being protected neither by hills nor woods, stand in bleak and exposed situations.

The county road from Harwich to Wellfleet passes over the barren sands ; and conveys to strangers, who are naturally induced to take this way, a worse opinion of Eastham than it deserves. Soon after entering on this scene of desolation, a road turns to the right, and leads over the good land. These two roads meet on the narrow neck, which lies between Long pond and Mill pond, where again they diverge, the road on the right hand being very good for this part of the county ; but in favour of the other nothing can be said, except that it is the shortest, and that it is not as bad as the roads of Wellfleet.

There are at present in Eastham a hundred and twenty-two families, who inhabit ninety-nine dwelling houses, seven of which only are two stories in height. The other buildings are, beside barns, two windmills, two school houses, and a meeting house, which this year has been enlarged and repaired.

There is no village in the township ; but several quarters of it are distinguished by appropriate appellations.

The north-east part retains the ancient Indian name, Nauset.

The north-west part, a little north of the centre of the township, is called Halfponds. It receives its name from two small ponds near it.

The part west of the meeting house, south of Great and Long ponds, and north of Great meadow, is denominated Great Neck ; which terminates in Mulford's cliff.

Three

Three fishing vessels only are owned by the inhabitants, and three coasters, which in summer bring lumber from the district of Maine, and in winter go to the West Indies. Not so many of the young men are engaged in the cod-fishery as in other lower towns of the county; but a number are employed in the merchants' service, and sail from Boston.

Fishes are the same as on other parts of the coast. By the act of incorporation, which separated Orleans from Eastham, the benefits of the shell-fishery are to be mutually shared. About a hundred barrels of clams for bait are annually collected in Eastham.

The climate does not differ materially from that of other parts of the county. Hysterick fits are very common in Orleans, Eastham, and the towns below, particularly on Sunday, in the time of divine service. When one woman is affected, five or six others generally sympathize with her; and the congregation is thrown into the utmost confusion. Several old men suppose, unphilosophically and uncharitably perhaps, that the will is partly concerned, and that ridicule and threats would have a tendency to prevent the evil. Nervous disorders and the pulmonary consumption are also frequent in this place.

The territory constituting the old colony of Plymouth, before the arrival of the English, was possessed by a nation of Indians styled the Wamponoags or Pawkunnawkuts.* The Indians in the county of Barnstable were a distinct people; but they were subject in some respects to the chief sachem of the Wamponoags. Of these petty tribes, the Nauset Indians appear to have been the most important. They dwelt on the land, which the English afterwards settled by the name of Eastham; and their country extended from Nobsusset to Cape Cod, including Sawkatucket, Monamoyick, Potanumaquut, Pononakanit, Pamet,

* Gookin's Hist. Coll. of the Ind. in N. Eng. chap. II. § 4. The name of this nation is spelled in many different manners: Packanokik and Puckanokick, by Purchas; Pocanaket, by Morton, and Pockanockett, by his Continuator; Pacanokik, by Prince; and Pokanocket by Hutchinson. A similar disorder prevails in the orthography of other Indian names.

Pamet, and Meshawn.* The principal seats of the Nauset Indians were at Namskeket, within the limits of Orleans, and about the Cove, which divides this township from Eastham. At the latter place shell fish have always been plenty : food therefore could easily be obtained in abundance.†

Cape Cod being discovered by Gosnold in the year 1602, several English vessels after this period visited the coast. In 1614, Capt. John Smith, the celebrated navigator,‡ after touching at several places on the coast of New England, embarked for London, and left his ship under the command of Thomas Hunt, to load it with fish for Spain. After his lading was completed, and he was ready to sail, Hunt, under the pretence of trading with them, enticed into the ship twenty Indians from Patuxet, and seven from Nauset. He seized on these unsuspecting natives, confined them in the hold of the vessel, and carried them to Malaga ; where he sold a number of them for twenty pounds a man ; and would have disposed of the whole in the same way, if the monks of that city had not compassionately interfered, and rescued those who remained out of his hands.|| This atrocious deed kindled in the hearts of the Indians a fire of hatred, which was not extinguished during many years. All farther attempts at commerce with them became in a high degree dangerous ; and on sundry occasions they exercised on the Europeans the deepest revenge.§

In 1617, the country of the Pawkunnawkuts was nearly depopulated by the Great Plague.¶ The Nauset Indians, and other tribes east of Patuxet, appear in a great measure to have escaped the pestilence. In

* Hutchinson. Vol. I. p. 159. 1st edit. Gookin. chap. VIII. § 2.

† The great numbers of broken shells remaining in the neighbourhood of this Cove prove that the territory was formerly well settled by the Indians.

‡ For an entertaining narrative of Capt. Smith's romantick adventures, see Belknap's Biography, Vol. I.

|| I. Mather's Relation of Troubles in N. Eng. p. 2. Prince's Annals, p. 40. Mourt. 38.

§ Prince's Ann. p. 41, 45, 68. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 211. I. Mather's Relations, p. 4.

¶ Prince's Ann. p. 46.

In the month of November of the year 1620, the little band of adventurers, who settled the colony of Plymouth, arrived in the harbour of Cape Cod. On the 6th. of December they sent out their shallop with ten of their principal men, and eight or ten seamen, to coast round the bay, that they might discover a proper place for a settlement. Passing by Pamet river and Billingsgate point, they reached the bottom of the bay that night, and landed north of Great pond in Eastham.

Having employed the next day in examining the country, early in the morning of the 8th. of December, they were suddenly attacked by the Nauset Indians, instigated without doubt by the remembrance of Hunt's perfidy. Though they were successful in repelling the foe, they thought it necessary immediately to quit the coast; and sailing along the shore, that night they reached the harbour of Plymouth.*

They heard nothing farther of the Nauset Indians till the ensuing March, when they were informed by Samoset, the first native who visited them, that this tribe consisted of a hundred fighting men. A boy, John Billington, having lost himself in the woods, and being conveyed to Nauset, an opportunity was afforded of making peace with the Indians of this place. Accordingly ten men were sent by Governour Bradford, about the end of July, 1621, to recover the boy. They sailed first to the harbour of Cummaquid, where they were hospitably entertained by Iyanough, the sachem. Thence they proceeded to Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying them. The design of the embassy being made known to Aspinet, the chief sachem, the boy was restored and a peace concluded.†

Masassoit, the sachem of the Wamponoags, having, in September, acknowledged the king of England to be his master, the sachems of Nauset, Pamet, and Cummaquid, who were in subjection to him, submitted also to the same authority.‡

After

* Prince's Annals. p. 76—78. Morton's Memorial. p. 24—28. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. Life of Carver.

† Prince's Annals. p. 107, 108. Mourt. 60.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 112.

After this a friendly intercourse was maintained, for more than a year, between the English at Plymouth and the Indians of Nauset. Supplies of corn and beans were obtained of these natives by the colonists, who, in the summer of 1622, were reduced almost to a state of famine.* Trade was carried on between the two parties with fairness and honour; and the persons employed in the business were treated by the Indians with respect and kindness.†

But in the spring of 1623, the colonists received information from Masassoit, who continued faithful to them, that there was a conspiracy among the Indians, in which the sachems of Nauset and Pamet had joined, to extirpate the English. In consequence of this intelligence, Capt. Standish was dispatched to the bay of Massachusetts, where he put to death the principal conspirators. This prompt execution so terrified the rest of the natives, that they abandoned their houses, and concealed themselves in swamps; where they contracted diseases, by which many of them miserably perished. Among others, who fell victims to their fears, was Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, and Iyanough, the courteous sachem of Cummaquid.‡

By these disasters the Nauset Indians were reduced and humbled. They probably soon returned, however, to an amicable correspondence with the English; for less than four years after the conspiracy, we find them again kindly assisting the English and selling them corn.||

Though the English had settled eight towns in the colony of Plymouth during the first twenty years; yet no attempt had been made to begin a plantation in Nauset. In the year 1640, "the purchasers or old comers" of Plymouth colony obtained of the court the grant of a tract of land, from the bounds of Yarmouth three miles to the eastward of Namsketet, and across the neck from sea to sea.

* Prince's Ann. p. 118. Winslow. 16.

† Prince's Ann. p. 124. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 228. Winslow. 27.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 129—133. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 230, 231. Winslow. 49, 59, 66.

|| Prince's Ann. p. 164.

sea.* But no immediate use was made of it, nor was any township begun.

Three years after this grant, 1643, several members of the church of Plymouth became dissatisfied with their situation. Notwithstanding the favourable opinion which the colonists had first conceived of the place,† they discovered in a few years, that they had built their town in the neighbourhood of one of the most barren parts of New England. The spots of good land are small, and few in number; and plains and hills of sand surround the harbour, and extend to a distance from it into the country, rendering it improbable that Plymouth could ever be raised into a flourishing and opulent capital. Many persons had already left the town; and at this time sundry respectable members requesting a dismissal, the church began seriously to reflect, whether it was not better to remove in a body to another place, than thus to be weakened and insensibly dissolved.

Many meetings of the church were held on the subject; and there was a great diversity of sentiments among the members. Some were for still remaining together in Plymouth, alleging that they could live there very well, provided they would be contented with their situation; and that not the fear of poverty, but the desire of enriching themselves, was the motive of those who wished to depart. Others were determined to remove, declaring that if the whole church would not go, they would go by themselves. The members of the church, notwithstanding this difference of opinion, felt mutually the affection of brethren; and were unwilling to be deprived of the society and friendship of each other. At length, therefore, those who preferred staying in Plymouth yielded to the sentiment of the others; and a removal was universally agreed to, on the condition that they could find a place, which would conveniently receive the whole church, with the addition of such persons as might hereafter join them.

This being resolved, several places were proposed, and among others Nauset, which the Governour, Mr. Bradford,

* Hazard's Coll. Vol. I. p. 466. Plym. Col. Records. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

† See Mourt's Relation. 23.

ford, apprehended would be a commodious situation, he having had occasion once or twice to visit this part of the country, and having found here a tract of fertile land, which had also been commended by others as a rich soil.*

The church acceding to the proposition of the Governour, a committee was chosen and sent to Nauset on discovery. They took, however, a superficial view only of the place; and hence supposed that it was larger than it afterwards proved to be. After their return to Plymouth, the members of the church, knowing that "the purchasers or old comers" had a grant of lands in this part of the country, thought it necessary to apply to them for their consent; which being obtained, it was concluded by the church to send a number of persons to make a more complete discovery and survey of Nauset, and also to purchase the soil of the natives. This was in June, 1644.

Accordingly a committee, consisting of Thomas Prince, John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Josias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs, who were the first settlers of Eastham, with the addition of the Governour and many other members of the church, was chosen, and sent on a second discovery. These persons having proceeded to Nauset, and made an accurate survey of the place, judged that it was not capable of containing more than twenty or twenty-five families; and consequently that it was not large enough to accommodate the whole church, much less to afford room for future increase. They thought proper, however, to purchase the soil of the natives; which was done accordingly.

The lands, which were then bought, were as follows: A tract of land called Pochet, with two islands lying before Potanumaquut, with a beach and small island upon it; also all the land called Namskeket, extending northward to the bounds of the territory belonging to George, the sachem, excepting a small island† which was purchased afterwards. These tracts were bought of the sachem of Monamoyick, Mattaquason, who laid claim to them. Of George, the sachem, probably the immediate successor of
Aspinet,

* See Morton's Mem. p. 34. edit. 1721.

† Pochet island.

Aspinet, they bought at the same time all the lands belonging to him; extending northward from the bounds of the territory claimed by Mattaquason, excepting a small neck of land lying by the harbour on the east side of the tract; which neck of land the English stipulated to fence; that the Indians might use it as a cornfield. It was also agreed between the English and Indians, that such of them as were the natural inhabitants of the place should have liberty to get shell fish in the cove; and likewise that they should have a part of the blubber, which should be driven on shore, the proportion to be determined by the English. At this time it was demanded, who laid claim to Billingsgate, which was understood to be all the land in the bay, north of the territory purchased of George, the sachem. The answer was, There was not any who owned it. Then said the committee, That land is ours. The Indians answered, It was.

The committee, having completed the business, returned to Plymouth, and made report to the church; who, judging that Nauset was not only too small to receive the whole body, but also too remote from the centre of the colony to be a fit place for the metropolis of the government, determined not to remove. Liberty, however, was given to those, who chose to go, to begin the plantation, they agreeing to pay for the purchase, which at first was made in the name of the whole church.*

In the mean time a grant was obtained of the colony court in the following words :

1644. "The court doth grant unto the church of New Plymouth, or those that go to dwell at Nauset, all the tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchasers bounds at Namskeket, to the Herring brook at Billingsgate, with said Herring brook, and all the meadows on both sides the said brook, with the great bass pond there, and all meadows and islands lying within the said tract."†

This grant included the present townships of Eastham, Wellfleet, and Orleans. It extended south to Monamoyick

* Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. II. Fol. 112.

yick bay, or the Eastern harbour, or Great harbour, as it was then sometimes called. At one end it was bounded by the "lands belonging to the purchasers or old comers," afterwards settled by the name of Harwich* ; and at the other, by lands which were afterwards incorporated by the name of Truro ; being in length about fifteen miles.

Thomas Prince, and the others above named, having obtained possession of the grant and the right of property, removed immediately to Nauset, and began to settle the township.† These persons are said to have been among the most respectable inhabitants of Plymouth. The church regretted their departure, viewing herself as a mother grown old and forsaken by her children, though not in their affections, yet in their company and personal assistance.‡ But however the emigration might be lamented at that time, it was productive of great good to the colony ; as, whilst it did not essentially injure the church of Plymouth, which soon supplied with other members the loss which it had sustained, it eventually led to the settlement of all the lower part of the county of Barnstable ; in consequence of which the Indians there, still from their numbers a formidable body, were overawed and their good will obtained ; and they were prevented from joining in any hostile attempts against the English in the wars which afterwards ensued.

Of the first planters of Nauset, Thomas Prince was the leader. This gentleman was born in England, and came to America in the ship *Fortune*, which arrived at Plymouth, November, 1621, || being then in the twenty-second year of his age. He was first chosen governour of the colony in the year 1634 ; but Governour Bradford being re-elected the next year, Mr. Prince was appointed an assistant. He continued in this office, except in the year 1638, when he was a second time chosen governour, till the death of Mr. Bradford, in 1657.§ At this period a disposition

* *Plym. Col. Rec.* A. D. 1654. *Mass. Acts and Laws.* A. D. 1694.

† *Morton's Mem.* p. 159.

‡ *Cotton's Account of the Church in Plym.* in *Coll. of Hist. Soc.* Vol. IV. p. 112, 113. *Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III.* Fol. 276.

|| *Prince Ann.* p. 114.

§ *Morton's Mem.* p. 123—183.

disposition prevailed in the colony to discountenance the regular ministers, by setting up the gifts of private brethren in opposition to them. The friends of learning thought that no method would be more effectual in preventing the churches from being overwhelmed with ignorance, than the election of Mr. Prince to the office of governour; and this point being gained, the adverse party from that time sunk into confusion. On this occasion he left Eastham and returned to Plymouth, where he resided till his death, which took place March 29th. 1673, in the seventy-third year of his age, after he had served his country in the office of governour eighteen years. His death was much lamented, and his body honourably buried at Plymouth, the eighth of April following. He was a man of great worth and piety; eminently qualified in an infant colony for the office of governour, the duties of which he faithfully and conscientiously discharged; studious of peace, a well-wisher to all who feared God, and a terrour to the wicked; rigid however in his religious opinions, and a zealous opposer of those whom he thought hereticks, particularly of the Quakers, who "placed their justification upon their patience and suffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life." Mr. Prince was in particular distinguished for his integrity. As a magistrate he so scrupulously rejected every thing which had even the appearance of a bribe, that if any person, who had a cause at court, sent a present to his family during his absence, on hearing of it, he immediately returned the value of it in money. His natural abilities were good, but they were not much improved by education; the want of which he duly felt, and this led him to encourage learning to the utmost of his power. It was he, who, in opposition to the clamours of the ignorant and selfish, procured revenues for the support of grammar schools in the colony.* Mr. Prince was twice married.† One of his descendants was the learned and accurate author of the *Annals of New England*, which have preserved many valuable materials of the early history

* *Plym. Col. Rec.* A. D. 1673. *Morton's Mem.* p. 183, 190, 191, 197, 198, 244. *Mather's Magnal.* Book II. chap. II. § 2.

† *Prince's Ann.* p. 150. MS. in possession of the writer of this article.

tory of the colonies, which but for the labours of their industrious author would have been irretrievably lost. Posterity, to whom the principles, feelings, habits, and sufferings of the planters of New England will be interesting objects of contemplation, will lament that the neglect of the contemporaries of this gentleman prevented him from bringing his work to a conclusion.

Next in rank to Mr. Prince, among the planters of Nauset, was John Doane. This gentleman came early to New England, and was chosen assistant in the year 1633.* Before his removal he was a deacon of the church of Plymouth.† His posterity have principally remained within the ancient limits of Eastham; and several of them have been men of respectable characters both in former and later times.‡

Of the other planters of Nauset little is now known. Edward Bangs and Nicholas Snow|| came to New England in the ship *Anne*, which arrived at Plymouth July, 1623.§ The descendants of the former are chiefly to be found in Harwich; the numerous posterity of the latter in Harwich, Truro, and within the ancient limits of Eastham. Richard Higgins also came to Plymouth not many years after that town began, as his name appears on the list of freemen in the year 1633.¶ There are more families of this name in the county of Barnstable than of any other, except that of Smith; and nearly the whole of them live in Eastham, Orleans, and Wellfleet. Descendants of Cook and Smalley remain in the county; but they are not numerous. At what time these two persons came to New England is unknown. Francis, John, and Jacob Cook were among the early settlers of the colony** ; Josias Cook might be the son of one of them.

These persons having seated themselves in Nauset, from
time

* Plym. Col. Rec. 1633. In Morton's Mem. p. 120, by an error of the press, the name is Dove.

† Cotton's Acc. of the Ch. in Plym.

‡ Rec. of Mass. A. D. 1693, 1759, 1770, &c.

|| Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Prince's Ann. p. 139.

¶ Plym. Col. Records.

** Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1633.

time to time admitted others to join them. In the year 1646, they had gained such an accession of numbers, that they thought proper to apply to the colony court for an act of incorporation. This was obtained, and is in the following words.

1646. June 2d. "Nauset is granted to be a township, and to have all the privileges of a township, as other towns within the government have."

The inhabitants of Eastham soon experienced the inconvenience of having the natives at both ends of their township. They accordingly came to a composition with the Indians, who had been the subjects of George, the sachem, he being now dead, respecting the neck of land lying at the mouth of the harbour. For this tract they paid a valuable consideration, and allowed the Indians besides a piece of land at Gesquoquaset,* which they were to enclose themselves.

Not long after this they purchased the fertile island of Pochet, which in the first sale had been reserved by Mattaquason to the Indians. They held the lands in Billingsgate many years, without paying any thing for them. But about the year 1666, appeared an Indian, who styled himself Lieutenant Anthony, and laid claim to them. Of him therefore they bought the tract, extending from the northern limits of Nauset, to a little brook named by the Indians Sapokonisk, and by the English Bound brook, Anthony reserving to himself a small neck, called Tuttomnest.†

Twelve years before the claims of the Indians were fully satisfied, the line between Eastham and the lands belonging to "the purchasers or old comers" was settled. It was then determined by the colony court, that the line should begin at the river of Namskeket, and extend to the Eastern harbour.‡

The planters of Eastham having obtained possession of the township, both by act of the legislature and by purchase

* The writer has not been able to ascertain the situation of this land.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276. Indian Deed to Thomas Prince, &c. 9th of Nov. 1666, in Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1673.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1654.

chase from the natives, proceeded to cultivate their lands. A church was gathered soon after their arrival *; but the inhabitants were not sufficiently numerous to support a minister of religion till the year 1672, when the Reverend Samuel Treat was ordained.† This gentleman is entitled to a distinguished rank among the evangelists of New England; and by his zeal and labours, he not only converted many of the Indians to the faith which he embraced, but he was also the happy instrument of reducing them to a state of order and civilization.

The excellent Mr. Eliot was, however, the first mover in this benevolent work; and to him the highest praise is justly due. After converting the Indians in his neighbourhood, he travelled into the colony of Plymouth, and preached to the natives there. Not satisfied with this exertion, he wrote letters to several persons of learning and piety, urging them to accomplish themselves for the undertaking. His example and exhortations made such an impression on the mind of Mr. Richard Bourne of Sandwich, that he entered on the service with activity and ardour. Having first obtained a competent knowledge of their language, he turned his attention to the Indians, who lived southward and eastward of him. His labours were crowned with success; and many of them were converted to the faith, and several of them were taught to read and write.‡ There is extant a letter written by him to Mr. Gookin in the year 1674; and it appears from it, that there were then, in the several villages below Sandwich, above three hundred Indians, who met together on the Lord's day to worship God. In this letter the name of Mr. Treat, and of the other settled ministers in the county, is not mentioned. Probably none of them had yet begun to imitate the laudable example of Mr. Bourne.

