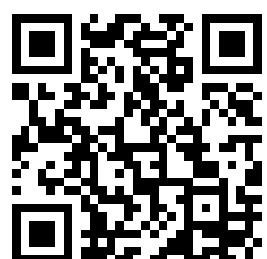
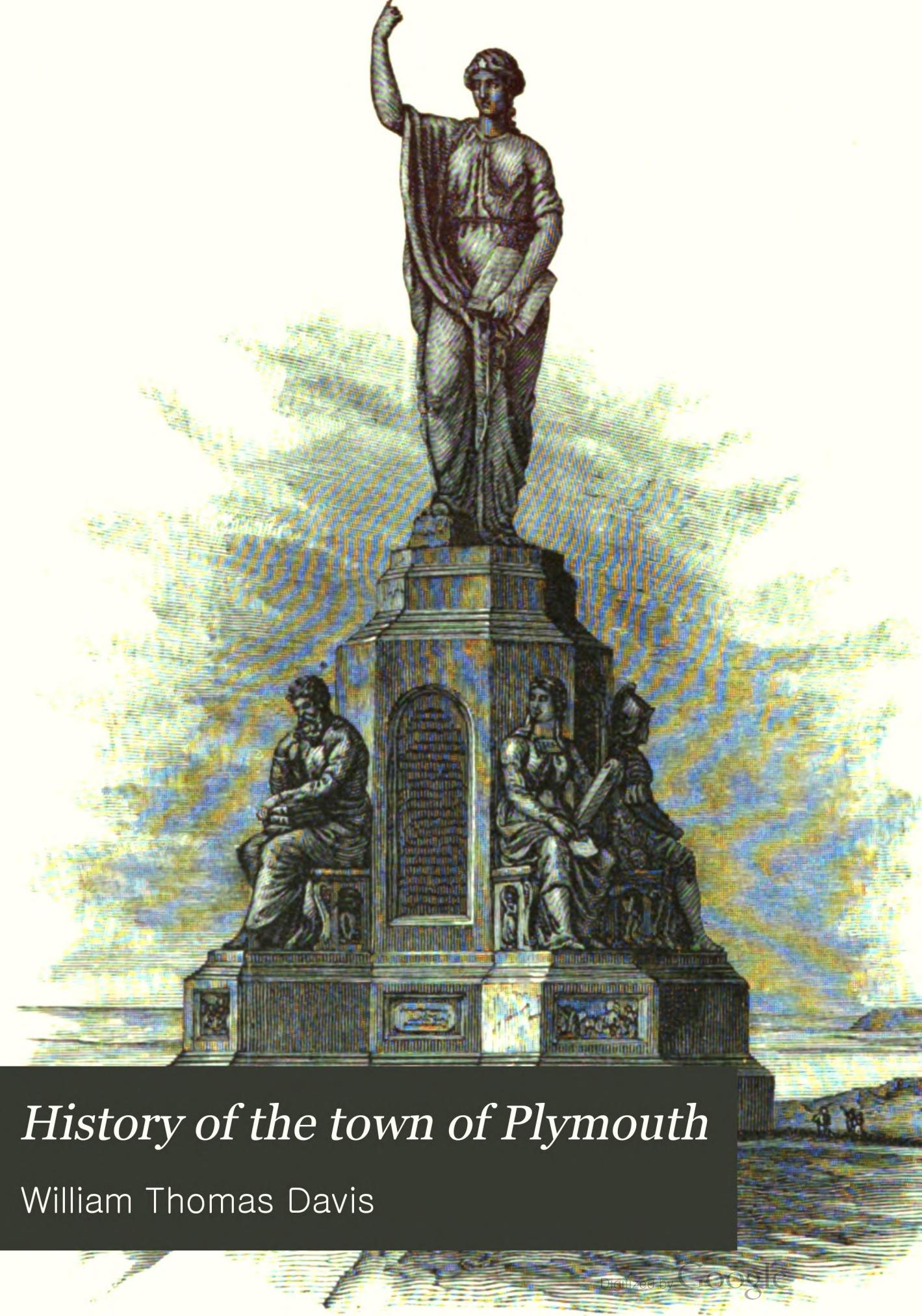

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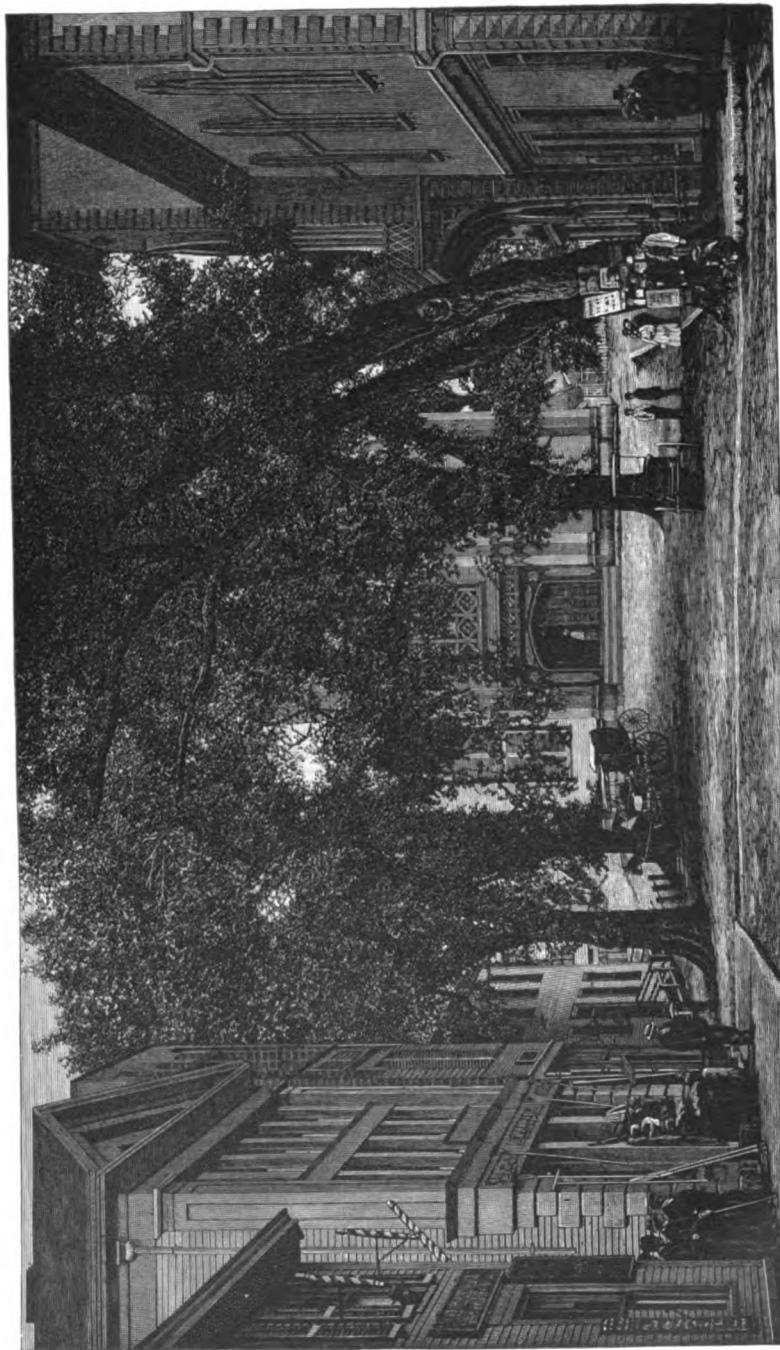
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TOWN SQUARE OF PLYMOUTH.

HISTORY
OF THE
TOWN OF PLYMOUTH,
WITH A SKETCH OF THE
ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF SEPARATISM.
ILLUSTRATED.

BY
WILLIAM T. DAVIS,
FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE PILGRIM SOCIETY.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. W. LEWIS & CO.
1885.

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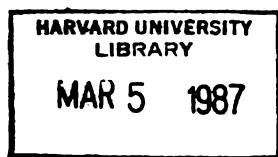
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PREFACE.

THE body of this work was written as a contribution to a voluminous history of the County of Plymouth. The available space was necessarily limited, and consequently much of the material essential to the completeness of a town history was sparingly used, while some of it was omitted altogether. To remedy a defect, which would be more apparent in a distinct and separate work, an appendix has been added, in which some of the subjects referred to in the principal text are more fully treated, and some new subjects are introduced, which the reader may find interesting and instructive.

The numbers attached to the notes in the appendix correspond to numbers placed either between the lines of the principal text in connection with the subjects to which the notes relate, or in the spaces, where they might properly be inserted.

The author has long realized the want of a concise, yet comprehensive, sketch of the Pilgrim movement, its origin, its growth, its development, and of the settlement at Plymouth to which it finally led; a history from which the general reader might obtain, without laborious research, that amount of information which every educated man should possess in the various departments of American history. All readers are not students. The student of Pilgrim history is not deterred from the task of reading Mourt's "Relation," Morton's "New England's Memorial," Thacher's "History," Young's "Chronicles," Benjamin Scott's "Lectures," and the formidable array of other books, ancient and modern, bearing directly or indirectly on the subject. But the general reader looks for a single work, in which he may find an intelligible and connected outline of the whole Pilgrim story. It has been the aim of the author to meet both the wants of this class of readers and, to a limited extent at least, the more exacting demands of the antiquary and historian. In this aim he hopes that he has not wholly failed.

PLYMOUTH, March 20, 1885.

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HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

SCROOBY—HOLLAND—THE VOYAGE—THE LAND- ING.

No history of this ancient town can make any claim to thoroughness without a reference to those movements in the Old World which resulted in its settlement. Though the fruit which has grown and is ripening on these western shores bears no resemblance to any seen before, the branches through whose channels it draws its life are grafts of the parent tree, for whose roots we must search in foreign soil. The evolution of principles and events, making the history of man a single chain connecting the world of to-day with the remotest past, tempts the historian into more remote fields than the demands of a mere historical sketch of any town, city, or even nation would justify. No clear statement, however, of the Pilgrim colonization of New England can be made without a record of the birth of those Pilgrim principles, whose conception had long before occurred, but whose gradual development demanded a virgin soil and a free air for their life and growth.

For the date of their birth we must go back at least as far as the Reformation. Under Henry the Eighth the seeds of the Reformation were sown. The hand which sowed them was guided not so much by Protestant impulses, as by a desire to revenge itself against the Pope. Owing to the determination of Clement to oppose his divorce from Catherine, Henry shook off his allegiance to Rome and declared himself the head of the Church. Afterwards provoked into new attitudes of hostility, and finally exasperated by a retaliatory excommunication, he initiated a movement which could not fail to draw the sunlight upon the seeds of Protestantism which were ready under favorable conditions to germinate and grow. Monasteries were suppressed, shrines were demolished, the worship of images was forbidden, and Wolsey, a prince

of the Roman Church, was arrested and tried for treason. In order that the minds of the people might be turned against Rome, the Bible, translated into English by Tyndale a few years before, and smuggled as a prohibited book into England from the continent, was permitted to be printed at home, and thus the popular use and reading of the Scriptures became the corner-stone on which the structure of religious freedom was destined to be built. But Henry remained a Catholic nevertheless. He was fighting a battle in his own camp, having raised the banner of revolt against his spiritual commander, all unconscious of the enemy of Protestantism at the gates taking advantage of the dissensions in the citadel to plant its standards on the walls.

Thus the reign of Henry the Eighth ended in 1547, and that of his son, Edward the Sixth, began. The new king, only ten years of age, under the protectorate of Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and eldest brother of Queen Jane, the mother of Edward, was placed as a pupil in the hands of John Cheke, a Greek lecturer at the University of Cambridge, and Richard Cox, who instructed him in the Protestant faith. During his short reign the religious instruction of the people was urged, and the cause of Protestantism advanced. The statute of the six articles, sometimes called the Bloody Statute, enacted under the reign of his father, was repealed, and a new liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, drawn up. The mass was changed into the communion; confession to the priest was made optional; the English Bible was placed in every church; marriages by the clergy were permitted; the removal of all images and pictures from the churches was ordered; and the ceremonies of bearing palms on Palm Sunday, candles on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and some of the rites used on Good Friday and Easter were forbidden. It could hardly be expected that the reform would be a radical one. A revolution in spiritual matters was not attempted, for there was danger that it could not be sustained. It was a reformation only that was sought, and thus in framing

the new liturgy many popish superstitions were retained, and the Roman manual was, to a great extent, adopted as its model. But, as in every reform the most speedy and thorough eradication of old errors is in the end the surest and safest method, so the timid or conservative policy pursued under Edward not only failed to appease the opponents of reform, but fell far short of meeting the requirements of the reformers, who were eager to destroy the faintest relics of Romanism.

The result of this policy was Puritanism; and the first Puritan was John Hooper, an Oxford scholar. Hooper had severely denounced, under Henry, the provisions of the Bloody Statute and fled to Germany, where he pursued his studies in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and became a learned scholar and divine. Returning to London under the reign of Edward, he received orders from the king and Council to preach before the court once a week during Lent. In 1550 he was appointed bishop of Gloucester, but declined it on account of the oath of supremacy in the name of God and the saints and the Holy Ghost, and also on account of the habits worn by the bishops. The king respecting his scruples concerning the oath struck it out, and both the king and Cranmer were inclined to yield to his scruples concerning the habits also, but a majority of the Council said, "The thing is indifferent, and therefore the law ought to be obeyed." After a contest of nine months, in the course of which Hooper suffered a short imprisonment for his contumacy, a compromise was effected, by which he consented to be robed in his habits at his consecration and when he preached before the king, but at all other times he should be permitted to dispense with them.

Pending the settlement of this question the Reformation went on. The doctrines of the church were yet to be remodeled. Under the direction of Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley forty-two articles were framed upon the chief points of Christian faith, which, after correction and approval by other bishops and divines, received the royal sanction. These articles are, with some alterations, the same as those now in use, having been reduced to thirty-nine at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. The final work of reformation in the reign of Edward was a second revision of the Book of Common Prayer, by which some new features were added, and some of those to which advanced reformers had objected were struck out.

At the age of sixteen, Edward closed his reign, to be succeeded by Bloody Mary, under whose auspices Romanism was again reinstated in England, and the

reformatory laws of Edward were repealed. The persecutions which characterized her reign perhaps, however, were the means of advancing the Protestant cause more surely than would have been possible under Edward. The reformers, whose moderate demands might have been satisfied by a partial abandonment of Romish forms, were forced into exile and subjected in other lands to new and potent influences, which only served to make their demands more extreme when the time should again arise for them to be pressed. The current of Protestantism, which flowed towards the continent to escape the persecutions of Mary, flowed back, after her five years' reign, on the accession of Elizabeth, in separate streams,—one to buoy up and sustain the English Church with all the forms with which the new queen invested it, and the other to sweep away, if possible, every vestige of Romanism in its ritual. The contumacy of John Hooper was but a single Puritan wave, which met a yielding barrier and disappeared. With the return of the exiles from Geneva a new tide of Puritanism set in, with an ocean of resolute thought behind it, which no barrier was firm enough to stay. It began its career, as was the case with Hooper, with a simple protest against forms of worship, a protest which, when conformity was demanded by the bishops, gradually expanded into a denial of the power which demanded it. The more urgent the demand the greater the resistance, until persecution converted objection to a ritual into a conscientious contempt of prelatical power.

Thus Separatism appeared as the full blossom of the bud of Puritanism. Though the great body of Puritans remained within the ranks of episcopacy, desirous only of its reform, here and there were those who claimed the right to set up churches of their own, with their own church government, their own pastors and elders, subject to no control or interference either from the bishops or the crown. The first separation from the church worthy of note took place in 1567. A body of worshipers to the number of one hundred or more occupied a hall in London in Anchor Lane belonging to the company of the Plumbers, and held service in accordance with their own methods. The clergymen present were John Benson, Christopher Coleman, Thomas Roland, and Robert Hawkins, all of whom had been deprived of their livings for non-conformity. Among the prominent laymen was William White, who was described as "a sturdy citizen of London and a man of fortune." The inquiry naturally suggests itself whether William White the "Mayflower" Pilgrim may not have belonged to the same family, and been perhaps his son.

Thirty-one of these worshipers were sent to prison, and, after ten and a half months' confinement, were warned of greater severity on the repetition of their objectionable conduct, and then discharged.

In 1576 John Copping, Elias Thacker, and Robert Brown, all clergymen of the established church who had been deprived of their livings by the bishops, became conspicuous in the Separatist movement. Brown was a man of high family, related to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. He fled to Holland, where, while pastor of a Separatist congregation of English exiles, he wrote several books expounding Separatist doctrines, which were surreptitiously distributed in England. At the time of their publication Copping and Thacker were in prison, and in some way managed to aid in their distribution. For this offense they were transferred from the hands of the bishops, whose prisoners they were, to the secular power, and tried on the charge of sedition. In June, 1593, both died on the gallows. Brown returned to England, and after a sentence of excommunication finally recanted, and became the recipient of a living at the hands of those whose power he had so long denied and resisted. He had, however, been identified with the new movement sufficiently long to stamp his followers with the name Brownists, a name which was for a long period applied without regard to minor differences of opinion in matters of doctrine and church government to all who had separated themselves from the established church. At a later day John Robinson warned his congregation to throw off and reject the name, but it is a reasonable conjecture that he was influenced more by a disgust at the recantation of Brown than by any opposition to the views he had promulgated.

But the fate of Copping and Thacker had little effect in checking the onward movement of Separatism. The martyrdom of Barrow and Greenwood and App-Henry followed soon after, and added only fuel to the flame, which was burning too fiercely for any prelatical tyranny to extinguish. Henry Barrow was a graduate of Cambridge, a member of the legal profession in London, and a frequenter of the court of Elizabeth. John Greenwood, also a graduate of Cambridge, had been ordained in the church, and had served as chaplain in the family of Lord Rich, a Puritan nobleman of Rochford in Essex. John App-Henry, or Penry, as he is generally called in history, was a Welshman, who took his first degree in Cambridge, and the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford. They had all passed rapidly through the mild stage of Puritanism, which they found no fit resting-place, and entered with enthusiasm into the cause of Separatism.

As Separatism grew Puritanism grew also, and as naturally as fruit follows the flower, Puritanism was constantly and inevitably swelling into Separatism. While denouncing Separatism as a schism and hating schism as a sin, the Puritan, while thinking himself merely a non-conformist in methods, found himself drifting as unconscious of motion as the aeronaut into a positive repudiation of doctrine. Francis Johnson, a noted convert to Separatism, illustrated in his career the attitude and experience of a large number of Puritans. A bitter enemy of Separatism, though a determined Puritan, he lent himself with such earnestness to the suppression of a book published by Barrow and Greenwood that only two copies were preserved, one for himself and one for a friend. When he had done his work, as he said himself, "He went home, and being set down in his study he began to turn over some pages of this book and superficially to read some things here and there as his fancy led him. At length he met with something that began to work upon his spirit, which so wrought with him as drew him to this resolution seriously to read over the whole book, the which he did once and again. In the end he was so taken, and his conscience was troubled so as he could have no rest in himself until he crossed the sea and came to London to confer with the authors, then in prison." The result of his conversion was the organization, in 1592, of a Separatist congregation in Southwark, which was the original starting-point of a society still flourishing. In 1616, Henry Jacob became pastor of this church, followed by John Lothrop, who came to America in 1634, and was settled over the church in Scituate. Johnson, soon after the organization of his church, was banished from England and became pastor of a banished church in Amsterdam, where he "caused the same book which he had been the instrument to burn to be new printed and set out at his own charge."

But in the onward movement of Separatism it may be asked, What was the attitude of Puritanism? It must not be supposed because Separatists were Puritans that Puritans were Separatists, or that there was the slightest sympathy or friendship between the two. The Puritans adhered to the church, protesting only against some of its objectionable forms, and denouncing Separatism as a schism and a sin,—the Separatists pushed to the extremes of reform, and denounced those who tarried by the way. Indeed, in the Parliament of 1593, in which the Puritan element predominated in the Commons, a law was passed so qualifying the act of 23 Elizabeth, intended to apply to Papists only, as to impose the punishment of banishment on all who were guilty of writing or speaking against the

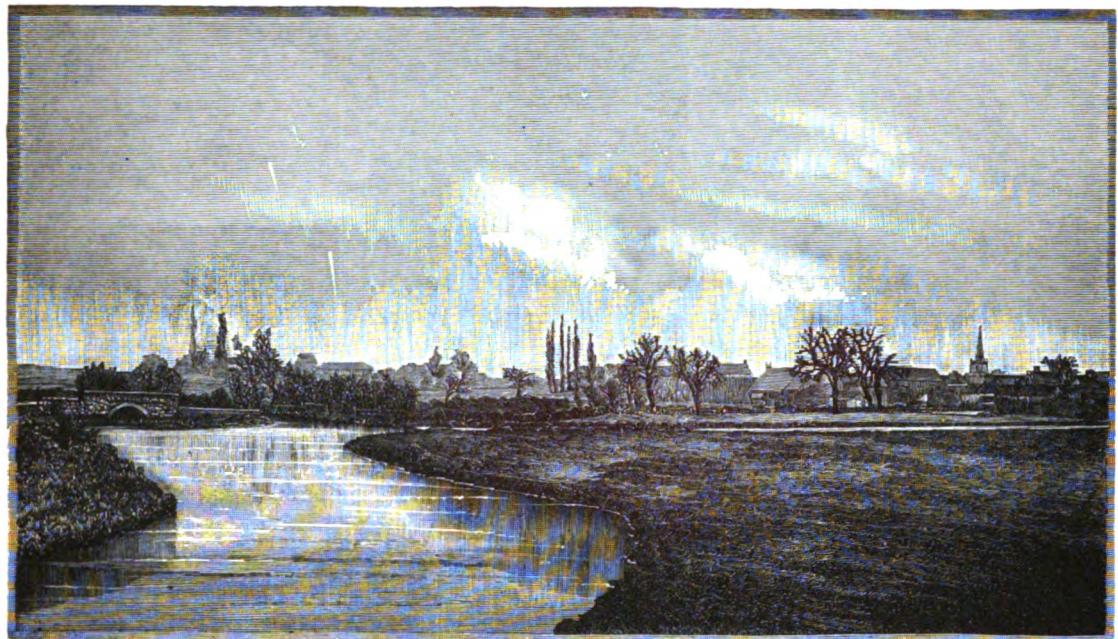
bishops, as well as those who published seditious matter against the crown. It was this law, sustained as vigorously by the Puritans as by ecclesiastical authority, which swelled the tide destined to sweep Separatism out of England. The Puritans could not tolerate any opposition to the old idea of ecclesiastical unity, and believed that the national church, though perhaps unscripturally organized, contained within itself the true Church of Christ. They believed, therefore, that Parliament might rightfully enact laws for ecclesiastical government and for the punishment of ecclesiastical offenders. Their approval, therefore, of this law was entirely consistent with their attitude of hostility to the Separatists, and should always be borne in mind as measuring the distinction between two bodies of reformers, which have been persistently and ignorantly mingled and confounded.

The next independent church established in England was that of John Smith, organized at Gainsborough in 1602. In early life Smith had been a pupil of Francis Johnson, and was at one time connected with the Southwark Church. He removed to Amsterdam with his congregation; afterwards became a Baptist, removing with his followers to Ley, where he embraced the views of Arminius, which he ably defended in a book answered by John Robinson in 1611. The date of the formation of the Pilgrim Church at Scrooby has been stated incorrectly by Nathaniel Morton, in "New England's Memorial," to have been 1602. The discovery of Bradford's history has exposed this among other errors, and fixed the year 1606 as the true date. It is known that the departure of the congregation for Holland took place in the early part of 1608. Bradford says, "So after they had continued together about a year they resolved to get over into Holland, as they could, which was in the year 1607-8." He further says that Brewster died in 1643, and "that he had borne his part in weal and woe with this persecuted church above thirty-six years in England, Holland, and this wilderness."

The founder of this church was William Brewster, one who, in the language of an English antiquarian, "was the most eminent person in the Pilgrim movement, and who, if that honor is to be given to any single person, must be regarded as the father of New England." He was the son of William Brewster, of Scrooby, who held the position of postmaster for many years. He was born in 1560, and having spent four years in the University of Cambridge, entered in 1584 the service of Sir William Davison, then starting on an embassy to the Netherlands to prepare the way for such substantial aid from England as might rescue

that country from the despotism of Catholic Philip of Spain. Brewster attended him as secretary, and when the port of Flushing, with important fortresses in Holland and Zealand were transferred to Elizabeth as security for men and money loaned, the keys of Flushing were placed in the hands of Brewster, and held by him until the arrival of Sir Philip Sidney, who was appointed to its permanent command. On the return of Davison to England he was made a secretary of state and one of the Privy Council, and Brewster continued to act as his secretary. The unfortunate death of Mary, Queen of Scots, involving a misunderstanding between Elizabeth and her secretary of state concerning the issue of the death warrant, terminated the official career of Davison and threw Brewster out of employment. Queen Mary was executed on the 8th of February, 1586/7, and Davison was committed to the Tower six days afterwards. Brewster probably removed to Scrooby about the year 1588, to take charge of the business of his father, who was in poor health. It is known that his father died in the summer of 1590, and that he then claimed in his application for the appointment to fill the vacancy that he had performed the duties of the office for a year and a half. Through some misunderstanding Sir John Stanhope, who was appointed postmaster-general June 20, 1590, and knew little of the circumstances of the case, made another appointment, from which, however, he sooner or later receded at the urgent solicitation of Davison, who, notwithstanding his apparent disgrace, seems to have retained influence at court. It is known that on the 1st of April, 1594, William Brewster was in full possession of the office, and remained its incumbent until Sept. 30, 1607.

To Scrooby then in 1588 William Brewster went, a small village on the borders of Nottinghamshire, about three miles from Austerfield, in Yorkshire, with the river Idle flowing between. He occupied the old manor-house of the bishops, which as far back as William the Conqueror had been a possession of the archbishops of York. Here he lived, as Bradford says, "doing much good in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practice and example, but by procuring good preachers to all places thereabouts, and drawing in of others to assist and help forward in such a work, he himself most commonly deeply in the charge, and sometimes above his ability." Here he remained a mild non-conformist at first, and, as Bradford again says, "doing the best good he could, and walking according to the revealed light he saw until the Lord revealed further unto him." Finally, the increasing demands of the bishops determined



SCROOBY FROM THE SEA.



VIEWS OF SCROOBY, ENGLAND.

him to throw off all allegiance to the church, and organize an independent congregation. Sabbath after Sabbath they met in the manor-house, at first under the ministrations of Richard Clyfton, and afterwards of John Robinson. Clyfton had been vicar of Marnham, and afterwards rector of Babworth, and when deprived of his living on account of non-conformity, he took charge of the little congregation at Scrooby. He went with them to Holland in 1608, but remained in Amsterdam when they removed to Leyden, and died in 1616.

Soon after the pastorate of Clyfton began, John Robinson became associated with the Scrooby Church. Born in Lincolnshire in 1576, Robinson entered Emanuel College in 1592, took the degree of M.A. in 1600, and B.D. in 1607. He began his ministerial labors in Mundham, where, on account of his Puritan tendencies, he was at length suspended from his functions. He afterwards retired to Norwich, where, after laboring for a short time with a small congregation of Puritans, he at last renounced all communion with the church. While at Norwich he was spoken of as "a man worthily reverenced of all the city for the grace of God in him." Robinson himself said "that light broke in upon him by degrees, that he hesitated to outrun those of his Puritan brethren who could still reconcile themselves to remain in the Establishment," but that continual persecution drove him to the extremes of separation. Baillie, in his writings, though an opponent of Separatism, called him "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever the sect enjoyed."

William Bradford was another of the Scrooby Church. His grandfather, William Bradford, was living at Austerfield in 1575, the father of three sons,—William, Thomas, and Robert,—of whom William, the father of Governor Bradford, married Alice, the daughter of John Hanson. William Bradford, afterwards the Governor of the Plymouth Colony, was born in 1589, and was consequently about seventeen years of age at the time of the formation of the Scrooby Church. His father died in his infancy, and he was reared and educated under the direction of his uncle Thomas. Though springing from the ranks of the yeomanry, he became a man of learning, and while in Holland not only became master of the language of the country, but added a knowledge of French, Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew, which he studied, as he said, "that he might see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in all their native beauty." Though a young man, he resisted the opposition of his uncle and guardian, and joined the outlawed church of the Pilgrims, answering to all

remonstrances that "to keep a good conscience and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in His word is a thing which I shall prefer above you all, and above life itself." Such was the man who in his youth displayed qualities of mind and heart which, when fully matured, were for many years in later life the staff and support of the Plymouth Colony. With such men as Brewster, Robinson, and Bradford as a part of its ingredients, it is surely not to be wondered that the colony was led courageously and safely through the perilous paths which it was destined to tread, and finally planted on permanent foundations in the wilderness of the western world.

Among the members of the Scrooby Church, afterwards associated with the settlement of Plymouth, it may be possible to number George Morton, William Butten, and the Southworths and Carpenters. The baptism of a George Morton is recorded in the registry of the Austerfield Church, under date of Feb. 12, 1598. It does not seem probable that this could have been the George Morton who was the father of the Secretary Nathaniel Morton, and who came to New England in the "Ann" in 1623, for his marriage-record exists in Leyden under date of 1612, in which he is described as George Morton, of York, in England, merchant. It is possible, however, that at the time of his baptism he may have been somewhat advanced in childhood, and that he may have left his native place to settle in York, the place from which he afterwards hailed. The baptism of William Butten, son of Robert Butten, is also recorded in the Austerfield registry, under date of Sept. 12, 1589, and that of William, son of William Wright, under date of March 10, 1589. Butten was probably the servant of Samuel Fuller, who started in the "Mayflower," and was drowned on the passage. It is not improbable that Wright was the William Wright who came to New England in the "Fortune" in 1621, and that both Butten and Wright were members of the Scrooby Church. The Carpenters and Southworths are so intimately connected by marriage with different members of the Pilgrim Colony that we find it difficult to eliminate them from the band of worshipers at Scrooby. George Morton, William Wright, Samuel Fuller, and Edward Southworth all married daughters of Alexander Carpenter, while Richard Cooper, another early settler of Plymouth, married the widow of William Wright; and Governor Bradford, after the loss of his first wife, married the widow of Edward Southworth. There is a tradition, too, that Bradford in early manhood had become attached to Alice (Carpenter) Southworth before her first marriage, but was opposed by her

friends. The fact that after the loss of his wife, who was drowned in Cape Cod harbor, he proposed to her anew by letter soon after she became a widow, reinforces the tradition, and so mingles the Bradford and Carpenter families as to strengthen the probability of their common local origin and residence.

Of course, it was impossible for the church at Scrooby to remain long undisturbed. A longer residence in England was neither compatible with safety, nor adapted to a free enjoyment of their worship, and consequently a removal to Holland was determined on. In the winter of 1607-8 they made an attempt to embark from Boston in Lincolnshire, which resulted in failure, owing to the treachery of the captain who was to take them on board his vessel, and many of their number were arrested and temporarily imprisoned. Why their departure should have been interfered with, when the penalty for separation was banishment, has been a common inquiry. But King James had issued a proclamation against emigration to the English colony of Virginia without a royal license, and a suspicion was entertained, either real or feigned, that such was the destination of the Scrooby band. During the spring of 1608 they succeeded in making their escape from England, and after vexatious delays and annoyances reached Amsterdam in safety. It was intended at first to make Amsterdam their home, but dissensions between John Smith and Francis Johnson, English Separatists already settled there, induced them to remove, in the spring of 1609, to Leyden, twenty-two miles distant; and that place for nearly twelve years they made their residence.

In Leyden, then, from 1609 to 1620 the Pilgrims lived, joined at various times by William White, Isaac Allerton, Samuel Fuller, Degory Priest, and Edward Winslow from London, Robert Cushman from Canterbury, George Morton from York, and John Carver and other exiles from various parts of England. Of these, Winslow, a man, if not of university education, at least of liberal culture, the son of Edward Winslow of Droitwich, in Worcester, joined the Pilgrims not many years before their embarkation for New England. He married in Leyden, in 1618, Elizabeth Barker, of Chester, England, and became, as is well known both as Governor and at all times a wise and trusted counselor, one of the chief staffs and supports of the Plymouth Colony.

Miles Standish also joined the Pilgrims in Leyden, not perhaps on account of any religious affinity, but because his bold and adventurous nature was tempted by the enterprise on which they were about to embark. His great-grandfather was a younger brother of the Standish family, of Dokesbury Hall, of which it is

believed John Standish, knighted by Richard the Second, was founder. He had served with the troops sent by Elizabeth to assist the Dutch against the armies of Spain, and during the armistice, which began the year of the arrival of the Pilgrims in Leyden, he had fallen in with some of their number and cast in with them his lot. The hand of Providence, which seems to have guided every step of the Pilgrims with a clearer design than is apparent in most events in history, in attaching these men to the Pilgrim band, brought to it ingredients which it needed, if it needed anything, to make it a comprehensive, symmetrical organization, like an orchestra complete in all its parts, and wanting nothing to produce harmonious results. Without Winslow they were a body of religionists, circumscribed in their boundaries, keeping themselves unspotted from a world with which after all they must finally mingle and negotiate. With him the statesman, the scholar, the man of affairs, they had an ambassador in whose diplomacy they might trust, and the fruits of whose wisdom they would be sure to reap. Without Standish they would have gone into undertakings the dangers of which had not even haunted their dreams, like soldiers in battle with neither armor nor arms. With him the complement of their trust in God would be contributed to their enterprise,—a trust in their own right arm, a valiant spirit, an indomitable physical courage, without which trust in God would have been weak and powerless.

Richard Clyton having concluded to remain in Amsterdam, John Robinson was chosen pastor, and at his house on Clock Alley, in the rear of St. Peter's Church, the congregation probably met on the Sabbath. Here Robinson lived from the 5th of May, 1611, the date of the deed of the premises, until his death, in 1625. The records of the church of St. Peter's show that he was buried under its pavement, and that the sum of nine florins was paid for the right of burial. This sum only secured a place of deposit for the term of seven years, and it is probable that at the end of that time, either his coffin was removed to an unknown grave, or his ashes were scattered in the burial of others. During the residence of the Pilgrims at Leyden Robinson was connected with the University of Leyden, and in the discussion with Episcopius he was selected as a man of recognized ability and learning to defend the tenets of Calvinism. In addition to ministrations in his church he engaged in the labors of authorship. He published in 1610 "A Justification of Separation from the Church;" in 1614, a book on religious communion; in 1619, "Apologia Justa et Necessaria," and in 1624, the year before his death, "A Defence of the Doctrine of the

Synod of Dort." His posthumous publications were "Essays and Observations Divine and Moral" in 1628, and a "Treatise on the Lawfulness of Learning of the Ministers in the Church of England" in 1634. A sweet and liberal spirit pervaded his life, full of charity, toleration, and love, and to his teachings was doubtless mainly due the freedom from bigotry which always characterized the Pilgrims, but for which, from the ignorant who have always confounded them with the Puritans, they have failed to receive credit.

William Brewster, obliged to seek some occupation for a livelihood, at first engaged in teaching the English language to students in the university, and afterwards opened a publishing house, assisted with capital by Thomas Brewer, an Englishman, who was a member of the university. In 1616 he published a commentary in Latin on the Proverbs of Solomon, by Cartwright, with a preface by Polyander, and in 1618 a "Confutation of the Remish Translation of the New Testament," by the same author. A treatise in Latin on the true and genuine religion, and Ames' reply to Grevinchovius on the Arminian controversy (also in Latin) followed, and other works, which fully occupied his time until his departure for New England.

The appearance of these works caused King James to give orders to Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, to prevent their further publication, and if possible secure the arrest of the publishers. Brewster was sought for, but was at that time in England, engaged in negotiations with the Virginia Company, and could not be found. Brewer was arrested, but, as under the charter of the university he was exempted from the liability of being sent to England, the university only consented to his going on the condition that he should not be treated as a prisoner, and should, after his examination, be returned without charge to himself. He was afterwards discharged, and it is probable that the abandonment by Brewster of his business, in anticipation of his departure, prevented further trouble.

Nor was Brewster alone in earning a livelihood. The other members of the Pilgrim Church had, doubtless, either disposed of or abandoned their worldly goods on leaving England, and were forced to engage in occupations far from indicative of their social condition before they became exiles, as refugees from the Old World, men of culture and high social standing, in our own country and time engage in pursuits often the most menial to maintain themselves and families. It is recorded at Leyden that William Bradford was a fustian-maker or maker of cotton cloth; that Robert Cushman and William White were

wool-carders; Samuel Fuller and Stephen Tracy, say or silk-makers; that John Jenney was a brewer's man; that Edward Winslow was a printer, and Degory Priest a hatter. It was evident that they were determined to keep the promise made by them when they took up their residence in Leyden. Before leaving Amsterdam a letter was addressed to the burgomaster of Leyden, representing that John Robinson, a minister of the divine word, and some of the members of the Christian reformed religion, born in the kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons or thereabouts, men and women, were desirous of going to live in that city, and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades "without being a burden in the least to any one." This request, the records of Leyden say, was granted. How well their promise was kept is shown by the regret expressed by the authorities of the city at their determination, after eleven years' residence, to leave a city to whose inhabitants they had furnished an example of industry, frugality, and virtuous living.

There is no exact record of the number of the Pilgrim congregation under Robinson. Bradford's "Dialogue" states that before 1620 accessions to the church had increased its number to about three hundred. Bradford further says that the church of Johnson, before their division, contained about "three hundred communicants," "and for the church in Leyden there were sometimes not much fewer in number nor at all inferior in able men." Edward Winslow says, also, "These things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a few who had rather we would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon the great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great)." We know that one hundred and twenty set sail in the "Mayflower" and "Speedwell," and they being "the minor part," it is probable that one hundred and fifty or more remained. It is known, also, that one hundred and two finally sailed in the "Mayflower" in 1620, thirty-six in the "Fortune" in 1621, sixty in the "Little James" and "Ann" in 1623, thirty-five (with their families) in the "Mayflower" in 1629, and sixty in the "Handmaid" in 1630, making in all three hundred or more as the probable number of the Pilgrim Church after twelve years' residence in Holland. Notwithstanding the occupations in which they were engaged in Leyden, the probable fact that Robinson, Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, White, Fuller, Allerton, and Cushman were educated men leads to the conclusion that the Pilgrim community represented all

the different classes of English life, outside of the circle of nobility and of the hangers-on and dependents of court and fashionable life. Differences of social and intellectual condition there undoubtedly were among them, and between those of the highest and lowest these differences were extreme, but their common religious faith was a bond of union which it was not possible for any outward and worldly condition to break. Thus constituted the Pilgrim congregation was like an island in the sea, and became necessarily a democratic community, surrounded as it was by a population of strange habits, a strange language, and strange methods of thought, which served to make it more compact and harmonious. Thus was the seed of a true democratic spirit planted, which finally germinated and found its full flower and perfect fruit in the soil of New England.

And more than this, the life of the Pilgrims in Holland, by the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, was a period of probation, which they were destined to serve before the great work of their lives began. They left England simply religious devotees; they finally left Holland trained, disciplined, practical men. They crossed the German Ocean, in 1608, full of religious zeal and trust in God; they crossed the Atlantic, in 1620, equally full of self-reliance and trust in themselves. They left their English homes bound together, it is true, by the bond of Christian sympathy and love, but still recognizing the distinctions of social and civil rank. Their life in Holland, under the pressure of common necessities, of common burdens, and at last of a common destiny, moulded them into a community in which labor became the foundation on which was reared that equality of rights and powers which became the recognized law. Without this period of probation their efforts at colonization would have been a failure,—or, if not a failure, would have planted the seed of an autocratic government on these shores, from which it is hardly possible that the majestic tree could have sprung under which are now gathered in our land fifty millions of liberty-loving and liberty-enjoying men.

But the Pilgrims were not destined to remain in Holland. The period of their probation had ended; they were now ready for the work which God had given them to do. The precise motives which influenced them in considering the question of a removal, it is difficult to state. Their residence in Holland began at the beginning of the twelve years' truce between that country and Spain, and the period of the truce was rapidly coming to an end. They may not have unreasonably feared that a renewal of hostilities might result in the triumph of Philip, and in a per-

secution more serious than any they had before encountered. They were among a strange people, and as the greater in time absorbs the less, they might have feared that sooner or later their identity would be lost. The education of their children too, both intellectual and moral, was a matter of serious concern, and they looked with anxiety on the influences and examples which surrounded them. It is by no means improbable that visions of the future occasionally rose before their eyes, and that they thought in a new world, away from all the controlling influences of the old, they might plant the foundations of a free and independent State. Having determined to leave Leyden, their place of destination became a matter for serious consideration. Virginia, named after the virgin queen, was decided on, and as early as September, 1617, the preliminary steps were taken. In that month John Carver and Robert Cushman were sent to England to obtain, if possible, a charter from the king, and a patent of lands from the Virginia Company. The charter was refused, and so far as their application to the king for freedom of worship in an English colony was concerned, Bradford says, "Thus far they prevailed in sounding His Majesty's mind that he would connive at them and not molest them provided they carried themselves peaceably, but to allow or tolerate them by his public authority under his seal they found it would not be granted."

The Virginia Company, sometimes called the Southern Virginia Company, with which the Pilgrim negotiations were carried on, was one of two companies established in 1606. In that year King James by letters patent divided between these two companies a strip of land one hundred miles wide along the Atlantic coast of North America, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, a territory which then went under the name of Virginia. This territory extended from Cape Fear to the British provinces. The patent to the first or Southern Virginia Company was granted to certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and adventurers of London, covering lands between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees, or between Cape Fear and a line running through Port Chester on Long Island Sound and the easterly corner of New Jersey on the Hudson. The patent to the second or Northern Virginia Company was granted to persons of the same description in Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, covering lands between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees, or between the southeastern corner of Maryland and the provinces. That portion of the whole strip lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-first degrees, which was included in both patents, was granted to

that company which should first occupy it, and it was provided that neither company should occupy any land within a hundred miles of a settlement previously made by the other. It was the Southern Virginia Company with whom the negotiations of the Pilgrims were carried on. In November, 1617, Carver and Cushman returned to Holland, bearing a letter from Sir Edwin Sandys to Robinson and Brewster, dated London, November 12th :

"After my hearty salutations,—The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of His Majesty's council for Virginia; and by the uniting of seven articles subscribed with your names have given them good degree of satisfaction, which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good; divers particulars whereof we leave to their faithful report, having carried themselves here with that good discretion as is both to their own and their credit from whom they came. And whereas being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action about the several particulars which in the persecution thereof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented unto; and so they do now return to you. If, therefore, it may please God so to direct your desires as that on your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear that on our parts all forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the best sort, which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with the design (which I hope verily is the work of God) to the gracious protection and blessing of the highest.

"Your very loving friend,
"EDWIN SANDYS."

The writer of this letter was a son of Archbishop Sandys and a brother of Sir Samuel Sandys, the lessee of Scrooby manor, under whom William Brewster occupied it as tenant. The seven articles to which Sandys alludes, found by Mr. Bancroft in the Virginia volumes in the State Paper Office in Westminster, were sent to England by the Leyden Church, to be considered in connection with their application for a charter and patent, and were as follows :

"1. To the confession of faith published in the name of the Church of England and to every article thereof we do with the reformed churches where we live and also elsewhere assent wholly.

"2. As we do acknowledge the doctrine of faith thereto taught so do we the fruits and effects of the same doctrine to the begetting of said faith in thousands in the land (conformists and reformists) as they are called, with whom also as with our brethren we do desire to keep spiritual communion in peace and will practice in our parts all lawfull things.

"3. The King's Majesty we acknowledge for Supreme Governor in his Dominion in all causes and over all persons, and that none may decline, or appeal from, his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but that in all things obedience is due unto him either active if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive if it be, except pardon can be obtained.

"4. We judge it lawfull for His Majesty to appoint bishops,

and overseers or officers in authority under him in the several provinces, dioceses, congregations or parishes to oversee the churches and govern them civilly according to the laws of the land unto whom they are in all things to give an account and by them to be ordered according to Godliness.

"5. The authority of the present bishops in the land we do acknowledge so far forth as the same is indeed derived from His Majesty unto them and as they proceed in his name, whom we will also therein honor in all things and him in them.

"6. We believe that no Sinod, classis, convocation or assembly of ecclesiastical officers hath any power or authority at all but as the same by the magistrate given unto them.

"7. Lastly we desire to give unto all Superiors due honor to preserve the unity of the spirit with all that fear God to have peace with all men what in us lieth and wherein we err to be instructed by any.

"Subscribed by
"JOHN ROBINSON
and
"WILLIAM BREWSTER."

Precisely in what attitude the declaration of these articles placed Robinson and the Pilgrims it is difficult to state. It is clear that it cannot be made to coincide with the declaration of the rigid Separatists represented by Robert Brown and John Smith, "that the Church of England was no true Church and that it was sinful and wrong to attend its worshipping assemblies or hear the preaching of the word of God therein." Robinson again declared, "For myself I believe with my heart before God and profess with my tongue and have before the world that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism and Lord which I had in the Church of England and none other; that I esteem so many in the church of what state or order soever as are truly partakers of that faith (as I account many thousands to be) for my Christian brethren and myself a fellow member with them of that one mystical body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world, that I have always in spirit and affection all Christian fellowship and communion with them and am most ready in all outward actions and exercises of religion lawful and lawfully to be done to express the same; and withhold that I am persuaded the hearing of the word of God there preached in the manner and upon the grounds formerly mentioned both lawful and upon occasions necessary for me and all true Christians, withdrawing from the hierarchical order of church government and ministry and the appurtenances thereof and uniting in the order and ordinances instituted by Christ the only King and Lord of his church and by all his disciples to be observed." And Winslow says, "If any joining to us formerly either when we lived at Leyden, in Holland, or since we came to New England have with the manifestation of their faith and holiness held forth therewith separation from the Church of England, I have divers times both in the

one place and the other heard either Mr. Robinson, our Pastor, or Mr. Brewster, our elder, stop them forthwith, showing them that we required no such things at their hands, leaving the Church of England to themselves and to the Lord before whom they should stand or fall." It was the moderate temper and spirit manifested in these various declarations which excited the bitter spirit of the rigid Separatist, Smith, in Amsterdam, and caused him to say of the Pilgrim Church, "Be it known, therefore, to all the Separation that we account them in respect to their constitution to be as very a harlot as either her mother the Church of England or her grandmother Rome." And yet the Pilgrims were Separatists, differing only in the sweetness of their loving spirits from their more bitter companions in the movement of reform, and finally so chastened by exile, so weaned by time from the church, and so thoroughly freed from its exactions and restraints as to have lost their hostility to an establishment at whose hands they once suffered persecution.

Under date of Dec. 15, 1617, Robinson and Brewster sent the following answer to the letter of Sandys:

"RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,—

"Our humble duties remembered in our own, our messenger's, and our church's name, with all thankful acknowledgment of your singular love expressing itself as otherwise, so more especially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in this weighty business about Virginia, which the less able we are to requite we shall think ourselves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto God for recompence; whom as for the present you rightly behold in our endeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts (the same God assisting us) to return all answerable fruit and respect unto the labor of your love bestowed upon us.

"We have with the best speed and consideration withal that we could set down our requests in writing subscribed as you willed with the hands of the greatest part of our congregation, and have sent the same unto the Council by our agent, a deacon of our Church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself, to the care and discretion of which two we do refer the prosecuting of the business. Now we persuade ourselves, right worshipful, that we need not to provoke your godly and loving mind to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so far to interest us in yourself that under God, above all persons and things in the world, we rely upon you, expecting the care of your love, the counsel of your wisdom, and the help and countenance of your authority.

"Notwithstanding, for your encouragement in the work so far as probabilities may lead, we will not forbear to mention these instances of inducement:

"1st. We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that he will graciously prosper our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hearts therein.

"2d. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in great part we have by patience overcome.

"3d. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal; we think we may safely say as any company of people in the world.

"4th. We are knit together as a body in a more strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by every one, and so mutually.

"5th and lastly. It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again. We know our entertainment in England and Holland.

"We shall much prejudice both our arts and means by removal. If we should be driven to return, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither, indeed, look even to attain the like in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their periods.

"These motives we have been bold to tender unto you, which you in your wisdom may also impart to any other our worshipful friends of the Council with you, of all whose Godly disposition and loving towards our despised persons we are most glad, and shall not fail by all good means to continue and increase the same.

"We shall not be further troublesome, but do with the renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your worship (so far as in modesty we may be bold), to any other of our well-willers of the Council with you we take our leaves, committing your persons and counsels to the guidance and protection of the Almighty.

"Your much bounden in all duty,

"JOHN ROBINSON,
"WILLIAM BREWSTER."