Mr. Treat, however, soon after engaged with earnestness in the business, and prosecuted it with zeal during a
great

* Mather's Magnal. B. II. chap. II. § 2. Cotton's Acc. of Ch. in Plym.

† Inscription on the grave stone of Mr. Treat.

‡ Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 189. Gookin's Hist. Coll. chap. V. § 5. and chap. VIII. § 1, 2.

great number of years.* In 1685, when an account of the praying Indians in the colony of Plymouth was transmitted to England by Governour Hinkley, it was found that they amounted to five hundred men and women, within the limits of Mr. Treat's parish, beside boys and girls, who were supposed to be more than three times that number.†

Eight years after this period, at the request of Dr. I. Mather, he wrote a letter, which, as it contains valuable information, it may be proper to give entire.

“ Reverend and worthy Sir,

“ I being advertised, that it would not be unseasonable or unserviceable at this juncture to give yourself a true and impartial account, both of the number, as also of the present state of our Indians, and acceptation and entertainment of the gospel among them, and their professed subjection thereunto : wherefore, Sir, you may be assured as followeth.

“ That there are five hundred and five adult ‡ persons of Indians within the limits of our township, unto whom, these *many* years past, I have, from time to time, imparted the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in their own language, and I truly hope not without success ; and yet I continue in the same service, earnestly imploring, and not without hopes expecting and waiting for, a more plentiful down pouring of the Spirit from on high among them. And I verily do not know of, nor can I learn, that there is so much as one of these five hundred Indians, that does obstinately absent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the preaching of the word, and countenance the same ; not only frequenting and attending seasons of worship of a divine sanction, but also other occasional opportunities, when the gospel is dispensed to them ; and when our congregations solemnize publick days of prayer, with fasting, or of praises, I usually giving them advertisement thereof, they

* Inscription on Mr. Treat's grave stone. See also his letter to Dr. I. Mather.

† Hutch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 349.

‡ Mr. T. probably wrote 500, and the printer mistook the second cypher for a 5.

they readily comply therewith in their respective assemblies.

“They have four distinct assemblies, in four villages, belonging to our township; in which four assemblies they have four teachers, of their own choice, of the more sober, well affected, and understanding persons among them; who do duly preach to them, when I am not with them. These Indian teachers repair to my house once a week, to be further instructed, *pro modulo meo*, in the concerns proper for their service and station.

“There are in the four abovesaid villages four school-masters, of the best accomplished for that service, who teach their youth to read and write their own language.

“There are also six justices of the peace, or magistrates, in the four abovesaid villages, who regulate their civil affairs, and punish criminals and transgressors of the civil law. They have their stated courts, and other inferiour officers, in a subserviency to their civil *eupolituesithai*.

“There are among them many of a serious, sober, civilized conversation and deportment, who are making essays towards a further progressive step of obedience and conformity to the rules of the gospel, viz. an ecclesiastical combination, having a great desire to be baptized.

“They are very serviceable, by their labour, to the English vicinity; and have, all along, since our wars with their nation, been very friendly to the English, and forward to serve them in that quarrel: Their deportment, and converse, and garb, being more manly and laudable than any other Indians, that I have observed in the province.

“But, Sir, I would not be tedious: only craving your interest at the throne of grace for us, that we may be serviceable to the name and kingdom of our Lord Jesus: so I subscribe,

• Sir, yours willingly,

Samuel Treat.*

Eastham, Aug. 23d. 1693.

Rev. Increase Mather, Pres. of the College.”

It

* Matthew Mayhew's Narrative. 1694. p. 47.

It is remarkable that Mr. Treat in this letter estimates the adult praying Indians under his pastoral care at about five hundred; which number agreeing with the enumeration of Governour Hinkley, it is probable that he had not taken the trouble to make a new census, supposing that no material alteration had happened in eight years. But that the number of his Indians had diminished, either before or not long after the year 1693, appears from the Report of Grindal Rawson and Samuel Danforth.* These gentlemen, being directed by the commissioners for the propagation of the gospel in New England to examine the state of the praying Indians in Massachusetts, in the summer of 1698, visited all their plantations in the province. Though they were informed at Eastham by Mr. Treat, that the number of Indians under his care was still five hundred; yet their own observation did not confirm this account.

At Potanumaquut, the first village, they found twenty-two families and two schoolmasters, one of whom, Thomas Coshaumag, was the preacher. The rulers or magistrates were William Stockman, alias Quequaquonchet, and Lawrence Jeffryes.

At Eastharbour and Billingsgate, that is Meshawn and Punonakanit,† were about twenty houses, in some of which were two families. Daniel Munshe was the preacher, and Daniel Samuel the ruler.

At Monamoyick were fourteen houses; John Cosens the preacher and schoolmaster, and the rulers John Quason and Menekish.

At Saukatucket were fourteen families, to whom Manasseh was the preacher and Joshua Shauntam the ruler.

In this Report there are four Indian villages, four preachers, and six magistrates, as Mr. Treat represents in his letter, but not more than ninety families, making the most liberal estimate for the two villages in which the number of the houses only is given. Supposing therefore that there were six persons to a family, a large allowance for Indian population, the number of men, women, and children

* Appendix to Noyes's Election Sermon, 1698. p. 96.

† See Gookin's Hist. Col. chap. VIII. § 2.

children could not have been more than five hundred and forty. Of this number less than four hundred must have been adults. Mr. Treat, as may be concluded from the well known integrity of his mind, without doubt honestly intended to give a true account ; but he had not yet learned that an enumeration of Indians made in past years is not to be depended on, as their numbers are continually lessening.

Mr. Treat, as he informs Dr. Mather, preached to the Indians in their own language. He had made himself so perfectly acquainted with their barbarous dialect, that he was able to speak, and to write it with great facility. Once in a month he preached in the several villages. At other times the Indian teachers read to their congregations the sermons, which he had written for them, they not being permitted to deliver compositions of their own. In addition to these weekly tasks, he was at the pains to translate the Confession of Faith into the Nauset language, for the edification of his converts. The book was printed, and many years ago was in the possession of one of his grand-daughters.* As he conceived that it would not be in his power to make much impression on the minds of the Indians, unless he gained their good will, he exerted himself to secure their affections. Beside treating them on all occasions with affability and kindness, he frequently visited them at their wigwams, and with cheerfulness joined in their festivals. The consequence was, that the Indians, won by his engaging manners, venerated him as a pastor, and loved him as a father. Attentive to his comfort or necessities, they performed for him a great deal of labour, for which they would not accept any compensation ; and on sundry occasions they made him valuable presents, as testimonies of their homage and regard.

But neither his prayers, nor his zeal in reforming and civilizing them, nor the benevolent exertions of his worthy coadjutors, could save them from destruction. A blasting wind appeared to have smitten the Indians, as soon as the English took possession of their country : they withered and died. Several years before the ministry of Mr. Treat was closed, a fatal disease, supposed to have

* Miss Eunice Treat.

have been a fever, swept away a great number of his converts. In the year 1745, as the author has been informed by an aged person, who then visited Eastham, few Indians were left within the township. By the census of 1764, there were found remaining in Eastham four Indians, in Wellfleet eleven, and in Harwich ninety-one. The greatest part of the latter number dwelt at Potanumaquut, where a missionary continued to preach several years after this period. But the Potanumaquut tribe having wasted away, the preacher was dismissed many years since. At present there are three Indians at Potanumaquut, and one in Eastham.

Such is the history of the decline of the Nauset tribes. In other parts of New England, the Indians have consumed with equal or still greater rapidity. At this time a traveller may pass through the country, and he will as seldom meet with an Indian as with a rattlesnake. Before another century is completed, the red man will probably become as rare as the beaver: which is known to have been common in New England by the vestiges of its labours.* But posterity will speak of him, as we now talk of the mammoth, as an animal which has long been extinct, but which certainly once existed; for as the bones of the mammoth remain, so the language of the Indian will be preserved in the vocabulary of Williams,† and the translations of Eliot.‡

To return to the history of Eastham: It was the only township, during many years, in this part of the county of Barnstable. But in 1694, the tract of land, granted to "the purchasers or old comers of Plymouth colony," being filled with a competent number of inhabitants, many of whom were derived from this place, it was incorporated by the name of Harwich. In 1700, the settlement of Truro commenced by emigrants from Eastham. Before

* See Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampsh. Vol. III. p. 154.

† See Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 203. and Vol. V. p. 80.

‡ Mr. Eliot translated into the Indian language, the Bible, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and several other books, all of which were printed. Gookin's Hist. Coll. chap. V. § 5.

fore churches were established in these two townships, Mr. Treat performed parochial duties in both : and he appears, by his letter to Dr. Mather, but not with accuracy, to consider the whole of the county east of Yarmouth as within the limits of Eastham. In the north precinct of the township, Billingsgate, a small meeting house was built not long after the incorporation of Truro, and probably before the decease of Mr. Treat. Mr. Oakes, the first minister, preached in it a number of years.*

Mr. Treat, having passed near half a century in the most active† ministerial labours, which he was enabled to support by a firm and vigorous constitution, had a shock of the palsy a few years before his death. A second attack put an end to his life, March 18th. 1716-17, when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and after he had been minister of Eastham forty-five years.‡

He died soon after the remarkable storm, distinguished in the annals of New England by the name of the Great Snow. The wind blew with violence ; and whilst the grounds around his house were left entirely bare, the snow was heaped up in the road to an uncommon height. It was in vain to attempt making a path. His body therefore was kept several days, till an arch could be dug, through which he was borne to the grave, the Indians, at their earnest request, being permitted in turn to carry the corpse, and thus to pay the last tribute of respect to the remains of their beloved pastor.

Samuel Treat was the oldest son of the governour of Connecticut, Robert Treat,|| who was the father of twenty-one children. He was educated at Harvard College, and was graduated in the year 1669. By his first wife, Elizabeth Mayo, he had eleven children ; and by his second, Abigail, daughter of Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the South church in Boston, he had two children, one of whom,

* For the names of the other ministers in this parish see Description of Wellfleet in Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 118.

† Mather's Magnal. B. III. p. 200.

‡ Inscription on Mr. Treat's grave stone.

|| For the character and exploits of this distinguished hero and patriot, see Trumbull's Hist. of Conn. Vol. I. p. 103-455.

whom, Eunice, was the mother of Judge Paine and of Mrs. Greenleaf, wife of Joseph Greenleaf, Esquire.*

Mr. Treat, as may be supposed from the period in which he lived, was a Calvinist: but his Calvinism was of the strictest kind; not that moderate Calvinism, which is so common at the present time, and which, by giving up, or explaining away the peculiar doctrines of the party, like a porcupine disarmed of its quills, is unable to resist the feeblest attack; but consistent Calvinism, with all its hard and sharp points, by which it can courageously defend itself; in fine, such Calvinism, as the adamantine author of this system would himself have avowed.

The fact is established beyond all dispute by a volume of his sermons in manuscript, now in possession of his grandson. These sermons are connected in their subjects, are correctly transcribed, and appear to have been designed for publication. They display learning; and the doctrines of his sect are defended with ability and ingenuity. The present age would not bear them, as many of the words which he uses have grown obsolete, and his images too frequently are coarse, and to a fastidious modern ear would approach even to the ludicrous. These sermons are distinguished by their tremendous applications, in which he has caught the spirit of Baxter and Alleine. The following extract from the application of a discourse on Luke xvi. 23. is given as a specimen of his manner.

“Let this truth be an awful and solemn word of awakening to thee, that art yet in thy sins, and hast not truly repented of them. I have pressed thee to seriousness from the consideration of death, and that is solemn; but it may be that seems a little thing to thee, and thou countest it no such great matter to die; and were the

* From the information of this gentleman and lady, particularly the latter, have been derived many of the facts in the life and character of Mr. Treat. Mrs. Greenleaf is now in the seventy-eighth year of her age. Her grandmother, Mrs. Treat, who made the character of her deceased husband a frequent subject of conversation, died December 27th. 1746.—It may be proper to add here, that the knowledge of several single facts, for which authorities are not quoted, in the History of Eastham, has been obtained from other sources, such as the report of aged persons, and uniform tradition.

the Epicurean principle a truth, that man dies in all points like the beasts that perish, it were of little concernment. Well then, if thou canst see nothing in the grave to make thee serious, I beseech thee to look a little further, and see if thou canst find nothing in hell to startle and amaze thee. Remember thou art not only going to the grave, which it may be thou mayst look upon as an easer of many of the sorrows of this life, and so mayst have some abatement of the terrours of it; but thou art going to hell, the beginner of worse, unspeakably worse sorrows.

“Thou must ere long go to the bottomless pit. Hell hath enlarged herself, and is ready to receive thee. There is room enough for thy entertainment: and dost thou know what it is for a condemned sinner to go to hell? I have told thee in the explication; but let me apply it to thee now.

“Consider thou art going to a place, prepared by God on purpose to exalt his justice in; a place made for no other employment but torments. Hell is God’s house of correction; and remember God doth all things like himself: When God would show his justice, and what is the weight of his wrath, he makes a hell, where it shall indeed appear to purpose. Consider but what a spark of his wrath hath done in this world, and by that, rate the utmost of his fury. Let Sodom, Pharaoh, Korah, and multitudes of the like monuments witness to thee. Remember that mercy and justice are the two great attributes, which God intends the exaltation of by the creature. Then will that be verified, Who knows the power of thine anger? Wo to thy soul, when thou shalt be set up as a butt for the arrows of the Almighty; be made a brier that must burn in the fire of his jealousy forever, and not be consumed.

“Consider, God himself shall be the principal agent in thy misery. He is that consuming fire: his breath is the bellows, which blows up the flame of hell forever: he is the devouring fire, the everlasting burning: and if he punish thee, if he meet thee in his fury, he will not meet thee as a man; he will give thee an omnipotent blow. Little dost thou know what it is to enter the lists of contention with the Almighty. If his wrath kin-
dle

dle but a little while, we wither before it. Now thou art afraid of the wrath of man : what wilt thou do, when God takes thee in hand ?

“ Consider, God will take delight to execute vengeance on thee. God delights in justice, and in executing his own decrees. Now it was his eternal decree to destroy sinners forever. He purposed to show his power, and make his wrath known, upon the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction. But wo to that soul, whom God shall delight to punish. Now thou laughest at the reproofs which God gives thee by his ministers and people : God will laugh at thee shortly. And how wilt thou bear, when he shall torment thee, and thou shalt roar under thy torments ? Thou shalt cry for mercy, and he shall mock thee. Thou now rejoicest in sinning : he will ere long rejoice in thy calamity.

“ Consider the company thou must go to : Thou goest to a place prepared for the devil and his angels. These were thy tempters here ; they shall be thy companions there. Here thou chosest communion with them rather than with God and Christ ; thou must have enough of their company ere long. And thy fellows in sin, with whom thou wentest hand in hand here in the world, and delightedst thyself in their sinful society,—some of them have gone before thee to the place of woes, and others will come after thee ; and there shall you meet together, and there shall they curse thee for thy wicked counsels and persuasions, in drawing them to that place of misery.

“ Consider what must be thy employment there.

“ 1. Sin. Some think sinning ends with this life ; but it is a mistake. The creature is held under an everlasting law : the damned increase in sin in hell. Possibly the mention of this may please thee. But remember there shall be no pleasant sins there ; no eating, drinking, singing, dancing, wanton dalliance, and drinking stolen waters ; but damned sins, bitter hellish sins, sins exasperated by torments, cursing God, spite, rage, and blasphemy.

“ 2. Thou shalt be delivered up into the hands of the tormentors : then Satan will pay thee thy wages for thy servile slavery to him, and thou shalt know what a cruel master thou hast here served. What cruelty hath Satan
sometime

sometime exercised to some here in this world, that have been possessed by him, and to others that have sold themselves to him! what amazing stories doth the world afford of such things! What dost thou think he will do, when he hath an unlimited commission and full possession? How wilt thou endure, when thou shalt have a thousand devils rending, and tearing, and macerating thee; when all the rage of hell shall fall upon thee without restraint?

“3. The never-dying worm shall gnaw and eat out all the heart of thy comfort. Thou shalt become thy own executioner: thy conscience shall pursue thee in hell, always crying out against thee, and bringing bitter things to thy mind, making thee to wring thy hands, and howl out sad lamentations. Thou canst hardly sit under one of these lectures now coming from the mouth of a poor minister; but let me tell thee, conscience in hell will read it after another manner than can now be conceived; every thought and consideration whereof will be a sharp dagger at thy heart, that will let out all joy and comfort out of thy soul.

“Remember how universal all this torment shall be. Here usually our pain is but in one part of the body; and yet what a misery it is to all the rest by sympathy? But then, soul and body shall be filled brimful: the guilt of all thy sins shall be laid upon thy soul; and be made so many heaps of fuel; when that tender and delicate body shall have all its beauty blasted and pride consumed; when the flames shall have no respect to its comeliness; when every member's pain shall be intolerable, and that insupportable misery shall spread itself through the whole man; when eyes, ears, hands, feet, heart, and all, shall be tormented in that flame.

“Consider how near the time hastens, when all this must come to pass upon thee. Time is almost gone with thee, and thou standest at the gate of eternity; and death is waiting upon thee, to transport thee away to the place of all thy miseries. Shortly thou must die, and it will be but a moment from thence to hell. When thou hast sinned away a few more days, watched and slept out a few more nights, away thou goest irrecoverably. It may be thou dreamest of many days to come; but, thou fool, how

how knowest thou but thy soul may be called for this very night ; and the day of judgment is not far off.

“Sinner, I beseech thee, realize the truth of these things. Do not go about to dream that this is derogatory to God’s mercy, and nothing but a vain fable to scare children out of their wits withal. God can be merciful, though he make thee miserable. He shall have monuments enough of that precious attribute, shining like stars in the place of glory, and singing eternal hallelujahs to the praise of him that redeemed them ; though to exalt the power of his justice, he damn sinners heaps upon heaps.”

The conclusions of the other sermons are in general equally alarming. Indeed the author of them appears to have thought it his duty, constantly to persuade men by the terrors of the Lord : and though in his first discourse he professes to “preach comfort and joy to the penitent, as well as hell and damnation to the impenitent” ; yet few words of comfort are to be found, whilst there are denunciations of wrath in almost every page. The effect of his preaching was, that his hearers were, several times in the course of his ministry, awakened and alarmed.—That they were a holy and godly people, he himself testified ; and he doubtless rejoiced in the persuasion, that he had been the happy instrument of their conversion. His best friends, however, allowed that he dwelt too much on the anger of God ; and an instance is related of an innocent young man, who was so frightened with one of his dreadful pictures of the infernal regions, as nearly to be deprived of his senses. Mr. Treat, who really possessed great kindness of heart, became seriously concerned at his situation, and with assiduity and tenderness exerted himself to console him.

But with the advantage of proclaiming the doctrine of terrour, which is naturally productive of a sublime and impressive style of eloquence,* he could not attain the character of a popular preacher. His voice was so loud, that when speaking, it could be heard at a great distance from the meeting house, even amidst the shrieks of

* “Triumphat ventoso gloriæ curru orator, qui pectus angit, irritat, et implet terroribus.” Vid. Burnet. de Stat. Mort. p. 309.

of hysterical women, and the winds that howled over the plains of Nauset; but there was no more musick in it, than in the discordant sounds with which it was mingled. An anecdote, which shows how much the excellence of his matter was injured by the badness of his manner, has been preserved.

After his marriage with the daughter of Mr. Willard, he was sometimes invited by that gentleman to preach in his pulpit. Mr. Willard possessed a graceful delivery, a masculine and harmonious voice; and though he did not gain much reputation by his *Body of Divinity*, which is frequently sneered at, particularly by those who have not read it; yet in his sermons are strength of thought and energy of language. The natural consequence was, that he was generally admired. Mr. Treat, having preached one of his best discourses, to the congregation of his father-in-law, in his usual unhappy manner, excited universal disgust; and several nice judges waited on Mr. Willard, and begged that Mr. Treat, who was a worthy, pious man, it was true, but a wretched preacher, might never be invited into his pulpit again.—To this request, Mr. Willard made no reply: but he desired his son-in-law to lend him the discourse; which, being left with him, he delivered it, without alteration, to his people, a few weeks after. The hearers were charmed: They flew to Mr. Willard, and requested a copy for the press. See the difference, they cried, between yourself and your son-in-law: you have preached a sermon on the same text as Mr. Treat's; but whilst his was contemptible, yours is excellent.*

Mr. Treat was a man of piety. He addressed his Maker with humble devotion, and his prayers were copious and fervent. His natural temper was mild; and his conduct in domestick life, as a husband, a parent, and a master, was kind and indulgent. His manners were cheerful; his conversation pleasant, and sometimes facetious, but always decent. He was fond of a stroke of humour and
a practical

* Mr. Willard, after producing the sermon in the hand writing of Mr. Treat, might have addressed these sage criticks in the words of Phædrus:

“En hic declarat, quales sitis iudices.”