This letter was undoubtedly carried to England by John Carver, who thus embarked on a second mission the month after his return, and it is probable that Cushman was again his companion. It was reported by them that certain members of the Council desired further explanations, and on the 27th of the following January, Robinson and Brewster addressed a letter to Sir John Wolstenholme, a member of the Virginia Company, containing the two following statements:

"1st. Touching the ecclesiastical ministry—namely, of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the church's contribution, and the Lord's Supper, we do wholly and in all points agree with the French Reformed Churches, according to their public confession of faith.

"The oath of supremacy we shall willingly take if it be required of us, and that convenient satisfaction be not given by our taking the oath of allegiance.

"2d. Touching the ecclesiastical ministry as above, we agree with the French Reformed Churches according to their public confession of Faith, though some small differences be to be found in our practices not at all in the substance of the things, but only in some accidental circumstances.

"As, first, their ministers do pray with their heads covered, ours uncovered.

"We choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach, which ability they do not require.

"Their elders and deacons are annual, or at most for two or three years, ours are perpetual.

"Our elders do administer their office in admonitions, and excommunications for public scandals publicly and before the

congregation; theirs more privately, and in their consistories.

"We do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent at the least is of some church which some of their churches do not observe, though in it our practice accords with their public confession and the judgment of the most learned amongst them. Other differences worthy mentioning we know none in these points.

"Then about the oath as in the former.

"JOHN ROBINSON,
"WILLIAM BREWSTER."

After the receipt of this letter in England, Carver and Cushman found the chief obstacle in the way of their negotiations to lie in the disturbed state of the affairs of the Virginia Company. Cushman, who was sent to England a third time with Brewster, wrote on the 8th of May, 1619, "that the main hindrance in our Virginia business is the dissensions and factions, as they term it, amongst the counsel and company of Virginia, which are such as that ever since we came up no business could by them be dispatched."

On the last embassy, Cushman and Brewster were commissioned, in the language of Bradford, "to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could, and to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtain, as also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke to and adventure in this voyage. For which end they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should proceed with them, or else to conclude nothing without further advice." The affairs of the Virginia Company appear to have been soon settled, and on the 9th of June, 1619, a patent was issued. Bradford says, "By the advice of friends this patent was not taken in the name of any of their own, but in the name of John Winco (a religious gentleman then belonging to the countess of Lincoln) who intended to go with them. But God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patent which had cost them so much labor and charge as by the sequel will appear. The patent being sent over for them to view and consider, as also the passages about the propositions between them and such merchants and friends as should either go on adventure with them, and especially with those on whom they did chiefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fit and prepare themselves with all speed. A right emblem it may be of the uncertain things of this world; then when men have toiled themselves for them they vanish into smoke." As this patent was never used, it is probable that it was returned to the Virginia Company. Its terms and conditions and

the extent of its grants are unknown. On its acceptance by the Pilgrims at Leyden immediate further steps were taken towards their departure. The question was taken who should go and who should remain. The minor part only offered to go, and they desired Brewster, their ruling elder, "to go with them officially and act as their spiritual guide, he having himself resolved with them to enter upon the great work." It was agreed that the "minor part should be an absolute church as well as the part which remained, and that if any of those remaining should come to them, or if any of themselves should return, they should still be reputed as members still with either."

On the 2d of February, 1619, another patent was issued by the Virginia Company in the name of John Pierce and his associates, which probably included a grant of lands in the neighborhood of New Jersey. The terms and conditions of this patent are also unknown, but as the Pilgrims finally settled outside of its limits and within the jurisdiction of the Northern Virginia Company, it was probably surrendered. The records of the Southern Virginia Company state, under date of July 16, 1621, that "it was moved, seeing that Mr. John Pierce had taken a patent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and therefore seated his company within the limits of the northern plantations as by some was supposed, whereby he seemed to relinquish the benefit of the patent he took of this company, that therefore the said patent might be called in unless it might appear he would plant within the limits of the Southern colony." About the time of the issue of this patent negotiations were pending between Amsterdam merchants and Robinson, with a view to the removal of the Pilgrims to New Amsterdam, now New York. This fact is important as tending to disprove the charge that the captain of the "Mayflower" was bribed by the Dutch to keep his ship and its company away from their projected settlement. While, however, these negotiations were pending, Bradford says that "as Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, came to Leyden, having much conference with Mr. Robinson and others of the chief of them, and persuaded them to go on and not to meddle with the Dutch or too much depend on the Virginia Company; for if that failed, if they came to resolution, he and such merchants as were his friends would set them forth; and they should make ready, and neither fear want of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided, and not so much for himself as for the satisfying of such friends as he should procure to adventure in this business, they were to draw such articles of agreement and

make such propositions as might the better induce his friends to venture." Robinson says, in a letter to Carver, dated the 10th of June following, " You know right well we depended on Mr. Weston alone, and upon such means as he would procure for this common business; and when we had in hand another course with the Dutchmen, broke it off at his motion, and upon the conditions by him shortly after propounded." These extracts are important as showing that the negotiations with the Amsterdam merchants were terminated by the Pilgrims and not by the Dutch.

In accordance with the proposition of Mr. Weston, articles of agreement were drawn up and approved by him and the Pilgrims. Carver and Cushman were at once sent again to England to complete the arrangements for the voyage, being charged "not to exceed their commission, and to proceed according to their former articles." The articles finally concluded with the adventurers were as follows:

"1. The adventurers and planters do agree that every person that goeth, being aged sixteen years and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and ten pounds to be accounted a single share.

"2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share.

"3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint-stock and partnership together the space of seven years (except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise), during which time all profits and benefits that are got by trade, traffic, tracking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock until the division.

"4. That at their coming there they choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish them ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony.

"5. That at the end of the seven years the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the adventurers and planters; which done, every man shall be free from either of them of any debt or detriment concerning the adventure.

"6. Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

"7. He that shall carry his wife and children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person now aged sixteen years and upward, a single share in the division; or, if he provide these necessities, a double share; or, if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person both in transportation and division.

"8. That such children as now go and are under the age of ten years, have no other share in the division, but fifty acres of unmanured land.

"9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their part or share at the division proportionally to the time of their life in the colony.

"10. That all such persons as are of this colony are to have

their meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of the said colony."

The original articles drawn up in Leyden and there approved, provided "that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home-plots, should remain undivided wholly to the planters at the seven years' end, and that they should have had two days in a week for their own private employment for the more comfort of themselves and their families."

The changes in the articles were agreed to by Cushman in England to meet the demand of the merchants, and though extremely distasteful to the Pilgrims at Leyden, came to their knowledge too late to be rejected, or to cause any change in their plans. It is evident from the correspondence between them and Cushman which ensued, that some irritation of feeling was excited by his action, and it is not unlikely that the disagreement between them was the cause of his determination at the last moment, after the disaster which happened to the "Speedwell," to abandon the voyage. By the 1st of June, 1620, everything was in readiness for the final departure. Those who had determined on the voyage had sold their estates, putting their money into the common stock, and on the 21st of July they "left the goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." On or about the 22d of July they set sail from Delfthaven in the "Speedwell," of sixty tons, which their agents had sent over from England to convey them to Southampton, there to meet her consort, the "Mayflower." On the 5th of August both the "Mayflower" and the "Speedwell," with one hundred and twenty passengers, some of whom were for the first time joining the company, sailed from Southampton. On the 13th they put into Dartmouth, with the "Speedwell" leaking; on the 21st, after necessary repairs, sailed again. The "Speedwell" being still found unseaworthy, both ships came to an anchor at Plymouth, where she was abandoned, and eighteen passengers, including Robert Cushman, gave up the voyage. On the 6th of September the "Mayflower" took her final departure from Plymouth, with one hundred and two passengers. Of the incidents of the voyage little is known. So many passengers crowded in a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons of course suffered serious discomfort, but only a single death, that of William Butten, occurred during the passage. It is recorded that one of the beams became sprung, which was restored to its place by an iron screw brought by one of the passengers from

Holland ; that during a severe storm John Howland was washed from the deck, and by seizing the topsail halliards was rescued from drowning ; and that a son of Stephen Hopkins was born, called Oceanus, because born at sea. On the 11th of November, after a passage of sixty-six days, the " Mayflower " dropped anchor in what is now Provincetown harbor. On the 9th the land of Cape Cod had been sighted, and, as Bradford says, " after some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about, and resolved to stand for the southward, the wind and weather being fair, to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation. But after they had sailed the course about half the day they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger ; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of the dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did."

The above statement made by Bradford in his history renders it extremely doubtful whether it had been the clear determination of the Pilgrims to seek and settle on the lands, the patent for which, derived from the Southern Virginia Company, they had brought with them. The accepted theory of historians has been that they had no other plan in their minds, and that they were only prevented from carrying it out by adverse winds and the dangerous navigation of what is now called Vineyard Sound. But the careful reader will discover several weak points in this theory. It is well known that in 1619, Thomas Dermer, sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, visited Plymouth, which had already been visited by John Smith in 1614, and received its name through him, from Prince Charles, and in a letter to his patron dated June 30, 1620, he said, in speaking of that place, " I would that the first plantation might here be seated if there come to the number of fifty persons or upwards." It is probable that this letter reached Plymouth, in England, where Gorges was stationed as Governor of the castle, before the final departure of the " Mayflower " from that port on the 6th of September, and may have had some influence in determining the place of settlement. Gorges was a prominent member of the Northern Virginia Company, directly interested in the settlement of its territory, of which Plymouth, in New England, was a part, and would be very likely to have urged the Pilgrims to abandon the patent in their possession, with the promise of the issue of another from his own company. This suggestion is reinforced by the vote

2

of the Southern Virginia Company, already referred to, calling on John Pierce, in whose name their patent had been issued, to surrender it, because he had " received another from Gorges, as by many was supposed he would." Besides the language of Bradford, already quoted, the language of the compact signed in Cape Cod harbor, " We, whose names are underwritten having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia," still further supports the probability that after all there was no positive deviation from their plan, and that a settlement in New England was among the possible results of their enterprise.

The theory that the captain of the " Mayflower " was bribed by the Dutch to keep the " Mayflower " away from their settlement was first suggested by Nathaniel Morton in the " New England's Memorial," published in 1669, in which he says, " Of the plot between the Dutch and Capt. Jones I have had late and certain intelligence." This theory has never been accepted by historians, though often repeated, and mainly on the ground that it seemed impossible that Morton, forty-nine years after the event, could have received reliable information. It is due, however, to Morton, to state that the appointment of Thomas Willet, a Plymouth man, as mayor of New York, after its capture from the Dutch by the United Colonies in 1664, may have furnished an opportunity for discovering in the archives of that city some evidence which could easily have come to the ears of Morton while his book was in preparation. This circumstance is to be considered, together with all the facts in the case, in deciding whether the Pilgrims really deviated, for any cause, from the intended voyage, or whether their destination, when they finally left England, was not left in doubt, to be determined by circumstances as they might afterwards arise.

While the company were at Southampton two letters were received from Robinson full of tender advice and counsel, in one of which he said, " Whereas you are become a body politic, using among yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminence above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations ; not beholding in them the ordinaryness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good, not being like the

foolish multitude who more honor the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man or glorious ordinance of the Lord." The letters were addressed to Carver as one apparently in authority; and as Bradford states that "a Governor and two or three assistants for each ship were chosen to order the people by the way, and see to the disposing of their possessions," it is probable that Carver was chosen Governor of the party on board the "Mayflower," and that after the detachment of the "Speedwell" he was recognized as the Governor of the whole company.

With one hundred and two passengers, then, the "Mayflower" arrived in Cape Cod harbor, and the following is a list of the company, exclusive of those attached to the vessel as officers and seamen:

John Carver.	Died in April, 1621.	William White.	Died in Plymouth, February, 1620/1.
Katharine Carver, his wife.	Died the first summer.	Susanna White, his wife.	Married Edward Winslow, and died in Marshfield, 1680.
Desire Minter.	Returned to England.	5	Resolved White.
John Howland.	Died in Plymouth, 1673.		Died in Salem after 1680.
Roger Wilder.	Died the first winter.		William Holbeck.
William Latham.	Died in the Bahama Islands.		Died the first winter.
Maid servant.	Died in a year or two.		Edward Thompson.
Jasper More.	Died in December, 1620.		Died in December, 1620.
William Brewster.	Died in Plymouth, 1644.		Stephen Hopkins.
Mary Brewster, his wife.	Died in Plymouth before 1627.		Died in Plymouth, 1644.
Love Brewster.	Died in Duxbury, 1650.		Elizabeth Hopkins, his wife.
Wrestling Brewster.	Died a young man.		Died in Plymouth after 1640.
Richard More.	Called Mann, died in Scituate, 1656.		Giles Hopkins.
His brother.	Died the first winter.		Died in Yarmouth, 1690.
Edward Winslow.	Died at sea, 1654.		Constance Hopkins.
Elizabeth Winelow, his wife.	Died in March, 1620/1.		Married Nicholas Snow, and died in
5	George Soule.	Died in Duxbury, 1680.	8 Eastham, 1677.
Elias Story.	Died the first winter.		Damaris Hopkins.
Ellen More.	Died the first winter.		Married Jacob Cooke, and died in
William Bradford.	Died in Plymouth, 1657.		Plymouth between 1666 and 1669.
2 Dorothy Bradford, his wife.	Drowned in Cape Cod harbor, Dec. 7, 1620.		Oceanus Hopkins.
Isaac Allerton.	Died in New Haven, 1659.		Died in Plymouth, 1621.
Mary Allerton, his wife.	Died in February, 1620/1.		Edward Doty.
Bartholomew Allerton.	Returned to England.		Died in Yarmouth, 1655.
Remember Allerton.	Married Moses Maverick, and died in Salem after 1652.		Edward Leicester.
Mary Allerton.	Married Thomas Cushman, and died in Plymouth, 1699.		Removed to Virginia and there died.
John Hooke.	Died the first winter.	1	Richard Warren.
1 Samuel Fuller.	Died in Plymouth, 1633.		Died in Plymouth, 1628.
2 John Crackston.	Died the first winter.		John Billington.
John Crackston, Jr.	Died in Plymouth, 1628.		Executed 1630.
Miles Standish.	Died in Duxbury, 1636.		Eleanor Billington, his wife.
2 Rose Standish, his wife.	Died in Plymouth, January, 1620/1.		Married Gregory Arm-
Christopher Martin.	Died in Plymouth, January, 1620/1.		strong, 1638.
4 His wife.	Died the first winter.		John Billington.
Solomon Power.	Died in Plymouth, December, 1620.		Died before 1630.
John Langmore.	Died the first winter.		Francois Billington.
William Mullins.	Died in Plymouth, 1620/1.		Died in Yarmouth after 1650.
His wife.	Died the first winter.		Edward Tilly.
Joseph Mullins.	Died the first winter.		Died the first winter.
5 Priscilla Mullins.	Married John Alden, and died in Duxbury after 1650.		Ann Tilly, his wife.
Robert Carter.	Died the first winter.		Died the first winter.
			Henry Sampson.
			Died in Duxbury, 1684.
			Humilitie Cooper.
			Returned to England.
			John Tilly.
			Died the first winter.
			His wife.
			Died the first winter.
			Elizabeth Tilly.
			Married John Howland, and died in Swansea, 1687.
		2	Francis Cooke.
			Died in Plymouth, 1683.
		2	John Cooke.
			Died in Dartmouth after 1694.
		2	Thomas Rogers.
			Died in 1621.
		2	Joseph Rogers.
			Died in Eastham, 1678.
			Thomas Tinker.
		3	Died the first winter.
			His wife.
			Died the first winter.
		2	John Ridgdale.
			Died the first winter.
		2	Alice Ridgdale, his wife.
			Died the first winter.
		3	James Chilton.
			Died in December, 1620.
		3	His wife.
			Died the first winter.
		3	Mary Chilton.
			Married John Winslow, and died in Boston, 1679.
			Edward Fuller.
			Died the first season.
		3	His wife.
			Died the first season.
			Samuel Fuller.
			Died in Barnstable, 1683.
			John Turner.
		3	Died the first winter.
			His son.
		3	Died the first winter.
			Another son.
			Died the first winter.
		3	Francis Eaton.
			Died in Plymouth, 1633.
		3	Sarah Eaton, his wife.
			Died soon after 1624.
			Samuel Eaton.
		1	Died in Middleboro', 1684.
		1	Moses Fletcher.
			Died the first season.
		1	Thomas Williams.
			Died the first season.
		1	Degory Priest.
			Died in December, 1620.
		1	John Goodman.
			Died the first season.
		1	Edmond Margeson.
			Died the first season.
		1	Richard Britteridge.
			Died in December, 1620.
		1	Richard Clarke.
			Died the first season.
		1	Richard Gardiner.
			Became a seaman, and died in England.
		1	Gilbert Winslow.
			Returned to England.
		1	Peter Brown.
			Died in Plymouth, 1633.
		1	John Alden.
			Died in Duxbury, 1687.
		1	Thomas English.
			Died the first winter.

- 1 John Allerton. Died the first winter.
 1 William Trevore. Hired for a year, and returned to England.
 1 — Ely. Hired for a year, and returned to England.

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On the arrival of the "Mayflower" in Cape Cod harbor, the following compact in the nature of a constitution of government was drawn up and signed:

"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, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor 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 into a civil body politic, 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, and 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 hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

"Mr. John Carver.....	8	John Turner.....	3
William Bradford.....	2	Francis Eaton.....	3
Mr. Edward Winslow.....	5	James Chilton.....	3
Mr. William Brewster.....	6	John Crackston.....	2
Mr. Isaac Allerton.....	6	John Billington.....	4
Capt. Miles Standish.....	2	Moses Fletcher.....	1
John Alden.....	7	John Goodman.....	1
Mr. Samuel Fuller.....	2	Degory Priest.....	1
Mr. Christopher Martin.....	4	Thomas Williams.....	1
Mr. William Mullins.....	5	Gilbert Winslow.....	1
Mr. William White.....	5	Edinond Margeon.....	1
Mr. Richard Warren.....	1	Peter Brown.....	1
John Howland.....	..	Richard Bitteridge.....	1
Mr. Stephen Hopkins.....	8	George Soule.....	1
Edward Tilly.....	4	Richard Clarke.....	1
John Tilly.....	3	Richard Gardiner.....	1
Francis Cooke	2	John Allerton.....	1
Thomas Rogers.....	2	Thomas English.....	1
Thomas Tinker.....	3	Edward Doty.....	..
John Ridgdale.....	2	Edward Leister.....	..
Edward Fuller.....	3		

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In this list the figures represent the number in each family, and from the total number one hundred and five, five are to be deducted, as John Howland is included in the eight of Carver's family, George Soule in the family of Edward Winslow, Edward Doty and Edward Leister in that of Stephen Hopkins, and as William Butten, for whom Samuel Fuller signed, died on the passage. To the remaining number of one hundred are to be added the names of William Trevore and Ely, who were hired for a year, and who returned to England, thus reconciling the number of signers with the list of passengers already given.

The circumstances under which this compact was

framed and signed render it a remarkable instrument. The Pilgrims had landed on territory within the jurisdiction of Great Britain without either a charter from the king or patent from the Virginia Company; without even the sanction of the natural owners of the soil until the treaty with Massasoit in the following March; without more right or authority to form a body politic and enact laws for its government than if they were living in London or Scrooby. Outside of the jurisdiction of the company whose patent they held, within the jurisdiction of a company from which they had acquired no express rights, the assumption of authority implied by the terms of the compact renders it more than probable that before leaving England they had been assured by the officers of the Northern Virginia Company, or at least by Ferdinando Gorges, that a patent would be issued and sent to them if they should decide to settle within their limits. It has been said that this compact was after all nothing more than a simple agreement, such as any body of adventurers or colonists, or miners in our own day, outside of the restraints of civilization, might enter into for temporary use and simply peaceful purposes; and that erecting thereon a permanent structure of government they builded better than they knew. If the test of design and purpose is like that applied to the architect, who sees in his mind's eye the lofty dome in its exact height and proportions when he lays the corner-stone, it is true that the Pilgrims builded better than they knew. But in establishing a principle, in founding institutions, in framing new and progressive forms of government, there can be no fixed and definite walls, no finished dome, no completed structure, which the prophetic eye can grasp, and he who gives birth to the new idea never builds better than he knows. Whatever may have been the design and aim of the compact, it cannot be denied that, like the seed, it comprehended within itself those elements, which, when subjected to favorable conditions, had a germinating force, and were capable of developing into first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear, of a free and popular government in the western world.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the incidents which occurred while the "Mayflower" remained in Cape Cod harbor. On the 4th of December the first death after the arrival, that of Edward Thompson, occurred; on the 6th that of Jasper More; and on the 7th, Dorothy, the wife of William Bradford, was drowned. Bradford says, "Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need." Several expeditions were undertaken, of which the first, composed of Standish, Bradford, Hopkins,

and Edward Tilly, set out on the 15th of November by land, and returned after three days' absence. After a second fruitless expedition in search of a better place of settlement, it was after repeated consultations, concluded, in the language of Bradford, "to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angoum (Ipswich). Besides, Robert Coppin, our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor on the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had been once, and because that one of the wild men with whom they had some trucking stole a harping-iron from them they called it Thievish Harbor, and beyond that place they were enjoined not to go, whereupon 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." As the expedition started on the 6th of December and returned on the 12th, the birth of Peregrine White must be fixed between those dates. The exploring party consisted of Standish, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, John Tilly, Edward Tilly, Howland, Warren, Hopkins, Doty, John Allerton, English, John Clark, the mate, Masten Coppin, the pilot, the master gunner, and three sailors,—eighteen in all. Leaving the ship, they skirted the shore of the cape, and landed to spend the first night at what is now Eastham. The next morning, the 7th, the company divided, some going on in the shallop, and the rest keeping along by the shore on the land. The second night was passed in the vicinity of what is now Brewster, and on the 8th of December, towards night, in a storm of snow and rain, the company reached the island in Plymouth harbor, named after John Clark, the mate of the "Mayflower," Clark's Island. Here Saturday, the 9th, was passed, and the record for the 10th is, as made by Bradford, "On the Sabbath day we rested." "On Monday, the 11th, they sounded the harbor, found it suitable for shipping, and marching "into the land found divers cornfields and little running brooks, a place very good for situation. So we returned to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." The 11th of December then, or according to the new style the 21st, was the day of the landing of the shallop party at Plymouth, and it is this event and not the landing of any portion of the ship's company afterwards, which is celebrated as the landing of the Pilgrims. On the 12th the exploring party returned to the ship, on the 15th the "Mayflower" weighed anchor, and on the 16th she

was moored in the harbor of Plymouth, one hundred days after her departure from old Plymouth, in England.

Plymouth was a spot not unknown to Europeans. Large numbers of fishermen from England, Portugal, France, and Spain had for many years followed their occupations along the New England coast, and of those who had made voyages of exploration more than one had visited Plymouth. It is believed by many that Martin Pring visited it in 1603; but though Plymouth meets the requirements of his topographical description, it fails to agree with his statements of latitude.² It must still remain an open question whether Plymouth harbor or some place in the Vineyard Sound is the spot he visited, as he steered south from the coast of Maine. So far as is actually known, leaving in doubt the claims for the Northmen³ and Pring, the discovery of Plymouth must be accorded to a French explorer in 1605. On the 17th of April, 1604, Sieur de Monts set sail with four vessels from Havre de Grace, with Sieur de Champlain as his pilot. In an account of the voyage, published by Champlain in Paris in 1613, he thus describes his visit to Plymouth:

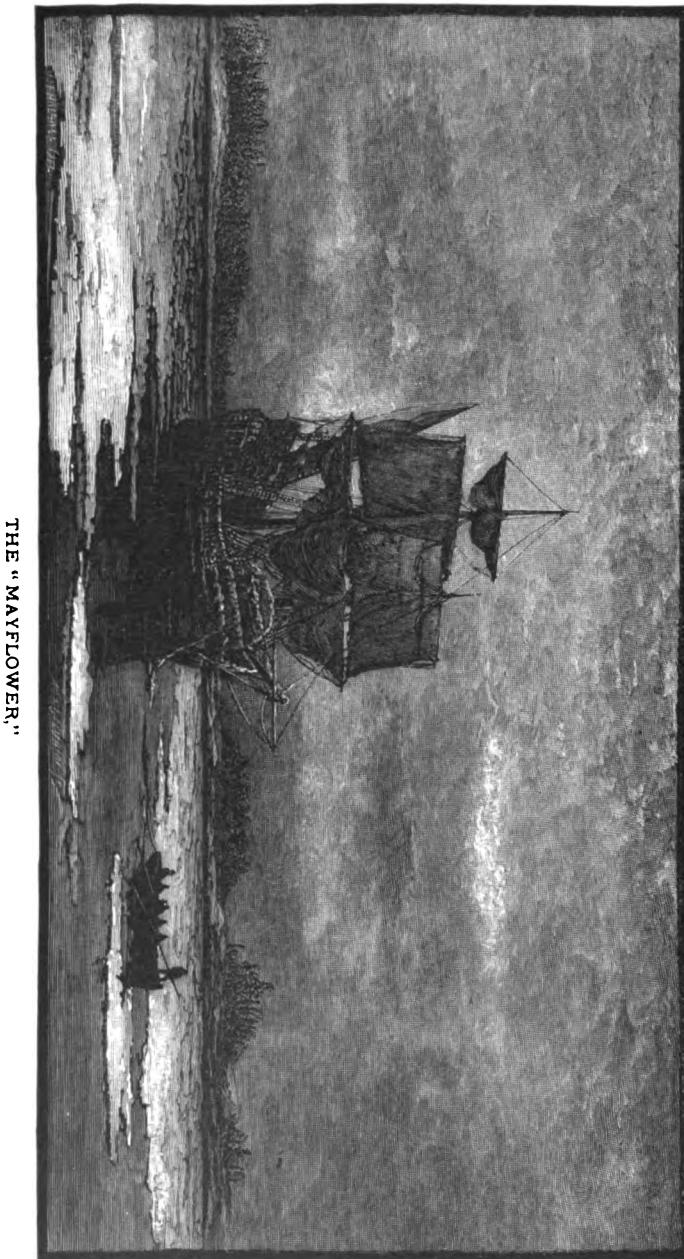
"The next day (July 28, 1605) we doubled Cape St. Louis (Branches Island), so named by Sieur de Monts, a land rather low, and in latitude 42° 45'. The same day we sailed two leagues along a sandy coast, as we passed along which we saw a great many cabins and gardens. The wind being contrary, we entered a little bay to await a time favorable for proceeding. There came to us two or three canoes, which had just been fishing for cod and other fish, which are found there in large numbers. These they catch with hooks made of a piece of wood, to which they attach a bone in the shape of a spear, and fasten it very securely. The whole has a fang shape, and the line attached to it is made out of the bark of a tree. The bone is fastened on by hemp; and they told me that they gathered this plant without being obliged to cultivate it, and indicated that it grew to the height of four or five feet. Some of them came to us and begged us to go to their river: we weighed anchor to do so, but were unable to enter on account of the small amount of water, it being low tide, and were accordingly obliged to anchor at the mouth. I made an examination of the river, but saw only an arm of water (the harbor), extending a short distance inland, where the land is only in part cleared up. Running into this is merely a brook (Tonn Brook), not deep enough for boats except at full tide. The circuit of the bay is about a league. On one side of the entrance to this bay is a point (Burnet) which is almost an island, covered with wood, principally pines, and adjoins sand-banks, which are very extensive. On the other side the land (Manomet) is high. There are two islets in the harbor (Clark's Island and Saquish), which are not seen until one has entered, and around which it is almost entirely dry at low water. This place is very conspicuous, for the coast is very low, excepting the capo at the entrance of the bay. We named it the Port du Cap St. Louis, distant two leagues from the above cape (Branches Island), and ten from the Island Cape (Cape Ann)."

There is a map of Plymouth harbor included in

¹ *Vide Appendix I.* pg. 133.

² *Vide Appendix II.* pg. 134.

³ *Ibid. III.* pg. 136.



the book, a copy of which may be found in the "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," which shows that Saquish was at that time an island, and that what is called Brown's Island was then, as now, at the full of the tide submerged by the sea.

The next European to visit Plymouth, so far as is known, was John Smith, who in two ships sailed under the auspices of private adventurers, in 1614, "to take whales, and also to make trials of a mine of gold and copper." Anchoring his vessels near the mouth of the Penobscot, he explored the coast in a shallop as far as Cape Cod, giving the name of New England to the territory, and "drawing a map from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor, with the soundings, sands, rocks, and landmarks." Upon this map, after his return to England, Prince Charles attached names to various places, of which only Charles River, Cape Ann, and Plymouth survive. In 1619, Thomas Dermer, who had been an officer under Smith, again visited Plymouth, under the auspices of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as has already been stated. On this visit he wrote the letter which has been referred to, recommending Plymouth as a place of settlement. Dermer brought with him a native called Tisquantum, or Squanto, whom Capt. Hunt, another officer of Smith, had carried away to be sold into slavery. Squanto was a member of the Patuxet tribe, which was in full occupation of Plymouth lands at the time of the visit of Smith, but which in 1616 was swept from the earth by an extraordinary plague, as the Pilgrims were afterwards told by Samoset. Squanto, finding only the bleached bones of his tribe to welcome his return, attached himself to the Pilgrims, and rendered them important service in the trying seasons of the colony. Again we see the hand of Providence guiding the steps of the colony, and by a mysterious dispensation leading them to the spot which it had prepared for their coming.

In the language of Carlyle, "Hail to thee, thou poor little ship 'Mayflower'!—poor, common-looking ship, hired by common charter-party for coined dollars, caulked with mere oakum and tar, provisioned with vulgar biscuit and bacon; yet what ship 'Argo' or miraculous epic ship built by the sea-gods was other than a foolish bombarge in comparison. Golden fleeces or the like they sailed for with or without effect. Thou little 'Mayflower' hadst in thee a veritable Promethean spark—the life-spark of the largest nation of our earth, as we may already name the transatlantic Saxon nation. They went seeking leave to hear a sermon in their own method, these 'Mayflower' Puritans—a most indispensable search; and yet like Saul the son of Kish, seeking a small thing,

they found this unexpected great thing. Honor to the brave and true! They verily, we say, carry fire from heaven, and have a power they dream not of. Let all men honor Puritanism, since God has so honored it."¹

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT AT PLYMOUTH—TREATY WITH MASASOIT—MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

THE wants of the Pilgrims were abundantly met in Plymouth as a place of settlement. Depth of water for vessels of considerable draft was not needed. The visits of such vessels would not be frequent, and without wharves the existing channels were sufficient to bring even such near enough to the shore. A good boat harbor, plenty of fish (both sea and shell), cleared land, and an abundance of good drinking-water, all of which Plymouth afforded, were prime necessities which they could not fail to recognize, while the absence of the natives from the immediate neighborhood promised them a security which in no other spot on the coast they would have been able to find. The Indian tribes within the limited district known afterwards as the Old Colony were the Pocassetts of Swansea, Rehoboth, Somerset, and Tiverton, the Wampanoags of Bristol, the Saconets of Little Compton, the Nemaskets of Middleboro', the Nausites of Eastham, the Mattakees of Barnstable, the Monamoyes of Chatham, the Saukucketts of Marshpee, and the Nobsquassetts of Yarmouth; but in Plymouth the Indians had only occupied the land to save the labor of the colonist in clearing it, and had vanished from the earth, leaving a safe resting-place for the foot of civilization in the western wilderness.

The first few days after the arrival of the "Mayflower" at Plymouth were occupied in explorations of various places around the margin of the harbor, with a view to a final landing-place. The ship probably lay at anchor in what is now called Broad Channel, as Bradford said, "a mile and almost a half from the shore." On the 18th they landed, and Bradford says "we found not any navigable rivers, but four or five small running brooks of very sweet, 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, walnut, beech, ash, hazel, holly, asp, sassafras in abundance, and vines everywhere, cherry-trees, plum trees, and many others

¹ *Vide Appendix IV. pg. 137.*

which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarras, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, watercresses, 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 that ever we drank, and the brooks now begin to be full of fish." This exploration was doubtless along the shore of what is now the town of Plymouth, as no other place within the bay answers the description. On the 19th they found Jones' River, named after their captain, which they ascended three "English miles," and found a very "pleasant river at full sea." "A bark of thirty tons may go up," Bradford says, "but at low water scarce one shallop could pass." "Some of us having a good mind for safety to plant in the greater isle we crossed the bay, which is there five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half or two miles about all wooded and no fresh water, but two or three pits that we doubted of fresh water in summer, and so full of wood as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn."

On the 20th they determined to confine their consideration to two places, and after again viewing them they came to the conclusion, according to the record, "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 runs under the hill side and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbor our shallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook much good fish in their seasons; on the further side of the river also much corn-ground cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point to make a 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 thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labor will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile; but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none. So there we made our rendezvous and a place for some of our people, about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore and to build houses."

The 21st and 22d were stormy, and the party on shore remained alone, suffering much from exposure. The precise condition of the weather is singularly enough nowhere stated in any Pilgrim record, and we only learn from a letter from John White in the Mas-

sachusetts Colony, to a friend in England, written ten years afterwards, that there was at the time of the arrival of the Pilgrim company a foot of snow on the ground. As burials of the dead seem to have been made during the winter, we are left to infer that the ground remained covered with snow, and therefore but little frozen. On the 23d many of those on shipboard went on shore again to cut timber for their common store-house, which was the first building erected. The street on which they began to build, now called Leyden Street, ran from the top of what is now Burial Hill to the shore, and it is probable that the store-house stood on the precise spot on the south side of the street now occupied by the brick-ended house occupied by Mr. Frederick L. Holmes. In a deed of this lot, in 1698, from Maj. William Bradford to John Dyer, the lot is described as "running on the street northeasterly as far as the northeasterly corner of the old store-house which formerly stood on the lot." It was at first intended to build houses on both sides of the street, and Bradford states, under date of the 9th of January, that "we went to labor that day in the building of our town in two rows of houses for more safety." He further says that "we measured out the grounds, and first we took notice how many families there 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 the 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 so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths." But so much sickness occurred, followed by so many deaths, that it was found that nineteen houses were more than would be needed, and more than with scanty help could be built. Edward Winslow in a letter to George Morton, dated Dec. 11, 1621, and sent by the "Fortune," which sailed on the 13th of that month, said, "We have built seven dwelling-houses and four for the use of the plantation." All these were built on the south side of the street. The following diagram, copied from the first page of the Old Colony records, shows the "meersteads and garden plots of which came first layd out 1620."

The North Side.

The South Side.

Peter Brown.
John Goodman.
Wm. Brewster.

Highway.

John Billington.
Mr. Isaac Allerton.
Francis Cooke.
Edward Winslow.

The Street.

The upper part of the diagram shows the lower end of the street, and the highway corresponds to the present Market Street. The four store-houses were doubtless below the lot of Peter Brown. The records were begun in 1627, and as the diagram was made seven years after the landing, the fact that no lots are marked as controlled by Carver, Bradford, and Standish, three of the leading men, would lead us to doubt its correctness, were it not for its partial indorsement by the letter of Governor Winslow, above quoted. At a later day, in 1627, De Rasieres, who was dispatched on an embassy from New Amsterdam to the Plymouth Colony, in a letter to Mr. Samuel Blommaert, one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, describes the town of Plymouth, and says, "New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill stretching east towards the sea coast, with a broad street about a cannon shot of eight hundred (yards) long leading down the hill, with a (street) crossing in the middle northwards to the rivulet and southwards to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks with gardens also enclosed behind, and the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and court yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack, and at the ends of the street there are three wooden gates. In the centre on the cross street stands the Governor's house, before which is a square enclosure upon which four patereros (steen stucken) are mounted so as to flank along the streets. Upon the hill they have a large square house with a flat roof made of thick sawn planks stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum each with his musket or firelock in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on and place themselves in order three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the

left hand the captain with his side arms and cloak on and with a small cane in his hand, and so they march in good order and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day.

"Their government is after the English form. The Governor has his council, which is chosen every year by the entire community by election or prolongation of term. In the inheritance they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgment for his seniority of birth. They have made stringent laws and ordinances upon the subject of fornication and adultery, which laws they maintain and enforce very strictly indeed even among the tribes which live amongst them. They speak very angrily when they hear from the savages that we (the Dutch at New Amsterdam) should live so barbarously in these respects without punishment. Their farms are not so good as ours, because they are more stony and consequently not so suitable for the plough. They apportion their land according as each has means to contribute to the eighteen thousand guilders which they have promised to those who had sent them out: whereby they have their freedom without rendering an account to any one; only if the King should choose to send a Governor General they would be obliged to acknowledge him as sovereign chief."

The street crossing in the middle, referred to in the above letter, was Market Street, at that time extending from Main Street and reaching Summer Street by a gradual curve. The Governor's house was situated at the upper corner of Main Street and Town Square, and the three gates were probably in Main and Market Streets, and at the westerly end of Leyden Street, which then extended to the top of Burial Hill. The words, "northerly to the rivulet and southwards to the land," refer to the first brook, or Shaw's Brook, at the north, and Market Street, which then led into the Nemasket path, the Indian trail to Middleboro'. The houses in the first settlement were necessarily rude, built of planks without frames, covered with thatch on the roof, and lighted by paper windows covered with oil. Edward Winslow, in a letter addressed probably to George Morton, dated Dec. 11, 1621, says, "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton yarn for your lamps." He further says, "Because I expect your coming unto us, be careful to have a very good bread room to put your biscuits in. Let your casks for beer and water be iron bound for the first tier if not more. Let not your meat be dry salted; none can better do it than the sailors. Let your meal be so hard trod in your cask

that you shall need an adz or hatchet to work it out with. Trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came (in the "Fortune," 1621) depending wholly upon us we shall have little enough till harvest. Be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way; it will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring every man a musket or fowling piece. Let your piece be long in the barrel and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands (rests). Bring juice of lemons and take it fasting; it is of good use. For hot waters aniseed water is the best; but use it sparingly. If you bring anything for comfort in the country, butter or sallet oil or both is very good. Our Indian corn even the coarsest maketh as pleasant meal as rice; therefore spare that unless to spend by the way."

The absence of glass windows was, however, by no means an indication of want or narrow means. Even in the reign of Henry the Eighth they were considered a luxury in England, and later, in the days of Elizabeth, they were confined to the houses of the nobility, and by them regarded as movable furniture. The constant reference to beer as a beverage in this and other records is noticeable. Tea and coffee were then unknown in England, and the poor quality of the water in Holland, repeatedly implied by the wonder expressed at the good quality of that in Plymouth, had confined the Pilgrims almost exclusively to beer sold at a penny a quart as their daily beverage. The juice of lemons referred to by Winslow was probably suggested as a preventive of scurvy, from which the company of the "Mayflower" had more or less suffered.

The lots assigned to other members of the company than those indicated by the rude diagram of Bradford, have been disclosed by the records and casual references in diaries and deeds of estates. It is shown by the records that Stephen Hopkins occupied the lower corner of Main and Leyden Streets, John Howland the next lot below, and Samuel Fuller the lot below Howland. And it must be repeated that it seems impossible to reconcile the diagram and the statement of Winslow concerning seven dwellings and four company houses, with the facts and probabilities in the case. It might be said that the assignment of these lots and their occupation by Hopkins, Howland, and Fuller were subsequent to the date of Winslow's letter Dec. 11, 1621, but we know that as early as the 16th of March Hopkins had a dwelling, for when Samoset appeared on that day in the settlement Mourt's "Relation" states "we lodged him that night at Stephen Hopkins house and watched him." So far as Carver and Brad-

ford are concerned, whose names are omitted in the diagram, it is possible that for a time the Governor may have occupied the common house with Bradford and perhaps Standish as companions. We know that the first two were there on the 14th of January, 1620/1, for Mourt's "Relation" says, in referring to the fire which burned its thatched roof on that day, "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." A review of the whole case may lead us to the conclusion that after all the diagram and letter of Winslow may be correct, and that Hopkins at the time of the visit of Samoset was occupying one of the seven houses on the south side of the street, and perhaps that of John Goodman, who is recorded as having died the first season, and probably died before the 16th of March, the date of the visit.

During the first few months of the colony little was done besides making the dwellings as comfortable as possible, guarding against surprises by the natives, and nursing the sick. One after another succumbed to the attacks of disease brought on by the exposure to cold, and fatigue of systems already enfeebled by the hardships of a protracted voyage. In the cabin of the "Mayflower," in Cape Cod harbor, after the signing of the compact John Carver, who was already acting as the Governor of the company, was confirmed in that office under the adopted constitution, and from that time until the 17th of February there appears to have been no action taken with reference to the administration of the affairs of the colony. On that day a meeting was called for the purpose of "establishing military orders, and Miles Standish was chosen captain and given authority of command in affairs." Such action was natural, surrounded as they were by tribes of Indians of whose temper they were ignorant, and had no significance as to the form of government which the colony was preparing to adopt. A consultation at this meeting looking to the enactment of needed rules or laws was broken up and postponed by the appearance of two natives on a neighboring hill, "over against our plantation about a quarter of a mile and less (Watson's Hill), and made signs unto us to come to them. We likewise made signs unto them to come to us, whereupon we armed ourselves and stood ready, and sent two over the brook towards them, to wit, Capt. Standish and Stephen Hopkins, who went towards them. Only one of them had a musket, which they laid down on the ground in their sight in sign of peace, and to parley with them. But the savages would not tarry their coming. A noise of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no

more came in sight. This caused us to plant our great ordnances in places most convenient." In consequence of this occurrence two cannon were brought on shore, and mounted on a platform, on Burial Hill, in a position to command the surrounding country.

On the 16th of March another meeting was called to conclude the military orders, which had been before interrupted, and as Mourt's "Relation" says, "Whilst we were busied hereabout we were interrupted again; for there presented himself a savage which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the rendezvous, where we interrupted 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 among the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon, and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters that usually came. 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 these parts but of Morattiggon (probably Monhiggon), and one of the sagamores or lords thereof, and had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. 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 for some beer, but we gave him strong water and biscuit, and butter and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of mallard. 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 to lay claim unto it."

On the next day, the 17th, Samoset departed for the Wampanoag country, and on the 18th returned with five other Indians, bearing a few skins and some tools, which some marauding Indians had previously stolen from the fields near the settlement. The five left the same day, leaving Samoset behind, who remained until the following Wednesday, the 21st of March, on which day another meeting was held to conclude the laws and orders, and again interrupted by the appearance in the neighborhood of another small group of natives. On the next day for the fourth time a meeting was held, and still again broken off by the reappearance of Samoset, attended by Tisquantum, the stolen Indian returned by Thomas Dermer and

three others, who signified that Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags and of all the other tribes within the limits of the Old Colony, "was hard by with Qudequina, his brother, and all their men. They could not well express in English what they would, but after an hour the king came to the top of the hill (Watson's Hill) 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 Governor to them, and they were unwilling to come to us. So Tisquantum went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with them, which we did, which was Edward Winslow, to know his mind and to signify the mind and will of our Governor, which was to have trading and peace with him." After some consultation and an exchange of hostages Massasoit, with twenty men, came from the hill, and were met at the brook by Capt. Standish and another with six musketeers, and was escorted by them to "a house then building," where a green rug and three or four cushions had been placed for his reception. Governor Carver then appeared with drum and trumpet and a few musketeers, and after salutations the Governor kissed his hand and Massasoit kissed the Governor, and the following treaty was entered into:

"1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.

"2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours he should send the offender that we might punish him.

"3. 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.

"4. If any did unjustly war against him we would aid him: if any did war against us he should aid us.

"5. He should send to his neighbor confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

"6. That when their men came to us they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them. Lastly, that doing this King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally," all which, Morton says, "he liked well and withal at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our sovereign lord, the king aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent to them and their heirs forever."

This treaty secured peace and safety to the colony for a period of fifty five years; indeed, it saved the colony from destruction. The lands granted by it to the settlers included what are now the townships of

Plymouth, Duxbury, Carver, Kingston, Plympton, Marshfield, Wareham, and a part of Halifax. The colony now for the first time held any title to the land. It was obtained by neither invasion nor conquest, but by the influence of a Christian spirit over the savage mind, a title which no charter nor patent in the minds of the Pilgrims could confer, unless sealed and acknowledged by the natural owners of the soil. So sensitive were the Pilgrims to the rights of the Indians that individual purchases of land from them required the approval of the court. In 1643 the following act was passed :

“Whereas it is holden very unlawful and of dangerous consequence and it hath been the constant custom from our first beginning that no person or persons have or ever did purchase, rent, or hire any lands, herbage, wood, or timber of the natives but by the magistrates’ consent; it is therefore enacted by the court that if any person or persons do hereafter purchase, rent, or hire any lands, herbage, wood or timber of any of the natives in any place within this government without the consent and assent of the court every such person or persons shall forfeit five pounds for every acre which shall be so purchased, hired, rented, and taken, and for wood and timber to pay five times the value thereof, to be levied to the colonies use.”

Lest this law might be evaded, it was enacted in 1660, “that in reference unto the law prohibiting buying or hiring land of the Indians directly or indirectly bearing date 1643, the court interprets those words also to comprehend under the same penalty a prohibition of any man’s receiving any lands under pretence of any gift from the Indians without the approbation of the court.” Indeed, it may be said with entire truth that notwithstanding the various patents securing to the Pilgrims a legal title to their lands, until King Philip’s war, in which the right of conquest was recognized, the Pilgrims never occupied a foot of territory within the limits of the Old Colony to which they had not secured the right from the Indians either by purchase or treaty.

On the 23d of March, the last day but one in the year under the old style, the military orders and laws were successfully concluded, and John Carver was rechosen Governor. On the 5th of April, the “Mayflower” set sail on her return without a passenger. Before her departure, forty-four of the Pilgrim Company had died, and nearly a half of the ship’s crew. Among the number were William White, Christopher Martin, Solomon Power, John Langemore, William Mullins, Edward Thompson, James Chilton, Degory Priest, Richard Britteridge, Elizabeth Winslow, Dorothy Bradford, Mary Allerton, and Rose Standish. Notwithstanding the appalling inroads of disease and death, none were deterred from remaining. Indeed, it is questionable whether the graves of

fathers and mothers, and husbands and wives and children, had not bound them indissolubly by the most sacred ties to their new home. Death had been so constant a companion as to have lost its terrors, and if they were to die, there could be no resting-place preferable to that beside the bodies of those they had loved. During the remaining seven months before the arrival of the “Fortune” on the 9th of November, the number of deaths was reduced to six, among which were those of Governor Carver on the day of the departure of the “Mayflower,” and his wife at a later date. After that time the colony enjoyed remarkable health, and of the survivors remaining in the country, the average length of life, counting from the time of the landing, was more than thirty-seven years. The first marriage in the colony was that on the 12th of May of Edward Winslow, whose wife, Elizabeth, died March 24th, and Susanna White, whose husband, William, died on the 21st of February. So short a period of widowhood must be viewed in the light of the extraordinary conditions of a time in which, as laws are silent in war, the prevailing social rules must fail to apply. On the 18th of June, the first duel fought in the New World occurred between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, in which both were wounded. Doty remained with the colony, becoming a prominent member, and Leister removed to Virginia, where he may have introduced the code which for many years had there so thorough a recognition.

Soon after the death of Carver, William Bradford was chosen Governor, and Isaac Allerton an assistant. The date of the election is nowhere recorded. The planting season was successfully improved, and the clouds which had lain so heavy and dark over the colony began to disappear. In July it was thought desirable to send an embassy to Massasoit, to bestow on him gratuities and confirm his friendly feelings. Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins were selected for the expedition, with Tisquantum for a guide, and an interesting account of the journey and visit, from the pen of Winslow, may be found in Mourt’s “Relation.” On the 18th of September, a shallop was sent to the Massachusetts tribe with ten men and Tisquantum for interpreter and guide, to trade with the natives, and a considerable quantity of beaver skins was brought home, and the explorers reported concerning the place, and wished that there the settlement had been made. An account of this expedition may also be found in Mourt’s “Relation.” Soon the harvest was gathered, an abundance of fish were caught, deer, water-fowl, and wild turkeys were killed, and, as Bradford says, “many afterwards wrote largely of their

plenty to their friends in England, which were not feigned but true reports."

On the 9th of November, the "Fortune," a vessel of fifty-five tons, unexpectedly arrived with thirty-five passengers, having sailed from London early in July. The names of the passengers were as follows:

John Adams.	Robert Hickes.
William Bassite (2).	William Hilton.
William Beale.	Bennet Morgan.
Edward Bompasse.	Thomas Morton.
Jonathan Brewster.	Austin Nicolas.
Clement Briggs.	William Palmer (2).
John Cannon.	William Pitt.
William Coner.	Thomas Prence.
Robert Cushman.	Moses Simonson.
Thomas Cushman.	Hugh Statie.
Stephen Dean.	Jaines Steward.
Philip De La Noye.	William Tench.
Thomas Flavell (2).	John Winslow.
Widow Foord (4).	William Wright.

In this list only thirty-four are accounted for, and it is probable that the thirty-fifth either died before the division of lands in which the names are disclosed, or was the wife or child of one of the passengers of the "Mayflower." The "Fortune" also brought a patent from the Northern Virginia Company, which, since the departure of the Pilgrims, had received a new charter¹ from the king, under the title of "The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling, and governing of New England in America," empowering it to hold territory extending from sea to sea, and in breadth from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude. This territory included all between New Jersey and the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the Atlantic coast, and the northern part of California, Oregon, and nearly all of Washington Territory on the Pacific. The patent was issued under date of June 1, 1621, to John Peirce and his associates, and was in trust for the benefit of the company. It is now preserved in Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth. It is engrossed on parchment, and bears the signatures of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Another signature is illegible, and the seal of Hamilton is missing. As the oldest state paper in New England, it deserves a place in this narrative:

"This Indenture made the first day of June 1620 And in the years of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord James by the grace of god King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c That is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the nyenetenth and of Scotland the four and fiftieth Betwene the President and Counsell of New England of the one pte And John Peirce Citisen and Clothworker of London and his Associates of the other pte Witnesseth that whereas the said John Peirce and his Associates have already transported and

undertaken to transporte at their cost and charges themselves and dyver's pson's into New England and there to erect and build a Towne and settle dyvers Inhabitants for the advancement of the generall plantacon of that Country of New England now the Sayde President and Counsell in consideracon thereof and for the furtherance of the said plantacon and incorageement of the said Undertakers have agreed to grant assigne allott and appoynt to the said John Peirce and his associates and every of them his and their heires and assignes one hundred acres of ground for evry pson so to be transported besides dyvers prvyledges Liberties and commodityes hereafter menconed, And to that intent they have granted allotted assigne and confirmed And by their presents doe grant allott assign and confirme unto the said John Peirce and his Associates his and their heires & assignes and the heires & assignes of evry of them sevrally and respectyvally one hundred sevrall acres of ground in New England for evry pson so transported or to be transported yf the said John Peirce or his Associates contynue there three whole yeers either at one or severall tymes or dye in the meane season after he or they are shipped with intent there to inhabit. The same land to be taken & chosen by them their deputies or assignes in any place or place wheresoever not already inhabited by any English and wher no English pson or ps ons are already placed or settled or have by order of said President and Councell made choyce of nor within Tenn myles of the same unless it be on the opposite syde of some great or Navigable Ryver to the former particular plantacon together with the one half of the Ryver or Ryvers that is to say to the middest thereof as shall adjoyn to such lands as they shall make choyce of together with all such Liberties prvyledges profits & commodityes as the said Land and Ryvers which they shall make choyce of shall yield together with free libertie to fish on and upon the coast of New England and in all havens ports and creeks Thereunto belonging and that no pson or ps ons whatsoever shall take any benefitt or libertie of or to any of the grounds on the one half of the Ryvers aforesaid excepting the free use of highways by land and Navigable Ryvers but that the said undertakers and planters their heires and assignes shall have the sole right and use of the said grounds and the one half of the said Ryvers with all their profits and appurtenances. And for as much as the said John Peirce and his associates intend and have undertaken to build Churches, Schooles, Hospitalls Town Houses, Bridges and such like workes of charytie. As also for the maynteyning of Magistrates and other inferior officers in regard whereof and to the end that the said John Peirce and his Associates his and their heires and assignes may have wherewithall to beare & support such like charges Therefore the said President and Councell aforesaid do graunt unto the said Undertakers their heirs & assignes Fifteene hundred acres of Land moreover and above the aforesaid posseson of one hundred the pson for evry Undertaker and planter to be emploied upon such public usis as the said Undertakers & Planters shall think fit, And they do further graunt unto the said John Peirce and his Associates their heires and assignes that for evry pson that they or any of them shall transport at their owne proper costs & charges into New England either unto the Lands hereby graunted or adjoyninge to them within seaven years after the feast of St. John Baptist next cominge yf the said pson transported contynue these three whole years either at one or severall tymes or dye in the meane seasin after he is shipped with intent there to inhabit that the said pson or ps ons that shall so at his or their owne charges transport any other shall have graunted and allowed to him and them and his & their heirs respectyvally for evry pson so transported or dyeing after he is shipped one hundred acres of Land and also that evry pson or ps ons who by contract &

¹ Vide Appendix V. pg. 137.

agreement to be had & made with the said Undertakers shall at his & their own charge transport him & themselves or any others and settle and plant themselves in New England within th said seaven yeeres for three yeeres space as aforesaid or dye in the meane tyme shall have graunted & allowed unto evry pson so transporting or transported and their heires and assignes respectyvely the lik number of one hundred acres of Land as aforesaid the same to be by him & them or their heires or assignes chosen in any entyre place together and adjoyning to the aforesaid Lands and not stragglingly not before the tyme of such choyce made possessed or inhabited by any English Company or within tenne myles of the same except it be on the opposite syde of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid. Yielding and paying unto the said President and Counsell for every hundred acres so obteyned and possessed by the said John Peirce and his said Associates and by those said other psons and their heires & assignes who by contract as aforesaid shall at their onne charges transport themselves or others the Yerey rent of two shillings at the feast of St. Michael Tharchaungell to the hand of the Rent gatherer of the President & Counsell and their successors forever the first payment to begyn after the xperacon of the first seaven yeeres next after the date hereof And further it shall be lawfull to and for the said John Peirce and his associates and such as contract with them as aforesaid their Tennants & servants upon dislike of one in the country to returne for England or elsewhere with all their goods & chattells at their will & pleasure without lett or disturbance of any paying all debts that justly shall be demanded And likewise it shall be lawfull and is granted to and for the said John Peirce his Associates & Planters their heires & assignes their Tennants & servants and such as they or any of them shall contract with as aforesaid and send and ymploy for the said plantacon to goe & returne trade traffig import and transport their goods & merchandise at their will & pleasure into England or elsewhere paying only such duties to the King's majestic his heires & successors as the President & Counsell of New England doe pay without any other taxes Imposicones burthenes or restraints whatsoever upon them to be ymposed the rent hereby reserved being only excepted. And it shall be lawfull for the said Undertakers & Planters their heires & successors freely to truck trade & traffig with the salvages in New England or neighboring thereabouts at their wills and pleasures without lett or disturbance, As also to have libertie to hunt hauke fish or fowle in any place or places not now or hereafter by the English inhabited. And the said President & Counsell do covenant & promyse to and with the said John Peirce and his Associates and others contracted with as aforesaid his and their heires & assignes. That upon Lawfull survey to be had & made at the charge of the said Undertakers & Planters and lawfull informacon given of the bounds meets and quantytee of Land so as aforesaid to be by them chosen & possessed they the said President & Counsell upon surrender of this presente graunt and Indenture and upon reasonable request to be made by the said Undertakers & Planters their heires & assignes within seaven Yeeres now next coming shall and will by their Deed Indented and under their Comon Seale graunt enfeoffe and confirme all and evry the said lands so sett out and boarded as aforesaid to the said John Peirce and his associates and such as contract with them their heires & assignes in as large and beneficall manner as the same are in these presence graunted or intended to be graunted to all intents & purposes with all and every particular priviledge & freedome reservaceon & condicon with all dependacis herein specyfied & graunted. And shall also at any tyme within the said terme of Seaven Yeeres upon request unto the said President & Counsell make graunt unto them the said John Peirce and his Associates Undertakers

& Planters their heires & assignes Letters & Graunts of Incorporacon by some usual and fitt name & tytle with Liberty to them and their successors from tyme to tyme to make orders Lawes ordynaunces & constitucons for the rule government ordering & dyrectory of all psons to be transported & settled upon the lands hereby graunted intended to be graunted or hereafter to be graunted and of the said Lands & proffitts thereby arrysing. And in the meane tyme untill such graunt made yt shal be lawfull for the said John Peirce his Associates & Undertakers & Planters their heires & assignes by consent of the greater part of them To establish such lawes & ordynauncis as are for their better government and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voyces elect & choose to put in execucon. And lastly the said President & Counsell do graunt and agree to and with the said John Peirce and his Associates and others contracted with and ymployed as aforesaid their heires and assignes That when they have planted the Lands hereby to them assigned & appoynted That then it shal be lawfull for them with the prvitie & allowance of the President & Counsell as aforesaid to make choyce of to enter into and to have an addition of fiftee acres more for evry pson transported into New England with like reservacons conditions and priviledges as are above graunted to be had and chosen in such place or places where no English shal be then settled or inhabiting or have made choyce of and the same entered into a Book of Acts at the tyme of such choyce is to be made or within tenne miles of the same excepting on the opposite syde of some great navigable River as aforesaid. And it shall and may be lawfull for the said John Peirce and his Associates their heires & assignes from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their severall defence and savetic to encounter repulse repell & resist by force of Armes as well by Sea as by Land and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever all such pson and psons as without the especiali lycense of the said President or Counsell and their successors or the greater part of them shall attempt to inhabit within the several presencys and lymitts of their said Plantacon; or shall enterpysse or attempt at any tyme hereafter destruccon Invation detryment or annoyanc to the said Plantacon. And the said John Peirce and his Associates and their heires & assignes do covenant & promyse to & with the said President & Counsell and their successors That they the said John Peirce and his Associates from tyme to tyme during the said Seaven Yeeres shall make a true Certificate to the said President & Counsell and their successors from the chief officers of the places respectyvely of evry pson transported & landed in New England or shippid as aforesaid to be entered by the Secretary of the said President & Counsell into a Register book for that purpose to be kept And the said John Peirce and his Associates jointly and severally for them their heires & assignes do covenant promyse & graunt to and with the said President & Counsell and their successors That the psons transported to this their particular Plantacon shall apply themselves & their Labors in a large & competent manner to the planting setting making & procuring of goods & staple commodityes in & upon the said Land hereby graunted unto them as corne & silkgrane hemp flax pitch and tarre sopenches and potashes yron clapboard and other the like materealls. In Witness whereof the said President & Counsell have to the one part of the present Indenture sett their seales. And to the other part hereof the said John Peirce in the name of himself and his said Associates have sett to his seale given the day and yeeres first above written."

It has been erroneously supposed that this patent was superseded by another issued in 1622. The latter, however, was issued to Mr. Peirce on what

appear to have been false representations to subserve his personal interests, and secure, if possible, the colonists as his tenants. His purpose was discovered in season to prevent the consummation of his plan, and the new patent was not bought by the friends of the Pilgrims, as has been repeatedly asserted, but by order of the president and Council was surrendered and canceled.

A letter was received by the "Fortune" from Mr. Weston, one of the merchant adventurers, addressed to Governor Carver (then dead), a part of which—for a better understanding of the situation—is given below:

"I durst never acquainte the adventurers with the alteration of the conditions first agreed on between us, which I have since been very glad of, for I am well assured had they known as much as I do they would not have adventured a half-penny of what was necessary for this ship. That you sent no lading in the ship ('Mayflower') is wonderful, and worthily distorted. I know your weakness was the cause of it, and I believe more weakness of judgment than weakness of hands. A quarter of the time you spent in discoursing, arguing, & consulting would have done much more; but that is past. If you mean *bona fide* to perform the conditions agreed upon do us the favor to copy them out fair and subscribe them with the principal of your names. And likewise give us account as particularly as you can how our moneys were laid out. And then I shall be able to give them some satisfaction whom I am now forced with good words to shift off. And consider that the life of the business depends on the lading of this ship, which if you do to any good purpose that I may be freed from the great sums I have disbursed for the former, and must do for the latter, I promise you I will never quit the business though all the other adventurers would.

"We have procured you a Charter, the best we could, which is better than your former and with less limitation. For anything that is else worth writing Mr. Cushman can inform you. I pray write instantly for Mr. Robinson to come to you. And so praying God to bless you with all graces necessary for both this life & that to come, I rest

"Your very loving friend,

"THOMAS WESTON.

"LONDON, July 6, 1621."

Owing to the discontent existing in consequence of the alteration of the original articles of agreement, the Pilgrims had left England without signing them. A reference to this is made in the letter. Robert Cushman, who had consented to the alteration without the knowledge and approval of the Leyden company, and who had at the last moment abandoned the voyage in the "Mayflower," came in the "Fortune" as the agent of the adventurers, to look to their interests and secure the confirmation of the articles. The address delivered by him during his visit at Plymouth, from the text (1 Cor. x. 24), "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth," was simply a plea for the adventurers his principals, and on the 13th of December he again set sail in the "Fortune"

for England, bearing the subscribed articles and having a cargo of clapboards and skins worth five hundred pounds in charge. Mr. Cushman brought with him his son, a youth fourteen years of age, whom he left under the care of Governor Bradford, and who in 1649, after the death of William Brewster, became the elder of the Plymouth Church. The "Fortune" was captured by the French on her voyage home, her cargo lost, and Cushman seriously delayed in his return. He died in 1625, before he was able to become in the flesh, as he had always been in the spirit, a member of the colony.

After the accession of the passengers by the "Fortune" without supplies of their own, an account of provisions in store was taken, and it was found that on a half allowance a six months' stock was on hand. As the first contribution to their stock would be made by the next spring's fish, leaving out of the account the precarious supply of wild game, a half allowance was ordered, and the winter was passed without any arrival to increase their store. In the month of May, 1622, a boat reached them from a fishing-vessel sent out by Mr. Weston, and lying at anchor at a "place called Damarin's Cove" (near Monhegan), bringing seven additional passengers, several letters, but no supplies. The letters gave a discouraging account of affairs among the adventurers, and at the latter end of June, or the first of July, the "Charity," of one hundred tons, and the "Swan," of thirty, arrived, bringing fifty or sixty men, which Weston had sent out at "his own charge to plant for him." The vessels were bound to Virginia with other passengers, and during their absence these men, who were harbored by the Pilgrims, caused such trouble as made the return of the ships and their departure for some place within the bay of Massachusetts a matter of congratulation. Letters were also received from Mr. Weston saying, notwithstanding his protestations of abiding friendship, that he had sold out his interest as one of the adventurers and dissolved his connection with the Pilgrims. In August two other ships came into the harbor, one the "Sparrow," a fishing-vessel belonging to Weston, and the other the "Discovery," commanded by Capt. Jones, probably the master of the "Mayflower," on her way to Virginia, from which they were supplied with all necessary provisions at prices which a sharp trader in a bare market would be likely to exact.

In the winter of 1622-23, Governor Bradford went, among other places, to the Indian village called Manomet. At that time the whole territory from Barnstable, on Plymouth Bay, to Buzzard's Bay bore that name, and the Indian village was seated on the

Buzzard's Bay side. The ponds now called Half-way Ponds were in Manomet, and undoubtedly gave the name to Manomet Ponds, a name finally, when the stage-road to Sandwich passed these ponds, restricted to the present Manomet Ponds or South Plymouth, while the Half-way Ponds derived their new name from the fact that they were half-way to Sandwich. On this visit of Bradford the discovery was made of the facility with which transportation could be carried on between the bays on the two sides of the cape, which was still further narrowed by a creek on one side and a river on the other, leaving a portage of only four or five miles between. Advantage of this was taken in 1627 by erecting at Manomet a trading-house near Buzzard's Bay, at the head of boat navigation, to and from which goods brought from or sent to the Dutch at New Amsterdam were carried across the narrow strip. The present enterprise of the Cape Cod Canal is only the application of an ancient discovery to the increasing demands of a business community, and the most complete evolution of the rude methods of the earliest settlers.

In the summer of 1622 a fort was built on Burial Hill, which, according to Morton, was built "of good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements, on which their ordnance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them to do in their weakness and times of want, but the danger of the time required it, there being continual rumors of the Indians." The sachem of the Narragansetts, Canonicus, had not long before sent a messenger to the Pilgrims, bearing the skin of a rattlesnake filled with arrows, which Tisquantum interpreted as a warlike challenge. Governor Bradford, in a spirit of defiance, substituted powder and shot for the arrows and sent it back. Winslow says, in his "Relation," "Knowing our weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks, we thought it most needful to impale our town, which, with all expedition, we accomplished in the month of February, taking in the top of the hill under which our town 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." The fort was repaired and enlarged in 1630-35 and 1642, and finally in 1676, before King Philip's war, was rebuilt one hundred feet square, with palisades ten and a half feet high, and three pieces of ordnance planted within it. The material of this fort was purchased

after the war by William Harlow, and used in the construction of a dwelling-house now standing on Sandwich Street, owned by Professor Lemuel Stephens. Previous to the erection of the fort, in 1622, the Common House had doubtless been used for meetings on the Sabbath, and in 1637 the first permanent meeting-house was erected on the north side of Town Square. The precise location of this house has never been determined until the investigations of the author disclosed it in certain references contained in the records and deeds. When Governor Bradford died he seems to have been in possession of all the land on the north side of the square from what is now Main Street to School Street, the land immediately above him having been occupied by John Alden before his removal to Duxbury. After the death of the Governor the land fell into the hands of his two sons, William and Joseph Bradford, Joseph owning the upper half and William the lower. The dividing line must have been, as shown by subsequent deeds, about seventeen feet east of the lot of the Pilgrimage Church. In 1701 it was voted by the town, "that with reference to the spots of land in controversy between Major Bradford and the town, viz., that spot he sold to John Dyer and the spot of land where the old meeting-house stood, the town do quit their claim to said lands." The reference to Maj. Bradford does not decide the question, because both William and Joseph were majors, but the reference to the lot sold to John Dyer is conclusive, because the only land conveyed to him by either was a lot sold by William in 1698, near the foot of Leyden Street, described in the deed as the lot on which the old store-house formerly stood. As the Governor's house at the time the meeting-house was built stood on the corner of the square, it is demonstrated that, giving the Governor's house a lot of about fifty feet, the meeting-house must have stood between his line and a point seventeen feet easterly of the Pilgrimage Church. In testing the matter, it must be remembered that Odd-Fellows' Hall, now standing on the corner, was built ten feet or more from the old line of Main Street.

In August, 1623, the "Ann," of one hundred and forty tons, and the "Little James," of forty-four, arrived, bringing about eighty-nine passengers. No passenger-list has been preserved, but unless some died before the division of lands in 1624 the following names referred to in that division must approximate to accuracy:

Anthony Annable.

Jane Annable.

Sarah Annable.

Hannah Annable.

Edward Bangs.

Robert Bartlett.

Fear Brewster.

Patience Brewster.

Mary Buckett.	Ephraim Morton.
Edward Burcher.	George Morton, Jr.
Mrs. Burcher.	Thomas Morton, Jr.
Thomas Clarke.	Ellen Newton.
Christopher Conant.	John Oldham, and a company of nine.
Hester Cooke.	Francis Palmer.
Cuthbert Cuthbertson,	Christian Penn.
wife, and four children.	Two servants of Mr. Peirce.
Anthony Dix.	Joshua Pratt.
John Faunce.	James Rand.
Mannaseh Faunce.	Robert Rattliffe.
Goodwife Flavell.	Mrs. Rattliffe.
Edmund Flood.	Nicholas Snow.
Bridget Fuller.	Alice Southworth.
Timothy Hatherly.	Francis Sprague.
William Heard.	Mrs. Sprague and child.
Margaret Hicks and three children.	Barbara Standish.
William Hilton.	Thomas Tilden.
Mrs. Hilton.	Stephen Tracey.
William Hilton, Jr.	Triphosa Tracey, his wife.
— Hilton.	Sarah Tracey.
Edward Holman.	Ralph Wallen.
John Jenney, wife, and three children.	Joyce Wallen, his wife.
Robert Long.	Elizabeth Warren.
Experience Mitchell.	Mary Warren.
George Morton.	Ann Warren.
Patience Morton.	Sarah Warren.
Nathaniel Morton.	Elizabeth Warren.
John Morton.	Abigail Warren.
Sarah Morton.	

Of these, Patience and Fear Brewster were children of the elder; Goodwife Flavell was the wife of Thomas, who came in the "Fortune"; Bridget Fuller was the wife of Samuel, who came in the "Mayflower"; Margaret Hicks was the wife of Robert, who came in the "Fortune," and had with her three children; William Hilton brought his wife and two children; George Morton brought six children; Thomas Morton, Jr., was the son of Thomas, who came in the "Fortune"; Alice Southworth was the widow of Edward and the future wife of Governor Bradford; Barbara Standish was the future wife of Miles, her maiden name unknown; Hester Cooke was the wife of Francis, who came in the "Mayflower"; and Elizabeth Warren was the wife of Richard, one of the "Mayflower" passengers, and came with her five children. Of the whole number Bradford says that about "sixty were for the general, some of them being very useful persons and became good members to the body, and besides these there came a company that did not belong to the general body, but came on their own particular, and were to have lands assigned them and be for themselves, yet to be subject to the general government." Of these last it is probable that John Oldham and his company of nine formed a part or the whole. The passengers by these two vessels, with those of the "Mayflower" and

"Fortune," make up the list of those called first-comers.

By the terms of the contract with the adventurers, the two parties to the contract formed a joint stock company, whose lands and goods were to remain in common for seven years. The company during the seasons of 1621 and 1622 had worked together on company lands, but it was found that the want of individual responsibility was the means of producing unsatisfactory results. "So they began" in 1623 "to think how they might raise as much corn as they could and obtain a better crop than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in misery. At length after much debate of things the Governor (with the advice of the chiefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular and in that regard trust to themselves: in all other things to go on in the general way as before. And so he assigned to every family a parcel of land according to the proportion of their number for that end only for present use (but made no division for inheritance), and ranged all boys and youth under some family. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious." The result was that the harvest of 1623 was abundant, and Bradford says "instead of famine now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed to the rejoicing of the heart, of many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particular planting was well seen, for all had one way and other pretty well to bring the year about, and some of the abler sort and more industrious had to spare and sell to others, so as any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day." (Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," begun in 1630 and finished in 1650.)

The "Ann" sailed on her return voyage Sept. 10, 1623, laden with clapboards and furs, and Edward Winslow was sent in her to render accounts to the adventurers and procure such things as were thought needful for the colony. The "Little James" remained in Plymouth engaged in trading excursions until 1625, when she returned also to England. A reference by Bradford to one of her expeditions is valuable, as showing the unfounded nature of the popular belief that Brown's Island, outside of Plymouth harbor, was once an actual island. He says, "Also in her return home, at the very entrance into their own harbor, she had like to have been cast away in a storm, and was forced to cut her main mast by the board to save herself from driving on the flats that lie without called Brown's Island." During the remainder of the year the colony was more or less

disturbed by the management and conduct of Thomas Weston, who had made a settlement at Massachusetts, and by the arrival of Robert Gorges, brother of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, holding a commission from the Council of New England to be Governor-General of the country. His commission appointed for his counsel and assistance Francis West, Christopher Lovett, and the Governor of New Plymouth, and gave him authority to appoint such other persons as he should see fit. It also gave him and his assistants or any three of them, of which three he must be one, full power to do and execute what to them should seem good in all cases, whether criminal or civil. Before the close of the year, however, Gorges abandoned his office, and, in the language of Bradford, "returned for England having scarcely saluted the country in his government, not finding the state of things here to answer his quality and condition."

In March, 1623/4, Mr. Winslow returned in the "Charity," a vessel engaged in fishing, bringing with him the first cattle introduced into the colony, consisting of a bull and three heifers, and also clothing and other necessaries. He brought also the following letter from James Sherley, one of the adventurers, which will explain the condition of their affairs at that time:

"Most worthy & loving friends, your kind and loving letters I have received, and render you many thanks. It hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of our adventurers to raise a new stock for the setting forth of the ship called the Charity with men & necessaries, both for the plantation and the fishing, though accomplished with very great difficulty; in regard we have some amongst us which undoubtedly aim more at their own private ends, and the thwarting & opposing of some here and other worthy instruments of God's glory elsewhere, than at the general good and furtherance of this noble & laudable action. Yet again we have many others, and I hope the greatest part very honest Christian men, which I am persuaded their ends and intents are wholly for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ in the propagation of his gospel and hope of gaining those poor salvages to the knowledge of God. But as we have a proverb one scabbed sheep may marr a whole flock, so these malcontented persons and turbulent spirits do what in them lyeth to withdraw men's hearts from you and your friends, yea even from the general business, and yet under show and pretense of godliness and furtherance of the plantation. Whereas the quite contrary doth plainly appear, as some of the honest hearted men (tho'g of late of their faction) did make manifest at our late meeting. But what should I trouble you or myself with these restless affairs of all goodness, and I doubt will be continual disturbances of our friendly meetings & love. On Thursday, the 8th of January, we had a meeting about the articles between you and us where they would reject that which we in our late letters pressed you to grant (an addition to the time of our joint stock). And their reason which they would make known to us was, it troubled their conscience to exact longer time of you than was agreed upon at the first. But that night they were so followed and crossed of their perverse courses as they were even wearied, and offered to sell their adventures,

and some were willing to buy. But I, doubting they would raise more scandal and false reports, and so divers way do us more hurt by going off in such a fury than they could or can by continuing adventurers amongst us, would not suffer them. But on the 12th of January we had another meeting, but in the interim divers of us had talked with most of them privately, and had great combats & reasoning pro & con. But at night when we met to read the general letter we had the lovingest and friendliest meeting that ever I knew, and our greatest enemies offered to lend us fifty pounds. So I sent for a pote of wine (I would you could do the like) which we drank friendly together. Thus God can turn the hearts of men when it pleaseth him. Thus, loving friends, I heartily salute you all in the Lord, hoping ever to rest,

"Yours to my power,

"JAMES SHERLEY.

"Jan. 25, 1623/4."

Mr. Sherley was one of the adventurers who proved himself until his death a true friend of the colony. He sent over a heifer as a gift, which, with its increase, was to be held for the benefit of the poor of the town, and in honor of its first benefactor and its faithful friend Plymouth has named one of its squares "Sherley Square." The names of the other adventurers, either in 1620 or at this time, are not positively known. A list, however, has been preserved of those who formed the company Nov. 25, 1626, and who at that time subscribed a supplementary agreement with the Pilgrims. In making up from this a list of the original members it must be remembered that several names, including those of Thomas Weston, William Greene, and Edward Pickering, who had left the company, must be included, and perhaps the names of some new members be omitted. The list in 1626 was as follows:

Robert Alden.	Eliza Knight.
Emnu Althain.	John Knight.
Richard Andrews.	Myles Knowles.
Thomas Andrews.	Thomas Millsop.
Lawrence Anthony.	Thomas Mott.
Edward Bass.	Fria Newbold.
John Beauchamp.	William Pennington.
Thomas Brewer.	William Penren.
Henry Browning.	John Pocock.
William Collier.	Daniel Pointer.
Thomas Coventry.	William Quarles.
Thomas Fletcher.	John Revell.
Thomas Goffe.	Newman Rooks.
Peter Godburn.	Samuel Sharp.
Timothy Hatherly.	James Sherley.
Thomas Heath.	John Thornell.
William Hobson.	Matthew Thornhill.
Robert Holland.	Joseph Tilden.
Thomas Hudson.	Thomas Ward.
Robert Kean.	John White.
John King.	Richard Wright.

Of these, William Collier, Timothy Hatherly, John Revell, Thomas Andrews, Thomas Brewer, Henry Browning, John Knight, Samuel Sharp,

Thomas Ward, and John White probably came to New England before 1640. Timothy Hatherly came in the "Ann," and going home, again came to the Old Colony, and John Revell went back not to return. These gentlemen have been known in history as the "Merchant Adventurers." John Smith, writing in 1624, says, "The adventurers which raised the stock to begin and supply the plantation were about seventy, some gentlemen, some merchants, some handicraftsmen, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their estates and affection served. These dwelt most in London. They are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without restraint or penalty, aiming to do good and to plant religion."

Other letters were received from Robert Cushman and John Robinson, the latter full of advice and counsel, and with reference to the summary punishment inflicted by Standish on Pecksuot and other natives, of which he had been advised, he said, "Concerning the killing of these poor Indians, of which we heard at first by report and since by more certain relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any; besides, where blood has once begun to be shed, it is seldom stanch'd of a long time after. You well say they deserved it. I grant it; but upon what provocations and invitements by those heathenish Christians? (Weston's men.) Besides, you being no magistrates over them, were to consider, not what they deserved, but what you were by necessity constrained to inflict." Still other letters represented the unfavorable reports which certain discontented hangers-on of the colony had made, which at Mr. Sherley's suggestion were answered in full. Mr. John Lyford had been sent in the "Charity" by a part of the adventurers to act as pastor, but he proved unsatisfactory, and was soon sent back. The "Charity" also brought a fishing-patent for Cape Ann, issued by Lord Sheffield, a member of the Council for New England, to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow and their associates, which, however, proved of little value, and was soon abandoned. It was dated Jan. 1, 1623/4, and the original parchment has been within a few years discovered and published in *fac-simile* under the editorial care of Mr. John Wingate Thornton.

In the spring of 1624, before the planting season began, a general desire was expressed for a more permanent division of land. Bradford says that "they began now highly to prize corn as more precious than silver, and those that had some to spare began to trade, one with another, for small things, by the quart, pottle, and peck; for money they had none,

and if any had, corn was preferred before it. That they might therefore increase their tillage to better advantage, they made suit to the Governor to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lot, for by that means that which the more industrious had brought into good culture (by such pains) one year, came to leave it the next, and often another might enjoy it; so as the dressing of their lands were the more slighted over and to less profit. Which being well considered, their request was granted. And to every person was given one acre of land to them and theirs as near the town as might be, and they had no more till the seven years were expired." The following allotments were accordingly made. Sixty-nine acres were granted to those who came in the "Mayflower." Twenty-nine of these situated south of Town Bank, between Sandwich Street and the harbor, and extending south nearly if not quite as far as Fremont Street, were granted to

Robert Cushman.....	1	Isaac Allerton.....	7
William Brewster.....	6	John Billington.....	3
William Bradford.....	3	Peter Brown.....	1
Richard Gardiner.....	1	Samuel Fuller.....	2
Francis Cooke.....	2	Joseph Rogers.....	2
George Soule.....	1		

Sixteen acres, including what is now Watson's Hill, were granted to

John Howland.....	4	Edward Doty.....	1
Stephen Hopkins.....	6	Gilbert Winslow.....	1
Edward Leister	1	Samuel Fuller, Jr.....	3

Five acres, between Burial Hill and Murdock's Pond, were granted to

William White.....	5
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Though Mr. White had been dead three years, and his children received their acres with Edward Winslow, whom their mother had married, it is probable that under the articles of agreement he had contributed a sufficient amount of money to entitle his family to the allotted acres.

Nineteen acres between Court Street and the harbor, and bounded on the north by Winslow Square (Railroad Park), were granted to

Edward Winslow.....	4	John Alden.....	2
Richard Warren.....	2	Mary Chilton.....	1
John Goodman	1	Miles Standish.....	2
John Crackstone.....	1	Francis Eaton.....	4
Henry Sampson.....	1	Humilitie Cooper.....	1

In this allotment it is to be noticed that Goodman had been dead three years according to Bradford, and that Standish received two acres, though his first wife died in 1621, and his second wife, Barbara, received an allotment in her own name. With regard to Standish, it is probable that the rule applied to White governed his case, and perhaps that of Goodman also, though Goodman had no family. It is more probable

that the record of the death of Goodman by Bradford before the division of land, is an error.

Thirty-three acres were granted to those who came in the "Fortune." Six of these immediately north of Winslow Square, on the east side of Court Street, were granted to

William Hilton.....	1	John Adams.....	1
John Winslow.....	1	William Tench.....	1
William Conner.....	1	John Cannon.....	1

Eight acres immediately north of the Woolen-Mill Brook were granted to

Hugh Statie.....	1	Austin Nicolas.....	1
William Beale.....	1	William Foord.....	4
Thomas Cushman.....	1		

Nineteen acres, extending from the First or Shaw's Brook to the Woolen-Mill Brook, or the Second Brook, were granted to

William Wright.....	1	Clement Briggs.....	1
William Pitt.....	1	James Steward.....	1
Robert Hickes.....	1	William Palmer.....	2
Thomas Prencie.....	1	Jonathan Brewster.....	1
Stephen Dean.....	1	Bennet Morgan.....	1
Moses Simonson.....	1	Thomas Flavell.....	2
Philip De la Noye.....	1	Thomas Morton.....	1
Edward Bompasse.....	1	William Bassite.....	2

Ninety-five acres were granted to those who came in the "Ann" and "Little James." Forty-five acres lying north of the Woolen-Mill or Second Brook, northerly across the Third or Cold Spring Brook, were granted to

James Rand.....	1	Thomas Morton, Jr.....	1
Francis Sprague.....	3	William Hilton, for wife and two children.....	3
Edmund Flood.....	1	Alice Bradford.....	1
Christopher Conant.....	1	Robert Hickes, for wife and three children.....	4
Francis Cooke.....	4	Bridget Fuller.....	1
Edward Burcher.....	2	Ellen Newton.....	1
John Jenney.....	5	Patience Brewster.....	1
Goodwife Flavell.....	1	Fear Brewster.....	1
Mannasseh Faunce.....	1	Robert Long.....	1
John Faunes.....	1	William Heard.....	1
George Morton.....	7	Barbara Standish.....	1
Experiance Mitchell.....	1		
Christian Penn.....	1		

Fifty acres on both sides of Wellingsly Brook, and so on south, were granted to

Mary Buckett.....	1	Two servants of Mr. Peirce..	2
John Oldham & Co.....	10	Ralph Wallen.....	2
Cuthbert Cuthbertson.....	6	Stephen Tracey.....	3
Anthony Annable.....	4	Thomas Clarke.....	1
Thomas Tilden.....	3	Robert Bartlett.....	1
Richard Warren.....	5	Edward Holman.....	1
Edward Bangs.....	4	Francis Palmer.....	1
Robert Rattliffe.....	2	Joshua Pratt.....	1
Nicolas Snow.....	1	Phenehas Pratt.....	1
Anthony Dix.....	1		

The precise situation of many of the lots included in the above division, and the names of their subsequent owners and occupants, may be found in "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth." These acres, one hundred and ninety-seven in all, had already been cleared by the Indians, and planted by them perhaps for centuries. They were confined within a strip of

land running less than two miles and a half along the shore, and not more than a quarter of a mile wide in the widest part. It was doubtless their proximity to running streams, in which herring abounded and furnished the best means of enriching the soil, which had probably produced a more extensive clearing than could be found elsewhere on the coast within the same limits. It is quite possible that the comparative richness of this strip to-day, bounded as it is by the more sandy soil of later clearings, is due to the long and generous culture which it received from the Patuxet tribe.

In March, 1624, William Bradford was again chosen Governor. From 1621, when he succeeded Governor Carver, he was chosen annually until his death in 1657, with the exception of the years 1633, 1636, and 1644, when Edward Winslow was chosen, and the years 1634 and 1638, when Thomas Prencie was Governor. Up to this time Isaac Allerton was the single assistant, but this year, on the representations of the Governor that the duties of his office had increased with the swelling colony, four additional assistants were chosen. He advised, also, rotation in office and the substitution of another for himself. He said, "If it was an honor or benefit it was fit others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burthen (as doubtless it was) it was but equal others should help to bear it." No record exists showing who besides Mr. Allerton acted as assistants until 1633, when, at the election of Governor Winslow, William Bradford, Miles Standish, John Howland, John Alden, John Done, Stephen Hopkins, and William Gibson were chosen. The earliest elections were held on the 23d of March, the day before the last in the year under the old style, at a later time in January until 1636, when it was enacted that on the first Tuesday in March annually "a Governor and seven assistants be chosen to rule and govern the said plantation within the said limits for one whole year and no more; and this election to be made only by the freemen according to the former customs. And that then also constables for each part, and other inferior officers be also chosen."

At this time the colony, according to John Smith, consisted of "one hundred and eighty persons, some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry and thirty-two dwelling-houses." He adds, "The place it seems is healthful, for in these last three years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, there hath not one died of the first planters." In the latter part of the year 1624 Winslow sailed again for England in the "Little James," and returned in 1625. On his return he reported loss of confidence

in the enterprise on the part of the adventurers, and the debt of the colony to be fourteen hundred pounds. In the year of his return Standish, taking advantage of the return of a fishing vessel, went to England "to obtain a supply of goods and learn what terms could be made for a release." In 1626 he returned with the news of the death of both Robinson and Cushman, that of the former at Leyden, March 1, 1625, and reported that he had hired one hundred and fifty pounds at fifty per cent., which he had expended in the most needful commodities. In the same year Mr. Allerton went also to England with orders "to make a composition with the adventurers upon as good terms as he could (unto which some way had been made the year before by Capt. Standish), but yet enjoined him not to conclude absolutely till they knew the terms and had well considered of them; but to drive it to as good an issue as he could and refer the conclusion to them." He returned in 1627, having hired two hundred pounds at thirty per cent., and concluded the following agreement with the adventurers, subject to the approval of the colony :

"To all Christian people, greeting, &c. Whereas at a meeting the 26th of October last past diverse and sundrie persons whose names to the one part of these presents are subscribed in a schedule hereunto annexed, Adventurers to New Plimouth in New England in America were contented and agreed in consideration of the sume of one thousand and eight hundred pounds sterlinc to be paid (in manner and forme following) to sell and make sale of all and every the stocks, shares, lands, merchandise, and chattels whatsoever to the said adventurers and others, their fellow-adventurers to New Plimouth aforesaid any way accruing or belonging to the generalitie of the said adventurers aforesaid; as well by reason of any sume or sumes of money or merchandise at any time heretofore advertised or disbursed by them or otherwise howsoever; for the better expression and setting forth of which said agreements the parties to these presents subscribing doe for themselves severally and as much as in them is, grant, bargain, alien, sell, and transfere all & every the said shares, goods, lands, merchandise, and chattels to them belonging as aforesaid unto Isaack Allerton, one of the planters resident at Plimouth aforesaid assigned and sent over as agent for the rest of the planters there and to such other planters at Plimouth aforesaid as the said Isaack, his heirs and assignes at his or their arrivall shall by writing or otherwise thinke fitte to joyne or partake in the premises, their heirs & assignes in as large, ample, and beneficiale manner and forme to all intents and purposes as the said subscribing adventurers here could or may doe or performe. All which stocks, shares, lands, &c., to the said adventurers in severallitie allotted, apportioned or any way belonging the said adventurers doe warrant & defend unto the said Isaack Allerton, his heirs & assignes, against them their heirs and assignes, by these presents. And therefore the said Isaack Allerton doth for him, his heirs and assignes, covenant, promise, and grant too and with the adventurers whose names are hereunto subscribed, their heirs &c., well & truly to pay or cause to be payed unto the said adventurers, or five of them which were at the meeting aforesaid nominated & deputed, viz., John Pocock, John Beauchamp, Robert Keane, Edward Basse, and James Sherley, merchants, their heirs, &c.,

too and for the use of the generalitie of them the sume of eighteen hundred pounds of lawfull money of England at the place appoynted for the receipts of money on the west side of the Royall Exchaing in London by two hundred pounds yearly and every year on the feast of St. Micheall, the first painment to be made Anno 1628, &c. Also, the said Isaack is to endeavor to procure & obtaine from the planters of New Plimouth aforesaid securitie by severall obligations or writings obligatory to make painment of the said sume of eighteen hundred pounds in forme aforesaid, according to the true meaning of these presents. In testimony whereof to this part of these presents remaining with the said Isaack Allerton, the said subscribing adventurers have sett to their names, &c. And to the other part remaining with the said adventurers the said Isaack Allerton hath subscribed his name the 15 November, Anno 1626, in the 2 year of his Majestie's raigne."

After a prolonged consultation it was decided to approve the agreement, and the debt of eighteen hundred pounds to the adventurers, together with a debt of six hundred more to other parties, was assumed by William Bradford, Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, John Howland, John Alden, and Thomas Prenc, together with James Sherley, John Beauchamp, Richard Andrews, and Timothy Hatherly, four of their friends among the adventurers. By the following instrument the trading rights of the colony were assigned to these gentlemen as security for their assumption of the debt :

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENTS betweene the collony of New Plimoth of the one partie and William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, Isaack Allerton, &c., on the other partie, and such others as they shall think good to take as partners and undertakers with them concerning the trade for beaver and other furs and commodities, &c.; made July, 1627.

"First, it is agreeed and covenanted betweente the said parties that the aforesaid William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, and Isaack Allerton, &c., have undertaken, and doe by these presents covenant and agree to pay, discharge, and acquite the said collony of all the debtes both due for the purchase or any other belonging to them at the day of the date of these presents.

"Secondly, the above said parties are to have and freely joye the pinass latly built, the boat at Manamett, and the shallop called the Bass-boat, with all other impliments to them belonging that is in the store of the said company; with all the whole stock of furs, bells, beads, corne, wampumpeak, hatchetts, knives, &c., that is now in the store or any way due unto the same uppon accounte.

"Thirdly, That the above said parties have the whole trade to themselves, their heires and assignes, with all the privileges thereof as the said collonie doth now or may use the same for six full years, to begin the last of September next insuing.

"Fourthly, In furder consideration of the discharge of the said debtes, every severall purchaser doth promise and covenant yearly to pay or cause to be payed to the above said parties during the full terme of the said six yeares three bushells of corne or six pounds of tobacco, at the undertaker's choyse.

"Fifthly, The said undertakers shall dureing the aforesaid terme bestow fifty pounds per annum in hose and shooe, to be brought over for the collonie's use, to be sold unto them for corne at six shillings per bushell.

"Sixthly, That at the end of the said terme of six yeares the

whole trade shall returne to the use and benefite of the said collonie as before.

" Lastly, if the aforesaid undertakers, after they have acquainted their friends in England with the covenants, doe (upon the first returne) resolve to performe them, and undertake to discharge the debtes of the said collony according to the true meaning and intente of these presentes, then they are (upon such notice given) to stand in full force; otherwise all things to remaine as formerly they were, and a true accounte to be given to the said collonie of the disposing of all things according to the former order."

Thus was the connection of the colony with the merchant adventurers dissolved. The guarantors of the debt at once took steps to develop the trade whose monopoly they had secured; and after familiarizing the inland tribes with the use of wampum, which they introduced as a circulating medium, their operations in furs and other commodities, which they shipped to England, became sufficiently large to enable them to liquidate the debt within the specified time. The wampum used by the Pilgrims, specimens of which are preserved in Pilgrim Hall, was made from the purple and white parts of the quaw-haug shell, round, about a sixteenth of an inch thick, and a little more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, with a hole in the middle for stringing on strings of bark or hemp, the purple and white alternating on the string, the purple of double the value of the white, and the whole rated at five shillings per fathom. On such a currency the foundation of the commercial prosperity of New England was laid. Without it, it is possible that the effort at colonization would have been a failure. It is difficult to imagine the desperate condition from which at this period the colony succeeded in extricating itself. Less than three hundred strong, surrounded by savages and the forest, sheltered by thatched huts from the winter's cold, insufficiently clothed and fed, looking out from their windows on the graves of husbands and wives and parents and children, borrowing money in England at an interest of fifty per cent., and burdened with a debt larger per capita than our national debt at the close of the war; at this critical period, the very turning-point in their enterprise, when merely worldly men without trust in God would have faltered, and merely religious men without trust in themselves would have abandoned themselves to prayer, they brought into play those practical traits of character which their life in Holland had developed, and consummated an act which will ever be considered one of the miracles of history. From this time forth the colonization of New England was an assured success. The cement in which its foundations were laid had hardened, and the safety of the structure to be reared was secured.

The connection of the Pilgrims with the adventurers, though one of necessity, was interwoven with annoyances and embarrassments. They were a body of men far from homogeneous in their character, entering into the enterprise with various purposes and motives. Some were men of religious instincts, hoping to aid in the conversion of the heathen tribes of the New World, and some were speculators, eager to secure large profits from what they believed to be a good investment. Of the men religiously inclined not all, nor a majority, were in sympathy with the Pilgrims. Only a few occupied the advanced ground of separatism on which the colonists stood; most of them were still adherents to the church, hoping while they converted the heathen to exert a restraining influence on the schismatic movements of the Pilgrims themselves. To the influence of the latter was undoubtedly due the effort to keep Robinson separated from his departed flock, and the attempt to substitute pastoral leaders more conservative than him to guide the footsteps of the growing colony. Indeed, to them were due, with the exception of the feeble and unsuccessful movement on the part of the Council for New England to make Robert Gorges Governor, all the obstacles emanating from England, which until the latest days of the colony the Pilgrims were obliged to encounter. King James, under whose reign their enterprise had been undertaken, had died without even a recognition of the colony; Charles had come to the throne and gone to the block almost in ignorance of his extending empire across the seas; while Cromwell, a Puritan himself, took Winslow, a leading Pilgrim, into his confidence and service and imposed on him duties of responsibility and trust. There was still another class, however, among the adventurers, neither religious devotees nor speculators, composed of men who cared as little for the conversion of the heathen as for the inordinate profits of trade,—who probably thought little of the purification of the forms of the church, or of their abandonment, or even of their importance and value,—men undoubtedly of large means, but generous hearts, such as are seen to-day in our own communities combining all the qualities of broad, liberal, honest, square-dealing, sympathetic, manly merchants,—and this was the class, represented by Sherley and Hatherly and Beauchamp, which when once embarked in the scheme of colonization discovered the quality of the men they were assisting, and through evil and through good report adhered to their cause, and looked upon the gain to a noble body of self-sacrificing men as a satisfactory complement to what was a loss to themselves. Whatever may be said of the adventurers and their dealings, it must be



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS,

finally acknowledged that their connection with the Pilgrims proved the bridge of safety across which civilization made a successful march from the Old to the New World.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF THE COLONY—TOWN GOVERNMENT—SECOND PATENT—DEATH OF BREWSTER.

BEFORE proceeding further with a history of the affairs of the Old Colony, it may be well to allude to several published works to which reference has been made in these pages. The first is that called Mourt's "Relation." It was written somewhat in the form of a journal by two or more persons in Plymouth, and contains a diary of events from the arrival of the "Mayflower" at Cape Cod, Nov. 9, 1620, to the return of the "Fortune," Dec. 11, 1621. It has long been an accepted theory that Bradford and Winslow were the authors, and the "Relation" has often been called Bradford and Winslow's "Journal." It contains an address to the reader signed G. Mourt, in which he says, "These 'Relations' coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not amiss to make them more general." The "Relations" being anonymous, it was natural that they should have taken their name from the editor and been called Mourt's "Relation." Dr. Young was the first to suggest the theory that Mourt was an abbreviated form of Mourton or Morton, and that George Morton, who came to Plymouth in the "Ann," in 1623, is the only person to whom the initials and the words in the opening address ("as myself then much desired and shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will the putting to of my shoulders in this hopeful business") will apply. Following the address is a letter "to his much respected friend J. P.," signed R. G. The recipient of the letter was undoubtedly John Peirce, as antiquarian students generally suppose, but it is not easy to adopt the theory of Young, Dexter, and others, that the letter G was a misprint for C, and that Robert Cushman was the author. It must be remembered that Cushman came to Plymouth in the "Fortune," arriving Nov. 9, 1621, and sailed in her on his return on the 11th of the next month. As Cushman was a stranger in the colony and a passenger in the vessel which carried the "Relation" to England, the letter of which the following is a copy bears, as the reader will see, internal evidence throwing serious doubts on this theory:

"Good FRIEND :

"As we cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our native country,—for that we had the happiness to be possessed of the comforts we receive by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthful, and most beautiful parts of the world,—so must we acknowledge the same blessing to be multiplied upon our whole company, for that we obtained the honor to receive allowance and approbation of our free possession, and enjoying thereof under the authority of those thrice honored persons, The President and Council for the affairs of New England, by whose bounty and grace in that behalf all of us are tied to dedicate our best service unto them, as those under his Majesty that we owe it unto, whose noble endeavors in these their actions the God of heaven and earth multiply to his glory and their own eternal comforts.

"As for this poor Relation, I pray you to accept it as being writ by the several actors themselves after their plain and rude manner. Therefore, doubt nothing of the truth thereof. If it be defective in anything it is their ignorance that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satisfy those that are well affected to the business, it is all I care for. Sure I am the place we're in and the hopes that are apparent cannot but suffice any that will not desire more than enough. Neither is there want of aught among us but company to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was writing this I had almost forgot that I had but the recommendation of the Relation itself to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, save that I shall always rest

"Yours in the way of friendship, R. G.

"FROM PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND."