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a practical joke, and manifested his relish for them by long and loud fits of laughter. The Society for the propagation of the gospel is supposed to have made him a small compensation for his services among the Indians : he received also a small salary from his parishioners : but not satisfied with the emoluments which he derived from these sources, in the latter part of his life, he engaged in trade ; and by this means, with the addition of an inheritance which descended from his father, he was able to transmit a good estate to his family.

Rev. Samuel Osborn, who was born in Ireland, and educated in the university of Dublin, was the second minister of Eastham : He was ordained September 18th. 1718.* The next year, the church being divided into two, Mr. Osborn removed into the south part of the township.

Rev. Benjamin Webb was ordained pastor of the church that remained. The most remarkable event, which took place after his settlement in Eastham, was the declaration of the ministers in the county of Barnstable against itinerant preaching. This was particularly aimed at Mr. Whitfield. The character of this celebrated preacher, who was viewed in various lights by his contemporaries, is not yet determined. Those who now read his sermons, and who are disgusted with the enthusiasm and egotism, which are displayed in his journals, written in his youth, will be disposed to judge unfavorably of his talents : whilst those, who have witnessed his astonishing oratorical powers,—and there are still alive many persons who have heard him preach,—will class him with the great men of the age. That he possessed acuteness of mind is proved by his controversial writings, in which it must be allowed, even by those who do not approve his opinions, that he was an ingenious disputant. The qualities of his heart have been as much the subject of dispute as those of his head. That he was vain, rash, and censorious, particularly in his youth, cannot be denied : but at the same time it cannot be denied, that he was devout, ardent, zealous, and active ; a loyal subject of the government, under which he lived ; charitable to the poor ; and candid in acknowledging his faults, a rare virtue,

* Orleans Church Records.

tue, and therefore the more to be prized.* His sincerity has been questioned ; but such open, unguarded, and fervent men are not often insincere. Whether his preaching was productive of good or evil, is not agreed : it probably effected both. The declaration of the ministers in the county of Barnstable states only the mischiefs, which, they say, flow from it ; and they are these : That it tends to destroy the usefulness of ministers among their people, in places where the gospel is settled, and faithfully preached in its purity : And that it promotes strife and contention, a censorious and uncharitable spirit, and those numerous schisms and separations, which have already destroyed the peace and unity, and at this time threaten the subversion of many churches.† To this declaration Mr. Webb subscribed his name, with nine other ministers of the county : and it was one of the last acts of his life ; for he died August 21st. 1746, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his ministry.‡

Though Mr. Whitfield's admirers may censure him for his conduct, yet it is the only fault which they can allege against Mr. Webb. That he was a pious, learned, laborious and faithful minister, and that he was holy and unblameable in all the walks of life, is the universal voice of tradition, confirmed by the report of the surviving friends, who were acquainted with his worth. Mr. Crocker, the pastor of the south church of Eastham, a man of virtue himself, and a good judge of moral merit, pronounced him the best man, and the best minister, whom he ever knew. As he spent his days in the uniform discharge of his duty, and there were no shades to give relief to his character, not much can be said of him. His heart was as pure as the new fallen snow, which completely covers every dark spot in a field ; his mind was as serene as the sky in a mild evening of June, when the full moon shines without a cloud. Name any virtue, and that virtue he practised ; name any vice, and that vice he shunned. But
if

* See Whitfield's Remarks on the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared. Boston. 1749. p. 13, 23, 24.

† Declaration, &c. Feb. 20th. 1745. Boston : Printed 1745.

‡ Inscription on the grave stone of Mr. Webb.

if peculiar qualities marked his character, they were his humility, his gentleness, and his love of God. The people had long been taught by a son of thunder : in him they were instructed by a son of consolation, who sweetly allured them to virtue by soft persuasion and by exhibiting the mercy of the Supreme Being : for his thoughts were so much in heaven, that they seldom descended to the dismal regions below : and though of the same religious sentiments as Mr. Treat, yet his attention was turned to those glad tidings of great joy, which a Saviour came to publish. His visits were as beneficial to his flock as his sermons ; for he had the happy talent of giving conversation a practical turn, and of enforcing the precepts which he had taught in the pulpit.

In 1751, Rev. Edward Cheever was installed pastor of the church. Twelve years after his settlement, Eastham, in number of inhabitants, was the first township in the county ; but Wellfleet being separated from it at that period, four townships immediately rose above it. When the census was taken in 1764, there were found in Eastham thirteen hundred and thirty-one souls, and nine hundred and twenty-eight in Wellfleet. These townships continued to flourish, till the revolutionary war stopped their further progress. In 1776, Eastham contained eighteen hundred and ninety-nine inhabitants, and Wellfleet twelve hundred and thirty-five. After this period both townships, and particularly Wellfleet, suffered greatly.* With the peace, prosperity returned. But, in 1790, the ancient township of Eastham had not attained its former population ; for it had then only two thousand nine hundred and fifty-one inhabitants, of whom eleven hundred and seventeen were in Wellfleet. Mr. Cheever, after serving the church of Eastham near forty-three years, died August 17th. 1794, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

The church did not long remain vacant ; for September 23d. 1795, Rev. Philander Shaw was ordained. Eighteen months after this event, the south precinct was separated

* See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 18.

separated from Eastham, and incorporated into a township. Before this division took place, the two religious societies constituted one parish; the ministers being paid an equal sum out of the treasury of the town. The portion of land, which retains the ancient name, is now a place of small importance. It contains fewer inhabitants than any other township in the county; and as nature has not bestowed on it a good harbour, and it is impossible to form one by art, the fishing towns in the vicinity will probably long maintain above it that superiority, which they have acquired. Since, however, the census of 1800, when its inhabitants were enumerated at six hundred and fifty nine, it has increased in population. The people are industrious and enterprising, and still retain the other good habits, which did honour to their fathers; and they are happily united in the same mode of religious worship; there being, in Eastham, not an individual, who does not belong to the Congregational society.

r. s.

A DESCRIPTION OF ORLEANS, IN THE COUNTY OF
BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

THE south part of Eastham was incorporated into a township, by the name of Orleans, March 3d. 1797. Its distance from Boston is ninety-one miles: and it is bounded, on the east, by the ocean; on the south, by Pleasant bay; on the west, by Harwich; and on the north-west, by Barnstable bay. The county, which stretches east from Buzzard's bay to this place, here turns to the north, and extends that course to Truro. The length of the township is five miles; and the breadth, from one to four miles.

The face of the land is uneven; but the hills are not very high. The county road runs through a corner of the township, and is here tedious and heavy. The road from Cape Cod to Chatham passes on its western side, and is of the same quality. On the necks, where the best land lies, the roads are tolerable; but these are out of the way of the traveller.

Orleans

Orleans is of a very irregular form, the lines which separate it from the adjoining townships being crooked, and its shores being indented by coves and creeks.

Town Cove has already been described. The neck on the south-east side of it is called Toneset : the land is pretty good.

A river, without a name, runs into Pleasant bay. The head of it is called Zeb's cove, where it is narrow ; but it is a half of a mile wide at its mouth. Vessels, which draw seven feet of water, can come a half of a mile below this cove ; the distance of the northern part of which from the mouth of the river is two miles and a half. The land east of this river is named Barley neck. The soil is somewhat better than that of Toneset. On the east side of Barley neck are coves, which communicate with Pleasant bay, and which separate it from Chatham beach.

The land, which is situated between Barley and Toneset necks, and which terminates in Wood's neck, is named Pochet, pronounced at present Pochee. There is also here a little good soil, but a larger proportion which is light and sandy.

North-east of Pochet, near the ocean, is a small neck, named Weeset. It is separated from Toneset by a cove.

These several necks constitute a peninsula, the whole of which is denominated Pochet. The isthmus is not more than a half of a mile wide ; and is situated between Town cove on the north, and Zeb's cove on the south.

Chatham beach forms the barrier of the waters, which wash the eastern and southern shores of Orleans. A mile south of the mouth of Stage or Nauset harbour, it joins the main land, with the exception mentioned in another part of this volume.* Below the junction, the water is at first shallow ; but it deepens by degrees, and at length communicates with Pleasant bay and Chatham harbour. South of this place was, many years ago, the mouth of Nauset harbour ; which being filled up gradually, a new opening, above a mile north of it, was suddenly made in the beach. Salt marsh, with a few interruptions, lines the inside of this beach, and extends almost to the mouth of Chatham harbour.

There

* See p. 116.

There are several islands in Pleasant bay, within the limits of Orleans. The largest is Pochet island, which is situated east of Barley neck, and is the best land in the township. On its north-east side is a small body of salt marsh.

South-west of Pochet island, is Sampson's island, containing about twenty acres of tolerable land. East of it, and near it, is a larger body of salt marsh. On the south, Hog island, of the dimension of ten acres, joins it at low water.

Southerly of Hog island is Sipson's island, of the extent of twenty acres.

These islands add beauty to the haven, and give it a just title to the name which it has received, that of Pleasant bay.

Opposite to Orleans, or Eastham, in the ocean, it is said, is the point, where the tides from Narraganset and Massachusetts bays meet, and whence they separate, the flow of the sea above this point being toward the north, and below it toward the south.*

Leaving the peninsula of Pochet, and travelling round Orleans river, on the west side of it is Naumkoyick neck; which is formed by Higgins' river on the north of it, and Naumkoyick creek on the south.

The south quarter of the township is called Potanumaquut. The territory, which retains this ancient Indian name, is partly in Harwich. The land here is light and sandy; the greatest part cleared; a part covered with brush wood; and a small part with oaks and pines.

In the north-west quarter of the township, on Barnstable bay, is Namskeket creek, which is three quarters of a mile long, and which, as far as it runs, is the dividing line between Orleans and Harwich. It is very narrow; and its mouth is not quite so deep as Rock harbour. The territory near it, as well as the creek itself, is at present called Skaket. The land is light and sandy.

Little Skaket creek, which is a mile north-east of it, is still smaller.

Rock

* MS. Lett. from Rev. Levi Whitman. Mr. W. does not consider this as a fact established beyond dispute; but requests farther information from judicious seamen.

Rock harbour creek, a mile north-east of Little Skaket, runs a mile and a half, and affords the best harbour at its mouth. It is however nearly dry at low water ; and at high tide is not more than seven feet deep.

On all these three creeks there are bodies of salt marsh.

Though the township is not supplied with brooks, yet there are not less than sixteen ponds, which serve for the watering of cattle and other purposes.

From the description already given, it appears that there is a portion of good land in this township ; but the soil in the greatest part of it is light and sandy ; and in some places absolutely barren.

Pochet island, where a small quantity of wheat is grown, will produce twenty bushels of Indian corn to an acre, without manure. Barley and Toneset necks will yield fifteen bushels without, and thirty with, manure. Three crops in succession are frequently taken from the good land : the first year, Indian corn ; the second, hill rye ; the third, stubble rye. The rye is sown in August.

The light lands of Orleans and Eastham, which do not differ from each other essentially, produce from five to eight bushels of rye, and ten bushels of Indian corn, to an acre, without manure ; and with manure, fifteen or twenty. A quarter, and sometimes a third, of the land, fit for cultivation, in both these townships, is annually in grain.

The horse-foot, or king crab, was formerly much used for manuring land, set with Indian corn and potatoes ; and it is still employed in Orleans, in the south part of Dennis, and in other parts of the county. It is chopped into small pieces, and not more than one, and sometimes not more than a quarter, put into a hill. As it contains an abundance of oil, it affords a strong manure ; and with it the light lands may be made to yield twenty bushels of corn to an acre. It is however too hot a manure, and causes the land to exert itself so much, that it cannot easily recover its strength. Attention of late is paid to the collection of sea weed from the shore. When corn is to be raised, it is spread on the land ; and it is put into the holes for potatoes. It is a preservative against worms ; five sorts of which, in this place, and in other parts of the county, are very destructive to Indian corn.

The

The first is the *web worm* ; a small, taper worm, of a gray colour, about a half of an inch in length. As soon as the corn comes up, it forms about the root a web, which cannot be seen without opening the earth. It ascends in the night, and devours the blade. About the 20th. of June, it ceases eating.

The second is the *gray worm* ; about an inch in length, and thicker than the web worm. It forms no web, descends into the ground in the day, rises in the night, and devours the blade ; continues eating much longer than the web worm, and is very destructive.

The third is the *half-hill worm* ; an inch long, bluish, and red-headed ; first appears the 20th. of June ; draws the blade under ground, and there devours it ; ceases eating the 1st. of July.

The fourth is the *root worm* ; small at first, but an inch and a half long when fully grown ; white, with a tawny head ; six claws ; begins to eat in the middle of June, and ceases eating the 1st. of August : frequently destroys entire fields. Dung and ashes are the best antidotes against it.

The fifth is the *ear worm* ; which, after the ear is formed, eats the grains and between them ; about an inch long ; taper ; striped with brown and white ; begins to eat about the middle of August, and continues eating two or three weeks ; the grains, which it does not devour, are rendered mouldy.

In Eastham and Orleans, Indian corn is set four and a half or five feet apart. Four seeds are dropped into a hole. But the four first mentioned worms destroy so many of the stalks, that seldom more than two or three remain. Provided they should all escape, the best farmers pull up one. In Dennis, two only are suffered to be in a hill. In this county, corn is at present hilled very little, experience having shown, that the former practice of heaping up the earth about it is not necessary either to its growth or stability. Horse-hoeing is performed in several places with a small harrow, instead of a plough. The same mode has been adopted by a few persons in other parts of the state. And sometimes, first the plough, and then the harrow, are used, without raising any hill at all. The corn

corn in the county of Barnstable is large and solid : a bushel of it weighs sixty pounds. Four or five hundred bushels of corn are annually sent from Orleans to Boston market. The fishermen, however, frequently purchase this article in the capital for the use of their families.

Other vegetables are raised, sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. Butter is made for summer use, and a little cheese. Some cattle are fattened, and several sold in the townships below. Not more than ten tons of English hay are cut ; but between six hundred and a thousand tons of salt hay. The salt marshes are of two kinds : one, covered every tide ; the other, at spring tides only.

There are small orchards, several of which have lately been planted ; but no cider is made. The greening, which is a low tree, succeeds better than any other. Fruit trees cannot be made to grow within a mile of the ocean. Even those, which are placed at a greater distance, are injured by the east winds ; and after violent storms in the spring, a saltish taste is perceptible on their bark.

Very little wood is left in the township ; but the inhabitants are obliged, either to purchase their fuel, or to have recourse to peat and turf. Happily there are several swamps and meadows, which contain this necessary substitute. The people were ignorant that they possessed this article, till, many years ago, Mr. Osborn, their minister, who had learned the use of it in Ireland, first pointed it out, and taught them the art of drying and preparing it.

The shores of Orleans are more fertile than the land. Sea fowls may be obtained by those who will seek for them, though not in such abundance as at Chatham. Fishes are the same as in other towns of the county. A few tautaug are caught in Town cove. Bass enter the waters within the beach the 1st. of June, and are caught with hooks. In the ocean, a few rods from the beach, they are taken with seines, during the summer. Eels are so plenty, that in the winter, when the coves are covered with ice, a hundred bushels are sometimes, by a company of twenty or thirty persons, collected in a day.

Though no oysters are to be found on the shores, yet quahaugs and clams are in greater profusion than in any other part of the county.

The

The quahaug (*venus mercenaria*) called by R. Williams the *poquau* and the *hen*,* is a round, thick shell fish, or, to speak more properly, worm. It does not bury itself but a little way in the sand; is generally found lying on it, in deep water; and is gathered up with iron rakes made for the purpose. After the tide ebbs away, a few are picked up on the shore below high water mark. The quahaug is not much inferior in relish to the oyster, but is less digestible. It is not eaten raw; but is cooked in various modes, being roasted in the shell, or opened and boiled, fried, or made into soups or pies. About half of an inch of the inside of the shell, is of a purple colour. This the Indians broke off, and converted into beads, named by them *suckauhock*, or black money; which was of twice the value of their *wompom*, or white money, made of the *meteahock*, or periwinkle.

The razor shell (*solen*) is so named from its resemblance in size and shape to the haft of a razor. It is said to force itself, not only upwards and downwards, but diagonally. This motion is effected by means of a round, fleshy protuberance, as long as the little finger of a man's hand, and composed of rings. There is more irritability in this worm than in the clam. Several days after the razor shell has been caught, if the protuberance is held between the fingers, and is touched with the point of a knife, the worm draws itself up to it with force. This worm is not common in the bay of Massachusetts, though it has sometimes been obtained there. The open shells, however, are to be found on Chelsea beach, a few miles from Boston. The shells, with the living worms in them, can without much difficulty be procured at Orleans and other parts of the county of Barnstable; but as they are not taken, except a few at a time, they are not often eaten.

The sea clam, which is at present called the *hen*, the quahaug having lost that appellation, is bivalve (as are also the quahaug and razor shell) and oval. It is generally found in deep water, and is gathered with rakes, not being buried far in the sand. As it has frequently been known to injure the stomach, it is not often eaten. Before the
Indians

* Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 224. *Poquauhock*, corrupted into *quahaug*, or *quauhog*, is the word with a plural termination.

Indians learned of the English the use of a more convenient instrument, they hilled their corn with hoes made of these shells, to which purpose they are well adapted by their size. If a handle could be easily fixed to them, they might be employed as ladles and spoons.

The clam (*mya arenaria*) is of the same shape, but much smaller. This worm is buried in the sand, from four to eighteen inches deep. A small perforation, through which, after the tide has ebbed away, it ejects water perpendicularly, marks the spot where it lies. The worm has the power of thrusting upwards its black head, or snout, and of drawing it down again. This snout is frequently bitten off by flounders and other fishes. Whether the shell moves or not, the writer is unable to determine, as he has received contradictory accounts. The Indians were very fond of clams, which they called *sickish-uog*.* Being unacquainted with salt, they made use of them and of their natural liquor, to season their nasaump and boiled maize. Many of the descendants of the English consider clams as excellent food. But they require strong stomachs to digest them, unless the whole of the snout is rejected. They would be more valued, if they were less common. But as long as a peck of clams, which are sufficient to afford a small family a dinner, can be procured with little more labour than a peck of sand, they will not be much prized. The clam continues alive several days after it is taken from its hole. This is well known to fishermen; and is proved by the following singular fact.

A gentleman, not far from Boston, ordered a number of clams to be dug, and to be put into his cellar, intending to make use of them as bait. They remained there several days, when the shells, as is usual, beginning to open, a rat thrust his paw into one of them, attempting to pull out the worm. The two shells closed together with force, and held him fast. As the clam was too big to be dragged through

* This is a word with a plural termination. See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 224. If the author might be allowed to revive an old term, he would denominate the common, or small clam, the *sicki*, a word of easy pronunciation, and which would distinguish it from the fresh water clam and the three other testaceous worms above mentioned.

through his hole, the rat was unable to make his escape; and at length his cries excited the attention of the family, who came and saw him in the situation described.

Clams are found on many parts of the shores of New England; but no where in greater abundance than at Orleans. Formerly five hundred barrels were annually dug here for bait; but the present year a thousand barrels have been collected. Between a hundred and two hundred of the poorest of the inhabitants are employed in this business; and they receive from their employers three dollars a barrel, for digging the clams, opening, salting them, and filling the casks. From twelve to eighteen bushels of clams in the shell must be dug, to fill, when opened, a barrel. A man by this labour can earn seventy-five cents a day; and women and children are also engaged in it. A barrel of clams is worth six dollars: the employers therefore, after deducting the expense of the salt and the casks, which they supply, still obtain a handsome profit.

A thousand barrels of clams are equal in value to six or eight thousand bushels of Indian corn; and are procured with not more labour and expense. When therefore the fishes, with which the coves of Orleans abound, are also taken into consideration, they may justly be regarded as more beneficial to the inhabitants, than if the space which they occupy was covered with the most fertile soil. The riches which they yield are inexhaustible, provided they are not too wantonly lavished. For after a portion of the shore has been dug over, and almost all the clams taken up, at the end of two years, it is said, they are as plenty there as ever. It is even affirmed by many persons, that it is as necessary to stir the clam ground frequently, as it is to hoe a field of potatoes; because if this labour is omitted, the clams will be crowded too closely together, and will be prevented from increasing in size.

The land of Orleans being cultivated by none but the old men and small boys, the flower of the people, between the ages of twelve and forty-five, are engaged in the cod-fishery. As, however, not a fishing vessel is owned by the inhabitants, they sail from Duxbury, Plymouth, Chatham, Provincetown,

Provincetown, and other places. The only vessels belonging to Orleans are three coasters, which bring fire wood and lumber from the district of Maine, and one packet, which sails to Boston from Rock harbour.

When the census was taken in 1800, the number of inhabitants was a thousand and ninety-five. There are at present a hundred and seventy-four families, who occupy a hundred and forty-one dwelling houses. These houses are in general neat, convenient buildings; but five of them only are two stories in height. The houses in no part of the township are collected into a village, though in the neighbourhood of the meeting house they are nearer together than in any other place. There are three school houses. The meeting house, which has lately been repaired, stands on the isthmus of Pochet.

The inhabitants are Congregationalists. Their first minister, Mr. Osborn, was a man of wisdom and virtue. Beside teaching his people the use of peat, he contributed much to their prosperity, by introducing new improvements in agriculture, and by setting them the example of economy and industry. But his good qualities and services did not avail him: for embracing the religion of Arminius, his parishioners, who still retained the faith of Calvin, thought proper to dismiss him about the year 1737. From Eastham he removed to Boston, where he kept a private grammar school eight or ten years. He died about thirty years ago, aged between ninety and a hundred.

He was succeeded by Rev. Joseph Crocker, who was ordained September 12th. 1739.* Mr. Crocker was a strict Calvinist, a man of prudence, faithful as a minister, but destitute of popular talents as a speaker, a hard student in theology, but without much information on other subjects, mild in his temper and affectionate in his manners, greatly beloved by his people, and exemplarily pious. He died March 2d. 1772.

Rev. Jonathan Bascom, the present pastor, was ordained October 14th. 1772.* *Senex emunctæ naris, doctus, et auctor elegantium verborum; facetus, et dulcis festique sermonis.*

* Orleans Chh. Rec.

NOTE ON WELLFLEET, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE,
EXTRACTED FROM A LETTER FROM REV. LEVI WHIT-
MAN, DATED OCTOBER 8TH. 1802.

THE number of vessels owned in Wellfleet is twenty-five. Five are engaged in the whale fishery this year at the Straits of Belle Isle and Newfoundland. They carry salt; and what they want in loading with oil, they make up in cod fish. Of these, one is of a hundred tons, three of seventy-five, and one of fifty-seven. There are four vessels, that are engaged in the cod and mackerel fishery chiefly; which are one of fifty-four tons, the other three of about forty tons each. Four vessels are employed in carrying oysters to Boston, Salem, Newbury-port, and Portland, containing about thirty tons each. The other twelve are small vessels, containing from sixteen to twenty-five tons each; and are engaged in fishing round the Cape. They take mackerel, cod, and haddock; and when they load quick with halibut, they run into Boston, and likewise with mackerel.

A DESCRIPTION OF PROVINCETOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF
BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

IN the third volume of the Massachusetts Magazine is an entertaining description of Provincetown. To that interesting paper, which was written in 1790, the following is intended as a supplement.

Provincetown is situated in latitude 42°. 03'. N. and longitude 70°. 09'. W. from Greenwich. It is bounded on the south-east by Truro. The length of the township, from these limits to Wood end, is three miles and a half. The mean breadth is two miles and a half. Its distance from Boston, by land, is a hundred and twenty miles.

The township consists of beaches and hills of sand, eight shallow ponds, and a great number of swamps. The most remarkable of the latter is named the Shank-painter; beginning near the meeting house, and extending a mile in length. The little wood, which remains, is principally
pitch

pitch pines. Small trees of maple, beech, and aspen are in the swamps. The bushes are whortleberries, four species, (perhaps two of the four varieties only) bay-berries, and box-berries : there are also a few beach plums.

Great attention is now paid to the transplanting of beach grass, on the sides of the hills and other naked spots near the town. The roots are set three or four feet apart in the spring ; and the grass, being propagated both by the roots and the seed, forms a close body in three or four years. There are several other plants, which grow on the beaches, beside those mentioned in the Description of Chatham. Among these is the rupture-wort (*herniaria glabra*.) This is a small, low plant ; which, when broken, exudes a kind of milky substance. A decoction of it is said, but probably without reason, to be good in consumptive cases.

The township is in the form of a hook : the ocean is on the north ; Barnstable bay on the west ; and Cape Cod harbour on the south, within the curve. The southern extremity of Herring cove, which is described in another part of the volume,* is Wood end. A shoal extends from it, a half of a mile, west south west, called Wood-end Bar. Wood end is half way between Race point and the end of Long point ; and ought not to be confounded with the latter, as it sometimes erroneously is by strangers. The shore at Race point, and on the outside of Long point, is very bold. The distance between these two points is six miles.

Long point is a low, sandy beach, which can with difficulty be discerned in the night ; but which is dry at high water. Unfortunately, Des Barres, who, with a few exceptions, is entitled to the highest applause for his great accuracy in delineating the coast, has laid down this point as a shoal ; which has led all other map makers, who have followed him, into a mistake. It ought to have been marked with a line on both sides, and dotted, like the beach of Chatham. The chart of Captain John Foster Williams will convey a good idea of it. This point is from a hundred to five hundred yards in breadth. A shoal extends from its end, south south east, a quarter of a mile.

Cape

* See p. 110.

Cape Cod harbour is formed by the bending of the land, from Pamet river to Long point, nearly round every point of the compass: it is completely land-locked. The distance from Long point to the shore of Truro is four miles; and from the same point to the town, two miles. The depth of water in the anchoring ground is from three to fourteen fathoms: the best holding ground is in four fathoms and a half. Vessels anchor about three quarters of a mile from the town. The head of the harbour is toward Wood end. There are here flats extending three quarters of a mile from the shore. Flats lie all along the shore; but do not reach so far, except at East harbour, where they also extend three quarters of a mile.

In sailing from Race point, at the distance of a half of a mile from it, into the harbour, the course is south-south-east, till the light-house bears east by north. Keep this course the distance of two miles. Then run north-east, till the light-house bears east by south. After which steer north-west into the harbour.*

A creek, called the Mill creek, because there was formerly a mill on it, runs into the western part of the harbour. It is about a mile in length, and is nearly dry at low water.

Common tides in the harbour rise twelve feet.

This harbour and the waters near it afford a great variety and abundance of excellent and profitable fishes. Herrings are caught, principally in the harbour, from the first of October to the first of December. Last year, between five and six thousand barrels were taken: worth about four dollars a barrel. Bass are caught in the harbour, and sometimes on the outside of Wood end, from the first of May till the last of November; about three hundred quintals annually, beside what are daily eaten by the inhabitants: worth four dollars a quintal. The first mackerel, which are carried to Boston market in the spring, are taken in the harbour; and yield a handsome profit, though the Boston marketmen purchase them of the inhabitants of Provincetown at about a quarter of what

* For directions for sailing from Boston light house to Cape Cod, the distance between which is fifteen leagues, see Capt. J. F. Williams's Chart.

what they are sold for in the capital. Three hundred barrels are every year pickled and sent to Boston. The mackerel, bass, and herring are caught with seines, of which there are about fifty in the town, and which cost a hundred dollars each. Another seine, worth six dollars, is made use of for catching mackerel in the spring, and herring for bait. Of this kind there are about two hundred. Beside the boats belonging to the fishing vessels, there are a dozen whaleboats, and about a hundred more of the same form, but shorter. The latter catch, annually, about thirty quintals of cod-fish each, chiefly off Wood end. Two or three whales, producing about a hundred barrels of oil, are every year caught in the harbour. Black fish are now seldom obtained. About two hundred sharks are annually caught at Race point, and yield, one with another, four gallons of oil. There is a large shark in the harbour, named the bone-shark, and similar in shape to the man-eating shark, but harmless: five or six are taken in a year. The other fishes in the harbour, and on the coast, are the sturgeon, eels of a superiour quality, and in great abundance, haddock, tom-cod, pollock, flounder, halibut, drummer, manhadon, horse-mackerel, dog-fish, and several more, enumerated in the Description of Truro.* No cusk, blue-fish, sheep's-head, tautaug, sea-perch, are found in the harbour.

There are muscles, sea-clams, and quahaugs; but neither oysters nor small clams. The greatest part of the clam bait is brought from Orleans, Eastham, and Wellfleet.

Lobsters, of an excellent quality, are obtained in great abundance on both sides of Long point. Five vessels are constantly employed in catching them, and carrying them to the market of New York. Two smacks go with them to the Boston market. Several barrels are pickled, and sent to the former place.

In 1790, the inhabitants "employed about twenty vessels in the cod-fishery." They now possess thirty-three vessels, one of which is a brig, one a sloop, and the rest schooners: their number of tons is seventeen hundred and twenty-two. Two or three of these vessels are occasionally engaged in the merchants' service.

* Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 199.

vice. Beside which, four other vessels, containing about three hundred tons, partly owned in Provincetown and partly in Boston, are also employed in the cod-fishery, and fit out, and obtain their crews from this place. The fishing vessels go to the banks of Newfoundland, the coast of Labrador, and the bay of Chaleur; and they bring home annually about thirty-three thousand quintals of fish, which are worth, a quintal, about three dollars and a third. This business employs three hundred men and boys; a quarter of whom belong to other places. Five or six of the vessels are engaged partly in the cod-fishery, and partly in the whale-fishery: the whale-fishery, however, is small, and yields little profit. About half of the fish caught from the vessels are cured at Provincetown. All the provisions and stores for the vessels and men are procured in Boston; and the greatest part of the fish sold in the same place. Eight thousand hogsheads of salt are used in the fisheries.

Sea fowls were formerly plenty on the shores; but they have been so frequently molested, that their numbers are much reduced.

The town is a mile and a half long. More than two thirds of the dwelling houses are built close to the harbour: a few stand back in vallies; but none of them far from the shore. The number of dwelling houses is a hundred and forty-four,* eight of which are within the limits of Truro. Two of the houses only are two stories in height. Most of these houses are new, neat, painted, and well finished. When the census was taken in 1800, there were eight hundred and twelve souls. At present, there are a hundred and ninety-eight families. If there be the same proportion between the families and souls as there was in 1790,† the number of the inhabitants now must be nine hundred and forty-six.

There are ninety stores, in which fish is deposited, five houses for the smoking of herring, four or five shops, twenty barns, and two windmills. One of the windmills goes with sliers in the inside, and appears like a large and lofty

* The number of dwelling houses and families in Dennis, Orleans, Eastham, and Provincetown, as given in this volume, is from actual enumeration.

† Sec. U. S. Census for 1790, p. 29.

lofty tower. As it stands on a high hill, it is seen at a great distance; and to seamen entering the harbour is a conspicuous object.

The number of salt works is given in the Description of Dennis. Provincetown is remarkably well situated for carrying on this useful manufacture. The works are erected close to the dwelling houses, directly under the eye of the owners, and can be covered and uncovered with little expense of time: They stand under the sand hills, which face the south, and reflect on them a strong heat; add to which, that no fresh streams run into the harbour, the water of which must be as salt as that of the ocean. The effect of these causes is, that the same number of superficial feet yield more salt, the water evaporating faster, than in any other part of the county.

The township is the property of the state, and titles are first obtained by possession and improvement. So many houses and works have been erected, and the town is in so flourishing a situation, that building spots now sell at a high price: they are transferred by quit-claim deeds.

The other buildings are, a house erected by King Hiram's lodge of free masons, in 1795, the upper apartment of which is a well finished hall, and the lower story of which is divided into two rooms, appropriated to school houses: two other school houses: a decent Congregational meeting house, erected in 1793: and a small Methodist meeting house. The Methodists, who appeared to flourish awhile, are reduced to twelve families.

The climate and diseases of Provincetown do not differ materially from those of other parts of the county. The air, though naturally pure, is rendered unpleasant by the fish flakes which surround the houses. In the year 1794, a fever proved very mortal. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a number of sharks, which were left to putrefy on the shore near the town. At present, the inhabitants appear to be attentive in removing such disgusting objects out of the way.

Cape Cod was originally a part of Truro. In 1714, it was made a district or precinct, and put under the constablerick of that town. It was incorporated into a township, by the name of Provincetown, June 14th.

1727, and invested with peculiar privileges, the inhabitants being exempted from taxation. At that time, and for ten or twelve years after, it was a flourishing place, containing a number of dwelling houses, and several shops and stores. Not long after this period, the inhabitants began to forsake the town; and before the year 1748, it was reduced to two or three families. In 1755, it contained about ten dwelling houses. No notice is taken of it in the census of 1764. In 1776, there were in it thirty-six families, two hundred and five souls, and about twenty dwelling houses. It remained in a state of depression during the revolutionary war; in the former period of which it was in a great measure in the power of the enemy, who, whenever they pleased, entered the harbour, and exacted those supplies, which the inhabitants were able to furnish. When the blessings of peace at length returned, it began to lift up its head; and without meeting with any remarkable misfortune to check its progress, it has gradually risen to its present state of prosperity.

During the former flourishing period of Provincetown Mr. Spear was the minister. His flock having forsaken him, he was compelled at last to remove. The church remained without a pastor a long time; but was occasionally supplied with preachers, the province paying twenty pounds a year for the support of the gospel. January 20th. 1774, Rev. Samuel Parker was ordained; and for twelve years, received, annually, forty-five pounds from the government. Since that period the pastor has been supported entirely by the inhabitants. *r. s.*

A CALCULATION OF THE STATE OF THE COD AND WHALE FISHERIES, BELONGING TO MASSACHUSETTS IN 1763: COPIED FROM A PAPER PUBLISHED IN 1764.

300 vessels in the cod-fishery caught 102,265 *Sterling.*
 quintals of merchantable fish, at 12s. - £.61,359 00
 and 137,794 quintals of West-India fish, at 9s. 62,007 06

123,366 06
 (Carried over.)

	<i>Brought over.</i>	£.123,366 06
90 mackerel vessels, at 200 barrels each, are		
18,000 barrels, at 18s. - - - - -		16,200 00
Shad, alewives, and other pickled fish, 10,000		
barrels, at 10s. - - - - -		5,000 00
12 barrels of oil to each cod-fishing vessel are		
3,600, at 30s. - - - - -		5,400 00
15,000 hogsheads for packing the West-India		
fish, at 6s. - - - - -		4,500 00
West-India fish from Nova Scotia and New-		
foundland, in return for provisions, rum, sugar,		
and molasses, - - - - -		10,000 00
180 sail of whale-fishing vessels, the exportations		
to Great Britain amounting, in oil and bone,		
to - - - - -		75,000 00
To the West-Indies and the Continent in do.		3,500 00
	Total.	£.242,966 06

A RELATION OR JOURNAL OF A PLANTATION SETTLED
 AT PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, AND PROCEEDINGS
 THEREOF: FIRST PRINTED IN 1622, AND ABBREVI-
 ATED IN PURCHAS'S PILGRIMS, BOOK X. CHAP. IV.
 LONDON. 1625. (1)

1. **W**EDNESDAY, the sixth of September, the wind
 coming east-north-east, a fine small gale, we
 loosed from Plymouth, having been kindly entertained
 and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling;
 and after many difficulties in boisterous storms, at length,
 by

(1) Purchas's Pilgrims has become a very scarce work. The fifth volume in particular, called the fourth part in the title page, and beginning with the sixth book and ending with the tenth, is so rare, that the Historical Society has not yet been able to obtain it. This is the more to be regretted, as this volume is the most interesting to the inhabitants of the United States, relating to the discovery and plantation of Virginia and New England. In the tenth book are two valuable papers, which give an account of the settlement of Plymouth and its history to September, 1623. These it has been thought proper to

by God's providence, upon the ninth of November following, by break of the day, we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. Upon the eleventh of November, we came to an anchor in the bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea with oaks, (2) pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood. It is a harbour wherein a thousand sail of ships may safely ride. There we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the bay, to search for an habitation. There was the greatest store of fowl that we ever saw.

2. And every day we saw whales playing hard by us; of which in that place, if we had instruments and means to take them, we might have made a very rich return, which to our great grief we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others, experienced in fishing, professed we might have made three or four thousand pounds worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here. For cod we assayed, but found none: there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great muscles, (3) and very fat and full of sea pearl;

to reprint; and the volume has been borrowed from the library of Harvard college for the purpose. The first paper here presented to the publick is anonymous; but it is quoted by Prince and Belknap under the title of *Mourt's Relation*. Mourt was probably nothing more than the printer or publisher of the original work, which Purchas has abridged. From internal evidence it appears to have been written by one of the company; and were not the Indian names spelled in a manner different from those in the second paper, it might without hesitation be attributed to Winslow. In this edition the paragraphs are numbered; and notes are added by the editor, *r. s.*

(2) Few trees are now left round Cape Cod harbour. That they were formerly common, appears from the stumps still remaining (See *Mass. Mag.* Vol. III. p. 150) and from the name *Wood end*. An aged gentleman has informed the editor, that in 1740, there was a number of *oaks* in the woods north-west of East harbour.

(3) Though muscles are found in Cape Cod harbour, yet the sea clam, or *hen*, seems to be meant, as it frequently produces on the stomach the effects here described. See *Description of Orleans*, p. 192.

pearl; but we could not eat them, for they made us all sick that did eat, as well sailors as passengers. They caused to cast and scour; but they were soon well again. The bay is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water (4); which was a great prejudice to us; for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shot or two in going aland, which caused many to get colds and coughs; for it was many times freezing cold weather.

3. This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows word for word.

4. In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, king James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names. Cape Cod, eleventh of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, king James
of

(4) See Description of Provincetown, p. 198.

of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.

5. The same day, so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of land (5): on this side where we lay is the bay (6): and the furthest side the sea (7): the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better: the crust of the earth, a spit's (8) depth, excellent black earth: all wooded (9) with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut: the wood for the most part open and without under-wood, fit either to go or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation; and laded their boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

6. Monday, the thirteenth of November, we unshipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks; and she was much opened with the people's lying in her; which kept us long there, for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days at the furthest (but our carpenter made slow work of it, so that) some of our people, impatient

(5) The men appear to have been landed on Long point, which tradition says has been diminished in its length, breadth, and height.

(6) By the bay is intended the harbour. See par 1. and par. 23. where Plymouth harbour is called a bay; and par. 58, where the same name is given to the harbour of Cummaquid, or Barnstable.

(7) That is, Barnstable bay.

(8) The depth of a spade.

(9) See Note (2.)

tient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country ; which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs ; to see whether it might be fit for us to seat in or no ; and the rather, because as we sailed into the harbour, there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land. The willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved : and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out, with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish ; unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

7. Wednesday, the fifteenth of November, they were set ashore (10) ; and when they had ordered themselves in order of a single file, and marched about the space of a mile by the sea, they espied five or six people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages ; who, when they saw them, ran into the woods, and whistled the dog after them, &c. First they supposed them to be Master Jones, the master, and some of his men ; for they were ashore and knew of their coming : but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the wood, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush. But when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main ; and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go, but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles (11) by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up a hill, to see whether they followed them. At length, night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging (12). So they set forth
three

(10) The men were probably set ashore on the east side of Mill creek.

(11) The distances in this paper are over-rated.

(12) Probably near Stout's creek.

three sentinels; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched woods, and there held our rendezvous that night.

8. In the morning, so soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek (13); and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings. But we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and vallies (14), which tore our very armour in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired and stood in need of; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavitæ, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley (15), full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracks; and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water (16), of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drunk our first New England water, with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.

9. When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south (17), that we might come to the shore; which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were, as we had direction; and so marched on towards this supposed river. And as we went in another valley, we found
a fine

(13) East-harbour creek.

(14) Excepting the trees and bushes, which have disappeared, this is an exact description of that part of Truro called East harbour.

(15) In this valley is the small village of East harbour. It is going to decay, and probably will not long exist.

(16) In the midst of the valley abovementioned is a swamp, called Dyer's swamp. Around it was formerly a number of springs of fresh water; and a few still remain, though probably before another century is closed, they will be choked with sand, as many of them already have been.

(17) The course from Dyer's swamp to the Pond is south.

a fine clear pond of fresh water (18), being about a musket-shot broad, and twice as long. There grew also many small vines; and fowl and deer (19) haunted there. There grew much sassafras. From thence we went on, and found much plain ground (20), about fifty acres fit for the plough, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn. After this some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea sands, by which means some of our men were tired and lagged behind. So we stayed and gathered them up, and struck into the land again (21); where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing like a mortar, whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things; but because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many

(18) This pond gives name to the principal village of Truro. It begins near the western shore, and extends east; (See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 195.) and is not laid down in any map, which the editor has seen, except that of Norman's, and not very accurately there, as the breadth is too great in proportion to its length. In the map of the State lately published, it is erroneously made to communicate with the bay. East of it, on the Clay pounds, stands the light house, which is placed too far south in all the maps, except that of Capt. J. F. Williams. In a map of Massachusetts, published in Hamburg, the word Pond is written on the south, instead of the north, side of the meeting house. The greatest part of this pond is now filled with grass and flags in summer, though it is still a pond in winter, as in 1620 it probably was at every season of the year. For proofs that ponds are sometimes filled up, and are even converted into swamps, see Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 172.