It is not only clear that such a letter must have been written by one who was one of the original company in the "Mayflower," and who still remained in Plymouth after the departure of the "Fortune," but no one besides one of the writers would have spoken of "this poor Relation," or attributed its defects to the ignorance of those who were better acquainted with "planting than writing." It is a serious charge against Cushman to declare him to be author of such a statement against Winslow, whose use of language in the "Relation" itself shows him to have been a man of education and culture. There was a Richard Gardiner among the "Mayflower" passengers who was living at the time of the division of lands in 1624, and, notwithstanding the statement of Bradford in his history, made, perhaps erroneously, twenty-five years afterwards, that he became a seaman and returned to England, it is more probable that he was the author than Cushman. If a misprint is within the limits of possibility, it would be more likely to point to Richard Clarke, another of the "Mayflower" passengers, as the unknown writer.

The authorship of the above letter is important, because, if not attributable to Cushman, the writer must have shared with Bradford and Winslow the authorship of the "Relation" itself. That part of the work called a "Journal of the beginnings and

proceedings of the English Plantation," is attributed to Bradford, and probably correctly so. With as undoubted correctness, the second paper in the "Relation," concerning the journey to "Packanokick," is attributed to Winslow. It betrays a familiarity with the use of language and a facility of expression which are found in no other Pilgrim writer. The third and fourth papers, concerning expeditions to Nauset and Nemasket, have the characteristics of neither Bradford nor Winslow, and may, with some considerable reason, be attributed to the unknown writer. Again, in the fifth paper, concerning a voyage to Massachusetts, the style of Winslow is seen, and the claim that he was its author is undoubtedly correct. The two remaining papers are signed with the initials "E. W." to one, and "R. C." to the other, and were written by Winslow and Cushman.

The "Relation" was first printed in London, by John Bellamie, in 1622, and enjoys the distinction of being the corner-stone of American literature. Surely no claim can, with justice, be made in behalf of the writers in Virginia, all of whom, whose writings were printed in England before this period, were merely temporary sojourners in the land. Until 1841, when Dr. Young reproduced it in his "Chronicles," it was never reprinted in a complete form. In 1865 the first reissue was made under the intelligent and careful editorship of Henry Martyn Dexter, in which, as he says in his introduction, "the endeavor has been made to follow exactly the first copies in style of type, paging, and identity of embellishment, in all of which particulars neither pains nor expense has been spared to render it worthy of the confidence and favor of connoisseurs. Every caption, initial letter, and ornamental heading has been engraved in *fac-simile* from the original, and the only defect in the reproduction is, that the copy—thanks to the superior capabilities of the modern press—is a great deal more splendid than its modest prototype ever was in all the glory of its freshness."

Cushman's sermon, already alluded to, was delivered in the Common House during his short visit in Plymouth, and was also printed in London in 1622. Original copies of this sermon are in existence, as well as of Mourt's "Relation." Mr. Cushman was not a clergyman, and the title of sermon, according to our acceptance of the word, is incorrectly applied to it, though it was delivered from the text, 1 Cor. x. 24: "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." Dr. Young states that he found in a tract, printed at London, 1644, entitled "A brief Narrative" of some church courses in New England, the following allusion to this sermon: "There is a

book printed called A Sermon preached at Plymouth, in New England, which, as I am certified, was made there by a comber of wool."

In 1624 a book entitled "Good News from New England," written by Edward Winslow, was published in London, "showing the wondrous providence and goodness of God" in the preservation and continuance of the Plymouth Plantation, "together with a Relation of such religious and civil laws and customs as are in practice among the Indians, as also what commodities are there to be raised for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said country." In 1646, "Hypocrasie Unmasked," also written by Edward Winslow, was published in London, containing a relation of the proceedings against Samuel Gorton, together with an answer to the slanders and falsehoods promulgated by him, "whereunto is added a brief Relation of the true grounds or cause of the first planting of New England."

The "History of Plymouth Plantation," by William Bradford, has had an eventful career. After having remained in manuscript for more than two hundred years, it was first printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1856, under the editorial care of Charles Deane. The history covers a period from the formation of the Pilgrim Church to 1646. After the death of Bradford, Nathaniel Morton had access to, and used, the manuscript in the preparation of "New England's Memorial," and it was subsequently made use of by Prince and Hutchinson, in 1736 and 1767 respectively. In 1705 it was in the possession of Maj. John Bradford, a grandson of the Governor, and was borrowed by Thomas Prince, while preparing his "Annals," and deposited by him in the New England Library in the tower of the Old South Church. From that time nothing was known of the missing manuscript until 1855, when John S. Barry, at that time engaged in writing a history of Massachusetts, borrowed from a friend a small volume entitled "A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America," in which he found passages bearing the marks of Bradford's style, which the author credited to a manuscript history of the Plantation of Plymouth, in the Fulham Library. Upon application to the Bishop of Oxford by Joseph Hunter, of London, at the request of Mr. Deane, the Fulham manuscript was found to be the long-lost history, and an exact copy was at once secured by the Historical Society for publication. How it found its resting-place in the English library no one knows. It is thought probable, however, that during the siege of Boston, when the Old South Church was used as a riding-school by the British, it was abstracted, and falling into the hands of some

one who appreciated its value, was saved from the destruction to which much other material in the library was doomed.

The "New England's Memorial," by Nathaniel Morton, was published in Cambridge, in 1669, by Samuel Greene and Marmaduke Johnson. It contains a history of the Plymouth Colony to near the date of its publication. The following extracts from the Old Colony Records are interesting as showing the part taken by the colony in the publication of this valuable work. At the court held on the 5th of March, 1667, it was ordered "that whereas a certain Indian appertaining to our jurisdiction is now in hold att Boston for matter of fact, and that there is probabilitie of a tender of some land for his ransome from being sent to Barbadoes, that in case the said land be tendered to acceptance that it shall be improved and expended for the defraying of the charge of the printing of the booke intitled 'New England's Memorial.' " On the 3d of June, 1668, it was ordered "that twenty pounds be improved by the Treasurer for and towards the printing of the booke intitled 'New England's Memorial,' and it was likewise recommended to the several towns of the jurisdiction by their deputies to make a free and voluntary contribution in money for and towards the procuring of paper for the printing of said booke." On the 7th of July, 1668, it was ordered "that with reference to the printing of the booke intitled 'New England's Memorial,' the Treasurer indent with the printer for the printing thereof; and to improve that which is or shall be contributed thereunto with the sume of twenty pounds ordered by the Court to that end, and the sume of five pouuds more if he shall see cause, the said twenty-five pounds to be out of the countreyes stock; and to indent with Mr. Green to print it if he will do it as cheap as the other, and for the number of copyes, to do as he shall see cause." And on the 3d of July, 1669, it was ordered "that the Treasurer, in the behalf of the countrey, is to make good a barrel of merchantable beefe to Mr. Green, the printer, att Cambridge, which is to satisfy what is behind unpaid for and towards the printing of the book called 'New England's Memorial,' which barrel of bife is something more than is due by bargain, but the Court is willing to allow it in consideration of his complaint of a hard bargaine about the printing of the book aforesaid." A second edition was published in Boston, in 1721, by Nicholas Boone, to which was added a supplement by Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth. In 1772 a third edition was published in Newport by Solomon Southwick, and about 1820 a fourth edition, with the supplement by Cotton, by Allen Danforth, of Plymouth. In 1826

a fifth edition was published under the editorial care of John Davis, who added copious notes of great interest and value. Nathaniel Morton was the son of George Morton, the presumed editor of Mourt's "Relation," who came to Plymouth in the "Ann," in 1623, bringing, with his other children, his son Nathaniel, then ten years of age. He was the secretary of the colony from 1645 to 1685, the year of his death, and also clerk of the town of Plymouth. The records and papers relating to the colony and town are full of his writing, and bear testimony which his memorial reinforces and confirms to his intelligence, fidelity, and usefulness.

These books, together with here and there a published letter, tract, pamphlet, or sermon, constitute the literature of the Old Colony up to the time of the union with Massachusetts in 1692. No other evidence is needed to show the intelligence and culture of a community than that found in its demand for intellectual effort and its ability to furnish the men to supply it. No other colony before or since can furnish so complete and exhaustive a record of its acts and events as that of the Old Colony, in which the fate of every man, woman, and child is accounted for,—a record which neither cold, nor hunger, nor sickness, nor sorrow over the dead could silence or even interrupt.

On the 22d of May, 1627, it was "concluded by the whole company that the cattle which were the companies, to wit, the cows & the goats, should be equally divided by lot to all the psons of the same company, and so kept until the expiration of ten years after the date above written. That the old stock with half the increase should remain for common use, to be divided at the end of the said term or otherwise as occasion falleth out, and the other half to be their own forever."

"1. The first lot fell to Francis Cooke and his company joined to him, his wife,

Hester Cooke.

To this lot fell the least of

the 4 black Heifers which came on the Jacob and two she-goats.

2. John Cooke.

3. Jacob Cooke.

4. Jane Cooke.

5. Hester Cooke.

6. Hester Cooke.

7. Mary Cooke.

8. Moses Simonson.

9. Philip Delanoy.

10. Experience Mitchell.

11. John Faunce.

12. Joshua Pratt.

13. Phineas Pratt.

"2. The second lot fell to Mr. Isaac Allerton & his company joined to him, his wife,

Fear Allerton.

To this lot fell the great cow

which came in the Ann, to

4. Remember Allerton. which they must keep the

5. Mary Allerton.	lesser of the two steers and two she-goats.	" 7. The seventh lot fell to Stephen Hopkins and his company joined to him, his wife, Elizabeth Hopkins.
6. Sarah Allerton.		To this lot fell a black wean-
7. Cuthbert Cuthbertson.		ing calf, to which was added
8. Sarah Cuthbertson.		the calf of the year to come of
9. Samuel Cuthbertson.		the black cow which fell to
10. Mary Priest.		John Shaw and his company,
11. Sarah Priest.		which proving a Bull, they
12. Edward Bompasse.		were to keep it ungelt five
13. John Crackstone.		years for common use, and
" 3. The third lot fell to Capt. Standish and his company joined to him, his wife,		after to make their best of it.
2. Barbara Standish.	To this lot fell the red cow	Nothing belongeth of these
3. Charles Standish.	which belongeth to the poor of	two for the company of the
4. Alexander Standish.	the colony, to which they must	first stock, but only half the
5. John Standish.	keep her calf of this year,	increase. To this lot there
6. Edward Winslow.	being a Bull, for the company.	fell two she-goats, which goats
7. Susanna Winslow.	Also to this lot came two she-	they possess on the like terms
8. Edward Winslow, Jr.	goats.	which others do their cattle.
9. John Winslow.	(This was the cow presented	" 8. The eighth lot fell to Samuel Fuller and his company
10. Resolved White.	to the colony by James Sher-	joined to him, his wife,
11. Peregrine White.	ley.)	2. Bridget Fuller.
12. Abraham Peirce.		3. Samuel Fuller, Jr.
13. Thomas Clarke.		4. Peter Brown.
" 4. The fourth lot fell to John Howland & his company joined to him, his wife,		5. Martha Brown.
2. Elizabeth Howland.	To this lot fell one of the	6. Mary Brown.
3. John Howland, Jr.	four heifers which came in the	7. John Ford.
4. Desire Howland.	Jacob, called Raghorn.	8. Martha Ford.
5. William Wright.		9. Anthony Annable.
6. Thomas Morton, Jr.		10. Jane Annable.
7. John Alden.		11. Sarah Annable.
8. Priscilla Alden.		12. Hannah Annable.
9. Elizabeth Alden.		13. Damaris Hopkins.
10. Clement Briggs.		" 9. The ninth lot fell to Richard Warren and his company
11. Edward Dalton.		joined with him, his wife,
12. Edward Holman.		2. Elizabeth Warren.
13. John Alden.		3. Nathaniel Warren.
" 5. The fifth lot fell to Mr. William Brewster and his company joined to him.		4. Joseph Warren.
2. Love Brewster.	To this lot fell one of the	5. Mary Warren.
3. Wrestling Brewster.	four heifers which came in the	6. Anna Warren.
4. Richard More.	Jacob, called the blind Heifer,	7. Sarah Warren.
5. Henry Samson.	and two she-goats.	8. Elizabeth Warren.
6. Jonathan Brewster.		9. Abigail Warren.
7. Lucretia Brewster.		10. John Billington.
8. William Brewster.		11. George Soule.
9. Mary Brewster.		12. Mary Soule.
10. Thomas Prence.		13. Zachariah Soule.
11. Patience Prence.		" 10. The tenth lot fell to Francis Eaton and those joined
12. Rebecca Prence.		with him, his wife,
13. Humilitie Cooper.		2. Christian Eaton.
" 6. The sixth lot fell to John Shaw and his company joined		3. Samuel Eaton.
1. To him.	To this lot fell the lesser of	4. Rachel Eaton.
2. John Adams.	the black cows which came at	5. Stephen Tracie.
3. Elinor Adams.	first in the Ann, with which	6. Triphosa Tracie.
4. James Adams.	they must keep the biggest of	7. Sarah Tracie.
5. John Winslow.	the two steers. Also to this	8. Rebecca Tracie.
6. Mary Winslow.	lot was two she-goats.	9. Ralph Wallen.
7. William Bassett.		10. Joyce Wallen.
8. Elizabeth Bassett.		11. Sarah Morton.
9. William Bassett, Jr.		12. Robert Bartlett.
10. Elizabeth Bassett.		13. Thomas Prence.
11. Francis Sprague.		" 11. The eleventh lot fell to Governor Mr. William Bradford and those with him, to wit: his wife,
12. Anna Sprague.		2. Alice Bradford.
13. Mercy Sprague.		3. William Bradford, Jr.

- 6. Thomas Cushman.
- 7. William Latham.
- 8. Manassah Kempton.
- 9. Julian Kempton.
- 10. Nathaniel Morton.
- 11. John Morton.
- 12. Ephraim Morton.
- 13. Patience Morton.

"12. The twelfth lot fell to John Jenney and his company joined to him, his wife,

- 2. Sarah Jenney.
- 3. Samuel Jenney.
- 4. Abigail Jenney.
- 5. Sarah Jenney.
- 6. Robert Hickes.
- 7. Margaret Hickes.
- 8. Samuel Hickes.
- 9. Ephraim Hickes.
- 10. Lydia Hickes.
- 11. Phebe Hickes.
- 12. Stephen Deane.
- 13. Edward Bangs.

Note.—It is probable that the "Ann" mentioned in this division should be the "Charity." Bradford himself, in whose handwriting the record of the division was made, says that Edward Winslow brought with him from England three heifers and a bull, "the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land." The "Ann" came in 1623, and the "Charity" in 1624. Either the statement of Bradford in his history or that in his record is incorrect.

On the 3d of January, 1627/8, "it was agreed, in a full court about division of lands as followeth :

"Imp^r That the first division of the acres should stand and continue, and continue firm according to the former division made unto the possessors thereof and to their heirs forever, free liberty being reserved for all to get fire-wood thereon, but the timber trees were excepted for the owners of the ground." This was a mere confirmation by the General Court of the division made by the Governor in 1624. It was also agreed "that the second division should consist of twenty acres to every person, and to contain five in breadth and four in length, and so accordingly to be divided by lot to every one which was to have a share therein, the ground to be judged sufficient before the lots were drawn, and the rest to be left to common use; this being done that for our better subsistence and convenience those grounds which were nearest the town in whose lot soever they fall shall be used by the whole for the space of four years from the date hereof, viz., first, that the right owner make choice of twice that quantity he shall or may use within the said term, and then to take to him such neighbors as shall have need and he think fit; but if they cannot agree then the Governor and Council may appoint as they think meet, provided that the woods be ordered for felling and lopping according as the owner shall appoint, for neither fire-wood nor other timber, either for building

brought over in the Ann and two she-goats.

To this lot fell the great white-backed cow which was brought over with the first in the Ann, to which cow the keeping of the Bull was joined for these persons to provide for; here also two she-goats.

or fencing, or any other use is to be felled or carried off of any of these without the owner's leave & license, but is to preserve them to his best advantage." William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Howland, Francis Cooke, Joshua Pratt, and Edward Bangs were chosen a committee to make the division. It was also agreed that fowling, fishing, and hunting should be free; that the old pathways be still allowed, and that every man be allowed a convenient way to the water wheresoever the lot fall.

At an earlier day, on the 17th of December, 1623, it was ordained by the court then held "that all criminal facts, and also all matters of trespass and debts between man and man should be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men to be impaneled by authority in form of a jury upon their oaths." It was also decreed by the same court, on the 29th of March, 1626, "that no man shall sell or transport any manner of works as frames for houses, planks, boards, shipping, shallop, boats, canoes, or whatsoever may tend to the destruction of timber, without the consent" of the Governor and Council. It was further decreed at the same court that no handicraftsmen, as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, joiners, smiths, or sawyers, shall use their trades at home or abroad for any strangers or foreigners till such time as the necessity of the colony be served, and that no corn, beans, or peas, be transported or sold out of the colony without the approval of the Governor and Council. On the 6th of January, 1627, "it was agreed that from henceforward no dwelling-house was to be covered with any kind of thatch, as straw, reed, etc., but with either board, pale, or the like, to wit, of all that were to be new built in the town."

These decrees, and orders and laws, together with certain transfers of lands and shares in cattle, make up all the entries in the Colony Records before the issue of the new patent from the President and Council for New England, dated Jan. 13, 1629. In that year Allerton was sent again to England to obtain another grant, conferring larger powers than the old patent, and defining the territorial limits of the colony. He was finally successful in his mission, and secured the following patent, issued to William Bradford and his associates:

"To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting :

"Whereas, our late sovereign lord King James, for the advancemente of a colonie and plantaçon in the country, called or knowne by the name of New Englande in America, by his highnes letters patteſts, under the greate ſeale of Englande, bearinge date at Westminster the third day of November, in the eighteenth yeare of highnes raigne of England, &c., did give, graunte, and confirme unto the right honoble Lodowicke, late lord duke of Lenox; George, late lord marquis of Buckingham;

James, marquis Hamilton; Thomas, earle of Arundell; Robert, earle of Warwicke; and Ferdinand Gorges, knight, and divers others whose names are expressed in the said letters pattents, and their successors, that they should be one bodie politique and corporate perpetually, consistinge of forty persons, and that they should have perpetuall succession, and one common seale to serve for the said body, and that they and their successors should be incorporated, called and knowne by the name of the Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the plantinge, ruleinge, orderinge, an l governing of New Englande in America, and also of his spetiall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, did give, graunte, and confirme unto the said presidente and councill, and their successors forever, under the reservations, limitations, and declaracons in the said letters pattents expressed, all that part and portion of the said country now called New England in America, scitunte lyinge and being in breadth from floury degrees of northerly latitude from the aquinoctiall line to floury-eight degrees of the said northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of and in all the breadth aforesaid throughout the maine lande from sea to sea, together alsoe with all the farme landes, soyles, grounds, creeks, inlets, havens, portes, seas, rivers, islands, waters, fishinges, mynes, and mineralls, as well royll mines of gold and silver, as other mines and mineralls, pretious stones, quarries, and all and singular, the commodities, jurisdiccons, royalties, privileges, franchises and preheminencies, both within the said tracte of lande upon the maine, as alsoe within the said islands and seas adioyninge: To have, hold, possesse, and enjoy, all and singular, the foresaid continent landes, territories, islands, hereditaments, and precincts, sea waters, fishinges, with all and all manner, their commodities, royalties, privileges, preheminencies and proffitts that shall arise from thence, with all and singular their appurtenances and every parte and parcel thereof unto the said Councell and their successors and assignes forever: To be holden of his Majestie, his heirs and successors, as of his mannor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage and not in capite, nor by knights service, yeildinge and payinge therefore to the said late King's Majestie, his heires and successors, the fiftre parte of the oare of gold and silver, which from tyme to tyme and att all tymes from the date of the said letters pattents shal be there gotten, had, and obtained, for and in respect of all and all manner of duties, demands, and services whatsoever to be done made and paid unto his said late Majestie, his heirs and successors, as in and by the said letters pattents amongst sundry other privileges and matters therein contained more fully and at large it doth and may appeare. Now, know yee that the said councell by virtue and authority of his said late Majesties letters pattents, and for and in consideracon that William Bradford and his associats have for these nine yeares lived in New England aforesaid, and have then inhabited and planted a towne called by the name of New Plimouth att their own proper costs and charges; And now, seeinge that by the special providence of god and their extraordinary care and industry, they have encreased their plantacon to neer three hundred people, and are, upon all occasions, ablo to relieve any new planters, or others His Majesties subjects whoe may fall upon that coaste; have given, graunted, bargained, sould, enfeoffed, allotted, assigned, and sett over, and by these presents doe cleerely and absolutely give, graunt, bargaine, sell, alien, enfeoffe, allott, assigne, and confirme unto the said William Bradford, his heires, associats, and assignes all that part of New England in America aforesaid and tracte and tractes of land that lye within or betweene a certaine rivolet or rundlett, there commonly called Conhassitt, alias Conahasset, towards the north and the river commonly called Naragansets river towards the south; and the great westerne ocean towards the east and

betweene and within a straight line directly extensing upp into the maine land towards th west from the mouth of the said river called Naragansetts river to the utmost limitts and bounds of a country or place in New Englande called Pokenacutt, alias Sowamsett, westward and another like straight line extendinge itself directly from the mouth of the said river called Coahassett, alias Conahasset, towards the west so farr up into the maine lande westwardes as the utmost limits of the said place or country commonly called Pokenacutt, alias Sowamsett, doe extend togeather with one-half of the said river, called Naragansetts, and the said rivolett or rundlett, called Coahassett, alias Conahasset, and all lands, rivers, waters, havens, creeks, ports, fishings, fowlings, and all hereditiments, proffitts, comodities, and emoluments whatsoever situate, lyinge, and beinge or arising within or betweene the said limits and bounds or any of them. And for as much as they have noe conveniente place, either of tradinge or fishinge within their own precincts whereby (after soe longe travell and great paines) so hopefull a plantacon may subsiste, as also that they may bee encouraged the better to proceede in soe pious a work, which may especially tend to the propagation of religion and the great increase of trade to his Majesties realmes and advancements of the publique plantacon. The said councill have further given, graunted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, allotted, assigned, and sett over, and by these presents do cleerely and absolutely give, graunt, bargaine, sell, alien, enfeoffe, allott, assigne, and confirme unto the said William Bradford, his heires, associats, and assignes all that tracte of lande or part of New England in America aforesaid which lyeth within or betweene, and extendeth itself from the utmost limitts of Cobbinsconte, alias Comasee-conte, which adjoineth to the river of Kenebeke, alias Kenebekike, towards the westerne ocean and a place called the falls, att Megamkike, in America, aforesaid, and the space of fiftene Englishe miles on each side of the said river commonly called Kenebek river, and all the said river called Kenebek that lies within the said limitts and bounds eastward, westward, northward, or southward, laste above mentioned, and all lands, grounds, soyles, rivers, waters, fishings, hereditiments, and proffitts whatsoever situate, lyinge, and beinge arisinge, happeninge, or acorueinge on which shall arise, happen, or accrue in or within the said limitts and boundes, or either of them, together with free engresse, egressse, and regresse, with shippes, boates, shalloppe, and other vessels from the sea, commonly called the westerne ocean, to the said river called Kennebek, and from the said river to the said westerne ocean, together with all prerogatives, rights, royalties, jurisdiccons, privileges, franchises, liberties, and ymunitiess, and alsoe marine liberty with the escheats and casualties thereof, th Admiralty Jurisdiccon excepted with all the interest, right, title, claime, and demande whatsoever which the said councill, and their successors now have or ought to have and claime or may have and acquire hereafter in or to any the said persons or tractes of land hereby menconed to be graunted or any the premisses in as free, large, ample, and beneficiale manner to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever as the said councill by virtue of his Majesties said letters pattents may or can graunte; to have and to holde the said tracte and tractes of land and all and singular the premisses above menconed to be graunted with them and every of their appurtenances to the said William Bradford, his heires, associats, and assignes forever to the only proper and absolute use and behoofe of the said William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes forever. Yeilding and payinge unto our said soveraigne Lord th Kinge, his heires and successors forever one-fiftre part of the oare of the mines of gold and silver, and one other fiftre part thereof to the president and councill which shall be had, possessed, and obtained within the precincts afore-

said for all' services and demands whatsoeuer. And the said councell doe further graunt and agree to, and with the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes and every of them, his and their factors, agents, tenants, and servants, and all such as hee or they shall send and employ aboutt his said particular plantacon shall and may from tyme to tyme freely and lawfully goe and returne trade and traffique, as well with the English as any of the natives within the precincts aforesaid with liberty of fishing upon any parte of the sea coaste and sea shores of any the seas or islands adjacent and not beinge inhabited or otherwise disposed of by order of the said presidente and councell; alsoe to importe, exporte, and transporte their goods and merchandise att their wills and pleasures, payng only such duty to the kings Majestie, his heires and successors as the said presidente and councell doe or ought to pay without any other taxes, impositions, burdens, and restraints upon them to be imposed. And further, the said councell doe graunt and agree to, and, with the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes that the persons transported by him, or any of them, shall not be taken away, ymployed, or commanded, either by th Governor, for the tyme being, of New England, or by any other authority there, from the busines and employments of th said William Bradford ad his associatts, his heires, and assignes. Necessary defence of the country, preservacions of the peace, suppressinge of tumults within th lands, trialls in matters of justice by appeals upon spetiall occasion only excepted. Alsoe it shall be lawfull and free for th said William Bradford, his associatts, his heires, and assignes att all tymes hereafter to incorporate by some usuall or fitt name and title him or themselves or the people them inhabitinge under him or them with liberty to them and their successors from tyme to tyme to frame and make orders, ordenances, and constitucons, as well for the better governemente of their affairs here and the recoveringe or admittinge any to his or their society, as alsoe for the better governemente of his or their people and affairs in New Englannde, or of his and their people att sea in goeinge thither or returninge from thence, and the same to putt in execucon or cause to be putt in execucon by such officers and ministers as he and they shall authorise and depute. Provided that the said lawes and orders be not repugnante to the lawes of Englannde or the frame of government by th said presidente and councell hereafter to be established. And, further, it shall be lawfull and free for th said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes to transporte cattle of all kinds; alsoe powder, shot, ordnance, and munition from tyme to tyme as shall be necessary for their strength and safety hereafter for their severall defence; to encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, by force of armes, as well by sea as by lande, by all waies and meanes whatsoeuer. And by vertue of the authority to us derived by his late Majesties letters patents to take, apprehend, seise, and make prise of all such persons, their shippes and goods, as shall attempt to inhabite or trade with the savage people of that country within the severall precincts and limitts of his and their severall plantacon, or shall interfere or attempt, att any tyme, destrucon, invasion, detri-ment, or annoyance to his and their said plantacon; the one moyety of which goods soe seised and taken it shall be lawfull for the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes to take to their own use and behoofe; the other moyety thereof to be delivered by the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes to such officer and officers as shal be appointed to receave the same for his Majesties use. And the said Councell doe hereby covenante and declare that it is their intente and meaninge, for the good of the plantacon, that the said William Bradford, his associatts, his or their heires or assignes, shall have and enjoy whatsoeuer privilege or privi-

leges of what kinde soever as are expressed or intended to be graunted in and by his said late Majesties letters patents, and that, in as large and ample manner as the councell thereby, now, may, or hereafter can graunte coynnings of money, excepted. And the said councell, for them and their successors, doe covenante and graunte to and with the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes, by these presents, that they, the said councell, shall at any time hereafter, uppon request, att the only proper costs and charges of the said William Bradford, his heirs, associatts, and assignes, doe make, suffer, execute, and willingly convert unto any further acte or actes, conveyance or conveyances, assurance or assurances whatsoever for the good and perfect investinge, assuring, and conveyinge, and sure making of all the aforesaid tracte and tractes of lands, royalties, mines, mineralls, woods, fishinges, and all and singular their appurtenances unto the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes as by him or their or his or their heires or his or their councell learned in the lawe shal be devised, advised, and required. And, lastly, know yee that we, the said counsell, have made, constituted, deputed, authorised, and appointed Captaine Miles Standish, or, in his absence, Edward Winslow, John Howland, and John Allen, or any of them, to be our true and lawfull attorney and attornies, jointly and severally, in our name and stead, to enter into the said tracte and tractes of land and other the premisses with their appurtenances, or into some part thereof in the name of the whole for us, and in our names to take possession and seisin thereof, and after such possession and seisen thereof, or of some parte thereof, in the name of the whole had and taken; then for us, and in our names, to deliver the full and peaceable possession of seisin of all and singular the said mentioned, to be graunted, premisses unto the said William Bradford, his heires, associatts, and assignes, or to his or their certaine attorney or attornies in that behalf, ratyfyinge, allowinge and confirminge all whatsoever our said attorney doe in or about the premises. In witness whereof the said counsell, established att Plimouth, in the county of Devon, for the plantinge, ruleinge, orderinge, and governinge of New England, in America, have hereunto putt their seal the thirteenth day of January, in fifth yere of the raigne of our sovereigne, Lord Charles, by the grace of God, kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendor of the ffaith, &c., Anno Domⁱ, 1629.

[Seal]

"R. WARWICKE."

The patent bears the following indorsement:

"The within named John Alden, authorised as attorney for the within inencioned counsell haveing in their name and stead entered into some part of the within mentioned tractes of land and other the premisses in the name of the whole, and for them and in their names taken possession and seizure thereof, did, in the name of the said counsell, deliver the full and peaceable possession and seizure of all and singular the within mentioned to be graunted premisses unto William Bradford, for him, his heires, associatts, and assignes. Secundem formam cartæ.

"In presence of

"JAMES CUDWORTH,

"WILLIAM CLARKE,

"NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary."

The territory included in the earlier part of the patent was that which made up the Plymouth Colony until the union with Massachusetts in 1692, and which has been long known as the Old Colony. Its northern boundary line started at a point on Massachusetts Bay between Scituate and Cohasset, and ran

to Providence River. It included all of Plymouth County, except the towns of Hingham and Hull, and a small part of Brockton, all of Bristol and Barnstable Counties, and the towns of Bristol, Warren, Barrington, Little Compton, and Tiverton, in Rhode Island.¹ The latter part of the patent includes a grant of fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebec River for trading purposes, on which at a place called Cushingoc or Koussinoc, now Augusta, a trading-house was erected and furnished with commodities for a trade with the Indians. It was at this trading-post where the Pilgrims first introduced the use of wampum or wampampeake, the value of which they had learned from De Rasieres during his visit to Plymouth in 1627. Bradford says, in speaking of the business at Kennebec, "But that which turned most to their profit in time was an entrance into the trade of wampampeake, for they now bought about fifty pounds worth of it of them (the Dutch); and they told them how vendable it was at their fort, Orania (Albany), and did persuade them they would find it so at Kennebec; and so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck, and it was two years before they could put off this small quantity, till the inland people knew of it, and afterwards they could scarce even gett enough for them, for many years together. And strange it was to see the great alteration it made in a few years among the Indians themselves, for all the Indians of these parts and the Massachusetts had none or very little of it, but the sachems and some special persons that wore a little of it for ornament; only it was made and kept among the Narrigansets and Pequots, which grew rich and potent by it, and these people were poor and beggarly and had no use of it. Neither did the English of this plantation, or any in the land till now that they had knowledge of it from the Dutch, so much as know what it was, much less that it was a commodity of that worth and value. And it hath now continued a current commodity about this twenty years (1650), and it may prove a drug in time. In the mean time it makes the Indians of these parts rich and powerful and also proud thereby, and fills them with pieces (muskets), powder, and shot, which no laws can restrain by reason of the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, and French, which may turn to the ruin of many."

To this patent the king had given the agents of the Pilgrims reason to believe that he would give his royal sanction and affix his signature, but he at last refused, and as long as the colony existed it never had a royal charter. On the 2d of March, 1640/1, Governor Bradford assigned this charter to the freemen of the colony, with certain reservations for the

benefit of the "old comers," and from that time it was their possession. It always remained in the hands of the family of Governor Bradford, however, probably as one of the colonial archives in his keeping at the time of his death, until 1741, when, during a controversy concerning the line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, it was, as Josiah Cotton states in his diary, "after a deal of labor and cost," found at Plympton and used as evidence.² In 1820 it was found where it now is—in the office of the register of deeds, in Plymouth—by the commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts to superintend the work of copying a portion of the Old Colony Records for the State. It was then, as they say in their report, in a defaced condition, with its seal of the president and Council for New England much broken. They further say "that the parts of the seal were carefully cemented and secured together by them and inclosed in a case, so that the original impression may be seen." The legend on the seal, which is a little more than four inches in diameter and made of brown wax, it is impossible to decipher, but there seem to be on its face a representation of the hull of a vessel and two figures, one of an Indian carrying in one hand a bow and arrow, and in the other a club; and the other of a white man bearing in his left hand an olive-branch, and in the other an article which cannot be distinguished.

The following is the assignment of this patent, made on the 2d of March, 1640/1 :

"Whereas divers and sondry treaties have beene in the publice & Generall Court of New Plymouth, his majestie our dread Soveraigne, Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c., concerning the proper right and title of the lands within the bounds and limitts of his said majesties' letters patents, graunted by the right hon^{ble} his majesties counsell for New England, ratified by their comon seal, and signed by the hand of the Right Hon^{ble} Earle of Warwick, then president of the said counsell, to Willm Bradford, his heires, associats, and assigns, beareing date, &c.; and whereas the said Willm Bradford and divers others, the first instruments of God in the beginninge of this great work of plantacon, together with such as the alorderinge hand of God, in his providence, soone added unto them, have beene at very greate charges to procure the said lands priviledges & freedomes, from all entanglements, as may appeare by divers and sundry deeds, enlargements of graunts, purchases, payments of debts, &c, by reason whereof the title to the day of this present, remayneth in the said Willm, his heires, associats, and assignes, —now, for the better settling of the state of the said lands aforesaid, the said Willm Bradford and those first instruments termed, and called in sondry orders upon publike record, the purchasers or old comers, witnes two in especiall, those beareing date the third of March 1639, thother in December ye first 1640, whereunto these presents have speciall relacon & agreement, and whereby they are distinguished from others the freemen and inhabitants of the said corporation,—be it knowne unto all men, therefore by these presents, that the said Willm Bradford, for

¹ *Vide Appendix VI. pg. 146.*

² *Vide Appendix VII. pg. 155.*

himself, his heires, together with the said purchasers, do only reserve unto themselves, their heires and assignes, those three tracts of lands menconed in the said resolucon, order & agreement, beareing date the first day of December, 1640, viz, first from the bounds of Yarmouth, three miles to the eastward of Naemsheckett, and from sea to sea, crosse the said neck of land; the second, of a place called Acconquesse al^e Acockeus, w^{ch} lyeth in the bottome of the bay, adjoyneing to the west side of Poynt Perrill, and two miles to the westerne side of the said river, to another place, called Acquessent River w^{ch} entreth at the westerne end of Nickatay, and two miles to the eastward thereof, and to extend eight miles up into the countrey; the third place from Sowamett River to Patucquett River, w^{ch} Causumpit Neck, w^{ch} is the cheif habitacon of the Indians and reserved for them to dwell upon extending into the land eight miles through the whole breadth thereof, together wth such other smale parcels of lands as they or any of them are psonally possessed of or interested in by verture of any former titles or graunts whatsoever. And the said Willm Bradford doth, by the free and full consent, approbacon, and agreement of the said old planters or purchasers, together wth the likeing, approbacon & acceptacon of the other part of the said corporacon, surrender into the bands of the whole Court, consistinge of the freemen of this corporacon of New Plymouth, all that their right & title, power, authorytie, priviledges, immunitiess & freedomes granted in the said letters patents, by the said right hon^{ble} counsell for New England, reserving his & their psonall right of freemen, together wth the said old planters aforesaid, except the said lands before excepted, declaring the freeinem of this present corporacion, together wth all such as shalbe legally admitted into the same his associats. And the said Willm Bradford for him his heires and assignes doe further hereby promise and graunt to doe & performe whatsoever further thinges or thinges, act or acts, w^{ch} in him lyeth, which shalbe needful and expedient for the better confirmeing & establishinge the said pmisses as by counsell learned in the lawes shalbe reasonably advised and devised when he shalbe thereunto required. In witnes whereof the said Willm Bradford hath in publike Court surrendered the said letters patents actually into the bands and power of the said Court, bynding himself, his heires, execut^rs, administrat^rs and assignes to deliver up whatsoever specialties are in his bands that do or may concerne the same.

"Memorand: that the said surrender was made by the said Willm Bradford, in publick Court, to Nathaniell Sowther, es- pecially authorised by the whole Court to receive the same, together wth the said letters patents in the name and for the use of the whole body of freemen.

"It is ordered by the Court, that Willm Bradford shall have the keeping of the said letters patents, w^{ch} were afterwards delivered unto him by the said Nathaniell Sowther, in the pub- like Court."

After the issue of the new patent the colony became established on a firmer foundation, and its government began to take on more of the forms and methods of a regularly organized body politic. In 1633 the records of the court had begun; a Governor and seven assistants were annually chosen by the whole body of freemen; the General Court had been established, and trial by jury had been ordered. Few laws had been passed, and prior to 1636 such as were enacted related chiefly to police and military regulations, the division of lands, and the settlement of estates. On the 15th of October in that year, "the

ordinances of the colony and corporacon being read, divers were found worthy the reforming, others the neglecting, and others fitt to be instituted and made." This was the first revision of the laws, and as entered in the records contains many bearing the date of 1636 which had doubtless been in force for a number of years. In the earliest years the colony was little more than a voluntary association controlled by a majority, and only such laws were passed as related to necessities and conditions not met by the English code. Such as they were, however, until 1639 were passed by the whole body of freemen, constituting the General Court. One of the early enactments of this court declared "that now being assembled according to order and having read the Combinacon made at Cape Cod (compact) the 11th of November, 1620, in the year of the reign of our late sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, as also our letters Patents confirmed by the honorable council, his said Majestie established and granted the 3rd of January, 1629, in the fift year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King Charles. And finding that as free-born subjects of the state of England we hither came endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such in the first place, we think good that it be established for an act, That according to the due privilege of the subject aforesaid, no imposicon, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us by ourselves or others at present, or to come, but such as shall be made or imposed by consent according to the free liberties of the State and Kingdom of England and no otherwise." At the same time it was provided "that the laws and ordinances of the colony, and for the government of the same, be made only by the freemen of the corporation and no others." It is not difficult to discover in these enactments the germ of that free and democratic spirit which, under the favorable conditions to which they were destined to be subjected, has developed those popular institutions under which we live.

The Governor and seven assistants made up the Court of Assistants. There was at first no Deputy Governor, but in 1636 the Governor was authorized, with the consent of the assistants, to appoint one of their number to govern during his absence, and in 1651 authority was given to the Governor "to depute any one of the assistants whom he shall think meet to be in his room, when he is occasioned to be absent, as a Deputy Governor." In 1679 it was enacted "that the Deputy Governor be under oath as such, and therefore annually chosen," and from that time that officer was a recognized part of the government.

The offices, both of Governor and assistants, were obligatory on the first election, and by one of the earliest laws a fine of twenty pounds was provided for a refusal of any one "to hold and execute the office of Governor for his year," and one of ten pounds for a refusal to act as assistant. Until 1636 all trials were had in the General Court, but in that year it was enacted that the Governor and two assistants might try civil cases involving an amount not exceeding forty shillings, and criminal cases involving a small fine. In the same year it was provided "that a great quest be panelled by the Governor and assistants, or the major part of them, and warned to serve the king by inquiring into the abuses and breaches of such wholesome laws and ordinances as tend to the preservation of the peace and good of the subject, and that they present such to the court as they either find guilty or probably suspect, that so they may be prosecuted by the Governor by all due means." In 1666, after provision had been made for the choice of selectmen, it was enacted that civil cases involving less than forty shillings should be tried by that board.

The General Court was composed of all the freemen of the colony. They chose the officers of the government and made the laws. The first list of freemen in the records is found under date of 1633, as follows:

Edward Winslow, Governor.	John Dunham.
Capt. Miles Standish,	William Pontus.
William Bradford,	Francis Weston.
John Howland,	Joshua Pratt.
John Alden,	Phineas Pratt.
John Done,	Peter Brown.
Stephen Hopkins,	George Soule.
William Gilson,	Edmund Chandler.
Isaac Allerton.	Christopher Wadsworth.
Thomas Prence.	Thomas Clarke.
Ralph Smith.	Henry Howland.
William Brewster.	Kenelm Winslow.
Samuel Fuller, Sr.	Josiah Winslow.
John Jenny.	Richard Sparrow.
Robert Hickes.	Humphrey Turner.
Manassah Kempton.	Anthony Savery.
William Wright.	Roger Chandler.
Francis Cooke.	Robert Bartlett.
Francis Eaton.	Experience Mitchell.
Jonathan Brewster.	Edward Bangs.
John Winslow.	Nicholas Snow.
John Coombs.	John Faunce.
John Shaw.	Richard Church.
Anthony Annable.	Joseph Rogers.
John Adams.	Henry Cobb.
Stephen Deane.	Samuel Nash.
Stephen Tracy.	Samuel Eddy.
William Basset.	Philip Delano.
Ralph Wallen.	Abraham Peirce.
William Palmer.	Ralph Fogg.
Cuthbert Cuthbertson.	William Collier.
William Holmes.	John Cooke.

Edward Doty.
James Hurst.

Thomas Willet.
Thomas Cushman.

Admitted Afterwards.

John Barnes.	Richard Higgins.
George Watson.	Moses Simonson.
Isaac Robinson.	Richard Cliffe.
James Cole.	Thomas Atkinson.
Samuel Fuller.	Jan. 5, 1635.
James Cudworth.	Timothy Hatherley.
Samuel Howse.	John Browne.
William Palmer, Jr.	Henry Samson.
John Holmes.	William Hatch.
William Hoskins.	George Kenrick.
John Cooper.	March 1. Love Brewster.
Henry Rowley.	Oct. 4. Nathaniel Sowther.

These men and their successors constituted the General Court, which was the original type and model of the General Court of Massachusetts to-day, as the Governor and assistants were the germ of the Governor and Council as they now exist. The freemen were at first the signers of the compact, and such persons as might be added by a majority vote. In 1656 it was ordered that "such as are admitted to be freemen of the corporation, the deputies of such towns where such persons live shall propound them to the court, being such as have been also approved by the freemen in that town where such persons live," and in 1658 these words were added, "And upon satisfying testimony given from the freemen of these towns by their deputies such to be forthwith received without any further delay at the same court when such testimony is given." It must be explained that the deputies were the representatives to the General Court, who, in 1639, after the population of the colony became scattered, and found it impracticable to attend in a body, it was provided by law should be chosen in each town. From that year the General Court became a representative body, as it is to-day. In 1658 it was further "enacted by the court and the authorities thereof that all such as shall be admitted freemen of this corporation shall stand one whole year propounded to the court, viz., to be propounded at one June Court, and to stand so propounded until the June court following, and then to be admitted if the court shall not see cause to the contrary." In 1674 it was enacted "by the court and the authority thereof as to the orderly admittance of freemen; first that the names of the freemen in each town be kept upon town record, and that no man's name shall be brought into the court to be propounded to take up his freedom, unless he have had the approbation of the major part of the freemen at home, and the same to be signified to the court under the town clerk's hand by the Deputies." In 1658 it was still further enacted "that all such as

refuse to take the oath of fidelity as Quakers, or such as are manifest encouragers of such, shall have no voice in choice of public officers in the place where they dwell, or shall be employed in any place of trust while they continue such; that no Quaker, Rantor, or any such corrupt person shall be admitted to be a freeman of this corporation; that all such as are opposers of the good and wholesome laws of this colony, or manifest opposers of the true worship of God, or such as refuse to do the country service being called thereunto shall not be admitted freemen of this corporation, being duly convicted of all or any of these; and that if any person or persons that or shall be freemen of this corporation that are Quakers, or such as are manifest encouragers of them, and so judged by the court and of the laws thereof, and such as judged by the court gravely scandalous; as liers, drunkards, swearers, etc., shall lose their freedom of this corporation." Finally, in 1671, it was provided that freemen must be twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds of ratable estate in the colony.

Precisely what the powers and duties of the Governor and assistants were in the earliest days, it is difficult to say. In 1636, those of the Governor were defined by law as follows:

"The office of the Governor for the time being consists in the execucon of such laws and ordinances as are or shall be made and established for the good of the corporacon, according to the several bounds and limits thereof, vizi.: In calling together or advising with the Assistants or Councell of the said corporacon upon such materiall occasion (on so seeming to him) as time shall bring foorth. In which assembly and all others, the Governor to propound the occasion of the Assembly, and have a double voice therein. If the Assistants judge the case too great to be decided by them, and refer it to the Generall Court, then the Governor to summon a Court by warning all the freemen aforesaid that are then extant and these also to propound causes and goe before the Assistants in the examinacion of pticulars, and to propound such sentence as shall be determined: further, it shall be lawfull for him to arrest and comit to ward any offenders, provided that with all convenient sped he shall bring the cause to heareing, either of the Assistance or General Court, according to the nature of the offence. Also, it shall be lawfull for him to examine any suspicious persons for evill against the Colony, as to intercept or oppose such as he conceiveth may tend to the overthrow of the same. And this officer continue one whole yeaer and no more without renewing by elecon."

In the same year it was also provided, "That no person or persons hereafter shall be admitted to live and inhabit within the government of New Plymouth, without the leave and liking of the Governor, or two of his assistants at least." The Governor was required to take the following oath:

"You shall sweare to be truly loyall to our Sovereigne Lord

King Charles, the State and Government of England as it now stands, his heires and successors. Also, according to that measure of wisdom, understanding, and discerning, given unto you, faithfully, equally, and indifferently, without respect of persons, to administer justice in all cases coming before you as the Governor of New Plymouth. You shall in like manner faithfully stay and truly execute the lawes and ordinances of the same. And shall labor to advance and further the good of the Colonies and Plantacions within the limits thereof, to the utmost of your power, and oppose anything that shall seeme to binder the same. So help you God, who is the God of truth and punisher of falsehood."

The assistants and freemen were also required to take an oath, and the law of 1636 provided that "the office of an Assistant for the time being, consisteth in appearing at the Governor's summons and in giving his best advice, both in public Court and in private Council with the Governor, for the good of the colonies within the limits of this Government. Not to disclose, but to keep secret such things as concern the public good, and shall be thought meet to be concealed by the Governor and Council of Assistants. In having a special hand in the examination of public offenders, and in contriving the affairs of the colony. To have a voice in the censuring of such offenders as shall not be brought to public Court. That if the Governor have occasion to be absent from the colony for a short time, by the Governor, with the rest of the Assistants, he may be deputed to govern in the absence of the Governor. Also, it shall be lawfull for him to examine and commit to ward where any occasion ariseth when the Governor is absent, provided the person be brought to further hearing with all convenient speed, before the Governor or the rest of the Assistants. Also, it shall be lawful for him, in his Majesties name, to direct his warrants to any constable within the Government, who ought faithfully to execute the same according to the nature and tenure thereof. And may bind over persons for matters of crime to answer at the next ensuing Court of his Majestie, after the fact committed on the persons apprehended." In the early years of the colony, all its officers were chosen on the 23d of March, the day before the last in the old style of year, afterwards for a time on the 1st of January, then by the law of 1636, on the first Tuesday in March, and finally, after 1641, on the first Tuesday in June. Notwithstanding the establishment of the new General Court in 1639, composed of deputies from the various towns, the whole body of freemen constituted the electors and chose the officers. The new General Court had only the power to enact laws, and even then the freemen might repeal or veto on the next annual election day. The law passed in 1638 establishing the new court, is worthy of a place

in this narrative as lying at the foundation of our present legislative representative system.

"Whereas, complaint was made that the freemen were put to many inconveniences and great expense by their continual attendance at the Courts, It is therefore enacted by the Court for the ease of the severall colonies and Townes within the Government, That every Towne shall make choyce of two of their freemen, and the Towne of Plymouth of four to be Committee or Deputies, to joyne with the Bench to enact and make all such lawes and ordinances as shall be judged to be good and wholesome for the whole. Provided that the lawes they doe enact shal be floundred on Court, to be considered upon untill the next Court, and then to be confirmed if they shal be approved of (except the case require present confirmacon). And if any act shal be confirmed by the Bench and Committees, which, upon further deliberacon, shall prove prejudicial to the whole, That the freemen at the next elecon Court after meeting together, may repeale the same and enact any other usefull for the whole; and that every Township shall bear their Committees charges; and that such as are not freemen, but have taken the Oath of fidelitie, and are masters of famylies and Inhabitants of the said Townes, as they are to bear their part in the charges of their Committees, so to have a vote in the choyce of them, provided they choose them only of the freemen of the said Towne whereof they are; but if any such Committees shall be insufficient or troublesome, that then the Bench and the other Committees may dismiss them, and the Towne to choose other freemen in their place."