(19) Deer have been seen near this pond by persons now living.

(20) The land on the south side of the Pond is an elevated plain.

(21) Probably at the Great Hollow. See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 196.

many walnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another (22), which had also been new gotten; and there we found where an house had been, and four or five old planks laid together. Also we found a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe. There was also an heap of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done: we might see how they paddled it with their hands; which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn; and digged further, and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn, of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blue, which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and came to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn.

10. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put away into their pockets, filled the same. The rest we buried again; for we were so laden with armour, that we could carry no more.

11. Not far from this place we found the remainder of an

(22) From the Great Hollow the sixteen adventurers travelled south to the hill which terminates in Hopkins' cliff. This they named Cornhill. See par. 15. The Indians formerly dwelt in great numbers on this hill; and the shells, deposited by them on it, are still ploughed up in abundance. It should be noted, that Hopkins' cliff is on the north side of Pamet river, and that north of the Cliff is the Great Hollow. In the German map the Great Hollow is erroneously placed on the south side of the river. The name, which ought to have been written there, is Hog's Back.

an old fort or palisado, which, as we conceived, had been made by some christians. This was also hard by that place, which we thought had been a river; unto which we went and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by an high bank, (23) standing right by the cut or mouth, which came from the sea. That which was next unto us was the less. (24) The other arm (25) was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover, for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoes; the one on the one side, the other on the other side. We could not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop: and came that night back again to the fresh water pond; and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

12. In

(23) This is an accurate description of the entrance of Pamet river. The high bank is now called Old Tom's hill; and it is the termination of a neck of land situated between the two creeks. When Truro was first planted by the English, this neck, with several other tracts of land, was reserved to the Indians; from which circumstance it retains the name of Indian neck. Prince, in whose Annals very few errors can be detected, has fallen into a great mistake, in supposing that Barnstable harbour is the place which was visited. (See Ann. p. 74.) But the description does not suit the harbour of Barnstable, or any creek or inlet in the bay, except Pamet harbour; and as Dr. Belknap rightly observes (Biog. Vol. II. p. 176.) neither the time nor distance can agree with Prince's conjecture. Barnstable is fifty miles from Cape Cod harbour by land; a distance which could not have been travelled, and back again, in three short days of November.

(24) The smallest creek, which was next to the travellers, is called Hopkins' creek. There is on it a body of salt marsh, which runs half way across the township of Truro. The depth of water in this creek, when the tide is in, is five feet.

(25) Pamet river; which extends almost across the township, being separated from the ocean by nothing but a narrow beach. It runs through a body of salt marsh, which is accurately laid down in Des Barres' chart, though the whole of the creek itself is not marked. In other maps the marsh is converted into water.

12. In the morning, we took our kettle and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off, because of the wet; and so coasted the wood (26) again to come home; in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered, we came to a tree, where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said, it had been to catch some deer. So, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looking also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile (27) too high above the creek; where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees (28); till at length we came near the ship; and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us.— And thus we came both weary and welcome home; and delivered in our corn into the store, to be kept for seed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore was very glad, purposing so soon as we could meet with

(26) The wood was terminated by the Pond, by the side of which they travelled, and then through a valley, which is continued from it, east, toward the ocean.

(27) This brought them about a mile, south-east, of the head of East harbour creek.

(28) They appear to have waded through Stout's creek, and also through Mill creek, and to have passed on to the end of Long point, from which the ship lay at the distance of less than a furlong. See par. 19.

with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction.

13. When our shallop was fit indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two days work after bestowed on her, there was appointed some four and twenty men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to go with us, and took such of his sailors as he thought useful for us; so as we were in all about four and thirty men. We made Master Jones our leader; for we thought it best herein to gratify his kindness and forwardness. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and cross winds; so as we were constrained, some in the shallop, and others in the long boat, to row to the nearest shore the wind would suffer them to go unto, and then to wade out above the knees. The wind was so strong as the shallop could not keep the water, but was forced to harbour (29) there that night; but we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the shallop to come to us as soon as they could.

14. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here. The next day, about eleven o'clock, our shallop came to us, and we shipped ourselves; and the wind being good, we sailed to the river we formerly discovered, which we named Cold Harbour (30); to which, when we came, we found it not navigable for ships; yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats, for it flows there twelve foot (31) at high water. We landed our men between the two creeks (32), and marched four or five miles

(29) In East harbour. The men who marched, *several* miles, and what they supposed to be *six* or *seven* miles farther, were landed on the point which forms this harbour.

(30) At the request of the editor, several of the principal inhabitants of Truro have agreed to revive the old name of Cold harbour.

(31) The mouth of Pamet river, or Cold harbour, is twelve feet deep at high water. Thence the water gradually decreases to five feet, which is the depth at the lower bridge. This is to be understood of the lowest tides, during the summer.

(32) The men were landed at Old Tom's hill.

miles (33) by the greater of them, and the shallop followed us. At length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep vallies (34), which lay half a foot thick with snow. Master Jones, wearied with marching, was desirous that we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further. So we made there our rendezvous for that night under a few pine trees; and as it fell out, we got three geese and six ducks for our supper, which we ate with soldier's stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day.

15. We marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Corn-hill (35); and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place, which we had seen before, and digged and found more corn, viz. two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat (36) ears. Whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also; so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for else we knew not how we should have done; for we knew not how we should find or meet with any of the Indians, except it be to do us a mischief. Also we had never in all likelihood seen a grain of it, if we had not made our first journey; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we weré fain with our cutlasses and short swords to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring our tools. Whilst we were in this employment, foul weather being towards,

(33) From Old Tom's hill to the head of Pamet river the distance is about three miles and a half, as the hills run, or three miles in a straight line. The tradition is, that Pamet river was formerly deeper than it is at present, and therefore the shallop might easily follow them.

(34) This is an exact description of the land on Pamet river.

(35) The inhabitants of Truro have also consented to revive the old name of Cornhill.

(36) Indian corn is still meant.

towards, Mr. Jones was earnest to go aboard; but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and find out the Indians' habitations. So we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick, and all the corn; and eighteen of us stayed still and lodged there that night, and desired that the shallop might return to us next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

16. When we had marched five or six miles in the woods, and could find no signs of any people, we returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen. It was also covered with boards; so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up: where we found first a mat, and under that a fair bow, and there another mat, and under that a board about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three tines or broches on the top, like a crown. Also between the mats we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like trinkets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater, and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow hair still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed. There was bound up with a knife, a packneedle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailor's canvas cassock and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong, but no offensive smell. It was as fine as any flour. We opened the less bundle likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads (37). There was also by it a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks. We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us, and covered the corpse up again. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more corn, nor any thing else but graves.

17. Whilst

(37) Wampom, made of the periwinkle.

17. Whilst we were thus ranging and searching, two of the sailors, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They, having their pieces, and hearing nobody, entered the houses and took out something, and durst not stay, but came again and told us; so some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young sapling trees bended, and both ends stuck into the ground. They were made round like unto an arbour, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open (38). The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches knocked into the ground, and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to seeth. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double matted; for as they were matted without, so were they within with newer and fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made of crab-shells wrought together; also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears. There was also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some lesser, finer, and some coarser. Some were curiously wrought with black and white in pretty works, and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet, stuck up in the houses, harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and sundry such like things there was; also two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass, and a little tobacco seed, with some other seeds which we knew not. Without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bull-rushes, and other stuff to make mats. There was thrust into a hollow tree two or three pieces of venison; but

(38) See Gookin's Coll. chap. 3. § 4. and Williams' Key, chap. vi.

but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the best things we took away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were.

18. Much disputation fell out about the place where we should abide; and a company was chosen to go out upon a third discovery. Whilst some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistress White was brought to bed of a son, which was called Peregrine.

19. Wednesday, the sixth of December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while, after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of a sandy point, which lay within less than a furlong of the same (39). In which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had like to have swooned with cold. The gunner was also sick unto death (but hope of trucking made him go) and so remained all that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing; but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron.

20. We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point (40). We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore, we espied some ten or twelve Indians very busy about a black thing (41), what it was we could not tell till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying something away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore,

(39) The end of Long point.

(40) Billingsgate point. This point then joined the land north of it; but it is now an island. See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. IV. p. 41.

(41) A grampus. Prince's Ann. p. 76.

ashore any where, it lay so full of flat sands (42). When we came to shore, we made us a barricado, and got fire wood, and set out sentinels, and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire, which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

21. In the morning we divided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place; but we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it. This place the most were minded we should call Grampus bay, because we found many of them there*. We followed the track of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length we saw here they struck into the woods by the side of a pond (43). As we went to view the place, one said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees. So we went up to see. And here we and the shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock. So we lighted on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set, but not that year. Anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large palisado, like a church yard, with young spires four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground. Within it was full of graves, some bigger, and some less. Some were also paled about; and others had like an Indian house made over them, but not matted. Those graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill; yet we digged none of them up, only viewed them and went our way. Without the palisado were graves also, but not so costly. We went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low; and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our shallop. By that time we had done, and
our

(42) See Description of Eastham. p. 155.

* They found grampuses dead, two inches thick of fat, and five or six paces long. *Note by the author.*

(43) Great pond in Eastham, north of which they landed. This pond is well delineated in the late maps of the state

our shallop come to us (44) it was within night; and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betook us to our rest, after we had set our watch.

22. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry; and our sentinel called, Arm, arm. So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves and foxes, for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland. About five o'clock in the morning we began to be stirring. Upon a sudden we heard a great and strange cry, which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes. One of the company, being abroad, came running in, and cried, They are men, Indians, Indians: and withal their arrows came flying amongst us. Our men ran out with all speed to recover their arms. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, especially when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, *Woach woach ha ha hach woach*. Our men were no sooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to assault them. There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He stood three shots of a musket. At length one took, as he said, full aim at him: after which he gave an extraordinary cry; and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile; but we left six to keep our shallop, for we were careful of our business. We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we had sent to England by Master Jones; some whereof were headed with

(44) It appears from Gov. Bradford's MS. Hist. quoted by Prince, Ann. p. 77. that the shallop coasted along the shore, south, and that toward night the people on the land met it at a creek. This Morton conjectures to be Namskeket. Mem. p. 25. But it may with more probability be concluded that it was Great Meadow creek. If the travellers had gone as far as Namskeket, they must either have crossed Great Meadow, Boat Meadow, Rock harbour, and Little Namskeket creeks, or they must have passed round their heads, which, at a time when the country was covered with a forest very difficult to be penetrated, would have been no easy task. Namskeket creek was best known to the first inhabitants of Plymouth; and this appears to have been the cause of Morton's supposition.

with brass, others with harts' horn, and others with eagles' claws. Many more no doubt were shot; for these we found were almost covered with leaves; yet, by the special providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us. (45)

23. On Monday we found a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers corn fields and little running brooks; a place very good for situation: so we returned to our ship again with good news, which did much comfort their hearts. This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with goodly land, and in the bay two fine islands (46) uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place (47): innumerable store of fowl, and excellent good; and cannot but be fish in their seasons: Skate, cod, turbot (48), and herring, we have tasted of; abundance of muscles, the greatest and best we ever saw; crabs and lobsters in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook.

24. The eighteenth, we went along the coast in the woods, some seven or eight mile (49), but saw not an Indian,

(45) For a narrative of the events, which took place between this skirmish and the landing at Plymouth, see Morton's Mem. p. 27, 28. and Prince's Ann. p. 77, 78.

(46) There is not at present but one island in the harbour of Plymouth. But there is a shoal called Brown's island, lying about a half of a mile east by north from Beach point. This, it is supposed, was once upland. There is a tradition, that stumps of trees have been seen here. The following extract from Winthrop's Journal, p. 87. will perhaps confirm this supposition. "A. D. 1635. Sep. 6. Two shallops going laden with goods to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's Islands, near the Gurnet's Nose, and the men all drowned."

(47) The experience of a few years convinced the inhabitants of Plymouth that the place was not so hopeful, as they had at first supposed.

(48) By turbot may be intended the flounder, or the halibut.

(49) Which ever way the travellers went, they could not have walked seven miles; because north-west, at the distance of four miles, they would have come to Jones' river in Kingston; and south-east, at the distance of three miles to Eel river. These rivers, though not large, cannot be denominated brooks. The latter then ran into the harbour of Plymouth; but at present its mouth is on the outside of Beach point.

dian, nor an Indian house ; only we found where formerly had been some inhabitants, and where they had planted their corn. We found not any navigable river, but four or five running brooks of very fresh water, that all run into the sea. The land for the crust of the earth is a spit's depth, excellent black mould, and fat in some places : two or three great oaks, but not very thick, pines, walnuts, beech, ash, birch, hazel, holly, asp (50), sassafras in abundance, and vines every where, cherry trees, plum trees, and many others which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarrow, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, water-cresses, great store of leeks and onions, and an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp. Here is sand, gravel, and excellent clay, no better in the world, excellent for pots, and will wash like soap, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water (51) that ever we drunk ; and the brooks now begin to be full of fish (52). That night, many being weary with marching, we went aboard again.

25. The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the main land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago ; and there is a very sweet brook (53) runs under the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbour our shallops and boats exceeding well ; and in this brook is much good fish in their seasons ; on the further side of the river also much corn ground cleared (54). In one field is a great hill (55), on which we point to make a platform,

(50) Aspen.

(51) Plymouth is abundantly supplied with springs and brooks of excellent water.

(52) Eels and smelts enter the brooks of Plymouth in autumn ; and frost fish, or tom-cods, in December.

(53) Now called Town brook. It issues from a pond, named Billington sea.

(54) At present denominated the Training green.

(55) On which the burying ground now is.

platform, and plant our ordnance ; which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea ; and we may see from thence Cape Cod.

26. Saturday, the three and twentieth, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building. Monday, the five and twentieth, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry : so no man rested all that day.

27. Monday, the five and twentieth, being Christmas day, we began to drink water aboard ; but at night the master caused us to have some beer ; and so on board we had divers times now and then some beer, but on shore none at all. We took notice how many families they were, willing all single men, that had no wives, to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses ; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots ; to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length ; and so lots were cast where every man should lie ; which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds ; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of our deaths.

28. Friday and Saturday we fitted ourselves for our labour ; but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rain and wet that day, being very stormy and cold. We saw great smokes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we conjectured.

29. Thursday, the fourth of January, Captain Miles Standish, with four or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where the fires were made. They went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited ; yet could they not meet with any. As they came home, they shot an eagle and killed her,
which

which was excellent meat ; it was hardly to be discerned from mutton.

30. Tuesday, the ninth of January, was a reasonable fair day ; and we went to labour that day in building of our town, in two rows of houses (56) for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house (57), in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch ; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindred us much. This time of the year seldom could we work half the week.

31. On the twelfth day, John Goodman and Peter Brown at dinner time took their meat in their hands, and would go walk and refresh themselves. So going a little off, they find a lake of water (58), and having a great mastiff bitch with them and a spaniel. By the water side they found a great deer. The dogs chased him ; and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way back. They wandered all that afternoon, being wet ; and at night it did freeze and snow. They were slenderly appavelled, and had no weapons, but each one his sickle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down, and could find none of the savages' habitations. When it drew to night, they were much perplexed ; for they could find neither harbour nor meat ; but, in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the element their covering. And another thing did much terrify

(56) The same street, which leads from the meeting house to the water. This street is without a name. It has been proposed by several respectable gentlemen of Plymouth to call it Leyden street.

(57) Last year, in digging a cellar, sundry tools and a plate of iron were discovered, seven feet below the surface of the ground, on the place, where it is supposed that this common house stood.

(58) Probably Murdock's pond, about a quarter of a mile north-west from the court house.

terrify them : they heard, as they thought, two lions (59) roaring exceedingly for a long time, and a third, that they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree as the safest refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging. They stood at the tree's root, that when the lions came, they might take their opportunity of climbing up. The bitch they were fain to hold by the neck, for she would have been gone to the lion. But it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild beasts came not. So they walked up and down under the tree all night. It was an extreme cold night. So soon as it was light they travelled again, passing by many lakes (60), and brooks, and woods, and in one place where the savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, and even (61). In the afternoon it pleased God, from an high hill, they discovered the two isles in the bay ; and so that night got to the plantation, being ready to faint with travel and want of victuals, and almost famished with cold. John Goodman was fain to have his shoes cut off his feet, they were so swelled with cold ; and it was a long while after ere he was able to go. *

32. The house was fired occasionally by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up ; but the roof stood and little hurt. The most loss was Master Carver's and William Bradford's, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder ; but, through God's mercy, they had no harm. The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged ; but, blessed be God, there was no harm done.

33. Monday,

(59) Several of the first settlers of New England supposed, that the lion existed here. (See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. I. p. 119. and Wood's N. England Prospect. chap. vi.) But few readers need now to be informed that this animal is not to be found in America. Goodman and Brown, coming from England, where both the lion and the wolf are unknown, might easily, under the impression of fear, mistake the howling of the one for the roaring of the other. See par. 34.

(60) There is a great number of ponds in the township of Plymouth.

(61) A plain commences two miles from the town, and extends six miles south-west.

33. Monday, the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on ship-board could not go on shore, nor they on shore do any labour, but were all wet. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very fair sunshiny days, as if it had been in April; and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

34. The nineteenth day we resolved to make a shed to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shore; but at noon it rained, that we could not work. This day, in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little spaniel with him. A little way from the plantation two great wolves ran after the dog: the dog ran to him and betwixt his legs for succour. He had nothing in his hand, but took up a stick and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came again. He got a pale board in his hand; and they sat both on their tails grinning at him a good while; and went their way and left him.

35. Saturday, the seventeenth day, in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of military orders amongst ourselves; and we chose Miles Standish for our captain, and gave him authority to command in affairs.

36. Saturday, the third of March, the wind was south, the morning misty, but towards noon warm and fair weather. The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly. At one of the clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country: it was strong and great claps, but short; but after an hour it rained very steady till midnight. Wednesday, the seventh of March, the wind was full east, cold, but fair.

37. Friday, the sixteenth, there presented himself a savage which caused an alarum. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us welcome; for he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon, and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters, that usually come.

He

He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things: he was the first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of those parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the *sagamores* or lords thereof: had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their *sagamores*, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him; for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long, or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man; the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before; none on his face at all. He asked some beer; but we gave him strong-water and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of a mallard; all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English. He told us the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on ship-board, wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high and water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged [him] that night at Stephen Hopkins' house, and watched him.

38. The next day he went away back to the Massasoys (62), from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as near, south-east of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they of whom our people were encountered

(62) The English, not understanding Samoset perfectly, supposed that by Massasoit he meant an Indian tribe; but this was the name of the great sagamore, as appears afterwards in par. 41.

encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English; and about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon. They were Sir Ferdinando Gorges his men, as this savage told us; as he did likewise of the *huggery*, that is, fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausites; and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought again, otherwise we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected toward the English by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them under colour of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretch-man (for twenty pound a man) that care not what mischief he doth for his profit.

39. Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the savage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet and a ring. He promised within a night or two to come again, and to bring with him some of the Massasoys, our neighbours, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck with us.

40. Saturday and Sunday, reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's skin on him; and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins, close made; and above their groins, to their waist, another leather: they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English Gipsies; no hair, or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broad wise, like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These left, according to our charge given him before, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment, as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like antics. They brought with him in a thing like a bow-case, which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn

corn pounded to powder (63), which put to a little water they ate. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drunk, but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black (64), from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad: others after other fashions, as they liked. They brought three or four skins; but we would not truck with them all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all; which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should; and they brought all our tools again, which were taken in the woods, in our men's absence (65). So because of the day we dismissed them, so soon as we could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.

41. Thursday, the twenty-secondth of March, was a fair warm day. About noon we met again about our publick business; but we had scarce been an hour together, but Samoset came again, and Squanto (66), the only native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others: and they brought with them some few skins to truck, and some red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not salted; and signified unto us, that their great sagamore, Massasoyt, was hard by, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their men. They could

(63) *Nokehick*, generally pronounced at present *nokake*, made of Indian corn, parched, and afterwards reduced to meal, and sifted through a basket. See Williams' Key, chap. II. and Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 5.

(64) See Williams' Key, chap. XXX. and Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 11.

(65) See Prince's Ann. p. 98.