It must be remembered that at the time of the passage of this law, in 1638, Scituate (Satuit), which included South Scituate and Hanover, and Duxbury (Namassakeset), which included Pembroke and Hanson, had been incorporated, the one in 1636 and the other in 1637, and that settlements had been made in Taunton (Cohannet), which comprised Norton, Dighton, Raynham, Easton, Mansfield, and Berkley; in Sandwich (Shawme), in Yarmouth (Mattakeest), which included Dennis, and in Barnstable (Cummaquid). All these towns and districts or wards were represented in the first new General Court, which met on the 4th day of June, 1639. In that year the deputies or representatives were:

William Paddy,	}	For Plymouth.
Manassah Kempton,		
John Cook, Jr.,		
John Dunham,		
Jonathan Brewster,	}	For Duxbury.
Edmund Chandler,		
Anthony Annable,	}	For Scituate.
Edward Foster,		
Richard Burne,	}	For Sandwich (settlement).
John Vincent,		
John Gilbert,	}	For Cohannet (settlement).
Henry Andrews,		
Thomas Payne,	}	For Yarmouth (settlement).
Philip Tabor,		
Joseph Hull,	}	For Barnstable (settlement).
Thomas Dimmack,		

The court was enlarged from time to time, as new towns were incorporated. Marshfield (Missauca-

tucket) was incorporated in 1640; Bridgewater (Nuckataest), comprising Brockton, West and East Bridgewater, Rockland, and South Abington, and part of Halifax, in 1656; Middleboro' (Nemasket), which included Lakeville, in 1660; Rehoboth (Seekonk and Wannamoiset), comprising Seekonk and Pawtucket, in 1645; Dartmouth (Accushena), comprising New Bedford, Westport, and Fairhaven, in 1664; Swansea (Pokanoket and Sawams), comprising Somerset, Warren, and Barrington, in 1667; Bristol (Kekimuet), in 1681; Little Compton (Saconet), in 1682; Freetown (Assonet), in 1683; Eastham (Nauset), which included Wellfleet and Orleans, in 1646; Falmouth (Suckinassett), in 1686; Yarmouth, already represented, in 1639; Rochester (Sippican) which included Marion, Mattapoisett, and a part of Wareham, in 1686. These were all the towns in the Old Colony incorporated before the union with Massachusetts, in 1692, and before that date they were all represented by their deputies in the General Court. The following list will show to whom the town of Plymouth delegated the power to act in their behalf in the enactment of laws during the existence of New Plymouth as a separate colony:

1639. William Paddy.	1651. John Howland.
Manassah Kempton.	Manassah Kempton.
John Cooke, Jr.	Thomas Southworth.
John Dunham.	Thomas Clark.
1640. The same.	1652. John Howland.
1641. John Atwood.	John Wilson.
William Paddy.	John Dunham.
John Jenney.	Thomas Southworth.
John Howland.	1653. John Howland.
1642. John Doane.	Thomas Southworth.
John Cooke.	John Dunham.
1643. The same.	John Cooke.
1644. The same.	1654. John Howland.
1645. William Paddy.	Thomas Southworth.
John Cooke.	John Cooke.
Manassah Kempton.	John Winslow.
John Dunham.	1655. John Howland.
1646. John Howland.	John Dunham.
John Cooke.	John Cooke.
Manasseh Kempton.	Thomas Clark.
John Dunham.	1656. William Bradford.
1647. John Howland.	Robert Finney.
John Dunham.	Ephraim Morton.
William Paddy.	1658. Robert Finney.
John Hurst.	John Howland.
1648. John Howland.	Nathl. Warren.
John Dunham.	1659. Robert Finney.
William Paddy.	Nathl. Warren.
Manassah Kempton.	John Dunham.
1649. John Howland.	Ephraim Morton.
John Dunham.	1660. John Dunham.
William Paddy.	Robert Finney.
Manassah Kempton.	Ephraim Morton.
1650. John Howland.	Manassah Kempton.
John Dunham.	1661. John Dunham.
Manassah Kempton.	Ephraim Morton.

1661. John Howland.	1671. Ephraim Morton.
Nathl. Warren.	Robert Finney.
1662. John Dunham.	1672. The same.
Ephraim Morton.	1673. Ephraim Morton.
Robert Finney.	Samuel Crow.
John Morton.	1674. Ephraim Morton.
1663. Robert Finney.	William Clark.
Ephraim Morton.	1675. Ephraim Morton.
John Howland.	William Harlow.
Nathl. Warren.	1676. Ephraim Morton.
1664. Robert Finney.	Edward Gray.
Ephraim Morton.	1677. Edward Gray.
John Dunham.	Joseph Howland.
Nathl. Warren.	1678. Ephraim Morton.
1665. Ephraim Morton.	Joseph Howland.
Nathl. Warren.	1679. Ephraim Morton.
1666. Ephraim Morton.	Edward Gray.
John Howland.	1680. Ephraim Morton.
1667. The same.	William Clark.
1668. Ephraim Morton.	1681. Ephraim Morton.
Samuel Dunham.	Joseph Warren.
1669. Ephraim Morton.	1682. The same.
Robert Finney.	1683. The same.
1670. Ephraim Morton.	1684. The same.
John Howland.	1685. The same.
	1686. The same.

In 1649 a law was passed by the General Court limiting the number of Plymouth delegates to two, but on the next annual election-day it was repealed by the freemen. This law was afterwards re-enacted; and after 1664, as is shown in the printed list, Plymouth had but two representatives. The provision in the law of 1638, establishing the new court, that a law should be propounded at one court and considered at the next, is one which, if readopted in our own time, would relieve the people of Massachusetts from the burden of ill-considered legislation, and place our statutes on a more firm and stable foundation. An accidental majority in one year or another, for or against social reforms, or enactments of expediency, incumber our statute-book with laws and repeals, which, upon mature deliberation, would be either summarily rejected, or, if enacted, would take their place in the code with some prospect of having a permanent resting-place.

The precise time when Plymouth became a town it is impossible to determine. Other towns in the Old Colony had their acts of incorporation, and can fix the day when they came into life as a separate municipality. The dividing line between the colony of New Plymouth and the town, in which the government of the colony was seated, is nowhere drawn. Other towns, like Duxbury and Scituate, possessed after their incorporation no more of the essential elements of a distinct community than Plymouth, and were really only separated from the central power by distance and space. But their incorporation gave them a starting-point and a birthday, from which they can

count their age. For twelve years after the landing Plymouth constituted the colony, and the government of the colony was the government of the town; and even after that the earlier officers chosen by towns were but parts of the general government, with local constituents and local duties. While, therefore, it may be proper to date the birth of the town at the first settlement, it will be necessary to go forward a number of years to discover any trace of a life and power distinct from that of the colony itself. In the records of 1626 Plymouth is called a plantation; in a deed dated 1631, from John to Edward Winslow, the town of Plymouth is referred to; in a law of 1632 the society of New Plymouth is spoken of, and in the same year the town of Plymouth. From that time forth the town of Plymouth is constantly referred to, but not necessarily as showing it to be a separate municipality. Perhaps as definite a time as any for the recognition of the town by the government would be the year 1633, in which the office of constable was established. It was then provided that constables should be chosen, and Joshua Pratt was chosen for Plymouth, Christopher Wadsworth for the ward of Duxbury, and Anthony Annable for the ward of Scituate. But even these were chosen by the whole body of freemen, and the name Plymouth may have been intended, like that of Scituate and Duxbury, not then incorporated, to apply only to a district, which must have some designation. The constable was required to take the oath, and until 1638 the constable of Plymouth acted as the messenger of the court. That officer was required also to act as keeper of the jail, to execute punishment, to give warning of such marriages as were approved by authority, to seal weights and measures, and measure out land when ordered by the Governor. In 1634 persons were chosen to lay out highways, in 1643 raters of taxes were chosen, and in 1658 overseers of the poor.

Nor do the records of the town throw much light on the question of the date of its birth. The first entries bear no legible date, and only define the ear-marks of the cattle belonging to the inhabitants. The first dated entry is that of the last day of March, 1637, the seventh day in that year under the old style, at which time it was "concluded that Nicholas Snow should repair the herring wier and divide the herrings." The next entry is as follows:

"At a meeting of the townsmen of New Plymouth, held at the Governor's house July 16, 1638, all the inhabitants from Jones River to the Eel River being thereto (warned) to consider of the disposition of the stock given by Mr. James Sherley, of London, merchant, to the people of Plymouth, who had plainly

declared by several letters in his own handwriting that his intent therein was wholly to the poor of the town of Plymouth," it was decided that for the purposes under consideration the town should be considered as extending "from the land of William Pontus and John Dunham on the south to the outside of New Street on the north." The lands of Pontus and Dunham were in the neighborhood of the farm of Thomas O. Jackson, and New Street was that which is now North. This decision was not intended to define any permanent boundaries, or even to show the extent of the town at the time the declaration was made. It was simply putting a strict construction on the gift, and limiting its beneficiaries to those who lived within the boundaries, which included the population of the settlement at the time the gift was made. It is certain that the municipality was in being at the time of the first entry in its records in 1637, and it is fair to conclude that about 1636, at the time of or before the incorporation of Scituate, the government of the colony recognized it as possessing all the powers and functions of a town.

Its boundaries remained, however, to be adjusted by law, and on the second day of November, 1640, at a Court of Assistants held on that day, it was ordered, "Whereas, by the act of the General Court, held the third of March, in the sixteenth year of his said Majestie's now reign (1640), the Governor & Assistants were authorized to set the bounds of the several townships, it is enacted and concluded by the Court that the bounds of Plymouth township shall extend southwards to the bounds of Sandwich township and northward to the little brook falling into Black Water from the commons left to Duxbury and the neighborhood thereabouts, and westward eight miles up into the lands from any part of the bay or sea; always provided that the bounds shall extend so far up into the wood-lands as to include the South Meadows toward Agawam, lately discovered, and the convenient uplands thereabouts." These limits, which included Kingston, Plympton, Carver, and a part of Halifax, and Agawam a part of Wareham, remained untouched until the incorporation of the town of Kingston, in 1726. Halifax was incorporated in 1734, and in 1830 a part of Plympton was annexed to it. Plympton was incorporated in 1707, and in 1790 Carver was set off from Plympton and incorporated.

From this time to 1643 the affairs of both Plymouth and the colony went on smoothly, encountering little to disturb their monotony or obstruct their progress. At that date Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven had become colonies; the war

between Connecticut and the Pequot tribe, in which Plymouth furnished fifty-six men, had broken out in 1637 and been successfully waged; the code of laws necessary for the peaceful administration of the government had been gradually perfected; additional town officers were provided for by law, surveyors of highways, overseers of the poor, and other minor officers; and through hardship and toil, through suffering and want, through sickness and death, the settlers of New England had successfully laid the foundations of a new empire. Deaths, it is true, had occurred, but though the occasion of repeated sorrow, they brought no shadow of discouragement. Since the first season Mary, the wife of Isaac Allerton, had died in 1621/2; Mary, the wife of Elder Brewster, in 1627; Richard Warren and John Crackston, Jr., in 1628; John Billington in 1630; Samuel Fuller, Francis Eaton, and Peter Brown in 1632; and Elizabeth, the wife of Stephen Hopkins, in 1640. On the 16th of April, 1643, occurred the death of Elder Brewster, inflicting a loss to the colony next to that occasioned by the death of John Carver, in 1620/1. Mr. Brewster has been already referred to in the early part of this narrative as the leader and chief of the Pilgrims. He had performed his work, and at the end of his mission, laboriously and faithfully accomplished, after he had seen others enter into his labors with a zeal which assured him they had not been bestowed in vain, in a ripe old age he went to his grave. He was at times a resident in Duxbury, and it has been generally claimed that he died in that town and was there buried. The evidence, however, is strong that he died in Plymouth, and that he was buried either on Burial Hill or in some unknown spot in Plymouth used temporarily for burials after the abandonment of Cole's Hill. On page 115 of the printed volume of deeds of the Old Colony Records the following entry may be found: "Whereas, William Brewster, late of Plymouth, gentleman, deceased, left only two sons surviving,—Jonathan, the oldest, and Love, the younger; whereas the said William died intestate, for aught can to this day appear, the said Jonathan and Love, his sons, when they returned from the burial of their father to the house of Mr. William Bradford, of Plymouth, in the presence of Mr. Ralph Partridge, pastor of Duxbury, Mr. John Raynor, teacher of the church at Plymouth, and Edward Buckley, pastor of the church at Marshfield," made a certain agreement which follows in the records. This extract, it will be observed, alludes to Mr. Brewster as late of Plymouth, and of Mr. William Bradford, of Plymouth. Though not conclusive, as Mr. Bradford had a house in Kingston as well as

Plymouth, and as Kingston was at that time a part of Plymouth, the author, who has at some time entertained a different opinion, now believes it points strongly to his death and burial in Plymouth. Nor does this evidence stand alone. There are three inventories of the estate of Mr. Brewster,—one of his personal property at his house in Plymouth, one of his books, and one of his personal property at his house in Duxbury,—which throw some light on the question. That part of his Plymouth inventory which includes his wardrobe is as follows:

4 paire of stockings.	1 paire of shoes.
3 wascoats and a paire of drawers.	2 paire of shoes.
1 old gowne.	2 Sherts.
2 gerdles.	26 handkerchiefs.
2 paire of thin stockings.	1 fine handkerchief.
1 knit capp.	3 handkerchers.
1 blew cloth suite.	1 wrought capp.
1 old suite turned.	1 laced capp.
1 black coate.	1 quilted capp.
Old cloaths.	2 old capps.
1 black cloth suite.	1 ruffe band.
1 paire of greene drawers.	1 ruffe rift out.
1 paire of leather drawers.	6 bands.
1 list wascoate.	1 red cap.
1 trusse.	1 paire of garters.
1 black coate.	1 knife.
1 black stuff suite.	1 pistoll.
1 black suite & cloake.	1 combe.
1 dublett.	2 brushes.
1 paire of stockings.	1 paire of black silk stockings.
1 black gowne.	A dagger and knife.
1 black hat.	Tobaccoe case.
1 old hat.	1 rapier.
2 paire of gloves.	Tobaccoe & some pipes.
	A tobacco box & tongs.

That part of his Duxbury inventory which includes his wardrobe is as follows:

1 sword.	A trusse.
1 sword.	1 violet color cloth coate.
White capp.	1 costlett.

These extracts from the inventories seem to be conclusive that he must have been living in Plymouth at the time of his death. The two inventories from which they are taken include furniture and other personal property valued at £107 8d. The third inventory contains a list of two hundred and sixty Latin and one hundred and fifteen English books, valued at £42 19s. 11d. These inventories are interesting not only as evidence touching the place of his death and burial, but also for the testimony they bear to the social and intellectual status of the Pilgrims. It is true that the office Brewster held of teaching elder might have demanded for the faithful performance of his duties a library exceptional in its character, but it cannot be supposed that such an official would have indulged in the luxury of a wardrobe beyond the means of the majority of his companions, or have

set an example of worldliness which they were too poor to follow. Indeed, there is nothing more striking in the inventories of the Pilgrims than the contradiction they set up of the unauthorized statement, having its origin in an evident desire to magnify the intensity of their religious character by belittling them as men, that they were a band of poor, uneducated, uncultured yeomen, unfamiliar with the graces and pleasures of enlightened society, living only in the realm of religious enthusiasm, and eager to keep themselves unspotted from the world. The Massachusetts Colony, on the other hand, to make the contrast strong, has been represented as wealthy and enterprising and educated, giving, as has been said, the first impulse to civilization in the western world. Without the reinforcement of that colony, it is said, the efforts at colonization made by the Pilgrims would have failed, and the cloud of darkness, which by their coming had been for a time withdrawn, would have again settled down on the land.

Nothing can be further from the truth. In 1633 a law was passed by the Old Colony court providing "that the wills and testaments of them that die be proved orderly before the Governor and Council within one month after the decease of the testator, and that a full inventory duly valued be presented with the same before letters of administration be granted to any of all the goods and chattles of the said persons. Also, if in case any man die without will, his goods be by his wife or other nearest to him inventoried and duly valued and presented to the Governor and Council within one month after the decease of the same person so dying. And if it be a single person without kindred here resident, that then the Governor appoint some to take a just inventory of the same, and to present the same upon oath to be true and just as in other the cases before mentioned." In 1639, six years afterwards, certainly not leading the way in this feature of registration, the Massachusetts court ordered "that there be records kept of all wills, administrations, and inventories." From 1639 to 1650 the recorded inventories in the Plymouth Colony, with a population of from three to five hundred, numbered thirty-four, while those in the Massachusetts Colony numbered only forty-five, with a population five or six times as large. Of the smaller proportionate number in Massachusetts there were a few including larger values than any in the Plymouth Colony; while the latter, more numerous in proportion to the population, were more equal in their size, indicating a community of more social equality, and a more homogeneous character. And the same comparison might be drawn between the intellectual

condition of the two colonies. While the fact that in Massachusetts public schools were introduced at an early period has been claimed by some as conclusive evidence of a regard for education higher than that of the Old Colony, which seemed tardy in the movement, the fair inference to be drawn from it, in view of all the circumstances, is, that Massachusetts, with a large portion of her population made up of adventurers and laborers, unable to educate their own children, who were then growing up in ignorance and idleness, established her schools in self-defense; while in the colony of Plymouth most of the heads of families were not only fully competent to teach their own sons and daughters, but found it no severe hardship to give their time to the training of the few whose parents had either died or were needy¹. Under such auspices Thomas Cushman was educated, who succeeded William Brewster as elder of the church; William Bradford, the son of the Governor, who became Deputy Governor; Nathaniel Morton, who became the secretary and historian of the colony; and Josiah Winslow, who became not only the colonial Governor, but afterwards the commander of the forces of the United Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven in King Philip's war. It may be considered as certain that fathers who were able to educate such men and prepare them for the duties and responsibilities of a noble life, could not have been wanting in either the material or mental qualities which are the necessary ingredients of an enlightened and cultivated community.

It is quite time that the long-accepted idea that the Pilgrims were a set of narrow, bigoted, unworldly, religious zealots was exploded. If narrowness and bigotry and unworldliness ever characterized them, they were eliminated from their natures by their life in Holland, and there they became what they ever afterwards were, shrewd, practical, far-seeing business men. A religious spirit, it is true, remained as the foundation of their character, but they had built on it a structure as marked as the foundation itself. No mere enthusiasts in the cause of religion could have done their work. The zeal of such men would have been like a foundation on which nothing is ever reared, or like a root which never shoots above the ground. To make the thorough man, the foundation must support an edifice of character, which would topple to the ground without it,—the root must grow into the tree through whose branches it sends its sap. Such an edifice and such a tree was the character of the Pilgrim. Every step he took in the work he had to do was like the growth of the branch and leaf and flower in the air and sunlight of the outer world,

but yet sustained and supported by the religious influences from within. Without his religious nature he would have faltered and fallen beneath his load; without his worldly knowledge his religion would have been in vain.

CHAPTER IV.

UNITED COLONIES—TOWN OFFICERS—DEATH OF BRADFORD—QUAKERS—RECORDS.

IN 1642/3 the third important step was taken—counting the landing at Plymouth the first and the settlements in the other colonies the second—towards establishing on a firm basis and crystallizing into a permanent shape the colonization of New England. In the language of Bradford, “By reason of the plottings of the Narigansets, ever since the Pequot war, the Indians were drawn into a general conspiracy against the English in all parts, as was in part discovered the year before, and now made more plain and evident by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry Indians (upon several occasions) from divers places concurring in one, with such other concurring circumstances as gave them sufficiently to understand the truth thereof and to think of means how to prevent the same and secure themselves.” A combination between the four colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven was proposed, and on the 7th of March, 1642/3, Edward Winslow and William Collier were elected to treat on the subject with the colony of Massachusetts Bay. After due consideration, on the 6th of June, the same gentlemen were authorized to subscribe, on the part of the colony, the following articles, the adoption of which not only formed an era in the colonial life, but furnished the type of that larger confederacy or union of States under which we live:

“ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION betwenee y^e Plantations under y^e Governmente of Massachusets, y^e Plantations under y^e Governmente of New-Plimoth, y^e Plantations under y^e Governmente of Conigetcute, and y^e Governmente of New Haven, with y^e Plantations in combination therewith.

“Whereas, we all came unto these parts of America with one and y^e same end and aime, namely, to advance the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ & to enjoye y^e liberties of y^e Gospell in puritie with peace; and whereas, in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon y^e sea coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so y^t we cannot, according to our desires, with convenience communicate in one governmente & jurisdiction; and whereas, we live encompassed with people of several nations and strang languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posteritie; and for as much as y^e natives have formerly committed sundrie insolences and outrages

¹ *Vide Appendix VIII.* pg. 157.

upon severall plantations of y^e English, and have of late combined them selvers against us, and seeing by reason of those distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from y^t humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expete; we therefore doe concive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consaciation amongst ourselves for mutuall help & strength in all our future concernments. That as in nation and religion, so in other respects we be & continue one according to y^e tenor and true meaning of the insuing articles. Wherfore, it is fully agreed and concluded by and betweene y^e parties in jurisdictions above named, and they joynly & severally doe by these presents agree & conclude that they all be and henceforth be called by y^e name of The United Colonies of New England.

"2. The said United Collonies, for them selvers & their posterities, doe joynly & severally hereby enter into a firme & perpetuall league of friendship & amitie for offence and defence, mutuall advice and succore upon all just occasions, both for preserving & propagating y^e truth (and liberties) of y^e Gospell and for their owne mutuall easie and welfare.

"3. It is further agreed, that the plantations which at present are, or hereafter shall be, settled within y^e limites of y^e Massachusets, shall be for ever under y^e Massachusets, and shall have peculiar jurisdiction amongst them selves in all cases as an entire body. And y^e Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New Haven shall each of them have like peculiar jurisdiction and governmente within their limites respectively; provided y^t no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distincke head or member of this confederacion, nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in presente being and not allreadly in combination or under y^e juridiction of any of these confederats be received by any of them, nor shall any tow of y^e confederats joyne in one jurisdiction without consente of y^e rest, which consente to be interpreted as is expresed in y^e sixte article ensewing.

"4. It is by these confederats agreed, y^t the charge of all just warrs, whether offensive or defencive, upon what parte or member of this confederacion soever they fall, shall, both in men, provisions, and all other disbursments, be borne by all y^e parts of this confederacion in differente proportions, according to their differente abilities, in manner following: namely, y^t the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as there shall be occasion, bring a true accounte and number of all their males, in every plantation or any way belonging too or under their severall jurisdictions, of what qualitie or condition soever they be, from 16 years old to 60, being inhabitants there, and y^t according to y^e differente numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction, upon a true & just accounte, the service of men and all charges of y^e warr be borne by y^e pole, each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their owne just course & custome of rating them selves and people according to their differente estates, with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst them selves, though the confederats take no notice of any such priviledg. And y^t according to their differente charge of each jurisdiction & plantation the whole advantage of y^e warr (if it please God to bless their endeavours), whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably devided amone y^e said confederats.

"5. It is further agreed that, if (any of) these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combynacion with them, be invaded by any enemio whonsocver, upon notice & requeste of any 3 magistrats of y^t jurisdiction so invaded, y^e rest of y^e confederats, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith send ayde to y^e confederate in danger, but in different proportion, namely, y^e Massachusets an hundred men, sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of

y^e rest forty five so armed & provided, or any lesser number, if less be required, according to this proportion. But if such confederate in danger may be supplied by their nexte confederates, not exceeding y^e number hereby agreed, they may crave help then and seeke no further for y^e presente, y^e charge to be borne as in this article is exprest, and at y^e retурne to be victuled & suplyed with powder & shote for their jurney (if there be need) by y^t jurisdiction which employed or sent for them. But none of y^e jurisdictions to exceede these numbers till, by a meeting of y^e commissioners for this confederacion, a greater aide appeare necessary. And this proportion to continue till, upon knowledge of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to y^e nexte meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in (any) such case of sending men for presente aide, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed y^t at y^e meeting of y^e commissioners of this confederacion, the cause of such warr or invasion be duly considered, and if it appeare y^t the folte lay in y^e parties so invaded, y^t then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to y^e invaders, whom they have injured, and beare all y^e charges of y^e warr themselves, without requiring any allowance from y^e rest of y^e confederats towards y^e same. And further, y^t if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching, and ther be time for a meeting, that in such case 3 magistrats of y^t jurisdiction may sumone a meeting at such convenient place at them selves shall think meeet, to consider & provid against y^e threatened danger, provided, when they are mett they may remove to what place they please, only whilst any of these four confederats have but three magistrats in their jurisdiction then requeste or summons from any 2 of them shall be accounted of equall force with y^e three mentioned in both the clauses of this article till ther be an increase of magistrats ther.

"6. It is also agreed y^t for y^e managing & concluding of all affairs proper & concerning the whole confederacion tow comissioners shall be chosen by & out of each of the 4 jurisdictions: namely, 2 for y^e Massachusets, 2 for Plimoth, 2 for Conightecutt, and 2 for New Haven, being all in Church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their severall Generall Courts respectively, to hear, examene, waigh, and determine all affairs of warr or peace, leagues and changes and numbers of men for warr, divisions of spoyle, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest; receeving of more confederats, and all things of like nature, which are y^e proper concomitants in consequence of such a confederacion for amitee, offence and defence; not intermeddling with y^e governments of any of y^e jurisdictions which by y^e 3. Article is preserved entirely to them selves. But if these 8 comissioners when they meeet shall not all agree, yet it (is) concluded that any 6. of the 8. agreeing shall have power to settle & determine y^e bussines in question. But if 6. doe not agree, that then such propositions with their reasons, so farr as they have been debated, be sente and referred to y^e 4. Generall Courts, viz., y^e Massachusets, Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New Haven; and if at all y^e said Generall Courts ye bussines so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by y^e confederats and all their numbers. It was further agreed that these 8. comissioners shall meeet once every year, besides extraordinarie meetings (according to the fiste article), to consider, treat, and conclude of all affaires belonging to this confederacion, which meeting shall ever be y^e first Thursday in September. And y^t the nx^t meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted y^e second meeting, shall be at Boston, in y^e Massachusets, the 3. at Hartford, the 4. at New Haven, the 5 at Plimoth, and so in course successively if in y^e meane time some midle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be comodious for all y^e jurisdictions.

"7. It is further agreed y^t at each meeting of these 8 comis-

sioners, whether ordinarie or extraordinary, they all 6. of them agreeing as before, may chuse a presidents out of them selves, whose office & worke shall be to take care and directe for order and a comly carrying on of all proceedings in y^e present meeting: but he shall be invested with no such power or respecte as by which he shall hinder y^e propounding or progrese of any bussines, or any way cast y^e scailes otherwise than in y^e precedente article is agreed.

“ 8. It is also agreed y^t the commissioners from the confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinarie, as they may have occasion or opportunitie, doe endeaver to frame and establish agreements & orders in generall cases of a civill nature, wherein all the plantations are interessed for y^e preserving of peace amongst them selves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of warr or difference with others; as about y^e free & speedy passage of justice in every jurisdiction to all y^e confederats equally as to their owne: receiving those y^t remove from one plantation to another without due certificate: how all y^e jurisdictions may carry towards y^e Indians that they neither grove insolente nor be injured without due satisfaction, least warr breake in upon the confederats through such miscarriages. It is also agreed y^t if any servant run away from his maister into another of these confederated jurisdictions, that in such case, upon y^e certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which y^e said servante fled, or upon other due prooфе, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master or any other y^t pursues & brings such certificate or prooфе. And y^t upon y^e escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive from any criminall cause, whether breaking prison or getting from y^e officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of 2 magistrats of y^e jurisdiction out of which y^e escape is made that he was a prisoner or such an offender at y^e time of y^e escape, the magistrate or sume of them of y^t jurisdiction where for y^e presente the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grante such a warrante as y^e case will beare, for ye apprehending of any such person & y^e delivering of him into y^e hands of y^e officer or other person who pursues him. And if there be help required for y^e safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him y^t craves y^e same, he paying the charges thereof.

“ 9. And for y^t the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence, especialiay to y^t smuler plantations in these United Colonies, it is agreed that neither y^e Massachusets, Plimoth, Conigetcutt, nor New Haven, nor any member of any of them, shall at any time hereafter beginne, undertake, or ingage themselves in this confederation, or any parte thereof, in any warr whatsoever (sudden exegents with y^e necessary consequents thereof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as y^e case will permitte), without y^e consente and agreements of the foemenctioned 8. commissioners, or at y^e least 6. of them, as in the sixth article is provided. And y^t no charge be required of any of the confederats in case of a defensive warr till y^e said commissioners have mett and approved y^e justice of the warr, and have agreed upon y^e sume of money to be levied, which sume is then to be paid by the severall confederats in proportion according to y^e fourth article.

“ 10. That on extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrats of any jurisdiction, or 2 as in y^e 5. article, if any of y^e commissioners come not, due warning being given or sente, it is agreed y^t 4. of the commissioners shall have power to directe a warr which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction as well as 6. might doe if all mett: but not less than 6. shall determine the justice of the warr, or allow y^e demands on bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for y^e same.

“ 11. It is further agreed y^t if any of y^e confederats shall

hereafter breake any of these presents articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of y^e other jurisdictions, such breach of agreements or injurie shall be duly considered and ordered by y^e commissioners for y^e other jurisdiction; that both peace and this presente confederation may be intirly preserved without violation.

“ 12. Lastly, this perpetuall confederation and y^e severall articles therof being read and seriously considered both by ye Generall Courte for y^e Massachusets and by y^e commissioners for Plimoth, Conigetcutt, and New Haven were fully alowed & confirmed by 3. of the foemenctioned confederats, namely, y^e Massachusets, Conigetcutt, and New Haven; only y^e commissioners for Plimoth haveing no comission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their Generall Courte; wher upon it was agreed and concluded by y^e said Court of y^e Massachusets and the commissioners for y^e other tow confederats, that if Plimoth consente, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is and shall continue firme & stable without alteration. But if Plimoth come not in, yet y^e other three confederats doe by these presents confeirme y^e whole confederation and y^e articles therof: only in September nexte, when y^e second meeting of y^e commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of the 6. article which concerns number of commissioners for meeting & concluding the affaires of this confederation to y^e satisfaction of y^e Courte of y^e Massachusets and y^e commissioners for y^e other 2. confederats, but the rest to stand unquestioned. In y^e testimonie whereof y^e Generall Courte of y^e Massachusets by the secretary, and y^e commissioners for Conigetcutt and New Haven, have subscribed these presente articles this 19 of y^e third Month, comonly called May, Anno Dom. 1643.

“ At a meeting of y^e commissioners for y^e confederation, held at Boston y^e 7. of Sept., it appearing that the Generall Courte of New Plimoth and y^e severall townshipes therof have read & considered & approved these articles of confederation, as appeareth by comission from their Generall Courte bearing date y^e 29. of August, 1643, to Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Collier, to ratifie and confirme y^e same on their behalves, we therefore, y^e commissioners for y^e Massachusets, Conigetcutt, & New Haven doe also for our severall governments subscribe unto them.

“ JOHN WINTHROP, Govⁿ of Massachuset.
“ THO: DUDLEY. THEOPH: EATON.
“ GEO: FENWICK. EDWA: HOPKINS.
“ THOMAS GREGSON.”

The eighth article of the combination is interesting as containing the germ both of the more modern fugitive slave law of the United States, and of the present provision of our Constitution and laws for requisitions by one State on another for the return of fugitives from justice. It seems to be a little doubtful, however, whether the right of requisition was not limited to actual prisoners, and inapplicable to persons who were merely suspected or charged with crime. The first meeting of the commissioners was an unfortunate one, and resulted in an act which was far from being in accord with the spirit which had always actuated the Pilgrims in their treatment of the Indians, and must have been urged rather by the commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven than by those of Massachusets and Plymouth. The Narragansett

tribe, after the Pequots had been subdued, assumed to rule over the Indians about them, among whom were the Monhiggs, of whom Uncas was the sachem, who had been during the Pequot war faithful to the Connecticut settlement, and now claimed their protection. This protection was accorded, and, in the language of Bradford, "they were engaged to support him in his just liberties, and were contented that such of the surviving Pequots as had submitted to him should remain with him and quietly under his protection. This did much increase his power and augment his greatness, which the Narragansetts could not endure to see." Myantinomo, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, failing to destroy him by treachery, finally attacked Uncas with a large force. "But it pleased God," says Bradford again, "to give Uncas the victory, and he slew many of his men and wounded many more, but the chief of all was he took Miantonomo prisoner. And seeing he was a great man and the Narragansetts a potent people and would seek revenge, he would do nothing in the case without the advice of the English; so he (by the help & direction of those of Conightecutt) kept him prisoner till the meeting of the commissioners. The commissioners weighed the cause & passages as they were clearly represented & sufficiently evidenced betwixt Uncas and Myantinomo; and the things being duly considered, the commissioners apparently saw that Uncas could not be safe whilst Miantonomo lived, but either by secret treachery or open force his life would still be in danger. Wherefore they thought he might justly put such a false and blood-thirsty enemy to death; but in his own jurisdiction, not in the English plantations. And they advised in the manner of his death all mercy and moderation should be showed contrary to the practice of the Indians, who exercise torture and cruelty. And Uncas, having hitherto showed himself a friend to the English, and in this craving their advice if the Narragansett Indians or others should urgently assault Uncas for the execution, upon notice and request the English promise to assist and protect him as far as they may against such violence. This was the issue of this business. The reasons and passages hereof are more at large to be seen in the acts & records of this meeting of the commissioners. And Uncas followed this advice and accordingly executed him in a very fair manner according as they advised, with due respect to his honor and greatness."

The confederation continued until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros in 1686, who came with a commission from James the Second as Governor of New England. New Haven, however, had in 1665 been

annexed to Connecticut. Four copies of the records were kept, and one deposited in each colony. With the exception of the records of the September meeting in 1646 and May, 1653, and a part of the records of September, 1648, and April, 1653, the Massachusetts copy was destroyed by fire in 1747. The Connecticut copy is in a good state of preservation, and as the New Haven copy is missing it was probably never completed. The Plymouth copy is deposited in the registry of deeds for Plymouth County, and is chiefly in the handwriting of Nathaniel Sowther and Nathaniel Morton, the two first secretaries of the Plymouth Colony.

About the time of the establishment of the confederation, or soon after, the population of the town of Plymouth, by reason of the settlement of other towns, had become reduced to about one hundred and fifty, and the tendency to migration to other places, where richer soil tempted the colonists, was so strong that it was a matter of serious consideration whether an entire removal would not be better than an enfeebled and languishing community. It was the welfare of the church which was chiefly sought, and that it should remain as far as possible united was their anxious care. "Many meetings and much consultation was held hereabout," Bradford says, "and divers were men's minds and opinions. Some were still for staying together in the place, alleging men might here live if they would be content with their condition; and that it was not for want or necessity so much that they removed as for the enriching of themselves. Others were resolute upon removal and so signified that here they could not stay; but if the church did not remove they must, insomuch as many were swayed rather than there should be a dissolution to descend to a removal if a fit place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortably receive the whole with such accession of others as might come to them for their better strength and subsistence, and some such like cautions and limitations. So as with the aforesaid provisos the greater part consented to a removal to a place called Nauset, which had been superficially viewed, and the good will of the purchasers (to whom it belonged) obtained, with some addition thereto from the courts. But now they began to see their error, that they had given away already the best and most commodious places to others and now wanted themselves; for this place was about fifty miles from hence and at an outside of the country remote from all society, also that it would prove so straight as it would not be competent to receive the whole body much less be capable of any addition or increase, so as (at least in a short time) they should

be worse there than they are now here. The which, with sundry other like considerations and inconveniences made them change their resolutions, but such as were before resolved upon removal took advantage of this agreement and went on notwithstanding, neither could the rest hinder them, they having made some beginning. And thus was this poor church left like an ancient mother grown old and forsaken of her children (though not in their affections) yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness. Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and those of later times being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor."

The tract of land called Nauset was one of those which it will be remembered were reserved by Governor Bradford in his assignment of the patent of 1629 to the colonists for the benefit of the "purchasers or old comers." In addition to this in 1644-45 the court granted "to the church of New Plymouth or those that goe to dwell at Nossett all that tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchaser's bounds at Naumshecket to the Herring Brook at Billingsgate, with the said Herring Brook and all the meadows on both sides of said brook with the great Bass Pound there, and all the meadows and islands lying within the said tract." In 1646, Nauset was incorporated, and in 1651 its name was changed by the court to Eastham. Among those who migrated to this new settlement were Thomas Prence, John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Josiah Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs, and all these names except that of Prence and that of Smalley, which has been probably changed to Small, have been always up to the present time distinctive names on the cape. Thus narrowly did Plymouth escape the loss of its distinction as the seat of government and of the central church. If the general movement had been made it would have resulted only in the transfer of these to Eastham, and not in its extinction as a municipality. The old settlement would doubtless have continued to exist and to grow. Its harbor, its streams, its springs, the tolerable richness of its soil would have attracted and sustained a population better than the new location, and it is probable that the experiment on the cape would have resulted in failure. It is strange that possibilities of greater success in agricultural pursuits should have there been found to silence the complaints of those who saw only in Plymouth the "straightness and barrenness of its land." The language of Bradford plainly indicates that he did not favor the enter-

prise, and it is not probable that either Winslow or Standish, who had found homesteads suited to their wants and tastes in Marshfield and Duxbury, lent to it their encouragement. Nothing more was heard of a removal. The discovery of richer lands in the South Meadows and other well-watered parts of what are now Carver and Plympton, drew some of the colonists in that direction, and the gradual growth of the colony along its northern borders, in Scituate and Bridgewater, and Nemasket, put an end to the scheme of removing the government from a central point to the remotest limits of its jurisdiction.

The church at Eastham, established in 1644, was the third offshoot of the parent church, those of Duxbury and Marshfield, in 1632, having been the other two. The church in Scituate, organized largely by settlers from Massachusetts, could hardly have claimed it as its mother. These churches were the foundations of the towns, and after the churches were established grants were made and acts of incorporation followed. In some respects the churches and the towns were identical. The towns settled the ministers and paid their salaries out of the rates assessed on the inhabitants. The original church of the town formed the territorial parish, and every inhabitant was supposed to have been born into its fold. Until 1834 every inhabitant was assumed to be a member of the territorial parish, and paid his parish tax to the treasurer of the town until he notified the parish committee in writing that he had attached himself to another. Subsequent to the settlement of the earliest towns companies were formed from time to time, receiving grants of land from the colony, and becoming "purchasers" or "proprietors" or founders of towns. These grants conveyed, however, nothing more than a pre-emption right, and were not to take effect until the Indians had released their rights and titles by a formal sale. The proprietors organized as an association, having their own clerk and selling lands to settlers. Their records, next to the grants of the towns in the Old Colony.

It has already been stated that the first entry in the town records bears the date of 1637. Precisely under what authority the records were kept neither the orders of court nor the laws disclose. In the revision of the laws, bearing date Nov. 15, 1636, the first provision seems to have been made for a clerk of the colony court, and on the third day of January, 1636/7, Nathaniel Sowther was chosen. From that time, or not long after, both the colony and town records were kept by him. From 1645 to 1679 both were kept by Nathaniel Morton, the successor of Na-

Nathaniel Sowther. On the 3d day of March, 1645/6, it was ordered by the court that the clerk or some one in every town "do keep a register of the day and year of every marriage, birth, and burial, and to have three pence apiece for his pains." It does not plainly appear whether the clerk here spoken of is the clerk of the court or of the town. It is certain, however, that until 1679 the records of town proceedings were kept by the clerk of the colony. In 1679, Nathaniel Morton was formally chosen town clerk, and from that time until his death the records continued to be kept by him. In 1685, Thomas Faunce was chosen as his successor. The volumes containing the births, deaths, and marriages were opened by him in that year, and though they contain entries as early as 1662, it is evident that they were made by Mr. Faunce from memoranda which came into his possession from Mr. Morton. The predecessors of Mr. Faunce had complied with the law of 1645/6, and had registered during their terms of office the births, deaths, and marriages in the Old Colony Records. After the death of Nathaniel Morton, Nathaniel Clark became secretary of the colony, followed by Samuel Sprague, who, except during the usurpation of Andros, continued to act until the union in 1692. Thomas Faunce, who was chosen town clerk in 1685, remained in office until 1723, when he was succeeded by John Dyer, who held the office from 1723 to 1731, and, after a year's incumbency by Gershom Foster in 1732, from 1733 to 1738. Edward Winslow acted as clerk until 1741, succeeded by Samuel Bartlett, whose term extended from 1742 to 1765. John Cotton in 1766; Ephraim Spooner, from 1767 to 1818; Thomas Drew, from 1818 to 1840; Timothy Berry, from 1840 to 1852; Leander Lovell, from 1852 to 1878; and Curtis Davie, the present incumbent, complete the list.¹

Of Nathaniel Sowther, the first secretary of the colony, little is known. His first appearance in the colony was in 1635, when on the 4th of October in that year he was made a freeman. His qualifications for the office of secretary, to which he was so soon chosen, must have admitted him to the list of freeholders at an early day, and it is fair to presume, therefore, that 1635 was the date of his arrival. It may be also said that the immediate recognition of his fitness for the important post of secretary, and his advancement over those who had been longer in the colony, show him to have been a man of more than ordinary endowments. Of his antecedents and family nothing is known. Judge Davis, in his notes to Morton's "New England's Memorial," has expressed the opinion that the name was identical with South-

worth, and spelled as it might have been sometimes pronounced. But a theory, which at first seems plausible, becomes more than doubtful when we find repeatedly in the same record made by Sowther himself the distinction between the two names pronounced. The name as written by him was Sowther, and such he always signed it as long as he remained in the colony. He left no male descendants. By a wife, Alice, who died in Boston in 1651, he had two daughters,—Hannah (who married William Hanbury, and a second husband named Johnson) and Mary (who married Joseph Starr). In 1638 he bought of Lieut. William Holmes, who next to Miles Standish was for a time the chief military personage in the colony, a lot of land on Burial Hill west of the land of John Alden, and almost precisely the spot now occupied by the northerly row of tombs. Here he undoubtedly lived until about 1649, when he removed to Boston. He there married, in 1653, Widow Sarah Hill, and died in 1655. It may be here suggested that the residence of Lieut. Holmes was established near the fort, over which, as second in command, he would have had some supervision. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may perhaps be still further presumed that in the earliest days the residence of Standish was still farther up the hill and nearer the fort.

Nathaniel Morton, the successor of Sowther, has already been perhaps sufficiently referred to. It is only necessary to say, further, that he was ten years old when he came with his father, George, in the "Ann," in 1623, and married, in 1635, Lydia Cooper, by whom he had Remember, 1637, who married Abraham Jackson; Mercy, who married Joseph Dunham; Lydia, who married George Ellison; Elizabeth, who married Nathaniel Bosworth; Joanna (1654), who married Joseph Prince; Hannah, who married Benjamin Bosworth; Eleaser, and Nathaniel. His sons died unmarried, and he therefore left no descendants bearing the name. The family of Jacksons descended from his daughter, Remember, has always been a numerous and prominent one in Plymouth; and descendants of his brothers, John and Ephraim, bearing the name of Morton, are scattered all over New England. Mr. Morton lived for many years on the estate now occupied by Amasa Holmes, immediately north of Wellingsby Brook, on the westerly side of the road; and in the latter part of his life, until his death in 1685, he occupied a house which stood on the easterly side of Market Street, immediately above the estate of the late John B. Atwood.

Nathaniel Clark, the successor of Nathaniel Mor-

¹ *Vide Appendix IX.* pg. 158.

ton, was the son of Thomas Clark, who came in the "Ann," in 1623. For many years the father enjoyed the undeserved distinction of having been the mate of the "Mayflower," and even now the tradition has taken so strong a hold that it is almost impossible, by the aid even of indisputable testimony, to eradicate it. His gravestone, on Burial Hill, is pointed out daily as that of the "Mayflower's" mate by those whose learning and knowledge are acquired from the traditions of their fathers, rather than from the newly-discovered facts of undoubted history. Thomas Clark, in question, was a carpenter by trade, and according to a statement made by him under oath in 1664, he was then fifty-nine years of age, or at the time of the landing, in 1620, but fifteen. We are not left, however, to the mere presumption that one so young, who afterwards pursued the trade of a mechanic, could not have occupied the responsible position of a mate. In a letter of Robert Cushman, bearing date June 11, 1620, he says, "We have hired another pilot here, one Mr. Clarke, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine." Rev. E. D. Neill, in some recent investigations in England, has discovered that Capt. Jones, afterwards the master of the "Mayflower," went to Virginia in 1619 in command of a vessel loaded with kine, and that John Clark was employed by the Virginia Company in the enterprise. It may be stated, then, that the mate of the "Mayflower" was certainly not Thomas Clark, and was probably John, who went to Virginia, in 1619, with kine. Nathaniel Clark, the son of Thomas, was an attorney-at-law, or as near to one as the conditions and exigencies of the times either permitted or required. He married Dorothy, the widow of Edward Gray, an enterprising and thrifty merchant, and daughter of Thomas Lettice, a respectable inn-keeper, but had no children, and left no descendants. Soon after his election to the office of secretary, Sir Edmund Andros arrived in the country commissioned by James the Second as Governor of New England. Under his administration the colonial government was superseded, and the office of secretary necessarily vacated. Andros declared all public lands vested in the crown, and ordered that all private titles should be quieted by his confirmation alone. The governments of the other colonies were also suspended, and the confederated union was dissolved. With popular dissatisfaction almost universal, Mr. Clark fastened himself to the royal Governor, and became one of his most subservient instruments and tools. Among other landed possessions of the town of Plymouth was Clark's Island, named after the "Mayflower's" mate, John Clark, who, in command of the shallop of the

"Mayflower," safely landed his boat's company there on the 8th of November, 1620, and spent there the following Sabbath. The island is so called in the records as early as the 3d of September, 1638. On the 7th of January, 1638/9, it is recorded that "the Court hath granted that Clark's Island, the Eele River beach (Plymouth Beach), Saganash (Saganash) & Gurnetts Nose shal be & remayne unto the towne of Plymouth, with the woods thereupon." This grant was made, it must be observed, nearly two years before the definition of the bounds of the town by the court in 1640, showing that the latter act of the government marks in no sense the date of the origin or quasi-incorporation of the town. From the date of the grant of the island to the town it had been made a source of profit to its inhabitants by the erection of salt-works and the restricted use of the timber and fuel which it afforded. On this island Mr. Clark fixed his greedy eyes, and applied to the Governor for its title. The State archives contain the following record:

"By his Excellency.—Whereas, Mr. Nathaniel Clark, of Plymouth, hath by his petition desired that a certain small Island, called Clark's Island, lying near New Plymouth, being vacant and unappropriated, may be granted to him for the better settlement and improvement thereof, of which notice hath been given already to the said town, but no due return made nor any persons appeared thereon. These are, therefore, to require you forthwith to give public notice in the said town that if any person or persons have any claim or title to the said Island they appear before me, in Council, on the 1st Wednesday in February next, and then and there show forth such their claim and title accordingly, of which you are not to fail and to make due return. Dated at Boston 21 day of Dec., 1687.

ANDROS.

*"To MR. SAMUEL SPRAGUE, High Sheriff
of the County of Plymouth.*

"By His Excellencies command.

"The above written was publicly read to the whole of the Town of Plymouth, aforesaid, at their Town-meeting the 23 day of January, 1687/8.

"pr SAM'L SPRAGUE, Sheriff."

A later record contains the following:

"By virtue of a warrant from his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain-General, and Governor-in-Chief of his Majesty's territory and dominion of New England, bearing date Boston, the 23d of February, 1687, I have surveyed and laid out for Mr. Nathaniel Clark a certain small Island, being known by the name of Clark's Island, and is situated and lying in New Plymouth Bay, bearing from the meeting-house in Plymouth north by northeast about three miles, and is bounded round with water and flats, and contains eighty-six acres and a quarter and three rods. Performed this 3d day of March, 1687/8.

PHILLIP WELLS, Surveyor."

But the town did not yield up the island to the usurper without resistance. A town-meeting was called and a committee chosen to take steps towards

reclaiming the island, and to collect subscriptions to defray the expenses of the undertaking. The committee, together with Elder Faunce, the town clerk, and Ichabod Wiswell, were arrested for levying and aiding in levying taxes upon his Majesty's subjects and bound over to the Supreme Court at Boston. The annoyances and vexations to which they were subjected only increased the spirit of resistance and strengthened the determination of the town to maintain its rights. Before the matter was settled, however, news was received (on the 18th of April, 1689) of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, and on the 29th William and Mary were proclaimed in Boston. Andros was arrested and sent to England, and Clark, as his most pliant coadjutor, was arrested also, and sent as his companion. At a town-meeting of the inhabitants the following declaration was made: "Whereas, we have not only just grounds to suspect, but are well assured that Nathaniel Clark hath been a real enemy to the peace and prosperity of the people, and hath, by lying and false information to the late Governor, caused much trouble and damage to this place, endeavored to deprive us of our lands, and exposed us to the unjust severity of persons ill affected to us whereby a considerable part of our estates is unrighteously extorted from us, to the great prejudice of our families and the loss of many necessary comforts, and he persisting from time to time in his own malicious forging of complaints against one or another of us, whereby we are in continual hazard of many further great inconveniences and mischief, we do therefore seize upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice to deal with him according to his desert." On his arrival in England Clark was discharged and sent back, and on his return to Plymouth and his practice he built a house on the northeast corner of what is now the garden of Albert C. Chandler, where he lived until 1717, the year of his death. Clark's Island was restored to the town, but soon after it was voted to sell the island, Saquish, the Gurnet, and Colchester Swamp to defray the expenses of its attempted recovery. In 1690 it was sold to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton, and after a few years passed wholly into the hands of the Watson family, by whose various branches it is still owned.

Of Samuel Sprague, the last secretary of the colony, little is known, except that he was also made high sheriff of Plymouth County at its organization, in 1685, and died in 1710. After the colony of New Plymouth was merged into Massachusetts, under her new charter of 1691, the records of the Old Colony remained in his hands until his death. By some

unaccountable and unjustifiable neglect they were permitted for eighteen years to continue in the care of a private citizen, exposed to the danger of loss and destruction necessarily attending on unofficial and irresponsible guardianship. Immediately after his death, in response to representations made to the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace within the County of Plymouth, they ordered Nathaniel Thomas, at that time judge of probate, to take them into his care and custody until further orders. In November, 1710, the justices of the peace for the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol, into which the Old Colony had been divided in 1685, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to have them "kept and lodged in the town of Plymouth, which was the head town of the said Colony of Plymouth, and where the said Records were wont to be kept." On this petition it was ordered "that the Books, Records, and files of the General Court of the late Colony of New Plymouth be committed to the custody of the Clerk of the Inferior Court of the County of Plymouth for the time being, he dwelling in Plymouth, a perfect schedule thereof being made, with an Indent, to be passed for the same to the justices of the said Court. And that the clerk be empowered to transcribe and attest copies of the said Records for any that shall desire the same, upon paying the established fees."

These records, now deposited in the office of the register of deeds at Plymouth, consist of eighteen manuscript volumes, six of which contain the proceedings of the General Court and Court of Assistants; six, the deeds of estates; four, a registry of wills and inventories; one contains the judicial acts of the courts, the treasurer's accounts, and a list of births, deaths, and marriages, and the last is a volume of laws. All these up to 1637 are in the handwriting of the then Governors, Bradford, Winslow, and Prence, and after that date in that of the secretaries of the colony. In 1820 a commission, consisting of Samuel Davis, of Plymouth, Rev. James Freeman, of Boston, and Benjamin R. Nichols, of Salem, was appointed by the General Court to superintend the work of copying such portion of the records as they might think desirable. Under their direction the six volumes of court proceedings, one volume of deeds, the volumes of judicial acts, etc., and the volume of laws were copied, and the copies were deposited in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, where they may now be seen. As a part of the Old Colony archives, the acts of the commissioners of the United Colonies, in two volumes, are also deposited in the Plymouth registry, and have been always considered a part of the Colony Records, or records of New Plym-

outh. In 1855 a resolve was passed by the General Court providing "that eight hundred copies of the records of the colony of New Plymouth, with suitable indexes, be stereotyped and printed, under the supervision of the secretary of the commonwealth, who may appoint some competent person or persons to prepare said records for printing, and take charge of the same." Under this resolve Nathaniel Shurtleff, of Boston, was appointed editor, and under his direction David Pulsifer¹ was employed in making fair and legible copies for the press. For the commencement of the work the copies of the commission of 1820, carefully revised, were used for the printer, and Mr. Pulsifer confined his labors to those portions of the records of which copies had not been made. In printing the acts of the commissioners, the copy by Hazard, included in his "Collections," carefully compared with the original and corrected, was used, and thus the necessity of copying those also was obviated. By the time those portions of the records which had already been copied by the commission of 1820 and Hazard's copy of the commissioners' acts had been printed, the General Court stopped the work, and consequently the remaining portion of the records, consisting of five volumes of deeds and four volumes of wills and inventories, which were copied by Mr. Pulsifer at a large cost to the commonwealth, remain unprinted. The ten printed volumes are thought by many to include the entire records of the colony, when in fact copies of nine, and these perhaps in some respects the most important, lie packed away in a store-room at the State-House, rendering no return, until printed, for the labor and money expended in their preparation.

We have thus far in a cursory way traced the history of the colony and town during the first quarter of a century of the colony's existence, with some necessary allusions to later events connected, as effect with cause, with those of an earlier period. Though in 1645 Plymouth had existed for some years as a distinct municipality, its form and organization were far from complete. Constables had been provided for by law and chosen in 1636, coroners in the same year; by-laws were authorized by the court, and deputies to the General Court were ordered in 1638; raters of taxes were chosen in 1643, surveyors of highways were provided for in 1644, a town clerk in 1646, and in 1641 it was enacted that each town should make competent provision for the support of its poor. But the town system was nevertheless incomplete. There was a necessity for some superintending head to have such a care for the interests and welfare of the town as the colonial government, with

its extending limits and jurisdiction, was failing in its power to exercise. The superintending head was found in a board of selectmen, and with their establishment the town government in the Old Colony assumed the form and shape they wear to-day, with such changes as time and circumstances have rendered necessary. In 1662 it was enacted by the court "that in every town of this jurisdiction there be three or four selectmen chosen by the townsmen out of the freemen, such as shall be approved by the court, for the better managing of the affairs of the respective townships, and that the selectmen in every town, or the major part of them, are hereby empowered to hear and determine all debts and differences arising between person and persons within their respective townships not exceeding forty shillings, as also they are hereby empowered to learn and determine all differences arising betwixt any Indians and the English of their respective townships about damage done in corn by the cows, swine, or any other beasts belonging to the inhabitants of the said respective townships; and the determination of the abovesaid differences not being satisfied as was agreed the party wronged to repair to some magistrate for a warrant to receive such award by distress. It is further enacted by the court that the said selectmen in every township approved by the court or any of them shall have power to give forth summons in his Majestie's name to require any persons complained of to attend the hearing of the case, and to summon witnesses to give testimony upon that account, and to determine the controversies according to legal evidence, and that the persons complaining shall serve the summons themselves upon the persons complained against, and in the case of their non-appearance to proceed on notwithstanding in the hearing and determination of such controversy as comes before them, and to have twelve pence apiece for every award they agree upon."

In some way and under some authority Plymouth anticipated this law, and on the 18th of February, 1649/50, voted to choose seven men to order the affiars and dispose of lands to persons, who should not sell if they leave, look after the poor and make a rate for relief, hire and employ men to herd cattle, said seven men annual, and the doings of five be legal." They were not called selectmen until after the passage of the law of 1662, but their powers and functions were substantially the same, except in their judicial character. The following list of selectmen is added to this narrative for the purpose of presenting the names of those who have represented the different generations in the life of the town:

¹ *Vide Appendix X. pg. 158.*

1649. John Barnes.	1696. John Rickard, Jr.	1722. Benjamin Warren.	1740. The same.
Robert Finney.	Thomas Faunce.	John Foster.	1741. The same.
Thomas Willet.	1697. Nath'l Thomas, Jr.	James Barnaby.	1742. The same.
Thomas Southworth.	Ephraim Morton.	John Dyer.	1743. Stephen Churchill.
John Cook, Jr.	Thomas Faunce.	John Bradford.	Haviland Torrey.
John Dunham.	1698. William Shurtleff.	1723. Benjamin Warren.	Lazarus Le Baron.
Thomas Clark.	John Rickard, Jr.	John Foster.	James Warren.
1650. The same.	John Murdock.	James Barnaby.	Josiah Morton.
1665. Thomas Southworth.	1699. William Shurtleff.	John Dyer.	1744. Stephen Churchill.
Ephraim Morton.	James Warren.	Josiah Morton.	Lazarus Le Baron.
John Howland.	John Watson.	1724. The same.	Josiah Morton.
George Watson.	1700. William Shurtleff.	1725. Isaac Lathrop.	Nath'l Thomas.
Robert Finney.	James Warren.	John Foster.	Haviland Torrey.
1666. John Morton.	John Murdock.	John Dyer.	1745. Lazarus Le Baron.
Ephraim Morton.	1701. John Bradford.	Jacob Mitchell.	Haviland Torrey.
Robert Finney.	Nath'l Morton.	Josiah Morton.	Joseph Bartlett.
Nath'l Warren.	William Shurtleff.	1726. Isaac Lathrop.	Nath'l Thomas.
William Harlow.	1702. John Bradford.	John Foster.	Stephen Churchill.
1669. Ephraim Morton.	John Rickard, Jr.	John Dyer.	1746. Lazarus Le Baron.
William Harlow.	Samuel Sturtevant.	Jacob Mitchell.	Stephen Churchill.
William Crow.	Nath'l Morton.	Thomas Croad.	Haviland Torrey.
1676. Ephraim Morton.	1703. John Bradford.	1727. Isaac Lathrop.	Joseph Bartlett.
William Crow.	Samuel Sturtevant.	John Foster.	John Watson.
William Clark.	Nath'l Morton.	Benjamin Warren.	1747. Stephen Churchill.
Joseph Howland.	1704. The same.	John Dyer.	Josiah Morton.
1677. William Harlow.	1705. William Shurtleff.	Josiah Morton.	Haviland Torrey.
William Crow.	Nath'l Morton.	1728. The same.	Lazarus Le Baron.
1682. Ephraim Morton.	Caleb Loring.	1729. The same.	John Watson.
William Crow.	1706. Nath'l Morton.	1730. The same.	1748. Haviland Torrey.
William Clark.	Caleb Loring.	1731. The same.	Lazarus Le Baron.
1683. Ephraim Morton.	John Watson.	1732. John Barnes.	Thomas Holmes.
William Crow.	1707. Nath'l Morton.	John Foster.	John Watson.
William Harlow.	Caleb Loring.	Benjamin Warren.	Joseph Bartlett.
1684. Ephraim Morton.	Benjamin Warren.	John Dyer.	1749. The same.
William Harlow.	1708. John Bradford.	Josiah Morton.	1750. The same.
Joseph Warren.	Nath'l Morton.	1733. James Warren.	1751. John Torrey.
Joseph Howland.	Benjamin Warren.	Josiah Morton.	Lazarus Le Baron.
William Clark.	1709. John Bradford.	John Barnes.	Thomas Holmes.
1686. Ephraim Morton.	John Dyer.	John Dyer.	John Watson.
William Harlow.	Benjamin Warren.	Stephen Churchill.	Joseph Bartlett.
Joseph Warren.	1710. The same.	1734. Josiah Morton.	1752. Thomas Holmes.
1687. Joseph Howland.	1711. The same.	Stephen Churchill.	James Warren.
Joseph Warren.	1712. The same.	Haviland Torrey.	Josiah Morton.
Isaac Cushman.	1713. The same.	Thomas Holmes.	Lazarus Le Baron.
1689. William Harlow.	1714. The same.	John Dyer.	John Torrey.
Joseph Bartlett.	1715. John Bradford.	1735. Josiah Morton.	1753. Josiah Morton.
Nath'l. Southworth.	John Dyer.	James Warren.	Thomas Holmes.
1691. William Harlow.	Benjamin Warren.	Thomas Howland.	Lazarus Le Baron.
Nath'l Southworth.	Abiel Shurtleff.	Samuel Nelson.	John Foster.
Thomas Faunce.	John Watson.	Lazarus Le Baron.	John Torrey.
1692. William Shurtleff.	1716. John Dyer.	1736. Stephen Churchill.	1754. Thomas Foster.
Isaac Cushman.	Benjamin Warren.	Haviland Torrey.	Lazarus Le Baron.
Thomas Faunce.	Abiel Shurtleff.	Lazarus Le Baron.	James Hovey.
Jonathan Morey.	1717. John Bradford.	Samuel Nelson.	John Torrey.
1693. Isaac Cushman.	John Dyer.	Joseph Bartlett.	Perez Tilson.
William Shurtleff.	Benjamin Warren.	1737. Stephen Churchill.	1755. The same.
Nath'l Southworth.	John Foster.	Samuel Nelson.	1756. John Foster.
John Sturtevant.	Abiel Shurtleff.	Lazarus Le Baron.	Lazarus Le Baron.
Thomas Faunce.	1718. The same.	James Warren.	Josiah Morton.
1694. Isaac Cushman.	1719. The same.	Josiah Morton.	John Torrey.
William Shurtleff.	1720. The same.	1738. The same.	George Watson.
Thomas Faunce.	1721. John Dyer.	1739. Stephen Churchill.	1757. Josiah Morton.
1695. Joseph Bartlett.	John Foster.	Thomas Holmes.	Edward Winslow.
John Waterman.	James Barnaby.	Lazarus Le Baron.	George Watson.
John Murdock.	Charles Little.	James Warren.	Theophilus Cotton.
1696. William Clark.	John Bradford.	Josiah Morton.	Joseph Bartlett.

1758. Josiah Morton.	1776. Nathaniel Lathrop.	1794. Andrew Croswell.	1814. John Paty.
Edward Winslow.	Sylvanus Bartlett.	William Davis.	Thomas Atwood.
George Watson.	Eleazer Stephens.	Thomas Witherell.	Josiah Cornish.
Sylvanus Bartlett.		Abner Bartlett.	
Joseph Bartlett.		Jesse Harlow.	
1759. The same.			
1760. The same.			
1761. Thomas Foster.	1777. John Cotton.	1795. Nathaniel Carver.	1815. The same.
Edward Winslow.	Ephraim Spooner.	Andrew Croswell.	1816. The same.
George Watson.	Nathaniel Lathrop.	Abner Bartlett.	1817. William Jackson.
John Torrey.	Sylvanus Bartlett.	Thomas Witherell.	William Sturtevant.
Thomas Mayhew.	Eleazer Stephens.	Ichabod Holmes.	Gideon Holbrook.
1762. Edward Winslow.	1778. George Watson.	1796. William Davis.	William P. Ripley.
George Watson.	Theophilus Cotton.	Thomas Witherell.	James Spooner.
James Warren.	William Crombie.	Abner Bartlett.	
James Hovey.	Thomas Nicolson.	Eleazer Holmes.	
Ephraim Spooner.	Ephraim Spooner.	Jesse Harlow.	
1763. Thomas Foster.	1779. William Crombie.	1797. William Davis.	
John Torrey.	Isaac Symms.	Thomas Witherell.	
Joseph Bartlett.	James Drew.	Abner Bartlett.	
Thomas Jackson.	Zaccheus Bartlett.	Jesse Harlow.	
Thomas Mayhew.	Josiah Clark.	Eleazer Holmes.	
1764. Thomas Foster.	Nathaniel Goodwin.	1798. The same.	
George Watson.	Ephraim Spooner.	1799. The same.	
John Torrey.	1781. Joshua Thomas.	1800. Thomas Witherell.	
Joseph Bartlett.	Naaman Holbrook.	Abner Bartlett.	
Thomas Jackson.	Stephen Doten.	Jesse Harlow.	
Thomas Mayhew.	Samuel Bartlett.	Eleazer Holmes.	
1765. Thomas Foster.	Daniel Diman.	James Thacher.	
Edward Winslow.	Barnabas Hedge.	1801. Jesse Harlow.	
John Torrey.	Ephraim Spooner.	Thomas Witherell.	
Theophilus Cotton.	1782. Thomas Davis.	Abner Bartlett.	
George Watson.	Naaman Holbrook.	John Bishop.	
1766. John Torrey.	Stephen Doten.	Eleazer Holmes.	
George Watson.	Daniel Diman.	1802. Thomas Witherell.	
Lazarus Le Baron.	William Le Baron.	John Bishop.	
Nathan Delano.	John Thomas.	William Davis.	
Elkanah Watson.	Ephraim Spooner.	Abner Bartlett.	
1767. George Watson.	1783. Thomas Davis.	Eleazer Holmes.	
John Foster.	Zaccheus Bartlett.	1803. Thomas Witherell.	
Lazarus Le Baron.	Stephen Doten.	John Bishop.	
John Torrey.	Daniel Diman.	Barnabas Churchill.	
John Blackmer.	William Le Baron.	Abner Bartlett.	
1768. The same.	John Thomas.	Joseph Bartlett.	
1769. The same.	Thomas Davis.	1804. The same.	
1770. George Watson.	William Le Baron.	1805. John Bishop.	
John Foster.	Zaccheus Bartlett.	William Davis.	
Ephraim Spooner.	Ephraim Spooner.	Zaccheus Bartlett.	
John Torrey.	1784. John Thomas.	Abner Bartlett.	
John Blackmer.	Thomas Davis.	John Paty.	
1771. The same.	William Le Baron.	1806. John Bishop.	
1772. The same.	Zaccheus Bartlett.	William Davis.	
1773. John Torrey.	William Hall Jackson.	Zoephraim Bartlett.	
George Watson.	Ichabod Holmes.	1807. The same.	
Zaccheus Bartlett.		1808. The same.	
Nathaniel Morton, Jr.		1809. The same.	
Ephraim Spooner.		1810. The same.	
1774. Benjamin Rider.	1789. Thomas Witherell.	1811. The same.	
John Torrey.	William Goodwin.	1812. Thomas Bartlett.	
Nathaniel Morton, Jr.	William Davis.	William Davis.	
Theophilus Cotton.	Barnabas Hedge.	Zoephraim Bartlett.	
Ephraim Spooner.	Abner Bartlett.	Abner Bartlett.	
1775. The same.	1790. The same.	John Paty.	
1776. John Cotton.	1791. The same.	1813. The same.	
Thomas Mayhew.	1792. The same.	1814. William Davis.	
	1793. The same.	Joseph Bartlett.	

1834. The same.	1852. Edmund Robbins.	1874. Charles B. Stoddard.	1882. William H. Nelson.
1835. The same.	1853. Jacob H. Loud.	Lemuel Bradford.	William T. Davis (de-
1836. The same.	Edmund Robbins.	Henry Whiting, Jr.	clined).
1838. John B. Thomas.	James Thurber.	David Clark.	John Churchill.
Bradford Barnes.	John Russell.	1875. The same.	David Clark.
Isaac Bartlett.	Ezekiel C. Turner.	1876. The same.	Leavitt T. Robbins.
Schuyler Sampson.	1854. Jacob H. Loud.	1877. The same.	Everett F. Sherman (to
Ezra Leach.	Edmund Robbins.	1878. The same.	fill vacancy).
1839. John B. Thomas.	William T. Davis.	1879. William H. Nelson.	1883. William H. Nelson.
Schuyler Sampson.	John Russell.	Henry Whiting, Jr.	John Churchill.
Ezra Leach.	Ezekiel C. Turner.	Charles B. Stoddard.	Leavitt T. Robbins.
Isaac Bartlett.	1855. Jacob H. Loud.	John Churchill.	Everett F. Sherman.
James Collins.	William T. Davis.	David Clark.	Winslow B. Standish.
Comfort Bates.	Ezekiel C. Turner.	1880. The same.	1884. The same.
1840. John B. Thomas.	Irsael Clark.	1881. The same.	1885. The same.
Schuyler Sampson.	Ezra Leach.		
Ezra Leach.	1856. William T. Davis.		
Comfort Bates.	Joseph Allen.		
Isaac Bartlett.	Joseph P. Brown.		
1841. John Russell.	Bradford Barnes.		
James Collins.	David Clark.		
Ezra Leach.	1857. The same.		
William S. Bartlett.	1858. The same.		
Benjamin Weston.	1859. The same.		
1842. The same.	1860. William T. Davis.		
1843. The same.	Joseph P. Brown.		
1844. John Russell.	Ezekiel C. Turner.		
William S. Bartlett.	David Clark.		
Ezra Leach.	Thomas B. Sears.		
Daniel Jackson.	1861. William T. Davis.		
Jeremiah Farris.	Lysander Dunham.		
1845. Jeremiah Farris.	Hosen Bartlett.		
Bartlett Holmes.	Thomas B. Sears.		
William M. Jackson.	Ezekiel C. Turner.		
Leander Lovell.	1862. The same.		
John Gooding.	1863. The same.		
1846. Leander Lovell.	1864. The same.		
John Russell.	1865. The same.		
John Bartlett.	1866. Albert Mason.		
David Bradford.	Ezekiel C. Turner.		
Henry F. Jackson.	Lysander Dunham.		
1847. Jacob H. Loud.	Thomas B. Sears.		
Leander Lovell.	Hosea Bartlett.		
David Bradford.	1867. The same.		
Joseph Allen.	1868. Albert Mason.		
William Randall.	Gideon Perkins.		
1848. Jacob H. Loud.	Lysander Dunham.		
Leander Lovell.	Thomas B. Sears.		
Allen Danforth.	Hosea Bartlett.		
Joseph Allen.	1869. The same.		
William Randall.	1870. William T. Davis (de-		
1849. The same.	clined).		
1850. William Davis.	Lysander Dunham.		
William H. Bradford.	Hosea Bartlett.		
George Harlow.	Lemuel Bradford.		
George Bramhall.	David Clark.		
Truman Bartlett.	Albert Mason (to fill va-		
1851. William Davis.	cancy).		
John Russell.	1871. Albert Mason.		
George Harlow.	Lemuel Bradford.		
George Bramhall.	Henry Whiting, Jr.		
Truman Bartlett.	William H. Nelson.		
1852. William Davis.	David Clark.		
Jacob H. Loud.	1872. The same.		
George Bramhall.	1873. The same.		
George Harlow.	1874. William H. Nelson.		

In 1646 both the colony and town suffered a serious loss in the departure of Edward Winslow for England, whose absence, though intended to be temporary, became permanent. He had been Governor during the years 1636 and 1644, had been at various times an agent of the colony in negotiations with the merchants of London and the council for New England, and his statesmanlike qualities had not only been appreciated by his own people, but had been discovered and recognized by the people of Massachusetts. In the year in question complaints had been made to the commissioners for foreign plantations by Robert Child and others that the Massachusetts Colony had denied them the privileges of civil and religious liberty, and charges had been made by Samuel Gorton and his associates of imprisonment and expulsion from their lands. The Massachusetts government, in November of that year, made choice of Mr. Winslow as—in the language of Governor Winthrop—"a fit man to be employed in England, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, courage, and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners." He sailed in December, and on arriving in London found that Gorton had published a statement of his case under the title of "Simplicie's Defence against Seven-Headed Policy," in answer to which he published "Hypocrie Unmasked," referred to earlier in this narrative. John Child, a brother of Robert, also published soon after a tract called "New England's Jonah cast up in London; or, a Relation of the Proceedings of the Court at Boston, in New England, against Divers Honest and Godly Persons," to which Winslow at once responded by the issue of "New England's Salamander discovered by an Irreligious and Scornful Pamphlet." The performance by Winslow of his duties as agent was successful and satisfactory. Hutchinson says, "By his prudent management and the credit and esteem he was in with many of the members of Parliament and principal persons then in

power, he prevented any prejudice to the colony from either of these applications."

Attached to "Hypocricie Unmasked" was "A Brief Narration of the True Grounds or Cause of the first Planting of New England," which was intended as an answer to a publication by Robert Baylie, entitled "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time." It is in the "Brief Narration," written twenty-seven years after the departure of the Pilgrims from Holland, that the only original reference is made to those words of Robinson, whose construction has divided the opinions of theological men. The parting instructions and exhortations of the pastor, a part of whose flock was leaving his fold, in the language of Winslow, "were these, or to the same purpose?" "We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether even he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light to break forth out of his holy word." The question in controversy is, What did Robinson mean by more light breaking out of the holy word? Did the light relate to mere forms and methods, or to essentials of belief, or to neither, and only to the evolution of social and moral reforms, for which the seed stored in the store-house of the Scriptures seems inexhaustible? Perhaps the more pertinent question to be answered first is, How far did Winslow, writing from memory after the lapse of a quarter of a century, present a faithful and accurate reproduction of the thought and statement of Robinson as he understood them, or, if he so faithfully reproduced them, whether his understanding was correct? It is only fair to say that a controversy has little importance which is based on so flimsy a foundation of hearsay evidence.

It is probable that the deportment of Winslow in England attracted the notice of Cromwell, and impressed him with his ability, and that he was thus drawn into the service of the Protector. In 1654 he was appointed by a commission deposited in Pilgrim Hall one of three commissioners to determine the value of English ships seized and destroyed by the king of Denmark, and in 1655 he accompanied the expedition under Admiral Penn and Gen. Venable against Hispaniola. On this expedition he was also one of three commissioners, and on a passage from St. Domingo to Jamaica he died on the 8th of May, and was buried at sea. In 1637, after his second

year of service as Governor, Mr. Winslow removed to Marshfield, resuming his residence in Plymouth during his third term in 1644. His return was in obedience to the law of the colony passed in 1633, "that the chief government be tied to the town of Plymouth, and that the Governor for the time being be tied there to keep his residence and dwelling." The investigations of the author disclose that after 1623, up to which time the dwelling-houses on Leyden Street were owned in common, he occupied two residences. It is probable that he first built and occupied a house which stood precisely on the lot next to the Baptist Church on Leyden Street, on which the house of Ephraim T. Paty now stands. That lot, which was afterwards occupied by James Cole, who there kept an inn, has a clear pedigree from Mr. Cole to its present owner. Judge Sewell says in his diary, under date of March 8, 1698, "Got to Plymouth about noon. I lodge at Cole's. The house was built by Governor Winslow, and is the oldest in Plymouth." The other house probably stood on the land allotted to him in 1623, immediately south of the inclosure in Winslow (Railroad) Square. On his removal to Marshfield, in 1637, he sold his old homestead and all his land in Plymouth except nine acres not built upon, of which the above was the northerly part. In 1639 he sold this land to George Bower, inserting the following provision in the deed, "that if the said Edward Winslow shall come and build upon the two furthermost of the nine acres, and dwell upon them himself, that then the said Edward shall have them at the same rate that the said George Bower now payeth for them, allowing him such further charge as the said George shall have then laid forth upon them." It is reasonable to suppose that when required by the law to return to Plymouth he occupied the lot reserved in his deed.

The early meetings of the town were held at the Governor's house. It was doubtless difficult for many years to separate by definite lines the town and the government which occupied it as its seat. They were warned by the constables, probably, in some manner, as at the present day, prescribed by the town. No record states who presided at the meetings or how the business was conducted. In 1679 the office of moderator having been established by the town itself, and not by the laws of the colony, William Bradford was requested by a vote of the town to preside at all meetings. This request was confirmed and renewed in 1679, and after that time no further reference is made to the office until 1717. The following is a list of those who up to the present year have performed its duties at the annual meetings:

1717. John Dyer.	1732. John Cotton.
1718. John Foster.	1733. Joshua Thomas.
1719. Isaac Lothrop.	1734. Andrew Croswell.
1720. Benjamin Warren.	1735-36. Joshua Thomas.
1721. Isaac Lothrop.	1737. Andrew Croswell.
1722. Josiah Cotton.	1738. Joshua Thomas.
1723-24. Isaac Lothrop.	1739-90. Thomas Davis.
1725. Josiah Cotton.	1791. Andrew Croswell.
1726. John Foster.	1792-93. Joshua Thomas.
1727-30. Isaac Lothrop.	1794. Andrew Croswell.
1731-33. Josiah Cotton.	1795-1816. Joshua Thomas.
1734-35. Isaac Lothrop.	1817-20. William Jackson.
1736. Josiah Cotton.	1821. Zabdiel Sampson.
1737. James Warren.	1822. William Jackson.
1738. Josiah Cotton.	1823-24. Zabdiel Sampson.
1739-41. James Warren.	1825. William Jackson.
1742. Stephen Churchill.	1826. Zabdiel Sampson.
1743-45. Lazarus Le Baron.	1827. William Jackson.
1746. Haviland Torrey.	1828. Zabdiel Sampson.
1747. Lazarus Le Baron.	1829-41. John B. Thomas.
1748-49. Haviland Torrey.	1842-44. John Russell.
1750. Thomas Foster.	1845. William S. Bartlett.
1751-57. Lazarus Le Baron.	1846. John Russell.
1758. Josiah Morton.	1847-49. Jacob H. Loud.
1759. Lazarus Le Baron.	1850. John Russell.
1760. Edward Winslow.	1851-52. William Davis.
1761. Lazarus Le Baron.	1853-55. Jacob H. Loud.
1762. James Hovey.	1856. William H. Spear.
1763-64. Lazarus Le Baron.	1857-58. William T. Davis.
1765. Thomas Foster.	1859. Jacob H. Loud.
1766-74. James Warren.	1860-67. William T. Davis.
1775-76. John Torrey.	1868-74. Albert Mason.
1777-78. John Cotton.	1875-78. William T. Davis.
1779. Ephraim Spooner.	1879-81. William H. Nelson.
1780. John Cotton.	1882-85. William T. Davis.
1781. Joshua Thomas.	

From 1651 until about the year 1700, and occasionally afterwards until the new court-house in Town Square was built in 1749, town-meetings were held in the meeting-house. When it was proposed to take down the old court-house, in 1748, the town offered to pay one thousand pounds of old tenor money more than its share as a county town towards the erection of a new one, provided the town could have the privilege of using it as long as it should stand for the transaction of the town's business. This offer with its conditions was accepted, and until 1821 the county court-house was used for town-meetings. In that year after the erection of the present court-house, the building was bought by the town for a town-house, at a cost of two thousand dollars, and has since been devoted to town purposes. As originally designed by Judge Oliver, of Middleboro', the front door was at the east end, but in 1786 it was changed to the north side, and a market established at the end towards the street, to which it gave its name. The market as first built consisted of a one-story wooden projection, which was finally taken away, and accommodations in the basement were substituted. In 1839 the hall was remodeled, it having retained until that time all

the old features of a court-room. In 1858 a room which had been previously occupied as a fire-engine room was converted into a selectmen's room, and the engine moved into the abandoned market. In 1881 the hall in the second story, then found too small for the wants of the growing population, was granted, temporarily, by the town to the public library, and is now undergoing changes to furnish offices for the various boards of the town, while town-meetings are now held in private halls hired for the occasion. The predecessor of the present building was built before the union of the colonies in 1692, and is referred to in records and deeds as the "country house." It was built on land which had never been granted by the town or colony to any individual, and which has always been identified with the uses of government. Here the General Court, the Court of Assistants, and the courts of law were held, the latter after the incorporation of the county, in 1685, at which date it is possible that it was erected. The government land extended in the rear of the estates on Market Street across High Street, not then laid out, to Summer Street where the prison stood until 1773, when a new prison was built near the spot on which the present court-house stands. After the union of the colonies the property, if ever in the possession of the county, passed into the hands of the province of Massachusetts Bay, as is shown by a grant of a portion of the land by the General Court of the province to Nathaniel Thomas, in 1694. It is a matter of interest that the spot is still identified with the purposes to which it was originally devoted, and it is earnestly hoped that no ill-advised ambition will ever lead the town into its abandonment.

In 1656 the death of Miles Standish occurred at Duxbury, followed in the next year by that of William Bradford, then holding for the twenty-fifth year the office of Governor; the former at about the age of seventy, and the latter of sixty-eight. Standish has been represented by some writers as a man of very advanced age, but there are reasons for putting his age no greater than above stated, which are reinforced by the fact that when hostilities with the Dutch were feared in 1653, he was appointed to command the force of the colony. With the deaths of these two men the original leaders of the Pilgrims disappeared, and with them much of the sweetness and moderation and liberality which, under their influence and example, had characterized the Old Colony. Bradford had scarcely been three months in his grave before the narrower spirit of Massachusetts began to make itself felt where he had always exercised a restraining hand. The old Pilgrim Colony had been

inundated and overwhelmed by migrations from her sister colony. Taunton, Rehoboth, Barnstable, Sandwich, and Yarmouth—all represented in the General Court—had been settled by immigrants having little or no affiliations with the colony into which they had come, who were permeated with the modes of thought and of legislation characterizing the colony they had left. Governor Bradford died in March, and in the June following it was ordered by the court “that in case any shall bring in any quaker ranter or other notorious heretics, either by land or water, into any part of this Government, shall forthwith upon order from any one magistrate return them to the place from whence they came, or clear the Government of them, on the penalty of paying a fine of twenty shillings for every week that they shall stay in the Government after warning.” This order was a mild form of the law inspiring it, which was enacted by the Massachusetts court the year before, and which is as follows: “Whereas there is a cursed set of heretics lately risen up in the world which are commonly called quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God and infallibly assisted by the spirit to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government and the order of God in church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways; The Court, considering the premises and to prevent the like mischief as by their means is wrought in our native land, Doth hereby order, and by the authority of this court be it ordered and enacted, that no master or commander of any ship, bark, pinnace, ketch, or other vessel shall henceforth bring into any harbor, creek, or cove within the jurisdiction any known quaker or quakers, or any blasphemous heretics, as aforesaid, upon the penalty of the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, to be forthwith paid to the treasurer of the county, except it appear that such master wanted true notice or information that they were such, and in that case he may clear himself by his oath when sufficient proof to the contrary is wanting.”

There is nothing of the spirit of Robinson in such enactments as these, and there is nothing of the spirit of those who followed him and were bound to him by almost apostolic ties. Nearly all of these—Carver, Warren, Hopkins, White, Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, Fuller, Chilton, and Tilley—had died, and those who were left offered a feeble barrier to the tide of bigotry which had now set in. But to the persecution of the Quakers which followed, what was left of the Pilgrim spirit did not yield its ready assent.

Isaac Robinson, a son of the pastor, by his sympathy with the new sect became obnoxious to the government, and was dismissed from civil employment. James Cudworth, one of the commissioners of the United Colonies from Plymouth and afterwards Deputy Governor, refused to sign the manifesto of the commissioners warning the colonies of the danger from the irruption of the heretics within their jurisdiction, and was tried as “an opposer of the laws, and sentenced to be deprived of the freedom of the commonwealth and to lose his military command.” Isaac Allerton and Arthur Howland exhibited the same liberality of spirit and suffered equal indignities. The prosecution was not carried on by the Pilgrims, and their heart and hand were not in it, any more than in the exile of Williams nearly a quarter of a century before. A somewhat significant answer to those who still charge the Pilgrims with illiberality towards those who differed from them in opinion may be found in the following extract from Winslow’s brief narrative, published in 1646:

“As for the Dutch, it was usual for our members that understood the language and lived in or occasionally came over to Leyden to communicate with them, as one John Jenney (a passenger in the ‘Ann,’ 1623), a brewer, long did, his wife and family, and without any offence to the church. So also for any that had occasion to travel into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like. And our Pastor, Mr. Robinson, in the time when Arminianism prevailed so much, at the request of the most orthodox divines, as Polyander, Festus, Hommius, &c., disputed daily against Episcopius (in the Academy at Leyden) and others, the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect among them as any of their own divines, inasmuch as when God took him away from them and us by death the University and ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities, bewailing the great loss that not only that particular church had whereof he was pastor, but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed that all the churches of Christ sustained a loss by the death of that worthy instrument of the Gospel. I could instance also divers of these members that understood the English tongue and betook themselves to the communion of our church, went with us to New England, as Godbert Godbertson (passenger in the ‘Ann,’ 1623, and afterwards called Cuthbert Cuthbertson). Yea, at this very instant another called Moses Symonson (Passenger in the ‘Fortune,’ 1621, whose descendants bear the name of Simmons), because a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch church at Leyden is admitted into church fellowship at Plymouth, in New England, and his children also to baptism, as well as our own and other Dutch also in communion at Salem. As for the French churches that we held and do hold communion with them, take notice of our practice at Leyden, viz., that one Samuel Terry was received from the French church there into communion with us. Also the wife of Francia Cooke, being a Walloon (an inhabitant of the district on the borders of France and Belgium), holds communion with the church at Plymouth, as she came from the French, to this day by virtue of communion of churches. There is also one Philip Delanoy (Dela Noye, a passenger in the ‘For-

tune,' 1621), born of French parents, came to us from Leyden to New Plymouth, who, coming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us, and proving himself to become of such parents as were in full communion with the French churches, was hereupon admitted by the Church of Plymouth."

Nor was the liberal spirit disclosed in this extract withheld from the English Church itself. So sensitive were the Pilgrims to the impropriety and unchristian charity of denouncing even the sect out of whose jurisdiction they had stepped, that Winslow could truthfully say, " 'Tis true we profess and desire to practice a separation from the world and the works of the world, which are works of the flesh such as the apostle speaketh of. And as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the Grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit unto church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the saints, may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joining to us formerly, either when we lived at Leyden, in Holland, or since we came to New England, have, with the manifestation of their faith and profession of holiness, held forth therewith separation from the Church of England, I have divers times, both in the one place and the other, heard either Mr. Robinson, our pastor, or Mr. Brewster, our elder, stop them forthwith, showing them that we required no such things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the fear of God, leaving the Church of England to themselves and to the Lord, before whom they should stand or fall, or to whom we ought to pray to reform what was amiss amongst them."

As an answer to the other charge so often made that Roger Williams was treated with severity by the Pilgrims at Plymouth and expelled from their borders, let the following extract from Bradford's history suffice:

"Mr. Roger Williams (a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment) came over first to the Massachusetts, but, upon some discontent, left the place and came hither (Plymouth), where he was friendly entertained according to their poor ability, and exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was admitted a member of the church; and his teaching well for the benefit, appeared whereof I still bless God, and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs so far as they agreed with truth. He this year (1633) began to fall into some strange opinions, and from opinion to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them some thing abruptly. Yet after wards sued for his dismission to the church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him. But he soon fell into more things there, both to them and the government trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name

particulars, they are too well known now to all, though for a time the church here went under some hard censure by her occasion from some that afterwards smarted themselves. But he is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter, and desire the Lord to show him his errors and reduce him into the way of truth, and give him a settled judgment and constancy in the same; for I hope he belongs to the Lord, and that he will show him mercy."

If any further testimony on this point is needed, let that of Elder Brewster, as recorded by Nathaniel Morton in "New England's Memorial," be added:

"In the year 1634, Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plymouth to Salem. He had lived about three years at Plymouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the Ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, the Pastor of the Church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding *such a concurrence as he expected*, he desired his dismission to the church of Salem, which, though some were unwilling to yield, through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster (the ruling elder there), fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause division, and there being then many able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him than themselves could, and foreseeing (what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, which afterwards came to pass) that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry which Mr. John Smith, the Sebaptist at Amsterdam, had done. The church of Plymouth consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem."

Nor was the moderation of the Pilgrims, as compared with their sister colonists, confined to those who differed from them in religious opinion. It was shown also in the treatment of witchcraft. The following extracts from the Old Colony Records cover the two solitary cases which were brought before the Colony Court. In one the accuser was sentenced to be either whipped or to make public acknowledgment of her offense, and in the other the accused was acquitted.

"General Court, March 5, 1660.

"Joseph Sylvester, of Marshfield, doth acknowledge to owe and to stand indebted unto his majesty, his heirs, &c., in the sum of twenty pounds sterling in good and current pay: the condition of this obligation is that in case Dina Sylvester shall and doth appear at the Court of Assistants to be holden at Plymouth the first Tuesday in May next, and attend the court's determination in reference to a complaint made by W^m Holmes and his wife about a matter of defamation; that then this obligation to be void or otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

"In witness the above bounden hath hereunto set his hand the 9th of March, 1660. JOSEPH SYLVESTER.

"Dina Sylvester, being examined, saith the bear she saw was about a stone's throw from the highway when she saw it; and being examined and asked what manner of tail the bear had, she said she could not tell for his head was towards her.

"May 9, 1661. Concerning the complaint of W^m Holmes, of Marshfield, against Dinah Sylvester, for accusing his wife to be a witch. The court have sentenced that the said Dina shall either be publicly whipped and pay the sum of five pounds to

the said W^m Holmes, or in case she, the said Dina Sylvester, shall make public acknowledgement of her fault in the premises that then she shall bear only the charge the Plaintiff hath been at in the prosecution of his said suit. The latter of which was chosen and done by the said Dinah Sylvester, viz., a public acknowledgement made as followeth.

" May 9, 1661. To the Hon. Court assembled, whereas I have been convicted in matter of defamation concerning Goodwife Holmes, I do hereby acknowledge I have injured my neighbor and have sinned against God in so doing, though I had entertained hard thoughts against the woman; for it had been my duty to declare my grounds, if I had any, unto some magistrate in a way of God and not to have divulged my thoughts to others to the woman's defamation. Therefore, I do acknowledge my sin in it, and do humbly beg this Honorable Court to forgive me and all other Christian people that be offended at it, and do promise by the help of God to do so no more; and although I do not remember all that the witnesses do testify, I do rather mistrust my memory and submit to the evidence.

"The mark of Dinah Sylvester.

" March 6, 1676/7.

"The Inditement of Mary Ingham.

" Mary Ingham: thou art indited by the name of Mary Ingham, the wife of Thomas Ingham, of the towne of Scituate in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth for that thou, haveing not the feare of God before thyne eyes, hast by the heulp of the divill in a way of witchcraft or sorcery, maliciously procured much hurt, mischeiffe and paine unto the body of Mehittable Woodworth, the daughter of Walter Woodworth, of Scituate, asforesaid, and some others and particularly causing her, the said Mehittable, to fall into violent fits, and causing great paine unto severall parts of her body att severall times, see as shee the said Mehittable Woodworth, hath bin almost bereaved of her sencis, and hath greatly languished, to her much suffering thereby, and the procuring of great greife, sorrow, and charge to her parents; all which thou hast procured and don against the law of God, and to his greate dishonor, and contrary to our sov lord the Kinge, his crowne and dignitee.

" The said Mary Ingham did putt herselfe on the tryall of God and the countrey, and was cleared of this inditement in processe of law by a jury of twelve men, whose names follow:

Sworn	Mr. Thomas Huckens.	Marke Snow.
	John Wadsworth.	Joseph Bartlett.
	John Howland.	John Richmond.
	Abraham Jackson.	Jerud Talbutt.
	Benajah Pratt.	John Foster.
	John Blaice.	Seth Pope.

"The jury brought in not guilty, and see the said prisoner was cleared as above said."

This moderation was exercised also towards criminals. Until 1671 the only crimes punishable by death were treason or rebellion against the person of the king, State, or commonwealth, either of England or the colonies, willful murder, solemn compaction or conversing with the devil by way of witchcraft or conjunction, willful burning of ships, houses, and sodomy, rape, and buggery. In the Massachusetts Colony as early as 1646 no less than thirteen capital crimes were specified in the laws; and in 1671, after the old tenderness of spirit which had characterized Pilgrim legislation had given way under new and outside influences, these were incorporated in

the Plymouth code. In view of all the circumstances of the case, no fair-minded man can review the history of the Plymouth Colony without not only discarding its later enactments and methods as true tests of the temper of the Pilgrims, but also finding its earlier spirit—their real character—becoming sweeter and brighter and nobler by contrast.

Though Governor Bradford had a house in that part of Plymouth which is now Kingston, which he probably occupied while he was out of office, he was undoubtedly occupying the government house on the corner of Main Street and Town Square at the time of his death, and was buried on Burial Hill. In the division of lands in 1623 he had three acres assigned to him on the shore near Doten's wharf, which were probably used for cultivation alone. Though tradition fails to mention any stone to his memory, the gravestones of his sons, William and Joseph, indicate the spot of his burial. His son, William, who was Deputy Governor of the colony at the time of the union, and afterwards councillor of Massachusetts, died in Kingston in 1703, and Ebenezer Cobb, then nine years of age, who lived to be one hundred and seven, and died in 1801, made the statement to persons whom the author has known, that he expressed the wish to be buried by the side of his father, the Governor. It is needless to say that the grave of the only Pilgrim whose resting-place is known is worthy of a more deserving memorial than the modest and inconspicuous shaft with which some of his descendants have marked the spot.

After the death of Bradford, until the war with King Philip, the condition of the colony was peaceful, marred only by the excitement which the appearance of the Quakers had occasioned. It must not be supposed that the Quakers of that day resembled in temper and spirit that clarified sect which in our time is a beauty and grace in every community in which it may be found. It was not the religious views of the Quakers which were condemned, so much as the extraordinary and disturbing practices by which they were manifested. In passing judgment on the acts of our fathers, we must remember our own treatment of the Mormons. Our descendants would protest against any claim in the future, after Mormonism shall have perhaps become a purified belief, that their fathers had done more than denounce and punish such gross violations of what they believed to be the moral law, as well as the law of the land, as were interwoven for the time into their social and religious code. And, so far as the exclusion of the Quakers from the colony is concerned, prompted as it was by devotion to what the colonists

held most dear, their religious belief, any adverse criticism comes with an ill grace from those in our own times who, actuated by the lower motives of a mean and greedy utilitarianism, are excluding by national legislation the Chinaman from our shores.

In 1661, King Charles came to the throne. In 1664 he issued a commission to Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, giving them authority "to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all cases, as well military as criminal and civil, in New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of the country." He also caused letters to be addressed to the government of New Plymouth, in which he expressed "his royal grace and favor, and promised to preserve all their liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil." In the same year the United Colonies captured New Amsterdam from the Dutch, and made Thomas Willet, of Plymouth, the first English mayor of the city. In 1666, King Charles addressed a second letter to the Plymouth government, in which he said, "Although your carriage of itself must justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary deportment of the colony of Massachusetts, as if by their refractoriness they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in those parts. You may therefore assure yourselves that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behavior, but shall upon all occasions take notice of it to your advantage, promising you our constant protection and royal favor in all things that may concern your safety, peace, and welfare." If the spirit manifested in these letters had prevailed near the throne of the successor of Charles, much of the annoyance and discomfort produced by the administration of Andros in 1686 would have been avoided, and a man of more gentle temper and milder purposes would have been made Governor of New England. Under William and Mary, too, in 1691, when both Massachusetts and Plymouth were asking for charters, and when Massachusetts secured the prize, and swallowed up its older but feeble sister colony, it is needless to say that had Charles remained on the throne a different result would have been reached.

The commissioners of King Charles made the following propositions to the Plymouth Colony:

"1. That all householders inhabiting in the colony take the oath of allegiance, and the administration of justice be in his majesty's name.

"2. That all men of competent estates and civil conversation,

though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and be chosen officers, both civil and military.

"3. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and civil lives (not scandalous) may be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and their children to baptism (if they desire it), either by admitting them into the congregations already gathered, or permitting them to gather themselves into such congregations where they may have the benefit of the sacrament.

"4. That all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed, altered, or taken off from the file."

These propositions were considered at a court held on the 22d of February, 1665, and the following was the court's answer:

"1. To the first we consent, it having been the practice of this court, in the first place, to insert in the oath of fidelity required of every householder, to be truly loyal to our sovereign lord, the king, his heirs and successors; also to administer all acts of justice in his majesty's name.

"2. To the second we also consent, it having been our constant practice to admit men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgments, yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen, and to have liberty to choose and be chosen officers, both civil and military.

"3. To the third, we cannot but acknowledge it to be a high favor from God and from our sovereign that we may enjoy our conscience in point of God's worship (the main end of transplanting ourselves into these remote corners of the earth), and should most heartily rejoice that all our neighbors, so qualified as in that proposition, would adjoin themselves to our societies, according to the order of the gospel, for enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and theirs; but if through different persuasions respecting church government it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any, according to the proposition, that are truly conscientious, although differing from us, especially where his majesty commands it, they maintaining an able preaching ministry for the carrying on of public Sabbath worship, which we doubt not is his majesty's intent, and withdraw not from paying their due proportion of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the places where they live until they have one of their own, and that in such places as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations. We being greatly encouraged by his majesty's gracious expressions in his letter to us, and your honor's further assurance of his Royal purpose to continue our liberties; that when places, by reason of our paucity and poverty, are incapable of two, it is not intended that such congregations as are already in being should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves, which, by our known experience, tends most to the preservation of peace and charity.

"4. To the fourth, we consent that all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his majesty, if any such shall be found amongst us, which at present we are not conscious of, shall be repealed, altered, and taken from the file.

"By order of the general court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth.

"Per mi, NATHANIEL MORTON,
"Secretary."