(66) Or Tisquantum. See par. 48.

could not well express in English what they would ; but after an hour the king came to the top of an hill (67) over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them, and they us. We were not willing to send our governour to them, and they unwilling to come to us : so Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winslow, to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our governour, which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted.

42. Our messenger made a speech unto him, That king James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally ; and that our governour desired to see him and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunk himself, and given the rest to his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it ; but, on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson met the king at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him, and he them : so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Then instantly came our governour, with a drum and trumpet after him, and some few musketeers. After salutations, our governour kissing his hand, the
king

(67) Watson's hill, on the south side of Town brook.

king kissed him ; and so they sat down. The governour called for some strong water, and drunk to him ; and he drunk a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after. He called for a little fresh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was :

43. First, that neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.

Secondly, and if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

Thirdly, that if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored ; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.

Fourthly, if any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him : if any did war against us, he should aid us.

Fifthly, he should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

Sixthly, that when their men came ,they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces, when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, king James would esteem of him as his friend and ally (68).

44. All which the king seemed to like well ; and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the governour, he trembled for fear. In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech ; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck ; and at it, behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red like murrey ; and oiled both head and face, that

(68) " This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoyt lived, but was afterward [in 1675] broken by Philip, his successor." Belknap's Biog. p. 214.

that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white; some with crosses and other antick works; some had skins on them, and some naked; all strong, tall men in appearance. The king had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet; and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. Samoset and Squanto stayed all night with us; and the king and all his men lay all night in the wood, not above half an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them. They said, that within eight or nine days they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer, which is hard by us.

45. That night we kept good watch; but there was no appearance of danger. The next morning divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get some victuals, as we imagined. Some of them told us the king would have some of us come see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton (69) went venterously, who were welcomed of him after their manner. He gave them three or four ground nuts and some tobacco. We cannot yet conceive, but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when as they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done; and especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narrohigansets (70), that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they stayed till ten or eleven of the clock; and our governour bid them send the king's kettle, and filled it with peas, which pleased them well; and so they went their way.

46. Friday was a very fair day. Samoset and Squanto still remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fish for eels. At night he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet. He trod them out with his feet; and

(69) Generally spelled Allerton. Point Alderton, at the entrance of Boston harbour, takes its name from him. Hutch. Vol. II. p. 461.

(70) Written at present Narraganset.

and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

47. This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the savages' coming; and concluded both of military orders, and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate and condition; and likewise chose our governour for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

A Journey to Pakanokick.

48. **I**T seemed good to the company, for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoit, the greatest commander amongst the savages, bordering about us; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served; as also to see their strength, discover the country, prevent abuses in their disorderly coming unto us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us. For these and the like ends, it pleased the governour to make choice of Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow, to go unto him; and having a fit opportunity by reason of a savage called Tisquantum (71), that could speak English, coming unto us: with all expedition provided a horseman's coat of red cotton, and laced with a slight lace, for a present, that both they and their message might be acceptable amongst them.

49. We set forward the tenth (72) of June, about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet (73), a town under Massasoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst us; but

(71) Or Squanto: See par. 41.

(72) "June 10th. being Lord's day, it is very unlikely that they set out then, and is also inconsistent with the rest of the Journal: whereas July 2d. is Monday, when Gov. Bradford says, We sent Mr. Edward Winslow, &c." Prince Ann. p. 105.

(73) Or Namasket: that part of Middleborough, which the English first began to settle. Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 148.

but we found it to be some fifteen miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them, perceiving that, as the manner of them all is, where victual is easiliest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer: by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither; and now returned with us to Nameschet. Thither we came about three o'clock afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could; giving us a kind of bread, called by them *maizium*, and the spawn of shads, which they then got in abundance, in so much as they gave us spoons to eat them: With these they boiled musty acorns (74); but of the shads we eat heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them, who shooting some fourscore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals than there.

50. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went and came thither at sun setting; where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing upon a wear (75), which they had made on a river which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode. Upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length.

(74) See Gookin's Coll. chap. III. §. 5. and Williams' Key, chap. XVI.

(75) At Titicut, on Taunton river, in the north-west part of Middleborough, is a noted place, which was formerly called the Old Indian Wear. Though other wears have been erected on Taunton river, yet this is probably the place intended.

length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since: and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dress and manure the same. Upon this river dwelleth Massasoyt.

51. The next morning we brake our fast, took our leave, and departed, being then accompanied with some six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river side, at a known shoal place (76), it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade thorough. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages, on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, especially the one, being above threescore. These two, espying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank, where with shrill voices and great courage, standing charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on us in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

52. Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, beside small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but at a spring head. When we came to a small brook, where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried: and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly, in affording us help and furtherance in the journey.

53. As

(76) About six miles below Old Indian Wear is a noted wading place. The opposite shore of Taunton river is in Raynham.

53. As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited; by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds, which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chesnut trees.

54. After we came to a town of Massasoyt's, where we ate oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Pakanokick (77), but Massasoyt was not at home. There we stayed he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting we would discharge our pieces: but one of us going about to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear to see him take up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter. Massasoyt being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him; who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired. For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome; and would gladly continue that peace and friendship, which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us, as they had done; also that he would send to Paomet, and would help us with corn for seed, according to our request.

55. This being done, his men gathered near unto him, to whom he turned himself, and made a speech; they sometime interposing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus: Was not he, Massasoyt, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his, and the people of it? And should they not bring their skins unto us? After this manner he named at least thirty places; and their answer was as aforesaid to every one: so that as it was delightful, it was

was

(77) Sometimes called Sowams. See Winslow. 50. and Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 221.

was tedious unto us. This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king's majesty, marvelling that he should live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrohiganset, for it was king James his country, and he also was king James his man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife, they at the one end, and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

56. The next day, being Thursday, many of their *sachims*, or petty governours, came to see us, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for skins; but they durst not: only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

57. About one o'clock, Massasoyt brought two fishes that he had shot: They were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat (78). These being boiled, there were at least forty looked for a share in them. The most ate of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer. But we desired to keep the sabbath at home, and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleep; for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing (for they used to sing themselves asleep) lice and fleas within doors, and musketoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on Friday morning, before sun-rising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and ashamed

(78) "Probably the fish called tataug," says Dr. Belknap, Biog. Vol. II. p. 288.

ashamed; that he could not better entertain us ; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us ; and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions.

A Voyage made by ten of our men to Nauset, to seek a boy (79) that had lost himself in the woods.

58. **T**HE eleventh of June (80), we set forth toward Nauset, the weather being very fair : but ere we had been long at sea, there arose a storm of wind and rain, with much lightning and thunder, in so much that a spout arose not far from us. But, God be praised, it dured not long ; and we put in that night for harbour at a place called Cummaquid (81), where we had some hope to find the boy. Two savages were in the boat with us : the one was Tisquantum, our interpreter, the other Tokamahamon, a special friend. It being night before we came in, we anchored in the midst of the bay, where we were dry at low water. In the morning, we espied savages seeking lobsters ; and sent our two interpreters to speak with them, the channel being between them ; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to fear us, for we would not hurt them. Their answer was, that the boy was well, but he was at Nauset ; yet since we were there, they desired us to come ashore and eat with them ; which as soon as our boat floated we did, and went six ashore, having four pledges for them in the boat. They brought us to their sachim, or governour, whom they call Iyanough (82) a man

(79) John Billington. Bradford's MS. Hist.

(80) " This date being inconsistent with several hints in the foregoing and following stories, I keep to Gov. Bradford's original manuscript, and place it between the end of July and the 13th. of August." Prince's Ann. p. 107.

(81) Barnstable harbour.

(82) Sometimes called Iyanough of Cummaquid, and sometimes Iyanough of Mattakees, or Mattachiest, a territory which included the east part of Barnstable and the west part of Yarmouth. Prince's Ann. p. 108. Gookin's Coll. chap. VIII. §. 2. Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 15.

man not exceeding twenty-six years of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned, indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various.

59. One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no less than an hundred years old, which came to see us, because she never saw English; yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three sons, who, when Master Hunt was in these parts, went aboard his ship to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also) by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same; but for us, we would not offer them any such injury, though it would gain us all the skins in the country. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

60. After dinner we took boat for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to Nauset the day and tide were almost spent; in so much as we could not go in with our shallop: but the sachim, or governour, of Cummaquid went ashore and his men with him. We also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet, the sachim of Nauset wherefore we came. After sun-set Aspinet came with a great train, and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not less than an hundred with him; the half whereof came to the shallop side, unarmed with him; the other stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us, we bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

61. Here we understood that the Narrohigansets had spoiled some of Massasoyt's men, and taken him. This struck

struck some fear in us, because the colony was so weakly guarded, the strength thereof being abroad. But we set forth with resolution to make the best haste home we could; yet the wind being contrary, having scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteen leagues (83) home we put in again for the shore. There we met again with Iyanough, the sachim of Cummaquid, and the most of his town, both men, women, and children with him. He, being still willing to gratify us, took a rundlet, and led our men in the dark a great way for water, but could find none good; yet brought such as there was on his neck with them. In the mean time the women joined hand in hand, singing and dancing before the shallop, the men also showing all the kindness they could, Iyanough himself taking a bracelet from about his neck, and hanging it upon one of us. By God's providence we came safely home that night.

GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND: OR A RELATION OF THINGS REMARKABLE IN THAT PLANTATION: WRITTEN BY E. WINSLOW, AND ABBREVIATED IN PURCHAS'S PILGRIMS, BOOK. X. CHAP. V. LONDON. 1625 (1).

1. **T**HE good ship, called the Fortune, which in the month of November, 1621, blessed be God! brought us a new supply of five and thirty persons, was not long departed our coast, ere the great people of Nanohigganset (2) which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breathe forth many threats against us, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us in the foregoing summer: insomuch as the common talk of our neighbour Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us. In reason, a man would

(83) The distance from Eastham to Plymouth is not more than twelve leagues.

(1) For the events in the history of Plymouth, between the conclusion of the foregoing paper and the commencement of this, see Prince's Ann. p. 108—115.

(2) Narraganset.

would think they should have now more cause to fear us, than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet understanding by others, that they neither brought arms nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occasioned them to slight and brave us with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to us, who was sent by Conauacus (3), their chief sachim or king, accompanied with one Tokamahamon, a friendly Indian. This messenger inquired for Tisquantum, our interpreter, who not being at home, seemed rather to be glad than sorry; and leaving for him a bundle of new arrows, lapped in a rattle-snake's skin, desired to depart with all expedition.

2. When Tisquantum returned, and the arrows were delivered, and the manner of the messenger's carriage related, he signified to the governour (4), that to send the rattle-snake's skin in that manner imported enmity, and that it was no better than a challenge. Hereupon, after some deliberation, the governour stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back, returning no less defiance to Conauacus, assuring him, if he had shipping now present thereby to send his men to Nanhigganset, the place of his abode, they should not need to come so far by land to us: yet withal showing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terrour to this savage king; insomuch as he would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or country. Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again.

3. In the mean time, knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, having as yet, under God, no other defence than our arms, we thought it needful to impale our town; which with all expedition we accomplished in the month of February, and some few days, taking in the top of the hill under which our town
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(3) Or Canonicus. Prince, 116.

(4) William Bradford.

is seated; making four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town; in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captain Standish divided our strength into four squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought fit to have command of each; and at a general muster or training, appointed each his place, gave each his company, giving them charge, upon every alarm, to resort to their leaders, to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new commanders to their houses, where again they graved them with their shot, and so departed. Fearing also lest the enemy, at any time, should take any advantage, by firing our houses, Captain Standish appointed a certain company, that whensoever they saw or heard fire to be cried in the town, should only betake themselves to their arms, and should enclose the house or place so endangered; and stand aloof on their guard, with their backs to the fire, to prevent treachery if any were in that kind intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without special command.

4. Long before this time we promised the people of Massachuset, in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their furs; which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the mean time an Indian, called Hobbamock, who still lived in the town, told us that he feared the Massachuset, or Massachuseuks, for they so called the people of that place, were joined in confederacy with the Nanohigganneuks, or people of Nanohigganset, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captain Standish and his company abroad; but howsoever, in the mean time, it was to be feared that the Nanohigganeuks would assault the town at home; giving many reasons for his jealousy, as also that Tisquantum was in the confederacy, who, we should find, would use many persuasions to draw us from

our shallops to the Indians' houses for their better advantage.

5. Notwithstanding the forenamed Captain with ten men, accompanied with Hobbamock and Tisquantum, set forwards for the Massachusets: but were no sooner turned the point of the harbour, called the Gurnet's Nose, where, being becalmed, we let fall our grapnel, to set things to rights, and prepare to row, but there came an Indian of Tisquantum's family, running to certain of our people, that were from home, with all eagerness, having his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on the same, calling to them to repair home, oft looking behind him, as if some others had him in chase; saying that at Namaschet, a town some fifteen miles from us, there were many of the Nanohiggansets, Massassowat (5) our supposed friend, and Conbatant (6), our feared enemy, with many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity, to assault the town in the Captain's absence; affirming that he received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalf, and by flight escaped; looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed again to the governour; whereupon he gave command, that three piece of ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end if we were not out of hearing, we might return thereat: Which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient speed, arming ourselves, and making all in readiness to fight. When we entered the harbour, we saw the town likewise on their guard; whither we hasted with all convenient speed. The news being made known unto us, Hobbamock said flatly that it was false, assuring us of Massassowat's faithfulness. Howsoever he presumed he would never have undertaken any such act without his privity, himself being a *paniese* (7), that is, one of his chief champions or men of valor; it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises,

(5) Massasoyt, or Masassoit.

(6) Gov. Bradford, and after him Morton and Prince, write his name Corbitant. See Ann. 109.

(7) Prince spells this word Pinese. Ann. 108. See Belknap's Biog. II. 454.

enterprises, without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank.

6. The governour caused Hobbamock to send his wife with all privacy to Puckanokick (8), the chief place of Massassowat's residence, pretending other occasions, there to inform herself, and so us, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had been intended, she told Massassowat what had happened at Plymouth, by them called Patuxet; which when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum; returning many thanks to the governour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him, that according to their first articles of peace, he would send word and give warning, when any such business was towards.

7. Thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen, by means of his nearness and favour with us; not caring who fell, so he stood. In general his course was, to persuade them he could lead us to peace or war at his pleasure; and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himself, to work their peace; insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their sachims: yea they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us, yea and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to rely on Massassowat for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him, and seek after Tisquantum. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein; assuring them, till they begun with us, they should have no cause to fear: and if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance: which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

8. After this we proceeded in our voyage to the Massachusetts; where we had good store of trade, and, blessed be
God!

(8) Pokanoket. Belkn. Biog.

God! returned in safety, though driven from before our town in great danger and extremity of weather.

9. At our return we found Massassowat at the plantation; who made his seeming just apology for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and enraged against Tisquantum; whom the governour pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a messenger to the governour, entreating him to give way to the death of Tisquantum, who had so much abused him. But the governour answered: Although he deserved to die, both in respect of him and us; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him; and the rather, because without him he knew not well how to understand himself, or any other the Indians.

10. With this answer the messenger returned; but came again not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him, from Massassowat their master, as being one of his subjects, whom by our first articles of peace we could not retain: yet because he would not willingly do it without the governour's approbation, offered him many beavers' skins for his consent thereto; saying, that according to their manner, their sachim had sent his own knife, and therewith to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him.

11. To which the governour answered: It was not the manner of the English to sell men's lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward; and therefore refused their beavers as a gift: but sent for Tisquantum; who, though he knew their intent, yet offered not to fly, but came and accused Hobbamock as the author and worker of his overthrow; yielding himself to the governour, to be sent or not, according as he thought meet.

12. But at the instant when our governour was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea to cross before our town, and fall behind a head-land not far off. Whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the savages and them, the governour told the Indians, he would first know what boat that was, ere he would deliver him into their custody.

But

But being mad with rage and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

13. Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked, practice of this Tisquantum; who, to the end he might possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our store house; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the forenamed brabbles, sent for by the governour to this place, where Hobbamock was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock asked him, what it meant? To whom he readily answered: That was the place, wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such a command of it? Who answered, No; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure, to the destruction of his and our enemies.

14. This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622: at which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance. The reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company, but contrariwise received from us for their ship's store honteward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein; but rather certain amongst ourselves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting that plenty we enjoyed. But that I may return.

15. This boat proved to be a shallop, that belonged to a fishing ship, called the Sparrow, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late merchant and citizen of London; which brought six or seven passengers at his charge, that should before have been landed at our plantation; who also brought no more provision for the present, than served the boat's gang for their return to the ship; which made her voyage at a place called Damarin's cove, near Munhigen, some forty leagues from us north-eastward; about
which

which place there fished above thirty sail of ships; and whither myself was employed by our governour, with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare; where I found kind entertainment and good respect, with a willingness to supply our wants: But not being able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessity of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my coming, would not take any bills for the same; but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such, as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities; for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to the utmost of their abilities: which, although it was not much amongst so many people as were at the plantation; yet, through the provident and discreet care of the governours, recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready.

16. Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speed convenient; where I found the state of the colony much weaker than when I left it: for till now we were never without some bread; the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported, how could men undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence? I answer, every thing must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one said, will go into an orchard in the winter, to gather cherries: so he that looks for fowl there in the summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befel us in May and June. I confess, that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass and other fish; yet for want of fit and strong seines and other netting, they for the most part brake thorough, and carried all away before them. And though the sea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor halsers for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place, where divers sort of shell fish are, that may be taken with the
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the band, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.

17. In the time of these straits, indeed before my going to Munhiggen, the Indians began again to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off. Now also Massassowat seemed to frown on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things occasioned further thoughts of fortification. And whereas we have a hill called the Mount, enclosed within our pale, under which our town is seated, we resolved to erect a fort thereon; from whence a few might easily secure the town from any assault the Indians can make, whilst the rest might be employed as occasion served. This work was begun with great eagerness, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it took the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corn, yet, life being continued, we hoped God would raise some means in stead thereof for our further preservation.

18. In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbour two ships of Master Weston's aforesaid; the one called the Charity, the other the Swan; having in them some fifty or sixty men, sent over at his own charge to plant for him. These we received into our town, affording them whatsoever courtesy our mean condition could afford. There the Charity, being the bigger ship, left them, having many passengers, which she was to land in Virginia. In the mean time the body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, whilst some more fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labour, about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindness, set light by it and us.

19. At length their coasters returned, having found
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in their judgment a place fit for plantation, within the bay of the Massachusetts (9) at a place called by the Indians *Wichaguscusset* (10). To which place the body of them went with all convenient speed, leaving still with us such as were sick and lame, by the governour's permission, though on their parts undeserved; whom our surgeon, by the help of God, recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served.

20. They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamours against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men, in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain Standish, before their coming, to solicit our governour to send some of his men, to plant by them, alleging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But we knew no means to redress those abuses, save reproof, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

21. In the end of August, came other two ships into our harbour. The one, as I take it, was called the *Discovery*, Captain Jones having the command thereof; the other was that ship of Master Weston's, called the *Sparrow*; which had now made her voyage of fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captain Jones we furnished ourselves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare; who, as he used us kindly, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us, than ever it had been, or after was: for as we had now but small store of corn for the year following; so, for want of supply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking stuff, not having any means left to help ourselves by trade: but, through God's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kind competently.

22. In the end of September, or beginning of October, Master Weston's biggest ship, called the *Charity*, returned
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(9) The harbor of Boston.

(10) Or *Wessagusset*, now called *Weymouth*. Hutch. I. 5.

for England, and left their colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the Swan, remained with his colony, for their further help. At which time they desired to join in partnership with us, to trade for corn; to which our governour and his assistant (11) agreed, upon such equal conditions, as were drawn and confirmed between them and us. The chief places aimed at were to the southward of Cape Cod; and the more, because Tisquantum, whose peace before this time was wrought with Massassowat, undertook to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped, passage within the shoals.

23. Both colonies being thus agreed, our governour in his own person supplied the Captain's place; and, in the month of November, set forth, having Tisquantum for his interpreter and pilot; who affirmed he had twice passed within the shoals of Cape Cod, both with English and French. Nevertheless they went so far with him, as the master of the ship saw no hope of passage: but being, as he thought, in danger, bare up, and according to Tisquantum's directions, made for an harbour not far from them, at a place called Manamoyck (12); which they found, and sounding it with their shallop, found the channel, though but narrow and crooked; where at length they harboured the ship. Here they perceived that the tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more southerly, which they had not seen nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the shoals; but there is no certainty thereof as yet known.

24. That night the governour, accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his interpreter, went ashore. At first the inhabitants played least in sight, because none of our people had ever been there before; but understanding the ends of their coming, at length came to them, welcoming our governour according to their savage manner; refreshing them very well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance;

(11) Isaac Allerton.