In 1669, Thomas Southworth, a stepson of Governor Bradford, died at the age of fifty-three, a man

who had held the offices of assistant commissioner of the United Colonies and Governor of the possessions of the colony on the Kennebec. In the same year "New England's Memorial," already referred to, written by Nathaniel Morton, secretary of the colony, was published. In 1672/3, John Howland, another of the "Mayflower" passengers, died at the age of eighty years. In the early days of the colony he lived on the north side of Leyden Street, where the house of William R. Drew now stands, and afterwards in that part of Kingston called Rocky Nook, where he died, and where a depression in the ground now marks the site of his house. He was the last male of the "Mayflower" company living in Plymouth, and was buried, doubtless, on Burial Hill. The last passenger of the "Mayflower" to die was Mary, the wife of Thomas Cushman, and daughter of Isaac Allerton, who lived a little northerly of Rocky Nook, not far from John Howland, and died in 1699. In 1673, Thomas Prencé died at the age of seventy-three. He had been Governor of the colony eighteen years at various times, and, though not as liberal as many others in the colony in his treatment of those who differed from him in religious matters, his labors in the interest of the Plymouth Church, in the advancement of education, and as a member of the Council of War, treasurer and Governor, and a commissioner of the United Colonies, made him a valuable agent in developing the civil, social, and religious condition of the colony. He married, in 1624, Fear, daughter of William Brewster, and in 1635, Mary, daughter of William Collier. Before removing to Eastham, in 1644, he lived for a number of years on land near what is now the junction of Spring and High Streets; and the land granted to him for improvement, about ten acres in extent, is now owned by Benjamin Marston Watson, on the southerly side of the road to Carver, and was called in the inventory of Mr. Prencé by the name by which it has always since that time been known, "Prencé's Bottom." After his return to Plymouth, in accordance with the law requiring the Governor to have his residence in that town, he occupied land in the northerly part of the town, on what is now the farm of Barnabas Hedge, his house standing in the southwesterly corner of a fenced lot on the easterly side of the road, nearly opposite the house of Barnabas Hedge, Jr.

CHAPTER V.

KING PHILIP'S WAR—UNION OF THE COLONIES—COLE'S HILL—BURIAL HILL—EXPEDITION TO LOUISBOURG—STAMP ACT.

THE period of King Philip's war was an eventful one both in the life of the colony and the town. As long as Massasoit lived the most friendly relations with the Indians continued. In 1639 that chief, then called Ousamequin, with his oldest son, Wamsutta, came to the court at Plymouth and renewed his pledge of fidelity and friendship. In or about 1661 Massasoit died, and was succeeded by his son Wamsutta, now called Alexander. In 1662, reason having been given for a suspicion of Alexander's peaceful intentions, he was summoned to Plymouth, and on refusing to comply with the summons, was visited by Josiah Winslow, attended by a party of armed men, and compelled to accompany him. Vexed and excited by the humiliating circumstances surrounding him, he fell sick and died before reaching home, whither he was sent by the government on the appearance of the first symptoms of his disease. Alexander was succeeded by his brother Metacomet, now called Philip, who occupied with his tribe, the Wampanoags, a place called Montaup, or Mount Hope, near Bristol, in Rhode Island. He at once went to Plymouth and renewed the ancient treaty which had been made in 1621 between the colony and his father. But the treatment of his brother Alexander never ceased to rankle in his breast. In 1671, suspected of hostile intentions against Plymouth, he was visited by William Davis, William Hudson, and Thomas Brattle, commissioners from Massachusetts, and Governor Prencé, Josiah Winslow, and Constant Southworth, from Plymouth, and charged with having made preparations for war, which, after some evasion, he confessed. After some discussion he yielded to the intimidation of the commissioners and consented to give up his arms and sign the following terms of capitulation:

"TAUNTON, 12th of April, 1671.

"Whereas, my father, my brother, and myself have formerly submitted ourselves and our people unto the king's majesty of England, and to this colony of New Plymouth, by solemn covenant under our hand, but I having of late, though my indiscretion and the naughtiness of my heart, violated and broken this my covenant with my friends by taking up arms with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly, I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends, and my father's friends above mentioned, and do desire that this may testify to the world against me if ever I shall again fail in my faithfulness towards them (whom I have now and at all

Thos. Pinckney William Bradford Gov^r
Gov^r

Jas: B. Inglow

Tho: Pearce

Edw: Dinton

Will Bradford
Deputy Gov^r

James Cadwallader

Thos. Pinckney

Sam Sprague Secretary

Mathew Morton
Secretary

Mathew Morton

Nath Clark Secretary

AUTOGRAPHS OF GOVERNORS, DEPUTY GOVERNORS AND SECRETARIES OF "THE OLD COLONY."

times found kind to me) or any other of the English colonies, and as a real pledge of my true intentions for the future to be faithful and friendly I do freely engage to resign up to the government of New Plymouth all my English arms, to be kept by them for their security so long as they shall see reason. For the true performance of the premises I have hereunto set my hand together with the rest of my council.

"In presence of "PHILIP, Chief Sachem of Pokanoket.
 "William Davis. "TAVOSEN.
 "William Hudson. "CAPTAIN WISPOKE.
 "Thomas Brattle. "WOONKAPONCPUNT.
 "NIMROD."

Notwithstanding this agreement, Philip finally refused to surrender his arms, and was summoned to appear at Plymouth on or before the 20th of September, or suffer the consequences. Massachusetts, still anxious to avert hostilities, offered to send mediators, and at the meeting in Plymouth an accommodation was effected and the following articles were signed :

"1. We, Philip, and my council, and my subjects do acknowledge ourselves subject to his majesty the King of England and the government of New Plymouth and to their laws.

"2. I am willing and do promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth one hundred pounds in such things as I have, but I would entreat the favor that I might have three years to pay it in so farasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

"3. I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves' heads if I can get them, or as many as I can procure until they come to five wolves yearly.

"4. If any differences fall between the English and myself and people then I do promise to repair to the Governor of Plymouth to rectify the difference amongst us.

"5. I do promise not to make war with any but with the Governor's approbation of Plymouth.

"6. I do promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present but by the approbation of the Governor of Plymouth.

"For the true performance of the premises, I, the said Philip, Sachem of Pankamaukut, do hereby bind myself and such of my council as are present ourselves, our successors faithfully. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands the day and year above written.

"In presence of the court and "PHILIP, the Sachem of Pau-
 divers of gentlemen of the kamaukut.
 Massachusetts and Connec- "UNCOMPAEN.
 ticut. "WOCOKOM.
 "SAMKANA."

Not long after the above agreement was signed, Philip sent the following letter to Governor Prence, the original of which may be seen in Pilgrim Hall. It was probably written by an Indian, Sassaman, who had received some education at the hands of the whites and whom he called his secretary :

"To the much honored governir, mr. thomas prince, dwelling at plimouth.

"honored sir.

"King Philip desires to let you understand that he could not come to the court, for tom, his interpreter, has a pain in his back, that he could not travel so far and philip's sister is very sick, philip would entreat that favor of you, and any of the

magistrates, if any english or engians speak about any land he pray you to give them no answer at all, the last summer he made that promise with you that he would not sell no land in seven years time, for that he would have no english trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promise him he will come as sune as possible he can to speak with you, and so I rest your very loving friend, philip, dwelling at mount hope nek."

During three years subsequent to this time peace and quiet prevailed ; but, as the event showed, Philip was gradually extending his influence and power over neighboring tribes, and preparing them secretly and insidiously to join him in the extermination of the English. Sassaman, his secretary, had deserted him and gone to live with the Natick Indians ; and afterwards, meeting with some Wampanoags at Nemasket during a visit at that place, he learned Philip's intentions, and communicated them to Josiah Winslow, the Governor of Plymouth Colony. This was in 1674, and Governor Prence had died in the preceding year. The treachery of Sassaman was discovered, and he was soon after murdered. His murderers, belonging to the Wampanoags, were discovered and carried to Plymouth, and tried and executed. This exasperated Philip the more, and in the spring of 1675 the war broke out. The various and changing fortunes of the war in detail will not be reached by this narrative. It was carried on by the United Colonies at the instigation of Plymouth, in accordance with the terms of the confederation, and Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, was placed in command of the united forces. The town of Plymouth furnished its share of officers and men, and suffered its share of the loss. On the 12th of August, 1676, Philip was killed, and the war soon came to an end.

As a result of the war, for the first time in the history of the colony it came into possession of Indian lands by other means than gift or treaty or purchase. The war was chiefly carried on within the territory described in its patent, and the colony succeeded to the conquered lands of the Wampanoags by right of conquest. To a portion of these lands,—that about Mount Hope,—though distant from the line of Massachusetts, and contiguous to the territory of Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts set up a claim, and endeavored to secure a grant from the king ; but the lands were finally adjudged to belong to Plymouth, and were secured to it by royal sanction. The language of the grant, under the sign-manual of the king, is as follows : " We have taken into our royal consideration how that by your loyalty and good conduct in that war you have been the happy instruments to enlarge our dominions, and to bring the new territory of Mount Hope into a more immediate dependence upon

us; we are therefore graciously pleased to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant, unto you the full and entire property of the said territory or scope of land commonly called Mount Hope, containing by common estimation seven thousand acres, be the same more or less, for the sole and proper use and behoof of yourselves and the rest of our said colony of New Plymouth, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our castle of Windsor, in the county of Berks, yielding and paying seven beaver-skins each and every year."

After peace had been restored many of the fortifications and garrison-houses which it had been found necessary to erect were abandoned, and no more during the life of the colony were its inhabitants put in trepidation by threatened danger from the Indians. Precautions, of course, were taken, and, among the precautionary laws, that originally enacted in 1658 was revived, requiring arms to be carried to church on the Sabbath, to guard against surprise. It is a tradition in the Old Colony that the arms were stacked outside under military guard, and that the universal custom in New England for the men to depart from the church before the women leave their pews had its origin in the necessity in ancient times for the men to resume their arms before the audience committed itself to a possible exposure to Indian attack.

In December, 1680, Josiah Winslow, Governor of the colony, died, and was succeeded by Thomas Hinckley, who had filled the office of Deputy Governor, and James Cudworth succeeded Mr. Hinckley. As has already been stated, the law of 1650 authorized the Governor to depute one of his assistants to act in his absence as Deputy Governor; but in 1679 it was enacted "that the deputy governor be under oath as such, and therefore annually chosen." Under this law Thomas Hinckley was chosen in 1680, James Cudworth in 1681, and William Bradford, son of the Governor, in 1682, the last of whom held the office until the union, with the interruption of two years, occasioned by the usurpation of Andros. Mr. Hinckley, with the same interruption, held the office of Governor until the union, and was the last Governor of the colony. In 1686, John Alden, another of the "Mayflower" company, died in Duxbury, leaving Giles Hopkins, of Yarmouth, the only male "Mayflower" passenger living, and Mary Cushman and Elizabeth Howland the only female passengers. The first died in 1690, the second in 1699, and the last in 1687.

Up to this time the government of Plymouth Colony, though exercising sovereign authority and treated by royal hands as a government of right, though it

had never received a charter, now repeated its demands to have its patent .sanctioned by the king. Massachusetts had lived under a charter from its birth; charters had been granted to Connecticut and Rhode Island; but Plymouth, though looked on with special favor at times by the crown, had failed to secure what from the first had been its earnest wish. In 1682, James Cudworth went to England as the agent of the colony, and there died with his mission a failure. Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, with others, went as agent of Massachusetts to secure the confirmation of its ancient charter, and on his arrival in England he was requested to act also for Plymouth. Increase Mather and Elisha Cook, of Massachusetts, went also, the former in behalf of Plymouth. Suspicions have at times been entertained that Mather was false to Plymouth, and that the rights and claims of Plymouth were sacrificed to the aggrandisement of Massachusetts in securing a new charter for her with Plymouth added to her territory and jurisdiction. The more charitable and reasonable conclusion is that, owing to the efforts of Governor Sauter, of New York, who was anxious to secure the annexation of Plymouth to New York, the only question in the royal mind was, not whether Plymouth should have a charter of its own, but whether it should be annexed to New York or Massachusetts. Mr. Mather claimed the credit, and perhaps justly, of accomplishing the result which was finally reached, and of defeating New York in her demands. The people of Plymouth were not satisfied. Pending the negotiations, the inhabitants of the various towns in the colony were warned to meet for the purpose of raising money to meet the expense of efficiently urging their claim. The debt of the colony at that time—a legacy of Philip's war—amounted to twenty-seven thousand pounds, and the people refused to increase it. Governor Hinckley wrote to Mr. Mather: "Not being in a capacity to make notes for any equal defraying the charge, I see little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unless their Majesties (William and Mary), out of their royal bounty and clemency, graciously please to grant it, *sub forma pauperis*, to their poor and loyal subjects of the colony."

The charter of Massachusetts was signed Oct. 7, 1691, and Wiswall, an earnest, sincere, and faithful man, did not hesitate to charge Mather with duplicity and insincerity, and at the close of the contest said, in a letter to Governor Hinckley, "All the frame of heaven moves on one axis, and the whole of New England's interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to concentrate to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who are wont

to trot after the bay horse; your distance is your advantage by which you may observe their motions. Yet let me mind you of that great statesman, Ecclesiastes viii. 14. Few wise men rejoice at their chains. I do believe Plymouth's silence, Hampshire's neglect, and the rashness and impudence of one at least who went from New England in disguise by night, hath not a little contributed to our general disappointment." The last court of election was held at Plymouth in June, 1691, and as this narrative contains the names of the first officers of the colony, it may be interesting to readers to see a list of its last. Thomas Hinckley was chosen Governor, William Bradford Deputy Governor, and John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lathrop, John Thatcher, John Walley, and John Cushing assistants. The deputies to the General Court were for

Plymouth.	John Bradford.
	Isaac Cushman.
Duxbury.	John Wadsworth.
	Edward Southworth.
Scituate.	Benjamin Stetson.
	Samuel Clapp.
Taunton.	John Hall.
	John Hathaway.
Sandwich.	Thomas Tupper.
	Elisha Bourne.
Barnstable.	John Goram.
Yarmouth.	John Miller.
	Silas Sears.
Marshfield.	Isaac Little.
	Nathaniel Thomas.
Eastham.	Jonathan Sparrow.
	Thomas Paine, Jr.
Rehoboth.	Christopher Saunders.
	John Woodcock.
Bridgewater.	Joseph Edson.
Middleborough.	Isaac Howland.
	Bristol. John Saffin.
	William Throop.
Little Compton.	Simon Rouse.
Falmouth.	Isaac Robinson.
Rochester.	Aaron Barlow.
Monomoyet.	Gershom Hall.
Dartmouth.	Unrepresented.
Swansea.	"
Freetown.	"

At the time of the union of the colonies the population of that of New Plymouth was about seventy-five hundred. The new charter, called the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, is a matter of interest to the general reader, as well as historian, but is too long to be incorporated in this narrative. It may be found in a book entitled "The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay," published by order of the General Court in 1844. On the 14th of May, 1692, Sir William Phipps arrived in

Boston bearing the new charter, and also a commission appointing him Governor of the province. On the first Tuesday in July the General Court of New Plymouth held its last meeting, and the final exercise of its power was in the appointment of the last Wednesday of August as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

Thus ended the colony of New Plymouth as a distinct organization. Its life had been short, but sufficiently long to accomplish its destiny. Its mission had been to open the way for a successful colonization of the New World, and its mission had been faithfully performed. Though overrun in its later years by the tide of emigration from the colony of Massachusetts, it had never failed, by the sweet and gentle Pilgrim spirit which had always lingered about it, to exert an influence in mellowing and softening the asperities of its more rigid neighbors. The two colonies had existed like two sheets of water of different sizes and levels and degrees of purity, which had gradually become one as a connection was opened between them. As their waters mingled the Plymouth Colony lost some of its original sweetness and purity, but when a common level was reached the colony of Massachusetts was made sweeter and purer than before. Like the leaven which loses itself in leavening the lump, the Plymouth Colony, by its gradual extinction, had permeated Massachusetts with something of its tenderness, and finally completed by its death what it had sought to accomplish in its life. The union was, perhaps, however, rather a marriage than a death, a marriage which extinguishes the name of the bride and carries her from her home to the home of the groom, where, among the cares and responsibilities and annoyances and sorrows of her new life, while losing some of the graces of youth, she purifies and elevates and ennobles his household.

Up to this time, it will be remembered, only a partial division of lands in the town of Plymouth had been made. The first allotment in 1623 gave each man, woman, and child one acre. The division in 1627 gave to each freeholder twenty acres, and after that time various individual grants were made in different parts of the town. In 1640, Jones' River meadow, lying in what are now Plympton and Kingston, was granted to eight men; the South Meadows, in what is now Carver, to eighteen men; and Doten's meadow, also in Carver, to five men. In February, 1701/2, it was voted that every proprietor or freeman should be granted a lot of thirty acres, and in the following March it was voted that all the lands remaining ungranted lying within a tract a mile and a half square, including the central village, should

be held by the town in its municipal capacity, to be sold from time to time for its benefit as a town, while all the unallotted lands within the limits of the town, outside of this tract, should be granted to the free-men of the town, then numbering two hundred and one. These freemen, calling themselves proprietors, organized as a distinct body, with their own clerk and records, and continued in existence until all their lands were divided among themselves. Plympton being then a part of Plymouth, and some of the proprietors living in that town, the proprietors were called, after that town was set off and incorporated, "Plymouth and Plympton Proprietors."

The boundary line of the "mile and a half tract" above referred to began at the mouth of Eel Creek, so called, in the north part of the town, and extended southwesterly nearly in the line of Cold Spring Brook, across the farm of John Clark, to a heap of stones which may be easily found forty rods east of Triangle Pond. From this point it extended southeasterly across the foot of Sparrow's Hill, over Little Pond and the mouth of Billington Sea, to Lout Pond, and across the pond to an old white-oak tree marked on four sides, in what is known as Rider's orchard. From this corner it ran northeasterly to the harbor, crossing the highway near the house of the late Samuel Cole. Within this tract the town has from time to time sold lots, the only ones remaining at this date ungranted, so far as the writer knows, being ninety-four acres of woodland on both sides of the Kingston line, near New Guinea, a part of Court Square, Burial Hill, the lot on which the Unitarian Church stands, Training Green, a triangle of land in the rear of the Bramhall store on Water Street, a small strip extending from the highway to the mill-pond at the junction of Sandwich and Water Streets, Town Dock, or Town Landing-Place, and two small lots on South Street and the South Pond road. This list of course does not include such streets and open squares as were laid out over ungranted lands in the possession of the town.

The proprietors, as accurately as can be ascertained at the time of the grant in 1701/2, were the following, two hundred and one in number :

John Andros.	Elisha Bradford.
James Barnaby.	Joseph Bradford.
Jonathan Barnes.	Joseph Bartlett.
Samuel Bradford, Jr.	George Barrow.
George Bonum.	Robert Barrow.
John Barnes.	Robert Bartlett.
Benjamin Bartlett.	Stephen Barnaby.
William Barnes.	John Barrow.
William Bradford.	Ephraim Bradford.
William Bradford, Jr.	Samuel Bradford, Sr.

John Bryant.	Samuel Fuller, Jr.
John Bryant, Jr.	Josiah Finney.
John Bryant.	Robert Finney.
Elinathan Bartlett.	Joseph Faunce.
Israel Bradford.	John Faunce.
John Bradford.	Thomas Faunce.
Samuel Bryant.	William Fallowell.
Joseph Bartlett.	John Foster.
Jacob Cooke.	John Faunce, Jr.
William Cooke.	Samuel Gardner.
Nathaniel Clark.	John Gray.
Francis Cooke.	Samuel Gray.
Robert Cushman.	James Howland.
James Clark, Sr.	Thomas Howland.
James Clark, Jr.	Thomas Howland, Jr.
Thomas Clark.	Nathaniel Harlow.
John Clark.	Samuel Harlow.
Thomas Clark, Jr.	John Harlow.
Ebenezer Cobb.	John Holmes.
John Cole.	John Holmes, Jr.
Elikanah Cushman.	Thomas Holmes.
John Carver.	Nathaniel Howland.
Richard Cooper.	Nathaniel Holmes, Sr.
Isaac Cushman.	Nathaniel Holmes, Jr.
Isaac Cushman, Jr.	William Harlow.
Josiah Cotton.	Ebenezer Holmes.
Theophilus Cotton.	Elisha Holmes.
Eleaser Cushman.	Abraham Jackson.
Caleb Cooke.	John Jackson.
John Churchill.	Nathaniel Jackson.
William Clark.	Eleaser Jackson.
William Clark, Jr.	Abraham Jackson, Jr.
Thomas Cushman.	Barack Jourdaine.
John Curtis.	Joseph King.
John Churchill, Jr.	Benoni Lucas.
Benjamin Curtis.	Thomas Lettice.
John Cook.	Thomas Little.
Job Cushman.	Francis Le Baron.
Francis Curtis, Sr.	Isaac Lathrop.
Elikanah Cushman, Jr.	Samuel Lucas.
James Cole.	Ephraim Little.
Ephraim Cole.	Caleb Loring.
Eleaser Churchill.	Nathaniel Morton.
Alexander Conrad.	Josiah Morton.
Joseph Church.	Jonathan Morey, Jr.
Elisha Cobb.	Ephraim Morton, Jr.
William Churchill.	Ephraim Morton.
John Cobb.	Eleaser Morton.
Joseph Churchill.	Manassah Morton.
Samuel Doty.	Thomas Morton.
Isaac Doty.	George Morton.
Joseph Dunham.	George Morton, Jr.
Eleaser Dunham.	Israel May.
John Doty.	Jonathan Morey.
Samuel Dunham, Sr.	John Morton, Jr.
Samuel Dunham, Jr.	Samuel Nelson.
Nathaniel Dunham.	Joshua Pratt.
Thomas Doty.	John Pratt.
Micajah Dunham.	Joseph Pratt.
Daniel Dunham.	Daniel Pratt.
Ebenezer Eaton.	Eleaser Pratt.
Richard Everson.	Benajah Pratt.
Benjamin Eaton, Sr.	Daniel Ramsden.
Benjamin Eaton, Jr.	Eleaser Ring.
John Everson.	William Ring.
Samuel Fuller.	Eleaser Rickard.

John Rickard.	George Samson.
John Rickard, Jr.	William Sears.
Isaac Ring.	Richard Sears.
Josiah Rickard.	Isaac Sampson.
John Rider.	Jonathan Shaw.
Joseph Ring.	Nathaniel Southworth.
Samuel Ring.	Ephraim Tilson.
Henry Rickard.	Isaac Tinkham.
Samuel Ring, Jr.	Nathaniel Thomas.
Elenser Rogers.	Nathaniel Thomas, Jr.
Samuel Rider.	Edmund Tilson.
Samuel Rickard.	Hezekiah Tinkham.
Joshua Ransom.	James Warren.
Giles Rickard.	Nathaniel Wood.
Giles Rickard, Jr.	John Wood.
Robert Ransom.	Nathaniel Warren.
Thomas Shurtleff.	Samuel Waterman.
Nehemiah Sturtevant.	Benjamin Warren.
Benoni Shaw.	Joseph Warren.
Samuel Sturtevant.	John Watson.
John Sturtevant.	Adam Wright.
Josiah Shurtleff.	John Wright.
Jabez Shurtleff.	John Waterman.
Abiel Shurtleff.	James Warren, Jr.
Joseph Sturtevant.	

The proprietors organized by the choice of Thomas Faunce, clerk, and their records are preserved in two volumes, of which the originals are kept in the town-house at Plymouth, and copies in the office of the registry of deeds for the county. In 1705 the proprietors granted to each of their number a twenty-acre lot, and shortly after a sixty-acre lot, and in the same year all the cedar swamps in the town were divided into thirty-nine lots and distributed by lot among the individual proprietors. Each lot was taken by a number of proprietors, who afterwards divided it among themselves. The records contain not only a description of each lot and its assignment, but also a statement of the subsequent division. Two hundred acres of woodland, near Fresh Pond, at South Plymouth, were given by the proprietors to the town for the benefit of the Indians, of which one hundred acres were sold in 1810, and in 1710 all the remainder of the lands ungranted, amounting to thirty thousand acres, was laid out in ten great lots and distributed. The first great lot extends from West Pond and the South Meadow road eight miles to Wareham; the seven next lie between the first lot and Half-Way Pond River; the ninth is bounded by the Mast road, Half-Way Pond, Long Pond, the Herring Path, and the Sandwich road, and the tenth lies east and west of the Sandwich road, below the Herring Path. In this way the lands of the town have been gradually granted until nothing is left as a possession of the town except such lots as have been already mentioned.

In 1695 a church was formed in that part of Plym-

outh which is now Plympton. It was found that nearly forty families were settled there, and that these either attended church at Plymouth under great difficulties, or were deprived of religious instruction on the Sabbath altogether. In 1707 the town of Plympton was incorporated, including the present towns of Plympton and Carver and a part of Halifax, which was taken from Plympton in 1830. No serious objection was made by the town of Plymouth, and at a town-meeting in March, 1706/7, it was voted "that the town consent that the North Parish be a township in compliance with their petition, with the proviso that all real estate now belonging to, or which shall be improved by any in the old town, either by himself or tenant during their living here, shall be rated here, notwithstanding there being a separate town, and so the like of any estate that belongeth to any of them that lyeth in the old town of Plymouth."

In 1711 it was voted "that all the lands lying to the northward of the range of the land between Samuel Harlow and John Barnes, that is to say, to run up the same point of compass said range of Harlow's and Barnes' range runs, to run up to the top of the hill, and all the range to the northward, shall be for a perpetual common or training-place, never to be granted any part thereof, but be perpetually for public and common benefit." In other words, Training Green, under this vote included all the land bounded by what are now North Green, Pleasant, South, and Sandwich Streets. In 1716 it was also voted "that the Training Green, Cole's Hill, and a spot of land about the Great Gutter, with all the common lands to each parcel adjoining, shall not be disposed of to any person without special license from the town, notwithstanding former grants." Notwithstanding these votes Training Green has since that time been seriously curtailed of its proportions. In 1788 the town sold that portion lying between South and South Green Streets to the First Precinct, and in 1790 the precinct sold it to Jesse Harlow. Mr. Harlow sold during his life, in 1806, the lot on the corner of Sandwich and South Green Streets to Ezra and John Harlow, who built the house now standing on the lot, and the remaining lots were disposed of by the heirs of Jesse Harlow after his death. About that time there were two military companies in Plymouth, the South and North Companies. The North Company, in 1699, was commanded by John Bradford, with Nathaniel Southworth, lieutenant; John Waterman, ensign; and James Cole, John Rickard, and John Bryant, sergeants. The South Company, of which the writer has an original roll dated 1699, was commanded by James Warren, with—

<i>Lieutenant.</i>		<i>Joshua Witherley.</i>		<i>Jonathan Brewster.</i>
William Shurtleff.		<i>Samuel Withered.</i>		<i>Benjamin Chandler.</i>
	<i>Ensign.</i>	<i>James Nichols.</i>		<i>John May.</i>
Nathaniel Morton.		<i>Richard Jones.</i>		<i>Jabez Durkin.</i>
	<i>Sergeants.</i>	<i>Henry Andrews.</i>		<i>William Benson.</i>
Samuel Harlow.	<i>Benjamin Warren.</i>	<i>John Pulton.</i>		<i>Josiah Morton.</i>
John Churchill.	<i>Isaac Lathrop.</i>	<i>James Revis.</i>		<i>Eleaser Holmes.</i>
	<i>Corporals.</i>	<i>Nathaniel Garner.</i>		<i>Samuel Rider.</i>
Josiah Finney.	<i>John Pratt.</i>	<i>Francis Billington.</i>		<i>Samuel Lucas, Jr.</i>
William Harlow.	<i>John Foster.</i>	<i>Stephen Barnaby.</i>		<i>Abraham Jackson, Jr.</i>
	<i>Drummers.</i>	<i>Thomas Harlow.</i>		<i>Simon Lasell.</i>
Nathaniel Holmes.	<i>Nathaniel Holmes, Jr.</i>	<i>Thomas Faunce, Jr.</i>		<i>James Shurtleff.</i>
	<i>Privates.</i>	<i>Barnabas Churchill.</i>		<i>John Cole, Jr.</i>
John Dyer.	<i>Ephraim Morton, Jr.</i>	<i>Eleaser King.</i>		<i>Daniel Dunham.</i>
Samuel Doty.	<i>John Morton.</i>	<i>John Eastland.</i>		<i>Ichabod Delano.</i>
Timothy Morton.	<i>David Shepard.</i>	<i>William Penney.</i>		<i>Isaac Barker.</i>
Benjamin Bosworth.	<i>Ebenezer Holmes.</i>	<i>Thomas Childs.</i>		<i>Jacob Willard.</i>
John Jackson.	<i>James Warren.</i>			
George Barrow.	<i>James Clark.</i>			
William Fallowell.	<i>John Clark.</i>			
James Barnaby.	<i>Elnathan Bartlett.</i>			
Francis Adams.	<i>Joseph Holmes.</i>			
Samuel King, Jr.	<i>Benjamin Bartlett.</i>			
Jaduthan Robbins.	<i>Joseph Silvester.</i>			
Benajah Pratt.	<i>Humphrey Turner.</i>			
Micasjah Dunham.	<i>Samuel Cornish.</i>			
Joseph Pratt.	<i>Nathan Ward.</i>			
Joseph Dunham, Jr.	<i>Jonathan Morey, Jr.</i>			
Nathaniel Dunham.	<i>Benoni Shaw.</i>			
Joshua Ransom.	<i>Job Gibbs.</i>			
John Andros.	<i>Samuel Bates, Jr.</i>			
Jonathan Shaw.	<i>Elisha Hunter.</i>			
Benoni Shaw.	<i>Joseph Morton.</i>			
Eleaser Pratt.	<i>Eleaser Dunham, Jr.</i>			
Daniel Pratt.	<i>John King.</i>			
John Barrow.	<i>Thomas Savory.</i>			
Benoni Lucas.	<i>Samuel Dunham, Jr.</i>			
George Bonum.	<i>Samuel Nelson.</i>			
John Carver.	<i>William Hunter, Jr.</i>			
Eleaser Morton.	<i>John Holmes.</i>			
Ephraim Kempton.	<i>John Faunce, Jr.</i>			
John Watson.	<i>Benajah Dunham.</i>			
John Cole.	<i>Caleb Gibbs.</i>			
Richard Sears.	<i>Jonathan Barnes, Jr.</i>			
William Barnes.	<i>Hezekiah Bosworth.</i>			
John Barnes.	<i>Benjamin Bumpus.</i>			
Thomas Doty.	<i>Charles Church.</i>			
Henry Churchill.	<i>Abraham Jackson, Jr.</i>			
John Rider.	<i>Jabez Shurtleff.</i>			
Elisha Holmes.	<i>William Rider.</i>			
Joseph Faunce.	<i>Ebenezer Burgess.</i>			
Samuel Dunham, Sr.	<i>William Dunham.</i>			
Ebenezer Eaton.	<i>Stephen Churchill.</i>			
Giles Rickard.	<i>Benjamin Crowell.</i>			
Mannasseh Morton.	<i>David Bates.</i>			
Robert Bartlett.	<i>Jeremiah Jackson.</i>			
John Whiting.	<i>Ebenezer Dunham.</i>			
Eleaser Churchill, Jr.	<i>Francis Curtis, Jr.</i>			
John Churchill, Jr.	<i>Ebenezer Morton.</i>			
Ephraim Morton, Sr.	<i>John Harlow.</i>			
George Morton, Jr.	<i>Benjamin Andros.</i>			
Thomas Clark, Sr.	<i>Thomas Clark, Jr.</i>			
John Faunce, Sr.	<i>Elisha Studson.</i>			

Cole's Hill, mentioned in the vote of the town which has been quoted, has always been said to have taken its name from James Cole, who has been supposed to have had at an early date grants of land along its border. The investigations of the writer have shown this to be doubtful. The lands granted to him in 1637 were located on the south side of Leyden Street, where his house was situated, and no evidence exists that he ever owned land on Cole's Hill. In 1697, Nathaniel Clark, the old councilor of Andros, sold the lot of land on the corner of Cole's Hill and North Street, on which the Plymouth Rock House now stands, to John Cole, who married his step-daughter, Susannah, daughter of Edward Gray. Mr. Cole lived on the lot until 1725, and as the name "Cole's Hill" does not appear in the records until after 1700, it is fair to presume that the hill took its name from him. On this hill, as is well known, the Pilgrims who died during the winter of 1620/1 were buried. It is probable that there John Carver, Elizabeth Winslow, Mary Allerton, Rose Standish, Christopher Martin, Solomon Power, William Mullens, William White, Degory Priest, Richard Britteredge, and others, forty-four in number, who died before the middle of April, with the exception of Dorothy Bradford, who was drowned, and such as might have died on board the ship and possibly been buried in the sea, found their last resting-place. The tradition concerning the burials on this spot has been verified by repeated discoveries of remains. In 1735, during a heavy storm, the bank of the hill was washed away at the foot of Middle Street, and several bodies were exhumed, though not, so far as is known, preserved. In the early part of the present century, while digging the cellar of the Jackson House, on the corner of Middle Street, workmen found a part of a skeleton, which also failed to be preserved. On the 23d of May, 1855, workmen engaged in digging a trench for

the pipes for the Plymouth water-works discovered parts of five skeletons between the two points, five rods south and two rods north of the foot of Middle Street. The writer, then chairman of the board of selectmen, took them in charge, and placing them in a box lined with lead, deposited them in a brick vault on the summit of Burial Hill. Before disposing of the remains he submitted two of the skulls to the distinguished surgeons, the late John C. Warren, and Professor Oliver Wendell Holmes, for a critical examination, and received from them a signed certificate that they belonged to the Caucasian race. When the canopy over Plymouth Rock was approaching completion, its vacant chamber was thought to be a fit place for their permanent preservation, and there the box with its contents was finally deposited. On the 8th of October, 1883, while digging holes for the stone posts of the fence on the hill, workmen found another body, and on the 27th of the following month still another, which it also fell to the lot of the writer to take in charge. The bones of the former were placed in a lead box and deposited in a brick vault on the spot of the original burial, while the bones of the latter were permitted to remain undisturbed as they lay in their grave. Over the brick vault a handsome granite tablet has been recently placed, bearing the following inscription :

"ON THIS HILL
THE PILGRIMS
WHO DIED THE FIRST WINTER
WERE BURIED.
THIS TABLET
MARKS THE SPOT WHERE
LIES THE BODY OF ONE FOUND
Oct. 8TH, 1883. THE BODY OF
ANOTHER FOUND ON THE 27TH
OF THE FOLLOWING MONTH
LIES 8 FEET NORTHWEST OF
THE WESTERLY CORNER
OF THIS STONE.
ERECTED 1884."

Within the last few years the Pilgrim Society have purchased the wharf on which the rock stands, together with the buildings round the base of the hill, and graded and grassed and curbed the slope as it now is. A handsome and substantial flight of granite steps has been built from the base, near the rock, to the summit, and hereafter the whole hill will be treated and ornamented as a memorial of the Pilgrims. In 1797 the easterly bounds of the hill, as determined by a committee of the town, began at a stake twenty-nine feet north fifty-three and a half degrees east, from the northeast corner of the Plymouth Rock House, and thence ran south thirty-eight degrees east thirty-eight feet, thence south twenty-four

degrees east thirty-nine feet, thence south eleven degrees east forty-nine feet, thence south five degrees east sixty-seven feet, to a point eighty-one feet east from the southeast corner of the house at the corner of Middle Street.

The spot referred to in the quoted votes of the town as the Great Gutter is Court Square. When the land along the base of the hill, on the westerly side of Court Street, was granted to different individuals, at the beginning of the last century, it was a sort of gulch, rough and ragged in appearance, taking the rains and melted snows of the hills in the rear and discharging them across what is now the street and the fields below into the harbor. Its reservation was due to its undesirable character, and not to any deliberate intention of the town. At a subsequent period, after the lots adjoining it had been built upon, its value for an open square became apparent, and its reservation followed. In the earliest deeds in which it is mentioned it is called simply "land belonging to the town of Plymouth." After it was graded it was called "Framing Green" until the present court-house was built, in 1820, when it assumed the name it now bears. At the head of the square the lot on which the court-house and jail now stand was granted by the town to Ephraim Little in 1698. In 1709, Mr. Little conveyed it back to the town in exchange for land in Middleboro', calling it in his deed his "valley lot, nigh the pound, at the head of the great gutter," and specifying that it shall be for the use of the ministry of the town forever. In 1773 the precinct sold it to the county, and a jail, with a keeper's house, was built on the land, to take the place of the old prison and prison-house on Summer Street. In 1785 the town sold to the county fifteen feet, on the upper end of the square, in front of the land then owned by the county, bringing its easterly line where it is to-day, at the fourth post from the easterly end of the entrance to the square, on the northerly side. In 1857 the square was enlarged on its southerly side by the purchase of lots with houses standing thereon by the town, and their surrender to the county for its use and control as long as the county buildings shall occupy their present position. For a more precise statement concerning this enlargement, and the county lands generally, the reader is referred to pages 284 and 285 of "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth."

The only piece of public land never granted by the town, which remains to be described, besides the Unitarian Church lot which has passed into the hands of the present society as the First Parish, is Burial Hill. How early this hill began to be used for the purposes

to which it has been so long devoted there are no means of knowing. The first meeting-house was erected on this hill in 1622, and it seems probable that its neighborhood was from that time used for burials of the dead. The "churchyards" of England, synonymous with "graveyards," must have retained all their hallowed associations in the memories of the Pilgrims. To bury their dead as they had always seen them buried at home, in grounds consecrated by the presence of the sacred altar, must have been a custom which they fell into, without thought or doubt, as naturally as in a wilderness full of suspected foes they would cluster the dwellings of the living in the neighborhood and under the shelter of a fort. Between the planting-time of 1621, when the graves on Cole's Hill are said to have been leveled, and the time of the construction of the church, in 1622, six deaths are recorded, but where the burials were made it is impossible to say. It is probable, however, that some portion of Cole's Hill continued to be used until the Common-House, standing on its southerly slope and making it in reality a "church-yard," was abandoned and the new place of worship occupied.

Until 1698 the hill is invariably called in the records "Fort Hill." Twice in that year it is referred to as a burial-place,—once by Judge Sewall, in his diary, and again by Nathaniel Howland, in a deed to Francis Le Baron of the lot now occupied by Davis Hall, in which he bounds the lot on the west by the Burial Hill. The fact that until the close of King Philip's war the hill had always been a fortified spot; was abandoned as a location for the meeting-house in 1637, when a new house was built on the north side of Town Square; held the name of Fort Hill for many years after; and within the memory of man and the reach of tradition has exhibited no older gravestone than that of Edward Gray, which bears the date of 1681, has heretofore led the author to doubt whether the close of the war, in 1676, and the abandonment of the fortification at that time do not mark the period when the hill became consecrated to the graves of the dead. But in the face of this doubt the question must arise, "Where were Brewster and his wife, William Bradford, Samuel Fuller, Stephen Hopkins, Francis Eaton, Peter Brown, and others, who died in Plymouth before 1681, laid in their graves?" No trace of any other place of burial, except such as were used by the Indians, has ever been found within the limits of the present town. Cellars have been dug, wells have been sunk, water- and gas-pipe trenches have been excavated, almost every spot has been turned over and explored, and

not a white man's bone has ever been found, except on Cole's and Burial Hill. If deliberate and methodical searches had been instituted, like those which have characterized the explorations of Pompeii and Troy, they could not have been more thorough or better calculated to reveal, if ever such had existed, the forgotten burial-places of the Pilgrims.

The fact that no earlier stones than that of Edward Gray are to be found on the hill is to be explained by the same causes which have been at work in later times, and have destroyed many of modern date. In various parts of the town to-day may be found grave-stones, fifty or seventy-five or a hundred years old, utilized as covers of drains or cesspools, showing the extraordinary indifference with which the hill has been treated almost down to the time of our own generation. From time to time new paths have been laid out, and stones removed to a pile in some obscure corner; other stones have become loosened and have finally fallen, and instead of being replaced have been added to the pile, to which stone-masons and others in want of covering stones have had free access, until finally all have disappeared. And more than this, the records of the town show gross municipal neglect in the management and care of a locality which, now next to the rock itself, is the most interesting feature of the town. The first entry on the town books relating to the hill is under date of May 14, 1711, when it was voted "that the common lands about Fort Hill shall be sold under the direction of Isaac Lathrop, Nathaniel Thomas, and Benjamin Warren," reserving sufficient room for a burial-place. An article was inserted in the warrant for a town-meeting, held May 21, 1770, on the petition of William Thomas, Thomas Lathrop, Thomas S. Howland, Jonathan Churchill, and Isaac Lathrop, "to see if the town will let out the feeding of the burying hill for a term of years to any person or persons that will appear to fence the same with good post- and rail-fence, or whether the town will fence the same at their own cost, or any other way inclose said hill as they please." Thus it will be seen that as late as 1770 the hill was not even fenced, and was therefore constantly subject to depredations by cattle, and that the town refused to fence it. At a town-meeting held April 15, 1782, it was voted to give permission to Rev. Chandler Robbins "to fence in the burial hill that he might pasture the same for so long a time as the town think proper, he to have liberty to take off the fence when he pleases; he being required to carry the fence aback of the meeting-house and the barns to his parsonage lot; and also, as soon as he can conveniently, shall make a fence from the meeting-house to the land of Mr. Sylvanus Bartlett, leav-

ing an open way to go over said hill to the lane leading down by the house of John Cotton, Esq." The parsonage lot here referred to included the land now bounded by the Burial Hill and the vacant engine-house lot on the southeast and on the southwest; by Russell Street on the northwest, and on the northeast by a line running from Russell Street to the Burial Hill, ninety feet northeasterly from the easterly house lot on the southerly side of said street. The land of Sylvanus Bartlett referred to is that on a part of which the house of Albert Benson stands, and the open way required to be left is now Church Street. At a town-meeting, held April 6, 1789, a committee appointed at a previous meeting submitted a report on the condition of the hill, which was accepted, as follows: "That the damage to gravestones appears to be done by some wanton or imprudent men or boys, and to prevent the like doings in future your committee are of opinion that it is the duty of parents and heads of families to restrain those under their care from doing the like in future, and that the grammar schoolmaster be desired to take all the pains in his power to prevent the scholars that come to his school from doing any damage to the stones; and as it is possible that horses may damage the gravestones at times, it is the opinion of your committee it would be well for the Town to desire the Rev. Mr. Robbins, who improves the hill as a pasture at this time, not to have more horses there than shall be really necessary." These votes quoted, not for the purpose of entering into any general detail of the proceedings of town-meetings, furnish competent evidence of a municipal carelessness and neglect sufficient to account for the absence of the oldest stones.

Up to 1782 the sontheasterly line of the hill extended to the rear of the High Street lots, as has been seen by the vote of the town, already quoted, which required Rev. Mr. Robbins in fencing the hill to leave an open way. The southwesterly line, as far as the engine-house lot on Russell Street, has probably never been encroached upon. On the northwesterly side the engine-house lot, still belonging to the town, was, up to the laying out of Russell Street, in 1834, included within the limits of the hill, and below the line of the parsonage lot, the line of which has already been stated, the hill ran down to the lands of the county. On the northeast the lots on Main and Court Streets were originally bounded by the hill, which sloped down to their southwesterly limits. The sales of lands on School Street began in 1736, and probably at that time the street was opened. In 1773 the town granted to the county a road of thirty feet in width through the Burial Hill grounds up as far

as the parsonage lot, and that grant was the first step in the laying out of South Russell Street, which was extended when the precinct sold its lands in 1839. That portion of the hill which sloped down to this thirty feet way was sold at various times,—the Standish lot in 1812, the next in 1799, and the corner lot in 1812. In these latter years the town has bestowed more care on the hill. The gravestones and monuments, which are all that make it sacred, are now sharply watched; the oldest have been protected by hoods of iron from crumbling and depredation, and their permanent preservation for our children and children's children has been assured.

The only remaining portions of land within the limits of the town never granted to individuals which are worthy of mention are those covered by the ancient streets, which were laid out over common land. The first street was that laid out in 1620, extending from the top of what is now Burial Hill to the shore, and was called First, or Broad, or Great Street, and in 1823 christened by the town Leyden Street. The second and third, both laid out before 1627, were Main and Market Streets, leading, as an early description states, one to the rivulet (Shaw's Brook), and the other into the land. Main Street extended to the Massachusetts Indian path, and Market Street to the Nemasket path, which after crossing the brook at the rolling-mill, and there leaving the Agawam path to run up by the South Ponds to Agawam, followed up the south side of the town brook, crossing again near the works of the Plymouth Mills, and running through the estate of B. M. Watson, found its way by the most convenient trail to Nemasket or Middleboro'. During the last century Main was called Hanover Street, and Market, South Street. Each received its present name in 1823. Summer Street was the third street, called at an early date Mill Street, leading as it did to the corn-mill established at an ancient date on the site of the works of Samuel Loring, afterwards called High Street, and finally, in 1823, Summer Street. North Street was the fifth, called in the early deeds New Street, sometimes at a later date Howland Street and Queen Street, and occasionally North, and finally, in 1823, christened by a vote of the town by the last name. Emerald Street, called in the last century Smith's Lane, was an early street, connecting at an early date with a ford across the mouth of the town brook at low water, and afterwards with a swing-bridge across the stream a little higher up, and thus affording connection between the easterly and southerly parts of the town. It originally turned with an easy curve into what is now Bradford Street, which was then a part of the lane, and

then gradually curved into the highway. Besides these streets there are two lanes, both of which were opened before 1633, Spring Lane, so called because leading from the fort to the spring, and Woods Lane, or the "lane leading to the woods," now Samoset Street. It may be as well here as elsewhere to complete the list of streets. Middle Street was laid out in 1725 by Jonathan Bryant, Consider Howland, Isaac Little, and Mayhew Little, "for and in consideration of the public good and for the more regular and uniform situation of the town of Plymouth, and to be forever hereafter called King Street." After the Revolution the insignificant name of "Middle" was substituted informally for the ancient appellation, and in 1823 it was formally adopted by a vote of the town. In 1716, Water Street was laid out, connecting North with Leyden. At that time the way over the brook entered between the Turner House and the barn of E. and J. C. Barnes, crossing by a ford, and at a little later day by a swing-bridge also, for foot passengers alone. In 1762 the causeway was built and Water Street extended. In 1728, Thomas Howland threw out land from the "Main road" to the shore for the laying out of a street which he called Howland Street, the name it still bears. This street, only laid out at the time as far as the land of the present gas-works, was extended to the water in 1854. In 1798, James Thacher threw out land and laid out a street, which he called Thacher Street. In 1803 this street was extended to Ring Lane through land of Sylvanus Bartlett and Joshua Thomas, and in 1823 the whole street received the name of High Street, and the old street bearing that name was changed to Summer Street. Sandwich Street was laid out in 1666, and should perhaps be added to the list of streets covering land which never had an individual ownership. At that time it crossed the brook at its level, and entered Summer Street by the present Mill Lane, what is now Spring Hill being then too steep for a road. In 1716 Spring Hill was first laid out, as stated in the records, "with a convenience to water creatures" at town brook, though probably until a much later date, when the bridge was raised, Mill Lane continued to be used for travel. Pleasant Street, though an old road across private land, was not laid out until 1802, and not until 1823 did it receive its present name and lose its old one of Judson Street. Court Street was of course only the continuation of the Main road (Main Street), and probably followed an old Indian trail, being gradually leveled and widened and straightened until its present condition has been reached. Ring lane was probably only a right of way to land of Andrew Ring from the high-

way (Summer Street), and traces its origin to near the year 1640. Cushman Street was laid out in 1845 by Joseph Cushman and Nathaniel L. Hedge, through land thrown out by them. Prospect and Vernon Streets were laid out in 1856; Mayflower, Robinson, and Franklin in 1857; Fremont in 1859; the extension of South Russell in 1868; Washington in 1865; Sagamore, Massasoit, and Jefferson in 1870; Lothrop in 1872; Allerton in 1877; Oak in 1878; Davis in 1882; New Water and Chilton in 1881; Stafford in 1882; and the Woolen-Mill Street in 1883. Most of the modern streets, however, were laid out and opened by individuals before they were formally laid out by the selectmen and accepted by the town.

In connection with the common lands above described and the streets, it may be well to refer to grants of prominent localities made by the town. Clark's Island has already been mentioned as granted by the town, in 1690, to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton. In the same year Saquish was granted to Ephraim and George Morton, and before 1694 the Gurnet was granted to John Doty, John Nelson, and Samuel Lucas. In 1693, Plymouth beach was granted to Nathaniel and Josiah Morton. These grants or sales, with those of other lands, were made by the town to defray the expense incurred in contesting the grant of Clark's Island to Nathaniel Clark by Sir Edmund Andros. The grants of land and flats on which the central wharves of the town are built were made at various times from 1700 to 1760. Jackson's wharf was built on land granted by the town in 1746 to Thomas Jackson and Thomas Foster. The upper part of Long Wharf was built by John Murdock, on land granted to him in 1732. Isaac Lothrop received a grant, on which Hedge's wharf was built in 1734, and David Turner a grant for the Davis wharf lot about the same time. The land for Nelson's wharf was granted to Nathaniel Warren about 1700, and that for Carver's wharf to Thomas Davis about 1756. The Barnes wharf was built by Benjamin Barnes on land probably granted to him, and Robbins' wharf on land which Thomas Davis bought of the town in 1760. Several of these lots began at the top of Cole's Hill, and their deeds contained the reservation of a way along the base of the hill.