(12) Chatham.

dance; promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladness of the occasion. Yet their joy was mixed with much jealousy, as appeared by their after practices: for at first they were loth that their dwellings should be known; but when they saw our governour's resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, having first conveyed all their stuff to a remote place, not far from the same; which one of our men, walking forth occasionally, espied: whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found; and so many times after, upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards, by Tisquantum's means, better persuaded, they left their jealousy, and traded with them: where they got eight hogsheads of corn and beans, though the people were but few. This gave our governour and the company good encouragement; Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the inhabitants affirming they had seen ships of good burthen pass within the shoals aforesaid.

25. But here, though they had determined to make a second essay, yet God had otherwise disposed; who struck Tisquantum with sickness, insomuch as he there died; which crossed their southward trading, and the more, because the master's sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

26. From thence they departed; and the wind being fair for the Massachuset, went thither, and the rather, because the savages, upon our motion, had planted much corn for us, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickness to be amongst the Indians, not unlike the plague, if not the same. They renewed their complaints to our governour, against that other plantation seated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeed the trade both for furs and corn was overthrown in that place, they giving as much for a quart of corn, as we used to do for a beaver's skin: so that little good could be there done.

27. From thence they returned into the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset; where the sachim used the governour very kindly, and where they bought

bought eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans: also at a place called Mattachiest, where they had like kind entertainment and corn also. During the time of their trade in these parts, there were so great and violent storms, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away; so that they had now no means to carry the corn aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well near two leagues from the same, her own boat being so small, and so leaky, having no carpenter with them, as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the governour caused the corn to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge, to cover it; and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it; promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermin also from it; which he undertook, and the sachim promised to make good. In the mean time, according to the governour's request, the sachim sent men to seek the shallop; which they found buried almost in sand at a high water mark, having many things remaining in her, but unserviceable for the present; whereof the governour gave the sachim special charge, that it should not be further broken. And having procured a guide, it being no less than fifty miles to our plantation, set forward, receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey; and came safely home, though weary and surbated (13); whither some three days after the ship also came.

28. The corn being divided, which they had got, Master Weston's company went to their own plantation; it being further agreed, that they should return with all convenient speed, and bring their carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corn, and save their shallop.

29. At their return, Captain Standish, being recovered and in health, took another shallop, and went with them to the corn, which they found in safety as they left it. Also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corn aboard the ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy; insomuch as, the harbour being none of the best, they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ship's stern; and so lost them both a second

(13) With galled feet.

second time. But the storm being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt.

30. Whilst they were at Nauset, having occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a creek not far from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles out of the same; which, when the Captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the sachim, telling him what had happened, and requiring the same again, or the party that stole them, who was known to certain of the Indians; or else he would revenge it on them before his departure; and so took leave for that night, being late, refusing whatsoever kindness they offered. On the morrow the sachim came to their rendezvous, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner; who saluting the Captain in this wise: he thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger's end, withal bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum. His men did the like, but in so rude and savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the Captain, saying he had much beaten the party for doing it; causing the women to make bread, and bring them, according to their desire; seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the corn was equally divided as before.

31. After this the governour went to two other inland towns, with another company, and bought corn likewise of them. The one is called Namasket, the other Manomet (14). That from Namasket was brought home partly by Indian women; but a great sickness arising amongst them, our own men were enforced to fetch home the rest. That at Manomet the governour left in the sachim's custody.

32. This town lieth from us south, well near twenty miles; and stands upon a fresh river, which runneth
into

(14) The part of Sandwich, which lies on Manomet river.

into the bay of Nanohigganset (15); and cannot be less than sixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten ton to this place. Hither the Dutch or French, or both, use to come. It is from hence to the bay of Cape Cod about eight miles (16); out of which bay it floweth into a creek some six miles, almost direct towards the town. The heads of the river and this creek are not far distant. This river yieldeth thus high oysters, muscles, clams, and other shell fish; one in shape like a bean, another like a clam; both good meat, and great abundance at all times: besides it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons.

33. The governour, or sachim, of this place was called Canacum; who had formerly, as well as many others, yea all with whom as yet we had to do, acknowledged themselves the subjects of our sovereign lord, the king. This sachim used the governour very kindly; and it seemed was of good respect and authority amongst the Indians. For whilst the governour was there, within night, in bitter weather, came two men from Manamoyck, before spoken of; and having set aside their bows and quivers, according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and took a pipe of tobacco, not using any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speak. At length they looked toward Canacum; and one of them made a short speech, and delivered a present to him from his sachim, which was a basket of tobacco and many beads, which the other received thankfully. After which he made a long speech to him; the contents hereof was related to us by Hobba-mock,

(15) Manomet or Buzzard's bay, which Winslow mistakes for Nar-raganset bay.

(16) "This creek runs out easterly into Cape Cod bay at Scusset harbour; and this river runs out westerly into Manomet bay. The distance over land from bay to bay is but six miles. The river and creek nearly meet in a low ground: and this is the place, through which there has been a talk of making a canal, this forty years; which would be a vast advantage to all these countries, by saving the long and dangerous navigation round the Cape, and through the shoals adjoining." Prince. 106. A. D. 1736. See description of Sandwich. p. 122.

mock, who then accompanied the governour for his guide, to be as followeth. It happened that two of their men fell out, as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their skin from their backs, yea their wive's skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as myself have seen) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a Powah (17), one of special note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well miss; yet another people greater than themselves threatened them with war, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold; neither would their sachim do one way or other till their return, resting upon him for advice and furtherance in so weighty a matter. After this there was silence a short time. At length, men gave their judgment what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked Hobbamock what he thought. Who answered, He was but a stranger to them; but thought it was better that one should die than many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent. Whereupon he passed the sentence of death upon him.

34. Not long after, having no great quantity of corn left, Captain Standish went again with a shallop to Mattachiest, meeting also with the like extremity of weather, both of wind, snow, and frost; insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour, the first night they entered the same. Here they pretended their wonted love, and spared them a good quantity of corn to confirm the same. Strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his company, whom they never saw before that time, but intending to join with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremity to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captain with just jealousy, giving strait command, that as one part of his company slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction.

35. Some

(17) See Belkn. Biog. II. 452. Williams' Key. chap. XXI. Gookin. chap. III. §. 13. Hutch. I. 474.

35. Some of the Indians, espying a fit opportunity, stole some beads also from him; which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, drew them all from the boat, and set them on their guard about the sachim's house, where the most of the people were; threatening to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them; signifying to the sachim especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least injury, so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the sachim bestirred him to find out the party; which, when he had done, caused him to return again to the shallop, and came to the Captain, desiring him to search, whether they were not about the boat; who, suspecting their knavery, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the boat's cuddy. Yet to appease his anger, they brought corn afresh to trade; insomuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that, through the good mercy and providence of God, they returned in safety. At this place the Indians get abundance of bass both summer and winter; for it being now February, they abounded with them.

36. In the beginning of March, having refreshed himself, he took a shallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the governour had formerly bought, hoping to get more from them; but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the governour had there received. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then known unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God, working with his providence for our good. Captain Standish being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the shallop, was not long at Canacum, the sachim's house, but in came two of the Massachuset men. The chief of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villain, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had oft boasted of his own valour, and derided their weakness, especially
because,

because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men.

37. This villain took a dagger from about his neck, which he had gotten of Master Weston's people, and presented it to the sachim; and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captain, though he be the best linguist amongst us, could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth. The Massachuseuks formerly concluded to ruinate Master Weston's colony; and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same. Yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves, to make their party good against us at Plymouth; concluding, that if we remained, though they had no other arguments to use against us, yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this sachim, as also the other called Iyanough (18) at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them; and now again came to prosecute the same; and since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence, they thought best to make sure of him and his company.

38. After this message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captain's; insomuch as he scorned at their behaviour, and told them of it. After which they would have persuaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent the boat for the rest of his company; but he would not, desiring, according to promise, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women (19) for their labour; which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet (20), or Cape Cod, then present, who had ever demeaned himself well towards us, being in his general carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captain.

This

(18) Or Iyanough.

(19) See Belkn. Biog. II. 457. Williams' Key. chap. XVI. Gookin. chap. III. §. 3.

(20) Or Paomet, now called Truro.

This savage was now entered into confederacy with the rest; yet, to avoid suspicion, made many signs of his continued affections, and would needs bestow a kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favours on his friends whom he loved. Also he would freely help to carry some of the corn, affirming he had never done the like in his life before; and the wind being bad, would needs lodge with him at their rendezvous, having indeed undertaken to kill him before they parted; which done, they intended to fall upon the rest.

39. The night proved exceeding cold; insomuch as the Captain could not take any rest, but either walked, or turned himself to and fro at the fire. This the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleep as at other times; who answered, He knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then missed his opportunity.

40. The wind serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian; who used many arguments to persuade them to go to Paomet, where himself had much corn, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captain put forth with him, and was forced back by contrary wind; which wind served for the Massachusetts, was fitted to go thither. But on a sudden it altered again.

41. During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth, that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them: therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom: and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the

Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end myself, having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governour laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden (21), a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

42. The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry (22) in Conbatant's country, where upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. There they told us, that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst (23), his dwelling place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachims thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him (24), which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt

(21) Dr. Belknap supposes this to be the same person, who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of king Charles I. Biog. II. 229.

(22) Probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry in Swanzey. Belkn. Biog. II. 292.

(23) A neck of land, in the township of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset. Belkn. *ibid.*

(24) See Prince. 110.

attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

43. In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus, &c.* My loving sachim, my loving sachim! Many have I known, but never any like thee. And turning to me, he said: Whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar; he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

44. At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *sachimo comaco*, for so they called the sachim's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*; but Conbatant, the sachim, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The *squa-sachim*, for so they call sachim's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat: they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before sun-setting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchman departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

45. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we would scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they
in

in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, who was come? They told him Winsnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, Art thou Winslow? I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled these words: *Matta neen wonckanet numen, Winsnow!* that is to say, O Winslow, I shall never see thee again.

46. Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat, that the governour, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him, as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get thorough his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying, he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink. I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after his sight began to come to him. In the
mean

mean time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to stool? They said, he slept not in two days before, and had not had a stool in five. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governour also sent him, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, &c. desiring to send such things as I sent for, and such physick as the surgeon durst administer to him.

47. He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me; but being I must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it thorough my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; also he had three moderate stools, and took some rest: insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another; amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths
also,

also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours.

48. The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physick, which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many, whilst we there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place, not less than an hundred miles. Upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers.

49. At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately (none hearing, save two or three other of his panieses, who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massachuseuks, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us; saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet (25), Mattachiest, Manomet, Agowaywam (26), and the isle of Capawack (27), were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the lives of our countrymen and our own safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; If, said he, upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they not being able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, thorough the multitude of adversaries, they shall with great difficulty preserve their own; and therefore he counselled,
without

(25) Probably Sokones, or Succonusset, now called Falmouth.

(26) Or Agawam, part of Wareham.

(27) Martha's Vineyard.

without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the governour thereof, at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our governour, and also to ourselves for our labour and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

50. That night, thorough the earnest request of Conbatant, who till now remained at Sawaams, or Puckanokick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased, than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, If in case he were thus dangerously sick, as Massassowat had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*, that 'is, physick, whether then Master Governour would send it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered, Yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, How we durst, being but two, come so far into the country? I answered, Where was true love, there was no fear; and my heart was so upright towards them, that for my own part I was fearless to come amongst them. But, said he, If your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, It was the most honourable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends; and as it was used on the land, so the ships observed it also at sea, which Hobbamock knew and had seen it observed. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

51. Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us, what was the meaning of that ordinary custom? Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation and preservation, of the laws and ordinances,

dinances, especially of the ten commandments; all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman; about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficiently, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God, for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well; and said, they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiehtan* (28). Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

52. The day following, in our journey, Hobbamock told me of the private conference he had with Massassowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, as I showed before; which being done, he used many arguments himself to move us thereunto. That night we lodged at Namasket; and the day following, about the mid-way between it and home, we met two Indians, who told us, that Captain Standish was that day gone to the Massachusetts. But contrary winds again drove him back; so that we found him at home; where the Indian of Paomet still was, being very importunate that the Captain should take the first opportunity of a fair wind to go with him. But their secret and villanous purposes being, thorough God's mercy, now made known, the governour caused Captain Standish to send him away, without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to pass that which should be thought most necessary.

53. Before this journey we heard many complaints, both by the Indians, and some others of best desert amongst Master Weston's colony, how exceedingly their company abased

(28) See Belkn. Biog. II. 451.

abased themselves by undirect means, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water, &c. and all for a meal's meat ; whereas, in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or four times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians' store ; for which they had been publickly stocked and whipped, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February ; at which time they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any terms. Here-upon they had thought to take it by violence ; and to that spiked up every entrance into their town, being well impaled, save one, with a full resolution to proceed. But some more honestly minded advised John Sanders, their overseer, first to write to Plymouth ; and if the governour advised him thereunto, he might the better do it. They sent ; and our governour writ divers reasons of dislike. With these letters we dispatched the messenger : upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the return of John Sanders from Munhiggen ; who first coming to Plymouth, notwithstanding our own necessities, the governour spared him some corn, to carry them to Munhiggen. But not having sufficient for the ship's store, he took a shallop, and leaving others with instructions to oversee things till his return, set forward about the end of February : so that he knew not of this conspiracy of the Indians before his going ; neither was it known to any of us till our return from Sawaams, or Puckanokick : at which time also another sachim, called Wassapinewat, brother to Ob-takiest, the sachim of the Massachuset, who had formerly smarted for partaking with Conbatant, and fearing the like again, to purge himself, revealed the same thing.

54. The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly court day, the governour, having a publick testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake war without the consent of the body of the company, made known the same in publick court. We came to this conclusion, that Captain Standish should take so many men, as he thought

thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset bay; and because, as all men know that have to do with them in that kind, it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure Wituwamat, that bloody and bold villian before spoken of; whose head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition.

55. Upon this Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy, knowing their guilty consciences would soon be provoked thereunto. But on the next day, before he could go, came one of Master Weston's company by land unto us, with his pack at his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriages, whose boldness increased abundantly; insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainsaid them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts: that to give them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged (29) one of them that stole their corn, and yet they regarded it not: that another of their company was turned savage: that their people had most forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home: that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not endure to get victuals by reason of their nakedness: and that they were dispersed into three companies, scarce having any powder and shot left. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed

(29) See Butler's *Hudibras*. part ii. canto ii. line 403, &c. and Belkn. Biog. II. 318.

ceed in our intendments, for which Captain Standish was now fitted; and the wind coming fair, the next day set forth for the Massachusetts.

56. The Indians at the Massachusetts missed this man; and suspecting his coming to us, as we conceive, sent one after him, and gave out that he would never come to Patuxet, but that some wolves or bears would eat him: but we know, *not* (30) by our own experience, and the reports of others, that though they find a man sleeping, yet so soon as there is life discerned, they fear and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little; and missing him, passed by the town and went to Manomet: whom we hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our fort made fit for service, and some ordnance mounted; and though it may seem long work, it being ten months since it begun; yet we must note, that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring it to perfection. Beside, those works which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgment, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety. The Indian last mentioned, in his return from Manomet, came through the town, pretending still friendship and in love to see us; but as formerly others, so his end was to see, whether we continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakness, like their neighbours; which they hoped and looked for, (though God in his mercy provided better for us) and he knew would be glad tidings to his countrymen. But here the governour stayed him; and sending for him to the fort, there gave the guard charge of him as their prisoner; where he told him he must be contented to remain, till the return of Captain Standish from the Massachusetts. So he was locked in a chain to a staple in the court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our fort hanselled, this being the first day, as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

57. The Captain being now come to the Massachusetts, went first to the ship; but found neither man, or so much as a dog therein. Upon the discharge of a musket, the
master

(30) The word *not* is probably an error of the press.

master and some others of the plantation showed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground nuts, and getting other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them, how they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security? who answered like men senseless of their own misery, they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword or gun, or needing the same. To which the Captain answered, if there were no cause, he was the gladder. But, upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most special confidence, and left in his stead to govern the rest, were at the plantation, thither he went; and, to be brief, made known the Indians' purpose, and the end of his own coming, as also, which formerly I omitted, that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the governours and people of Plymouth there to receive them, till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other course, that might be more likely for their good, that himself should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men, comparing other circumstances with what they now heard, answered, they could expect no better; and it was God's mercy, that they were not killed before his coming; desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed. Hereupon he advised them to secrecy, yet withal to send special command to one third of their company, that were furthest off, to come home, and there enjoin them on pain of death to keep the town, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day, though that store he had was spared out of our seed. The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing.

58. In the mean time an Indian came to him, and brought some furs, but rather to gather what he could from the Captain's, than coming then for trade: and though the Captain carried things as smoothly as possibly he could; yet at his return, he reported he saw by his eyes, that he was angry in his heart; and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Peck-suot, who was a paniese, being a man of notable spirit,
to

to come to Hobbamock, who was then with them, and told him, he understood that the Captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there. Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he will not take us unawares. Many times after, divers of them severally, or few together, came to the plantation to him; where they would whet and sharpen the point of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Among the rest Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife. On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face; but, said he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it; and by and by these two must marry. Further he said of that knife he there had; *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*; that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eat, but not speak. Also Pecksuot, being a man of greater stature than the Captain, told him, though he were a great captain, yet he was but a little man: and said he, though I be no sachim, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captain observed, yet bare with patience for the present.

59. On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villain like trod in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own company in a room with them, gave the word to his men, and the door being fast shut, began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching his own knife from his neck, though with much struggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharp as a needle, and ground the back also to an edge. Wituwamat and the other man the rest killed, and took the youth, whom the Captain caused to be hanged. But it is incredible how many wounds these two panieses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamock stood by all this time, and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned

demeaned themselves in this action. All being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captain: Yesterday Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceed; there being some women at the same time, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Master Weston's people at the town, and sent word to another company, that had intelligence of things, to kill those Indian men that were amongst them. These killed two more. Himself also with some of his own men went to another place, where they killed another; and through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

60. Not long before this execution, three of Master Weston's men, which more regarded their bellies than any command or commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them canoes, went again to the sachim to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither, within night, late came a messenger with all speed, and delivered 'a sad and short message. Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their boots and breeches, trussed up themselves, and took their bows and arrows and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their return they should have venison enough. Being now gone, one more ancient and wise than the rest, calling former things to mind, especially the Captain's presence, and the strait charge, that on pain of death none should go a musket shot from the plantation; and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himself at home again, which was further off than divers other dwelt. Hereupon he moved his fellows to return, but could not persuade them. So there being none but women left, and the other that was turned savage, about mid-night came away, forsaking the paths, lest he should be pursued, and by this means saved his life.

61. Captain Standish took the one half of his men, and one or two of Master Weston's, and Hobbamock, still seeking to make spoil of them and theirs. At length they

they espied a file of Indians, which made towards them again; and there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill near them, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it; whereupon they retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobbamock: whereupon Hobbamock cast off his coat, and being a known paniese, theirs being now killed, chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him; insomuch as our men could have but one certain mark, and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain, as he drew at Captain Standish; who together with another both discharged at him, and brake his arm; whereupon they fled into a swamp. When they were in the thicket, they parleyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the sachim to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and womanlike he was in tonguing it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.

62. Now were Master Weston's people resolved to leave their plantation, and go for Munhiggen, hoping to get passage and return with the fishing ships. The Captain told them, that for his own part he durst there live with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherways minded, according to his order from the governours and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn competent for their provision by the way; which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the body to go to Munhiggen; and therefore desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop: and seeing them set sail, and clear of the Massachuset bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth; whither he came in safety, blessed be God! and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

63. Amongst the rest, there was an Indian youth, that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us. He, notwithstanding the death of his countrymen, came to the Captain without fear, saying, his good conscience

science and love towards us imboldened him so to do. This youth confessed, that the Indians intended to kill Master Weston's people, and not delay any longer than they had two more canoes or boats, which Master Weston's men would have finished by this time, having made them three already, had not the Captain prevented him; and the end of stay for those boats was to take their ship therewith.

64. Now was the Captain returned and received with joy, the head being brought to the fort and there set up. The governours and captains with divers others went up the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked piteously on the head. Being asked, whether he knew it, he answered, Yea. Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakiest, their sachin, thereunto, being drawn to it by their importunity. Five there were, he said, that prosecuted the same with more eagerness than the rest. The two principal were killed, being Pecksuot and Wituwamat, whose head was there: the other three were powahs, being yet living, and known unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himself, he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying he was not a Massachuset man, but as a stranger lived with them. Hobbamock also gave a good report of him, and besought for him; but was bribed so to do it. Nevertheless, that we might show mercy as well as extremity, the governour released him, and the rather, because we desired he might carry a message to Obtakiest, his master. No sooner were the irons from his legs, but he would have been gone; but the governour bid him stay, and fear not, for he should receive no hurt; and by Hobbamock commanded him to deliver his message to his master: That for our parts it never entered into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their own treachery enforced us thereunto; and therefore they might thank themselves for their own overthrow: Yet since he had begun, if again by any the like courses he did provoke him, his country should not hold him; for he would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till he had utterly consumed them; and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that

that he should send to Patuxet the three Englishmen he had, and not kill them: also that he should not spoil the pale and houses at Wichaguscusset; and that his messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both; promising his safe return.

65. This message was delivered, and the party would have returned with an answer, but was at first dissuaded by them, whom afterwards they would, but could not persuade to come to us. At length, though long, a woman came and told us, that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed, before he heard from the governour; otherwise he would have sent them. Also she said, he would fain make his peace again with us; but none of his men durst come to treat about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

66. Concerning those other people, that intended to join with the Massachuseuks against us, though we never went against any of them; yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgment of God upon their own guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead; as Canacum, the sachim of Manomet; Aspinet, the sachim of Nauset; and Ianough, sachim of Mattachiest. This sachim in his life, in the midst of these distractions, said the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger: and certainly it is strange to hear how many of late have, and still daily die amongst them; neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease; because through fear they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a boat was sent with presents to the governour, hoping thereby to work their peace; but the boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not far from our plantation. Only one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned; so as none of them dare come amongst us.

67. The month of April being now come, on all hands

we began to prepare for corn. And because there was no corn left before this time, save that was preserved for seed, being also hopeless of relief by supply, we thought best to leave off all other works, and prosecute that as most necessary. And because there was *no* (31) small hope of doing good, in that common course of labour that formerly we were in; for that the governours, that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein, as formerly they had done; especially considering that self love wherewith every man, in a measure more or less, loveth and preferreth his own good before his neighbours, and also the base disposition of some drones, that, as at other times, so now especially would be most burdalous to the rest; it was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could for his own preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his own corn for the year following; and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publick officers, fishermen, &c. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the governours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others, as necessity constrained to exempt from this condition.

68. In the midst of April we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much encouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plenty. The setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God, for our further chastisement, to send a great drought; insomuch as in six weeks after the later setting there scarce fell any rain; so that the stalk of that was first set began to send forth the ear, before it came to half growth, and that which was later, not like to yield any at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head, and changing the colour in such a manner, as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning.

69. To

(31) The word *no* appears to be an error of the press.

69. To add also to this sorrowful estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent unto us many months since, which having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship three hundred leagues at sea, and now in three months time heard no further of her; only the signs of a wreck were seen on the coast, which could not be judged to be any other than the same.

70. These and the like considerations moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him; but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by publick authority, and set apart from all other employments; hoping that the same God, which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But, O the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear, as we to ask: For though in the morning, when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever it was; yet our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours, before our departure, the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning, distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some fourteen days, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say, whether our withered corn, or drooping affections, were most quickened and revived: Such was the bounty and goodness of our God. Of this the Indians, by means of Hobbamock, took notice; who being then in the town, and this exercise in the midst of the week, said, It was but three days since sunday; and therefore demanded of a boy, what was the reason thereof. Which when he knew, and saw what effects followed thereupon, he and all them admired the goodness of our God towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time; showing the difference between their conjuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rain; theirs being mixed with such
storms

storms and tempests, as sometimes, instead of doing them good, it layeth the corn flat on the ground, to their prejudice; but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

71. At the same time Captain Standish, being formerly employed by the governour, to buy provisions for the refreshing of the colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one M. David Tomson, a Scotchman, who also that spring began a plantation twenty-five leagues north-east from us, near Smith's isles, at a place called Pascatoquack, where he liketh well. Now also heard we of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe, though dangerous, return into England, and of their preparations to come to us. So that having these many signs of God's favour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smother up the same, or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that, which by our private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemn day was set apart for that end; wherein we returned glory, honour, and praise, with all thankfulness, to our good God, which dealt so graciously with us; whose name for these and all his other mercies towards his church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised, now and evermore. Amen.

72. In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us; who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time; who, notwithstanding all our wants and hardship, blessed be God! found not any one sick person amongst us at the plantation. The bigger ship, called the Anne, was hired, and there again freighted back; from whence we set sail the tenth of September (32). The lesser, called the Little James, was built for the company at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, and almost ready to set sail; whom I pray God to bless in her good and lawful proceedings.

(32) Mr. Winslow went in this ship to England, as agent for the colony, and there published this Narrative. (Belkn. Biog. II. 299.) To it be subjoined an account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indians; which is inserted in the Appendix to the II. d. vol. of Belknap's Biography.

MEMOIRS OF THE REV. DR. THACHER.

IT is one of the regulations of the Historical Society to collect an account of the life and writings of their members as they leave the present sublunary state. Several worthy members have died since the publication of our seventh volume, of whom biographical Notices have been given in these pages. When this volume was nearly finished, the death of Dr. Thacher was announced by a vessel from Georgia, a character of him was written in the newspapers, and an Eulogy delivered in the Church of Brattle-Street by Mr. Emerson; but it was judged proper by the Committee to present some Memoirs of so distinguished a member in this volume of our Collections. The short notice which we had, and the few leaves which are spared for the purpose must be our apology, if the account be not sufficiently marked with the lines of his character; or the documents be not complete enough to make the Memoirs worthy the publick acceptance.

PPETER THACHER, D. D. was the son of Oxenbridge Thacher, Esq. of Boston, a lawyer of eminence, who died in the midst of his reputation and usefulness. His amiable moral character is remembered by the present generation, and his name frequently mentioned in terms of very high esteem.* Dr. Thacher was his eldest son, thirteen

* O. Thacher graduated at Harvard College, A. D. 1738. He died July 8th, 1765, aged 45, at that time one of the four representatives in the General Court for the town of Boston. He was a learned man, and a good writer. He published two pamphlets, one, 1760, *On the Gold Coin*. Another, 1764, *The sentiments of a British American*, occasioned by *Act to lay certain duties in the British colonies and plantations*.

He was the son of O. Thacher, Esq. who was many years one of the Selectmen of Boston, and representative to the General Court. This gentleman removed to Milton, his native place, was several years representative from that town, and died, A. D. 1772, *ætat* 93 years. He graduated 1698, and for many years his name was in the catalogue, as the first among the living. He was son of the Rev. Peter Thacher of Milton, who graduated A. D. 1671, and was pastor of Milton church, near forty-seven years. He died A. D. 1727, *ætat* 77.

Dr. Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon, which was reprinted A. D. 1796, with an excellent sermon, upon the death of Mr. Robbins, by his great-grandson the Rev. Thomas Thacher of Dedham.

This Peter Thacher married a daughter of John Oxenbridge, pastor of the
First

thirteen years of age when his father died, and then a student of the publick Grammar School. He was born at Milton, March 21, 1752, the family having retired from Boston on account of the small pox, which during that season, spread through the town. There were manifest indications of a serious mind when he was very young, so that it was observed concerning him that he never was a child. He certainly preferred books of piety, and the conversation of persons older than himself to the diversions

First Church in Boston, one of the ejected ministers in England A. D. 1662. He was a celebrated divine. In one of the papers found in the Plantation Office, lately published in *Chalmers' Political Annals*, there is an Account of Men and Things in Massachusetts, supposed to be written by Randolph a spy of the Court. One article is, *Popular preachers*,—Thomas Thacher, John Oxenbridge, John Higginson.—Mr. Oxenbridge died suddenly, A. D. 1674, four years from his ordination.

Thomas Thacher was the first minister of the Old South Church. He was installed Feb. 16, 1670, and died 1678, during the month of October. President Stiles speaks of him as the best Arabick scholar known in this country. Where he obtained this information is uncertain. In the *Magnalia*, his oriental learning is mentioned, and we are told that he composed a Hebrew Lexicon, but his knowledge of Arabick is unnoticed. His parents designed him for the university of Oxford or Cambridge, but he chose to come over to America; and arrived at Boston, June 4, 1635. The same year he was wonderfully preserved from shipwreck on an island between Ipswich and Marblehead. His uncle Anthony Thacher being there cast ashore, called it Thacher's Isle, and it has bore the name ever since. A very particular account of this shipwreck is preserved in Dr. I. Mather's *Remarkable Providences*. It is a letter written from Anthony Thacher to his brother Peter, minister of Sarum, in England, the father of Thomas. Young Thacher left his uncle at Ipswich, and travelled the journey by land. The author of the *Magnalia* says, "That he had a strong and sad impression upon his mind about the issue of the voyage, that he, with another, must needs go the journey by land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious friends by sea." He studied divinity with the famous president Chauncy; and was ordained at Weymouth, Jan. 2. 1664. He married the daughter of Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury; hence the family of Thacher every way is ancient and respectable in New-England. After the death of his wife, Mr. Thacher came to Boston, where he resided and practised physic, when a new church was formed, of which he was chosen pastor.

The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Sarum, intended to settle in New-England; but the death of his wife altered his resolution. He was a man of sense and learning, of liberal principles, and therefore harrassed by the spiritual courts. The writer of this Memoir has seen a letter which he wrote to the bishop of the diocese, begging him to excuse him from reading certain directions of the vicar-general, which he said were against his conscience, and would tend to disturb the order of worship. In this address he says, "I never neglected the order aforesaid out of contempt of ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction, as has been affirmed," &c.

This will account for the puritanical zeal with which so many of the family have opposed *prelatick power*; and may be one among other causes of the strong attachment of the late worthy Dr. Thacher to good *New-England principles*.

diversions of the childish age. An uncommon gravity of deportment, and measured periods of discourse, in which it is said he imitated his father's manner, drew the attention of others, and became the subject of their remark. It was then predicted that he would be a preacher; and add another of the name to the list of worthies whose praise was in the churches.

Oxenbridge Thacher, Esq. died in 1765. He had fixed his mind upon giving his son a liberal education, but, like most professional men, more ambitious of fame than desirous of wealth, he left his family in circumstances far from affluent. But he left many friends, among them several respectable clergymen, who made every exertion to complete the education of his son at the University, and thereby preserve the literary honours of the family; whilst they showed their friendship for the man whom they loved, after his remains were in the dust. Their desires and expectations were answered; and their benevolence received a full reward in the improvement which was made by the youth who obeyed every stimulus to exercise his talents and industry. The preceptor of the school at that time was the venerable Lovel, whose opinion had its weight in every thing, and who advanced him forward one class in order that he might enter college the commencement ensuing. He was admitted a student of Harvard College, July, 1765, and received the honours of that seminary in the year 1769. He always thought that his education was too much hurried, and felt the disadvantage through life. His natural ardour led him to press forward to the busy scenes of life, and this gave a stimulus to an inclination which ought to have been corrected in his *juvenile* years. He would have had a better opportunity to lay up classick stores, and prepare his mind for those scientifick researches which unite patient inquiry with the vigour and ardour of the youthful imagination. All allowed him to possess fine talents; not only a quickness of memory and lively apprehension of things, but a certain glow of fancy, which made his conversation animated, and his compositions very interesting. He early composed sermons and essays. Divinity was his favourite study. He was more fond of visiting the schools
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of the prophets then walking in academick groves; and eagerly looked forward to the time when he should display his eloquence and evangelical zeal in the pulpit. He was more qualified to appear as a *Divine*, when he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts, than many who have studied theology through a long course of years.

After residing some months in Chelsea, as master of the Grammar School in that place, he commenced preaching, and was immediately desired to supply the pulpit in Malden. September 19th, 1770, he was ordained. Rev. Nathaniel Robbins, of Milton, delivered the sermon, which was published; Dr. Appleton gave the charge, and Dr. Eliot the fellowship of the churches.

As a preacher he was admired. His charming voice, his oratorical powers, his fluency in prayer, the pathos of his expression were applauded by serious, sensible people, and gave him uncommon eclat with the multitude. No young man ever preached to such crowded assemblies. Mr. Whitfield called him the young Elijah in his prayers, and joined in concert with their opinion, who said he was set up for the defence of the orthodoxy, for which New England had been celebrated. In principle he was a rigid Calvinist. Christians of this persuasion were eager to spread his reputation; whilst others, of different sentiments, allowed themselves a freedom of censure, and said, that his zeal for the doctrine and discipline of our fathers absorbed all his candour and prudence. They, who knew Dr. Thacher the latter part of his life, and were witnesses of his liberality and moderation; his affection for good men of all denominations; his charity, which was not a milkiness of candour, like compassion for persons in error, but a sentiment implying that they have a right to think differently;—they who have conversed with him, and heard him censure bigotry, in all its haggard shapes, may wonder how such a man could be contracted in his views and uncharitable in his sentiments; but a little knowledge of human nature acquaints us, that men of excellent hearts may be zealous overmuch, and that even a spirit of bigotry may be blended with christian benevolence. For a while it will have influence, till reading, observation, and a more liberal view of the scriptures expand

pand the soul with rational ideas of religion, and a proper acquaintance with mankind.

Among those divines who blazed in the cause of freedom, when the controversy began with Great Britain, Dr. Thacher was conspicuous. He was zealous; his ardour was manifested in the pulpit, in conversation, in making particular addresses, and even joining a military corps. No person could relate more accurately the transactions of the 19th of April, 1775, a day which seemed big with important events to this country, which filled every mind with earnest expectations, and every heart with emotions of resentment or sorrow. Having put himself under the command of the military officer of the town, he was ordered to remain at home, that he might serve the cause of humanity in the line of his profession.

On the 5th of March, 1776, he was requested, by a number of the inhabitants of Boston, to pronounce the oration *against standing armies*, which had been annually delivered in the Old South Church, to commemorate a scene of horror exhibited on the evening of that day, 1770. The people assembled in the church at Watertown, and were gratified with hearing the subject handled by so popular an orator. These orations have since been collected into a volume by the title of *Boston Orations*.

In the year 1780, a convention assembled at Cambridge, and afterwards in Boston, to form a constitution for the state of Massachusetts. Dr. Thacher made one of this respectable body. Several towns beside Malden sent their minister for their delegate. It is well known that many came to this convention with more democrattick sentiments than they held afterwards, as they grew better acquainted with the prudence of laws and policy of government. The clergy were generally strong republicans. Some of them opposed two branches in the legislature. Dr. Thacher was the leader in the debate, *Whether there should be a governor?*—After it had been decided that there should be an executive magistrate with this name, he still made a particular objection to the title of *Excellency*. He was afterwards warmly attached to the constitution, and especially to those parts of it which did not at first meet his approbation. He would frequently relate the progress of his mind to a dif-

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ference of opinion; for he was fully convinced that they were wiser statesmen who resisted the tide of prejudice, and secured our political ark from the violence of the popular gale.

When the constitution of the *United States* was adopted he was among its warmest admirers.

The last seventeen years of Dr. Thacher's life was spent in Boston. He was installed minister of Brattle Street Church, January 12, 1785. The Rev. David Osgood of Medford preached the sermon, Dr. Lathrop gave the *Charge*, Dr. Clarke the Right Hand of Fellowship.

He was a useful labourer in this pleasant spot of the Lord's vineyard, fond of delivering practical truths, but at times explaining the doctrines of our religion with clearness. In prayer he was ready, earnest, and devout. If concise, very expressive; if extended beyond the common forms of address, not abounding in vain repetitions.

The University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. This of itself is no special evidence of learning. Some of our greatest divines, unconnected with friends of wealth, cannot look abroad for honours which their merit claims. The title has lost its *professional* distinction in this country. Our clergy rank according to the time they leave the university. But Dr. Thacher was known to several divines of Edinburgh, and they manifested their respect for him, by placing his name in the commission they made out, appointing a *Corresponding board* in Boston, for *propagating the gospel among the Indians in North America*.

The funds of the London Society had been strangely diverted from their original purpose, but the funds in Scotland were safely preserved by the care and prudence of the trustees, who still apply them unto this sacred use.

Dr. Thacher was an active member of this board, and also of the society connected with it, and incorporated by our General Court, A. D. 1787. Of these societies, he was chosen secretary, after the resignation of the late Professor Wigglesworth.

The Historical Society was instituted A. D. 1791. Among the first members we find the name of Dr. Thacher. He was one of the select committee for the year 1802; and also of the committee for the publication of the present volume.

volume. Certain materials were to be prepared by him, but his health declining, he was unable to proceed. He requested the other gentlemen of the committee to excuse him from all care by doing his present duty; promising to double his diligence some future time, if God should spare his life. They cheerfully took the labour upon themselves; and they now drop the tear of friendship, regretting the loss of their much-loved associate.

It would be wrong to omit certain traits in the character of Dr. Thacher, which show his moral worth.

He was a man of singular integrity. A stranger to artifice and deceit, he could not disguise his feelings, but expressed often his disapprobation of them in others. He preferred to have his manners styled rough, and his plainness of speech censured by his acquaintance, rather than be thought capable of duplicity in his words and actions. A polite address, an unassuming air, a winning manner have their attractions; but nothing can make up for the want of honesty:—and how do people lose their sincerity and practise deception for the sake of a distinction among those who lead the fashions of the age!

As a friend, he had the confidence of those who knew him; those who were most intimate will preserve in their memories the tokens of his affection or kindness. If, in the exuberance of unguarded familiarity, he said any thing to hurt their feelings, it gave him pain, for he meant not to be uncourteous.

His talents for conversation were remarkable. Some have thought he exerted these too often, and in publick speaking took too large a share of the debate; but when he had been too *slow* to hear and *quick* to speak, he was sensible of his error, and disposed to make either a serious or a facetious apology. He was fond of anecdotes, especially such as illustrated the manners of New-England. In the history of Massachusetts, civil and ecclesiastical, he was more than commonly versed, having read it from his childhood. And also that part of the history of England, which exhibits the folly and tyranny of the Stuarts; the usurpation of Cromwell; and the brief authority of the *Commonwealth*. The essays, sermons, and memoirs of those times he could quote from the manly testimonies of Ludlow to the crude excrescences of Goodwin and Hugh Peters.

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The Doctor did not encourage dry, argumentative discussions in social interviews; yet while others debated, he would frequently throw in a luminous observation, which kept the subject from being darkened by words of uncertain meaning.

His perceptions were very quick, his mind active,—his activity was manifested in many busy scenes, especially when he was an officer of publick institutions. He served several in an official capacity;—and to all he was a most useful member.

In the state of Massachusetts, especially in the metropolis, there are many institutions for pious and charitable purposes; for the promotion of literature; the encouragement of science and the arts. Gentlemen who interest themselves in the concerns of these institutions, and have a warm attachment to the objects, may enjoy the satisfaction of knowledge and the pleasures of goodness. Dr. Thacher was a member of the Charitable Fire Society, a trustee of the Humane Society, was a proprietor of the Town Library, all which he aided according to his ability. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and one of the council of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society for the relief of destitute widows and children of deceased Ministers. This society was incorporated May 24, 1786, and the President of the University, who is also President of this body, preached a sermon upon the benefit of the institution. The sermon was delivered in Brattle Street Church, and a collection made. In the year 1795, Dr. Thacher preached the sermon which was printed with some account of the institution.

At the last Convention of Ministers the Doctor was moderator, and delivered the *Concio ad Clerum*, May 27, 1802. It was a solemn and affecting sermon, and by his manner of addressing the Brethren he seemed to have some premonition that his departure was at hand. His lungs had been affected some time, but his friends indulged the hope of a return of health, to which journies in the pleasant season apparently contributed. During the summer his pulmonary complaints increased, and he was unable to preach more than half the day. His people were ready to ease him of his labours every way in their power, and when the physicians recommended the milder air of the southern states, they cheerfully defrayed the expense of the voyage. Their charity flowed from the heart, and their conduct did honour to their feelings, and to the cause of religion and humanity. He sailed from Boston, in the month of November, for Savannah, and died on the 16th of December in that city.

NOTE.—The father and grand-father of Dr. Thacher had been preachers of the gospel before they entered other professions. An old lady of Milton, who lately died, aged 85, recollected hearing sermons from Thachers of five generations in direct succession: Mr. Thacher of Milton; his son, and grandson Oxenbridge; the late Dr. Thacher, and his son the minister of Lynn; beside collateral branches of the family. The elder Oxenbridge preached the first sermon that was delivered to the settlers at Punkapog, now Stoughton. One of the old settlers of the place, in a kind of rapture, addressed Rev. T. Thacher of Dedham, upon hearing him preach—"Your grand-father Oxenbridge was the first man that brought a bible among us."

We regret not having room for a List of Dr. Thacher's Publications. For these vid. Mr. Emerson's Funeral Sermon.