In 1717 the settlement in the neighborhood of Jones River, containing about forty-eight families, was set off as a separate parish, bearing the name of Jones River parish. In 1725 an attempt, once before made, was renewed to secure the incorporation of the parish as a distinct town. In the next year an act of incorporation was granted, and after some discussion con-

cerning the name of the new town, during which the name of Ashburton was strongly urged, Lieutenant-Governor Dummer gave it the name of Kingston. In 1738 the inhabitants of Agawam, a plantation within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, petitioned to become a separate parish, and at a town-meeting held March 1, 1738/9, it was voted that the plantation of Agawam be set off from Plymouth and be a separate township. In 1739, Wareham was incorporated, including the plantation of Agawam,¹ and a part of Sippican, or Rochester, to which town a small part of Plymouth was annexed in 1827. After the detachment of the territory included in the incorporated towns of Plympton (which included Carver), Kingston, and Agawam, or Wareham, Plymouth assumed the dimensions and boundaries by which it may be described to-day. Its population, and business, and character had changed as much as its territory. At the end of a little more than a century more than twenty towns had sprung from its loins within the limits of the Old Colony, and it was left with a population of about two thousand, comfortably supported by agriculture, navigation, and commerce. Such men were living during the first quarter of the eighteenth century as James Warren, a man holding high military office, member of the Assembly and sheriff of the county; John Watson, a merchant of considerable means and the highest character; John Murdock, also a merchant, a man of munificent charity, and a benefactor of his adopted town; and Isaac Lothrop, one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, whose gravestone was thought worthy to bear the inscription :

"Had virtue's charm the power to save
Its faithful votaries from the grave,
This stone had ne'er possessed the fame
Of being marked with Lothrop's name."

To this list must be added Josiah Cotton, a graduate of Harvard, and afterwards preacher, schoolmaster, clerk of the Inferior Court, justice of the same court, register of probate, and register of deeds; Thomas Faunce, elder of the church and town clerk; John Dyer, also school-teacher, and at times clerk of the town; John Foster, a deacon of the church, and worthy man; Lazarus Le Baron, an educated and accomplished physician; Thomas Howland, a grandson of John Howland and a man of large estates; and Ephraim Little, the pastor of the church. These were all plain, straightforward, practical men, representing a community which was quite as far from illiteracy and poverty on the one hand as from culture and luxurious wealth on the other. With the lapse of time that peculiar spirit which had marked the Pilgrim char-

acter had gradually been converted into those more ordinary traits which, inspired by no great obstacles to be overcome nor sufferings to be endured, are to be found in every association of men and women who are sure of comfort and happiness as the fruit of earnest but not oppressive labor. James Warren had his residence for a time at the corner of Leyden and Market streets; John Watson lived in the house now occupied by the custom-house; John Murdock occupied the old Bradford house on the north side of Town Square; Isaac Lothrop lived in the house which formerly stood on the lot now occupied by the houses of William P. Stoddard and Mrs. Isaac L. Hedge; Josiah Cotton lived first in the old parsonage which stood where the house of Isaac Brewster now stands, and afterwards for a time in the house in the north part of the town recently occupied by the late Thomas Jackson; Thomas Faunce lived in Chiltonville, near the bridge, in the neighborhood of the Langford farm; John Dyer lived on the lot on Leyden Street on which the house now occupied by Frederick L. Holmes stands; Thomas Howland occupied the lot now occupied by John J. Russell on North Street, and Ephraim Little lived for a time in the house on the lot afterwards occupied by the Lothrop house above referred to.

In 1745, Plymouth raised a company of soldiers for the expedition against Louisbourg, which was commanded by Capt. Sylvanus Cobb, a man of marked energy and heroism. Little is preserved of the history of this company, besides a list of its members. Capt. Cobb was the great-grandson of Henry Cobb, the progenitor of the Cobb family, and occupied the Rogers house, which until within a few years stood on the easterly part of the lot occupied by Edward L. Barnes, on North Street. The following is the roll of Capt. Cobb's company:

Sylvanus Cobb, capt.	Anthony Annable.
Stephen Hall, lieut.	Thomas Huggins.
Nath ^l Faxson, ensign.	Jabez Hamblin.
Eleazer Holmes, sergt.	Ebenezer Chipman.
Samuel Drew, corp.	Silas Blush.
Jeremiah Holmes.	Josiah Scudder.
Ebenezer Cobb.	Joseph Frith.
Jacob Tinkham.	Nathan Tobey.
John Bryant.	Nathan Gibbs.
Seth Curtis.	Benjamin Jones.
Joseph Sylvester.	Reuben Pitcher.
Nathan Weston.	William Pitcher.
Nath ^l Morton.	Peter Lewes.
Joseph Wampum.	Nathan Raiment.
Jedediah Studson.	William Revis.
James Pratt.	Joseph Nummock.
Barnabas Shurtleff.	Jonathan Jeffry.
Eleazer Faunce.	Joseph Cain.
Peter Stocker.	Jacob Paul.

Benjamin Wicket.
Toby Adams.
Solomon Morton.
Robert Decosta.
William Rogers.

Simon Kete.
Amos Francis.
Joseph Panconet.
Thomas Davis.
Samuel Genens.

In the expedition against Nova Scotia, in 1755, Plymouth took a more conspicuous part. The Massachusetts troops in the Acadian expedition, as it has always been called, were commanded by Col. John Winslow, of Plymouth, who had with him many Plymouth men. Col. Winslow had already been in command, in 1740, of an expedition against Cuba. He afterwards held several additional commissions, one of general and commander-in-chief of the Provincial troops, dated July, 1756, from Governor Hardy, of New York, and another of major-general, dated 1757, from Governor Pownal. It will be remembered that Nova Scotia, under the name of Acadia, was settled by the French, and ceded in 1713 to Great Britain. Those of the inhabitants who did not remove into Canada were permitted to retain their possessions upon taking an oath of allegiance to Great Britain, with the stipulation that they were not to be called on to take up arms against the French or Indians. Thus they received the name of French Neutrals. After the settlement of Halifax, in 1749, a requirement to take the oath anew without the stipulation was resisted, and in 1755, Col. Winslow, at the head of his Massachusetts troops, was ordered by Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, to remove them from the country. Col. Winslow issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Minas, "requiring all old men and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the church of Grand Pré on the 5th of September, 1755, at three o'clock in the afternoon," to receive a communication from the constituted authorities. Four hundred and eighteen were assembled, the doors were shut, and the whole number declared prisoners of the king. Arrangements were at once made for their removal, and on the tenth of the month four hundred and eighty-three men and boys were placed on board five transports in the river Gaspereaux, each vessel guarded by six non-commissioned officers and eighty privates. As soon as other vessels could be procured, three hundred and thirty-seven women, heads of families, and eleven hundred and three children and unmarried females followed, and the transportation was complete. Their houses and lands were abandoned, and their stock, consisting of seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-three horned cattle, four hundred and ninety-three horses, and twelve thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven sheep and swine, were left

to perish or become the property of others. These poor people were distributed among the colonies, and seventy-six arrived at Plymouth, Jan. 8, 1756, of whom seventeen remained, and the others settled in Kingston, Duxbury, and other towns in the county. Col. Winslow, in this discreditable act, was only the instrument of others, and as a military officer was only performing his duty in obeying the orders of his superior. His residence, while a citizen of Plymouth, was the house now standing on the corner of North and Main Streets, a house which continued to be famous for many years afterwards as the residence of James Warren, the successor of Joseph Warren, as president of the Provincial Congress. In the expedition against Crown Point,¹ in 1755, Nathaniel Bartlett and Samuel N. Nelson each commanded a company in a regiment of which Thomas Doty was lieutenant-colonel.

The next period of interest in the history of the town was that in which those preliminary steps were taken by Great Britain which finally led to the war of the Revolution. The passage of the Stamp Act created an excitement which Plymouth did not fail to share. On the 14th of October, 1765, a committee, consisting of James Warren, James Hovey, Thomas Southworth Howland, Thomas Mayhew, John Torrey, Nathaniel Goodwin, Nathan Delano, Theophilus Cotton, and Ephraim Cobb, was chosen by the town to draw up instructions to the representative in the General Court as to his action concerning the outrage. On the 21st the committee reported the following instructions, which were accepted:

"To Thomas Foster, Representative of the town of Plymouth at the Great and General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England :

"Sir,—As we have the highest esteem for the British constitution, which we think founded on the true principles of liberty, and to deserve on many accounts the preference to any other now on earth, we cannot but reflect with pleasure on our own happiness in being sharers in that liberty, those rights, and that security which results from them to every subject in the wide extended dominions of our most gracious sovereign, who has not forfeited his right to them by his loyalty to his king, want of attachment and a reasonable submission to the British Government, and love to his fellow-subjects. These are so foreign to the character of the people of this country that calamity itself has never been able to fix it upon them, and we have evinced our loyalty to our king and our affection to the British Government and our mother country on all occasions by our own readiness to assist in any measures with our blood and treasure, to extend their conquest and to enlarge their dominions, from which they reap so many and great advantages. At the same time that we reflect on our happiness in having a natural and constitutional right to all the privileges of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, we behold with pain and sorrow any attempts to deprive us of these, and cannot but look on such attempts as

¹ *Vide Appendix XII. pg. 159.*

instances of the greatest unkindness and injustice. This is the subject of our present complaint, which not without reason echoes from every mouth in every section of this distressed and injured country. Our youth, the flower of this country, are many of them slain, our treasure exhausted in the service of our mother country, our trade and all the numerous branches of business dependent on it reduced and almost ruined by severe Acts of Parliament, and now we are threatened by a late Act of Parliament with being loaded with internal taxes, without our consent or the voice of a single representative in Parliament, and with being deprived of that darling privilege of an Englishman, trial by his peers, the consequence of the unconstitutional extension of the power of Courts of Admiralty in America. These two are the main pillars of the British Constitution and the glory of every freeman, so that the depriving us of these creates such a distinction between us and our fellow-subjects as cannot be accounted for upon any principle of justice and impartiality. And we certainly have never given any occasion, for we shall say nothing on this occasion of our inability to pay the many and great taxes laid upon us by the Stamp Act, of the many more crimes opened by it which cannot but be committed by many people, however desirous they may be to avoid them, of the prodigious penalties annexed to them, or of the great hardship in subjecting the trial of them to the judgment of such a court, and such a manner of correction, or of the many great disadvantages that must arise from these measures to Great Britain herself. These are obvious facts, and have already been handled in such a masterly and convincing manner by some of the friends of both this Mother Country and of the British Constitution (for they cannot be separated) as to render it unnecessary to enlarge on them.

"You, sir, represent a people who are not only descended from the first settlers of this country, but inhabit the very spot they first possessed. Here was first laid the foundation of the British empire in this part of America, which from a small beginning has increased and spread in a manner very surprising and almost incredible, especially when we consider that all this has been effected without the aid or assistance of any power on earth; that we have defended, protected, and secured ourselves against the invasions and cruelty of savages and the subtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies, the French; and all this without the appropriation of any tax by stamp or stamp acts laid upon our fellow-subjects in any part of the king's dominions for defraying the expenses thereof. This place, sir, was at first the asylum of liberty, and we hope will ever be preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a wilderness inhabited only by savage men and beasts. To this place our fathers (whose names be revered), possessed of the principles of liberty in their purity, disdaining slavery, fled to enjoy those privileges which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived of by the hands of violence & oppression in their native country. We, sir, their posterity, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the place, legally assembled for that purpose, possessed of the same sentiments and retaining the same ardor for liberty, think it our indispensable duty on this occasion to express to you their own sentiments of the stamp act and its fatal consequences to the country, and to enjoin it upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being, of this people, that you (consistent with an allegiance to the king and a relation to the Government of Great Britain), disregarding all proposals for that purpose, exert all your powers and influence to oppose the execution of the Stamp Act, at least until we hear the issue of our petition for relief. We likewise, to avoid disgracing the memory of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you to obtain, if possible, in the

Hon. House of Representatives of the Province a full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on the public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never, with submission to Divine Providence, will be slaves to any power on earth. And as we have at all times an abhorrence of tumults and disorders, we think ourselves happy in being at present under no apprehension of any, and in having good and wholesome laws sufficient to preserve the peace of the Province in all future time unless provoked by some imprudent measures, so we think it by no means advisable for your interest yourself in the protection of Stamp papers or stamp offices. The only thing we have further to recommend to you at this time is to observe on all occasions a suitable frugality and economy in the public expenditure, and that you consent to no unnecessary or unusual grants at this time of distress, when the people are groaning under the burden of heavy taxes, and that you use your endeavors to inquire into and bear testimony against any past, and to prevent any future, unconstitutional draft on the public treasury.

"JAMES WARREN, per order."

On the 16th of January, 1766, the following petition sent to the selectmen was acted on by the town, and it is introduced into this narrative, with its list of names, to show who were active in resisting the first step which resulted so disastrously to the interests of Great Britain :

"To the Selectmen :

"GENTLEMEN,—We, the subscribers, freeholders in the town of Plymouth, having the highest sense of the noble patriotism and generous conduct of the town of Boston in many instances, more especially with regard to the difficulties we are now involved in, and the injurious oppressions we are embarrassed with, and being fully convinced of the very great advantages that have resulted from their spirit and conduct not only to every part of this Province, but to the whole continent, and as we conceive the good people of this town are unanimous in this sentiment, and would be very glad of an opportunity to express their gratitude to the town of Boston for their spirited conduct, do hereby desire you to call a town meeting as speedily as may be, to know if the town will, for the reasons above, vote an address of thanks to the town of Boston.

"Dec. 30, 1765.

"Amaziah Churchill.	Ebenezer Churchill.
Nath ^l Foster.	Ephraim Cobb.
John Blackmer.	Stephen Sampson.
Joseph Bartlett.	Benjamin Warren.
Nehemiah Ripley.	Elkanah Watson.
David Turner.	Thomas Davis.
Thomas Spooner.	Ephraim Spooner.
Samuel N. Nelson.	John Russell.
Cornelius Holmes.	John Churchill.
Joseph Rider, Jr.	Jeremiah Holmes.
Ebenezer Nelson.	Lemuel Jackson.
Ezekiel Morton.	Perez Tilson.
Silas Morton.	Lazarus Le Baron.
W ^m . Rickard.	James Warren.
W ^m . Rider.	Thomas Mayhew.
Nath ^l Goodwin.	Thomas Jackson.
Thomas Torrey.	Nathan Delano.
Thomas S. Howland.	Isaac Lothrop.
Abiel Shurtleff.	W ^m Watson."

The following address of thanks was adopted :

"To the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston:

"At a time when the rights and liberties of this country are invaded, and the inhabitants threatened with the loss of everything that is dear to them; when they are embarrassed with every distress that is the never-failing consequence of slavery and poverty, no man or society of men who are sharers in the common calamity (unless totally destitute of every spark of public virtue and patriotism), can remain unfeeling and inactive spectators, but must be ready on all occasions to bless the hearts which feel, and the hands which exert themselves to avert the evil threatened, and to restore that happiness which constantly attends the full enjoyment of natural and constitutional rights and liberties; we, therefore, the inhabitants of the Town of Plymouth, animated with a spirit of public virtue and love of our country, as well as gratitude to all our benefactors, and more especially to such as have distinguished themselves in the common cause of their country in this day of distress and difficulty, and being assembled in town meeting for that purpose, as a public testimony of our esteem and gratitude, beg you to accept our united and general thanks for the invariable attachment you have on all occasions, and particularly on the present, shown to the principle of liberty, and for the vigorous exertion of your loyal and legal endeavors to secure to your country the uninterrupted enjoyment of that blessing, and to transmit the same entire and perfect to the latest posterity. Instances of this, much to your own honor and the interests of your country, distinguished by the unerring marks of disinterestedness and generosity, crowd on our minds on this occasion. But to avoid the imputation of prolixity, permit us to single out a few, which are recent, and must readily occur to every one's mind, and which are sufficient of themselves to justify our sentiments and merit the gratitude of every well-wisher to this country.

"The new regulation with regard to mourning, which has not only saved the country a great and needless expense, and in a manner abolished a ridiculous pageantry, but produced consequences in our mother country very beneficial to us and all, principally at your expense, as your merchants were the principal importers and vendors of these articles, a measure which at the same time that it reflects a lustre upon your conduct, shows by the success of it that the people of this country have virtue enough to prefer its interest to any fashion that may stand in competition with it, however established by long custom and very particular prejudice. The opposition you have at all times made, both to the foreign and domestic invasion of our rights, particularly the legal and warrantable measures you have taken to prevent the execution of the Stamp Act in the province. The spirited and noble application you have made to have the custom-houses and courts of justice opened in the Province, upon which our welfare, peace, and tranquillity so much depend; the testimony you have from first to last borne against, and the abhorrence you have expressed of all outrageous tumults and illegal proceedings and their consequences very early taken to restore tranquillity and the security of property in your town, the capital of the Province, and the good example thereby given to the other towns of that love of peace and good order which influenced you, and which we think sufficient to destroy all those injurious connections, the work of some people's imaginations, and from which they affect to draw consequences not only disadvantageous to you, but to the whole country. To conclude that you and your posterity may ever be prevented of the full enjoyment of that liberty you have so laudably asserted and contended for; that your trade and commerce, the source of riches and opulence to this country may be extended and flourish; that you may ever continue to deserve and have the justice done you, to be pos-

sessed of the love and esteem of your fellow-countrymen, who, renouncing that solecism in politics which arises from an unnatural distinction between landed and commercial interest, shall exert themselves to encourage your hearts and strengthen your hands, are the sincere wishes and ardent prayers of your fellow-subjects to the best of kings, your fellow-sufferers in the calamities of this country and your fellow-laborers in the vineyard of liberty, the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth.

"THOMAS MAYHEW.

"JAMES WARREN.

"ELKANAH WATSON.

"PLYMOUTH, Jan. 16, 1766."

In response to the above, the following reply was received from the selectmen of Boston:

"BOSTON, March 10, 1766.

"The inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled in Faneuil Hall, have received with singular pleasure your respectful address of the 16th of January last. The warm sentiments of public virtue which you therein express is a sufficient evidence that the most ancient town in New England, to whose predecessors this province in a particular manner is so greatly indebted for their necessary aid in its original settlement, still retain the truly noble spirit of our renowned ancestors. When we recollect the ardent love of religion and liberty which inspired the breasts of those worthies, which induced them, at a time when tyranny had laid its oppressive hand on church and state in their native country, to forsake their fair possessions and seek a retreat in this distant part of the earth; when we reflect upon their early care to lay a solid foundation for learning, even in a wilderness, as the surest if not the only means of preserving and cherishing the principles of liberty and virtue, and transmitting them to us their posterity, our mind is filled with deep veneration, and we bless and revere their memory. When we consider the immense cost and pains they were at in subduing, cultivating, and settling this land with the utmost peril of their lives, and the surprising increase of dominion, strength, and riches which have accrued to Great Britain by their expense and labor, we confess we feel an honest indignation to think there ever should have been any among her sons so ungrateful as well as unjust and cruel as to seek their ruin. Instances of this too frequently occur in the past history of our country. The names of Randolph, Andros, and others are handed down to us with infamy; and the times in which we live, even these very times, may furnish some future historian with a catalogue of those who look upon our rising greatness with an envious eye, and while we and our sister colonies have been exerting our growing strength in the most substantial service to the mother-country, by art and intrigue have wickedly attempted to seduce her into measures to enslave us. If, then, gentlemen, the inhabitants of this metropolis have discovered an invariable attachment to the principles of liberty when it has been invaded; if they have made the most vigorous exertions for our country when she has been threatened with the loss of everything that is dear; if they have used their utmost endeavors that she may be relieved from those difficulties with which she is at this time embarrassed; if they have taken the warrantable and legal measures to prevent that misfortune, of all others the most to be dreaded, the execution of the Stamp Act, and, as a necessary means of preventing it, have made any spirited application for opening the custom-houses and courts of justice; if, at the same time, they have borne their testimony against outrageous tumults and illegal proceedings, and given any examples of the love of peace and good order,—next to the consciousness of having done their duty is the satisfaction of

meeting with the approbation of any of their fellow-countrymen. That the spirit of our venerable forefathers may revive and be diffused through every community in this land; that liberty, both civil and religious, the grand object in view, may still be felt, enjoyed, and vindicated by the present generation, and the fair inheritance transmitted to our latest posterity, is the fervent wish of this metropolis.

“SAMUEL ADAMS.
“JOHN RUDDOCK.
“JOHN HANCOCK.”

The Stamp Act was repealed on the 16th of January, 1766, and the threatening cloud was dissipated for a time, to appear again after the lapse of a few years, with more serious and lasting consequences.

In 1768 the first light-house was built on the Gurnet at an expense of ten hundred and sixty-eight pounds. In the House of Representatives it was ordered, June 14th in that year, “that Col. Warren and Capt. Thomas, with such as the Hon. Board shall join, be a Committee to agree with a meet person to take the care of the light-house on the Gurnet, near Plymouth harbor, now nearly finished, to report at the next session of this Court, and that said Committee be instructed to prepare a proper advertisement, to be lodged at the impost office, setting forth that a light-house is there erected, and the course to steer with safety on sight thereof at sea.” Gamaliel Bradford was joined by the Board, and John Thomas was appointed the first keeper, at a salary of sixty pounds.

The year 1769 was made memorable by the formation of the Old Colony Club, under whose auspices that long line of celebrations¹ was inaugurated which has made the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims a hallowed day in the land. The founders of the club were Isaac Lothrop, Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, Elkanah Cushman, John Thomas, Edward Winslow, Jr., and John Watson, to whom were added soon after the organization, George Watson, James Warren, James Hovey, Thomas Mayhew, William Watson, Gideon White, Elkanah Watson, Thomas Davis, Nathaniel Lothrop, John Russell, Edward Clarke, Alexander Scammell, Peleg Wadsworth, and Thomas Southworth Howland. All these gentlemen are intimately associated with the history of Plymouth during their time. They were of mixed political faith, and represented various degrees of loyalty to the crown. Isaac and Thomas Lothrop, Elkanah Cushman, John Watson, James Warren, James Hovey, Thomas Mayhew, Elkanah Watson, Thomas Davis, Nathaniel Lothrop, John Russell, Alexander Scammell, and Peleg Wadsworth were afterwards pronounced in their advocacy of war. Pelham Winslow, son of Gen. John Winslow, an attorney-at-law, John Thomas, Edward Winslow, Jr., Gideon White, and Thomas S. Howland adhered with more or less

firmness to the crown, and the first three became expatriated loyalists. The records of the club indicate that a difference of opinion on the questions of the day, which were constantly assuming greater importance, was the rock on which it finally split, and which led to its dissolution. While we of to-day are indebted to the club as the founder of the celebration of the anniversary of the landing, the embarrassment which surrounds the discovery that the wrong day has been celebrated must be charged to their account. The day fixed on by the club in 1769 for an observance was the 22d of December. Because seventeen years before, at the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1752, eleven days had been dropped to make the necessary correction, the club thought it necessary to drop eleven days also, and it thus converted the 11th of December, the day of the landing in 1620, into the 22d. It is true that in 1752 the difference between the old and new styles had become eleven days, but the simple question was, What was the difference at the time of the landing? a question to which the answer was ten. It is now settled beyond dispute that since the adoption of the new style the 21st of December is the true anniversary.

CHAPTER VI.

LOYALISTS—REVOLUTION—SOLDIERS—EMBARGO— WAR OF 1812.

THE course taken by the town with reference to the Stamp Act indicated plainly enough the spirit of its people and the course they would be likely to pursue under the pressure of heavier burdens. That obnoxious act was repealed, but new taxes were laid on glass, paper, lead, and other articles in everyday use, which once more deepened the gloom which had appeared to be gradually dissipating. Lord North succeeded the Duke of Grafton as prime minister, a man sufficiently fitted for the performance of ordinary official duties in peaceful times, but wanting in the grasp of mind necessary to comprehend the extraordinary difficulties and complications surrounding him, and possessed of that easy and pliable disposition which yielded to the stronger will of the blind and obstinate royal master under whom he served. A proposition was received from the selectmen of Boston to cease the importation of foreign goods, and the town chose a committee, consisting of James Warren, John Torrey, Isaac Lothrop, Thomas Mayhew, and Elkanah Watson, to consider the subject.

¹ *Vide Appendix XIII. pg. 160.*

The following report of the committee was unanimously adopted by the town, March 26, 1770:

"Every man not destitute of the principle of freedom and independence, and that has sensibility enough to feel the least glow of patriotism, must at this time be strongly impressed with a sense of the misfortunes of their country in general and of the town of Boston in particular, where a military force has for some time been stationed, to aid and support the execution of laws designed to subvert the liberties of English subjects in America, and more effectually to answer the purpose to begin by suppressing that spirit of freedom which has at all times distinguished that town in a manner that will not only secure them the applause of the present age, in spite of the malice of placemen and pensioners and all their adherents, but transmit their character and conduct down to posterity in the faithful pages of impartial history in the most illustrious vein, therto stand a monument of admiration to posterity of their unparalleled firmness and disinterestedness in the cause of this country, when the names of their enemies, however dignified now by titles of distinction, shall be rescued from oblivion to perpetuate their infamy, and their posterity, notwithstanding the excessive emoluments they now enjoy at the expense of family and every tender feeling, shall be undistinguished and neglected. Affected with these sentiments, and influenced by the principle of gratitude and justice to the merits of their brethren of the town of Boston in general and the respectable inhabitants thereto in particular, and willing to contribute all in their power to support them in their laudable purpose of resisting tyranny and oppression and establish their rights for themselves and their country, which they are entitled to as men and Englishmen, the Inhabitants of Plymouth

"Resolve that their thanks be sent to the inhabitants of Boston, and that they will assist them in their resistance; encourage non-importation, and hold in detestation those who continue to import; and encourage frugality, industry, and manufactures in the country, and discourage the use of superfluities, and particularly that of tea; and, further, that a Committee be chosen to discover and report on such cases in the town as may be in violation of this Resolve."

In obedience to this resolve a committee was chosen, consisting of Thomas Mayhew, Ichabod Shaw, Thomas Lothrop, Ephraim Cobb, James Warren, Thomas Jackson, and John Torrey.

On the 13th of November, 1772, a petition was sent to the selectmen, signed by one hundred citizens of the town, asking them to call a meeting to consider the further and continued violation of popular rights. At this meeting a committee chosen in the forenoon, consisting of James Warren, Thomas Mayhew, Thomas Lothrop, John Torrey, William Watson, and Nathaniel Torrey, reported in the afternoon substantially as follows:

1st. That the people in the province are entitled to all the rights that the people of Great Britain can claim by nature and the Constitution.

2d. That these rights have been violated.

3d. That the support of the Supreme Court judges in any other manner than by the free grants of the people is an infraction of our rights and, in connec-

tion with the independence of the Governor, tends to the destruction of free government.

4th. That our representatives be instructed to use every effort to restore the popular support of the courts of justice, and that the thanks of the town be again returned to the town of Boston for its efforts in support of the principles of freedom.

At the same meeting a Committee of Correspondence was chosen to communicate with similar committees in other towns, and take such action in defense of the liberties of the people as they might deem expedient. This committee consisted of James Warren, John Torrey, Stephen Sampson, Samuel Cole, Ephraim Cobb, William Thomas, Thomas Jackson, Elkanah Watson, William Watson, Thomas Lothrop, Isaac Lothrop, Nathaniel Torrey, and Thomas Mayhew. It has been claimed, on evidence too strong to deny, that this famous committee, with its branches extending into every town in the province, which did so much to encourage, develop, and organize the spirit of resistance to British tyranny, was first suggested by James Warren, and had its origin in Plymouth. The claim has been denied; but, whether true or false, the ingenuity which devised it and the energy with which its establishment was projected were in harmony with the fertility of resource and extraordinary executive power which Mr. Warren exhibited, at first in the limited field of his own town, and afterwards in connection with Adams and Hancock in the more comprehensive labors of the Provincial Congress. A friend of James Otis,¹ who was for a time an inmate of his house, the husband of his sister, Mercy, and with only one year's difference in age, his mind certainly furnished as congenial soil as could be found for the propagation of the seeds of patriotic resistance to the infringement of personal rights. And Mr. Warren found able coadjutors among the gentlemen whose names have been quoted in connection with the above votes and reports. The Watsons, Lothrops, Jacksons, Mayhews, Thomases, and Torreys were all as active as Mr. Warren in giving a patriotic tone and spirit to the voice of their town, and were only less useful as the sphere of their operations was less comprehensive. But the feeling in the town was far from being unanimous against what were called encroachments of royal power. There were many, among the most active and educated and opulent citizens, who believed that these encroachments were only justifiable efforts to suppress illegal and unwarrantable demonstrations, and while they suffered themselves from the chastisement, it was their venerated mother who inflicted it, and they loved her still. Edward Wins-

¹ *Vide Appendix XIV. pg. 164.*

low, together with his son, Edward, held the offices of clerk of the court, register of probate, and collector of the port, and the latter was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1765. Both left Plymouth after the British army evacuated Boston, the one in 1776, the other in 1778, the father going to Halifax, where he died in 1784, and the son to New Brunswick, where he became chief justice of the province, and died in 1815, leaving a family, which has always occupied positions of high civil and social rank. Thomas Foster, also a graduate of Harvard in 1745, was repeatedly honored by a seat in the Assembly and other positions of trust in the gift of his native town. He also removed to Halifax in 1776, returning, however, in 1777, and dying that year, in Plymouth, of smallpox. Pelham Winslow, son of Gen. John Winslow, a graduate of Harvard in 1753, was an attorney-at-law and a man of culture. He also left Plymouth in 1776, and, while with the British army on Long Island, soon after died. John Thomas, a kinsman of Gen. John Thomas, one of the founders of the Old Colony Club, and the owner of the building in Market Street once called Old Colony Hall, in which the club was organized and held its meetings, left his family and possessions and retired to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, where the remainder of his days was spent. Gideon White, a young man of twenty-three, visiting friends among the British officers in Boston, engaged with them as a volunteer at the battle of Bunker Hill, and on his return was sent by his father to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, to escape the punishment he feared at the hands of the Committee of Correspondence. In January, 1777, he was taken prisoner at Liverpool by Capt. Simeon Sampson, then cruising in command of a Massachusetts armed vessel, and brought back to his home. After a short imprisonment he was conditionally released on the following bond, now in the possession of the author, his grandson :

"Know all men by these presents, that we, Gideon White, Jr., as principal, and George Watson and Isaac Le Baron as sureties, are holden and do stand firmly bound and obliged unto Thomas Mayhew, chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Plymouth, in the full and just sum of two hundred pounds, to be paid to the said Thomas Mayhew or to his successor in said office, for the use of the State of Massachusetts Bay, to which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves as aforesaid, our heirs, executors, and administrators, firmly by these presents. Sealed with our seals. Dated at Plymouth aforesaid, the 27th of January, 1777.

"The condition of the above written obligation is such, that whereas, the above named Gideon White has resided in the Province of Nova Scotia for some considerable time, and was taken by Capt. Sampson. If, therefore, the said Gideon White shall from the date hereof confine himself within the limits of his father's house and garden, and not depart therefrom

without liberty first had from lawful authority (except on the Sabbath to attend public worship, and shall be forthcoming when called for by said authority), then the above written obligation shall be void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us.	"GIDEON WHITE, Jr. "GEORGE WATSON. "CONSIDER HOWLAND. "THOMAS MAYHEW, JR."
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Mr. White was finally unconditionally released, and purchasing a commission as captain in the British army, served in that capacity during the war, and finally settled in Shelburne, Nova Scotia. His son, Nathaniel, graduated at Harvard in 1812, leaving Cambridge before commencement, on account of hostilities which had recently broken out with Great Britain. On Commencement Day his part in the exercises was announced by the president as "Oratio in lingua latina a White omittita propter bellum."

But besides those whose names have been mentioned above, there were many silent sympathizers with the royal cause. They neither saw sufficient reason for breaking the ties which had so long bound them, nor believed that the efforts to sever them would be successful. Persons suspected by the committee of disloyalty to the patriot cause, were summoned by them to take the oath of fidelity. The following document is a copy of one of two in the author's possession, including, however, the names contained in both, which not only indicates the method of procedure, but the class of persons under suspicion :

"To Thomas Mayhew, one of the Justices of the Peace in the County of Plymouth :

"I, the subscriber, clerk of the Committee of correspondence, inspection, and safety for the town of Plymouth, truly represent to you, as a Justice of the Peace in the county aforesaid, that there is, in the opinion of said Committee, sufficient reason to suspect that the following persons, viz., Edward Winslow and George Watson, Esquires, Capt. Gideon White, John Watson, Benjamin Churchill, Capt. Thomas Davis, Capt. Barnabas Hedge, Isaac Le Baron, Samuel Hunt, Ichabod Shaw, John Kempton, John Kempton, Jr., Zuccheus Kempton, Benjamin Rider, William Le Baron, Enoch Randall, William Cuffee, Jerry Connel, Richard Dursey, Lemuel Cobb, and James Dotey, Jr., are inimical to the United States, and you are requested upon this representation to proceed immediately against the above named persons, agreeably to an act of said State passed the present session of the General Court, entitled an Act for prescribing and establishing an oath of fidelity and allegiance.

"Per order of the Committee of Correspondence.

"ANDREW CROSWELL, Clerk.

"PLYMOUTH, 11 of February, 1778."

Many of these gentlemen, whether justly suspected or otherwise, afterwards rendered valuable service. Samuel Hunt, Benjamin Rider, Enoch Randall, and James Dotey, Jr., served in the army. George Watson, with his prudence, sagacity, and wisdom, was al-

ways a counselor to whom, in the darkest days, the town looked for the safest advice. Thomas Davis, during the suffering of 1774, made a gift of fifteen pounds to the poor, and in both of the general subscriptions organized by the town, in 1780 and 1781, to hire recruits to fill the town's quota, he was the largest contributor. But it is not necessary to follow the successive steps taken by the town in its approach to the great struggle which impended. Meetings were constantly held at the suggestion of the Committee of Correspondence, instructions to representatives were from time to time given, active efforts were made to suppress the sale of tea, committees were chosen to uphold the hands of the inhabitants of Boston and to collect subscriptions for their suffering poor, until at last the skirmish at Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, was followed by the meeting of the Continental Congress on the 10th of May, and a call was made for men. In responding to this and succeeding calls Plymouth was never backward. Every effort, both municipal and personal, was made to fill each quota as fast as assigned. At one time a bounty of twenty bushels of corn, or their equivalent in money, was voted to three-months' men; at another, forty shillings per month, in addition to army pay, to six-months' men; again, twenty shillings per month to three-months' men; one hundred dollars bonus and twenty shillings per month, to eight-months' men; one hundred and twenty pounds to each recruit for the war, and on two occasions, in 1780 and 1781, the town was divided into classes, each of which, by a forced subscription, was required to furnish one recruit for the Continental army. In 1780 twenty-seven men were needed, and the subscribers were divided into twenty-seven classes, each class subscribing sixteen pounds as a bounty for one enlisted soldier. In 1781 twelve men were needed, and each of twelve classes subscribed twenty-three pounds. Nor was this all. At one time forty-five hundred pounds were voted to buy clothing for the army, and the same amount for the support of soldiers' families. These amounts probably represent a depreciated currency, but appropriations of money, similar in their character, were constantly made, involving the town in a debt which, at the end of the war, proved a serious burden.

At the time of the battle of Lexington a company of British troops, called the "Queen's Guards," was stationed at Marshfield, but withdrawn the day after that memorable event had demonstrated the willingness of the defenders of liberty to fight. On the very day of their withdrawal, April 20, 1775, a detachment of Plymouth militia, under command of

Col. Theophilus Cotton, of Plymouth, marched to Marshfield, and, had not the skirmishes at Concord and Lexington occurred the day before, it is probable that Marshfield would have been the scene of the first bloodshed in the Revolution. The detachment consisted of the two following companies:

Theophilus Cotton, col.	John Morton.
Jesse Harlow, capt.	Nath ¹ Torrey.
Thomas Morton, lieut.	John Bacon.
John Torrey, ensign.	Joshua Totman.
Peter Kimball, sergt.	Isaac Bartlett.
Zadock Churchill, sergt.	Branch Churchill.
Philip Leonard, sergt.	Josiah Bartlett.
Amaziah Harlow, sergt.	Lazarus Harlow.
Reuben Washburn, corp.	Zacheus Harlow.
Thomas Hackman, corp.	Jabez Harlow.
William Barnes, corp.	Ebenezer Cobb.
Ezra Harlow, corp.	James Dunham.
Abner Bartlett, drummer.	Eleazer Morton.
Benjamin Hoye, fifer.	Lemuel Leach.
Bradford Barnes.	Sylvester Morton.
Barsillai Stetson.	Ebenezer Harlow.
Edward Doten.	Thomas Clark.
Samuel Rogers.	Caleb Morton.
Lemuel Bradford.	William Finney.
Samuel Sherman.	Joshua Black.
Elijah Sherman.	John Paty.
Nath ¹ Morton.	John Philips.
William Howard.	David Morton.
Samuel Churchill.	Lemuel Barnes.
Elkanah Churchill.	Crosby Luce.
Lemuel Morton.	Bartlett Holmes.
Malachi Bartlett.	Caleb Holmes.
Nath ¹ Curtis.	Benjamin Jennings.
John Cotton.	Francis Cobb.
John Washburn.	Ezra Finney.
James Cushman.	Ansel Faunce.
Abijah Keyes.	
Abraham Hammatt, cap ^t .	Samuel Bartlett, Jr.
Thomas Mayhew, lieut.	James Murdock.
Nath ¹ Lewis, ensign.	William Allerton.
George Dunham, sergt.	Richard Drew, Jr.
William Curtis, sergt.	William Morton.
Benjamin Warren, sergt.	Isaac Atwood.
Timothy Goodwin, sergt.	Silas Morton.
John Churchill, corp.	William Holmes.
Richard Bagnall, corp.	Thomas Faunce.
James Savory, corp.	Wait Atwood.
John May, corp.	Nath ¹ Thomas.
William Green, drummer.	John Thomas.
Josiah Cotton.	George Dunham (3d).
Samuel Bacon.	Stephen Drew.
Robert Dunham.	David Burbank.
Josiah Dunham.	Zenas Macomber.
David Allen.	Levi Shurtliff.
Robert Treat.	Charles Gray.
Samuel Wheeler.	William Anderson.
Solomon Atwood.	Amos Dunham.
William Watson, Jr.	James Waterman.
Lewis Weston.	Ebenezer Luce.
William Weston.	William Doten.
Thomas Jackson (3d).	Jabez Doten.
Samuel Jackson, Jr.	David Bartlett.
David Drew.	Thomas Lewis.

John Weston. Elkanah Bartlett.
James Drew, Jr. Jonathan Bartlett.
William Mayhew. Cornelius Holmes.

In May, 1775, the following Plymouth men enlisted for eight months' service in the neighborhood of Boston, under Col. Cotton:

Thomas Mayhew, capt.
Nathaniel Lewis, lieut.
Benjamin Warren, ensign.
George Dunham, sergt.
William Curtis, sergt.
John Churchill, sergt.
Josiah Cotton, sergt.
Richard Bagnall, corp.
Robert Dunham, corp.
Samuel Bacon, corp.
Silas Morton, corp.
Abner Churchill, drummer.
Benjamin Hoye, fifer.
Wait Atwood.
William Anderson.
David Burbank.
Joseph Bramhall.
John Butterworth.
William Bartlett.
Caleb Bartlett.
David Bartlett.
Thomas Cushingan.
Branch Churchill.
Nathaniel Curtis.
Amos Dunham.
Josiah Dunham.
Samuel Drew.
Stephen Drew.
George Dunham, Jr.
William Doten.
Jabez Doten.
Job Foster.

Charles Gray.
Thomas Faunce.
Levi Harlow.
Thomas Howard.
William Howard.
Ebenezer Howard.
William Holmes.
Jabez Harlow.
Caleb Holmes.
William Hueston.
John Hosea.
William Jones.
Abijah Keyes.
Ebenezer Luce.
Crosby Luce.
Daniel Lawrence.
Abner Morton.
Zenas Macomber.
David Morton.
Joseph Plasket.
John Paty.
Lemuel Robbins.
Eliab Richmond.
Samuel Sherman.
Elijah Sherman.
Charles Scobey.
Levi Shurtleft.
Elkanah Totman.
James Waterman.
John Washburn, Jr.
Samuel Wheeler.
Robert Wharton.
Martin Wright.

In the company of John Bridgman, of Plympton:

Benjamin Chubbuck.
Thomas Clark.
Samuel Doten.
John King.
Caleb Raymond.
Henry Richmond.

Timothy Swinerton.
Eleazer Smith.
Abel Thrasher.
Perez Wright.
Jacob Tinkham.

In the company of Joshua Benson, of Middleboro':

James Savory.
Elijah Harlow.

John Phillips.

In the company of Peleg Wadsworth, of Kingston:

Jonathan Delano.
Nath' Torrey.
Thomas Sylvester.
George Lemote.
Lemuel Barnes.
John Rogers.
John Morton.
Elkanah Rider.
Thomas Trumble (Tribble).
Eleazer Morton.

Joseph Covell.
Joshua Totman.
Abner Holmes.
John Crawford.
William Atwood.
Nehemiah Atwood.
Jonathan Churchill.
Nath' Thomas.
Prince Wadsworth.
Negro Quam.

In the company of Edward Hammond, of Rochester:

Samuel Rogers.
Barsillai Stetson.

Jonathan Holmes.
John Green.

The following company served at the Gurnet in Plymouth harbor in 1776. The Plymouth men are marked with a star:

*William Weston, capt.
Andrew Sampson, 1st lieut.
Josiah Smith, 2d lieut.
*Nath' Carver, ensign.
John Hawkes, sergt.
*Stephen Paine, sergt.
James Cox, sergt.
Jeremiah Dillingham, sergt.
*Jabez Doten, corp.
Beniah Sampson, corp.
Joseph Heaney, corp.
Eleazer Bixly, corp.
Bildad Washburn, drummer.
Josiah Barker, fifer.
Jonathan Thomas.
*Eleazer Faunce.
*Mendall Churchill.
*Thomas Doggett.
*Stephen Cornish.
*Josiah Morton.
*William Bartlett.
*William Morton.
*Enos Churchill.
*Ishabod Holmes.
*John Paty.
*Hallet Rider.
*Edward Doty.
Benjamin Parish.
Nath' Washburn.
*John Douglass.
*Joseph Tinkham.
Josiah Perkins.
Asaph Bisbee.
Oliver Sampson.
*Lemuel Morton, corp.
*Zaccheus Morton.
*Thomas Bartlett.
Aaron Bisbee.
Samuel Stetson.
*Charles Clark.
Richard Tillayd.
*Isaac Holmes.
John Taber.
Foord Bates.
Charles Tentes.
Charles Perie.
Truelove Brewster.
*Lemuel Leach.
Richard Humphrey.

The following company served at the Gurnet in 1776 after the discharge of Capt. Weston's company. The known Plymouth men are marked with a star:

*Jesus Harlow, capt.
*James Churchill, 1st lieut.
*Timothy Goodwin, 2d lieut.
Isaiah Thomas.
Ebenezer Cobb.
*Robert Dunham.
*Nicholas Smith.
*Samuel Cobb.
*Israel Dunham.
Zenas Bryant.
*Francis Churchill.
*Asa Dunham.
Robert Cobb.
*Lemuel Stephens.
Josiah Waterman.
*William Morton.
*Amaziah Doty.
*Asa Sherman.
*Thaddeus Ripley.
Joshua Holmes.
Zenas Davis.
Zadock Cook.
Zenas Cook.
Isaiah Cushman.

Holmes Thomas.
*Elias Churchill.
Onesimus Randall.
*Samuel West.
*Nathan Rider.
Joseph Perkins.
Luther Cole.
Levi Everson.
David Ripley.
*William Bradford.
Nathaniel Ripley.
*Nathaniel Bradford.
*William Barnes.
*Zaccheus Barnes.
*Nathaniel Cobb.
John Chandler.
William Cobb.
*George Dunham.
*William Davie.
*Nathaniel Ellis.
*William Hueston.
*Lazarus Harlow.
*Zaccheus Harlow.
*Nathaniel Spooner.
Nehemiah Weston.

Thaddeus Faunce.
John Totman.
Benjamin Rickard.
Isaac Churchill for Nathaniel Jackson.
James Eaton for Isaac Symmes.
Charles Gray for John Goodwin.
Martin Wright for William Harlow, Jr.
George Atwood for Thomas Matthews.
William Johnston.
Oliver Morton for Ebenezer Nelson, Jr.
Abner Morton for Richard Brown.
Tilden Holmes for Isaac Le Baron.
Isaac Holmes for Samuel Harlow.
Lemuel Crooker for Samuel Kempton.
Isaac Wilson for Lazarus Goodwin.
William Davie.

The following company served at the Gurnet in 1776, after the discharge of Capt. Harlow's company.
The known Plymouth men are marked with a star:

Andrew Sampson, capt.
Josiah Smith, lieut.
Beniah Sampson, sergt.
Ebenezer Barker, sergt.
*Stephen Paine, sergt.
Samuel Chandler, corp.
Nathan Sampson, corp.
Abel Turner, corp.
Bildad Washburn, drummer.
George Winslow, fifer.
Ebenezer Cobb.
Sylvanus Bryant.
Nathaniel Weston.
George Cushman.
Jonathan Chandler.
Peleg Oldham.
James Glass.
Aaron Bisbee.
Robert Sampson.
Colson Sampson.
Samuel Delano.
Levi Sampson.
Nehemiah Weston.
Elijah Sampson.
William Sampson.
Peleg Gulliver.
Thomas Chandler.
Oliver Sampson.

Isaiah Sampson.
Josiah Barker.
Harris Hatch.
Nathaniel Kent.
Zabdiel Weston.
Thomas Carver.
Abraham Pierce.
Nathaniel Washburn.
*Peleg Faunce.
*William Bartlett.
John Kent.
Joshua Chandler.
*Nathaniel Burgess.
Malachi Delano.
Uriah Sprague.
Samuel Sprague.
Luther Delano.
*Lemuel Doten.
*Ebenezer Rider.
*Eleazer Faunce.
*Mendall Churchill.
*Abner Sylvester.
Jonathan Thomas.
*William Morton.
*Thomas Trumbull (Tribble).
*Solomon Davis.
*Edward Doten.

Enlistments for five months' service in July, 1776:

Samuel West.
Asa Sherman.

Lemuel Stephens.
Holmes Thomas.

Enlistments and drafts in December, 1776, for three months' service in Rhode Island:

Enlistments for three months' service in Rhode Island, April, 1777:

William Morton. Edward Cotton.
James Savery. Lemuel Robbins.
Ebenezer Luce.
John King for Elkanah Bartlett.
Thomas Doggett.
James Doty, of Kingston, for Cornelius Cobb.
Caleb Raymond.
Perez Wright.

Enlistments for thirty days' service in Rhode Island in September, 1777:

Nath'l Goodwin, capt.	William Blakeley.
Josiah Tomson, 1st lieut.	James Cushman.
Bartlett Holmes, 2d lieut.	Joseph Bramhall.
Amaziah Harlow, 3d lieut.	James Cole for John Russell.
Solomon Atwood, Jr.	Thaddeus Ripley for Benjamin King.
Benjamin Morey.	Elijah Morey for Daniel Daman.
Branch Carver for Joseph Bartlett.	James Newbury.
Thomas Macan.	Jabes Gorham.
Joseph Ripley for Wm Hall Jackson.	Judah Bartlett, Jr.
Frank Cobb for Job Cobb.	Zadock Churchill.
Perez Wright for Thomas Jackson, Jr.	Jonathan Harlow.
Lemuel Crooker for Lemuel Cobb.	Thomas Clark.
John Atwood.	Nath'l Harlow.
George Holmes.	John King.
Josiah Drew.	John Bates.
Elijah McFarlin for Abraham Hammatt.	James Wright.
Lemuel Raymond for Joseph Croswell.	Hallet Rider.
George Morton for Benjamin Drew.	Edmund Bartlett.
Reuben Damon.	Josiah Cornish.
Ezekiel Raymond for Joseph Rider.	Bartlett Holmes.
Jonathan Churchill for Wm Weston.	John Darling.
Samuel Bryant for Stephen Sampson.	Charles Churchill.
	Benjamin Churchill.
	Solomon Bartlett.
	Jesse Churchill.
	Seth Rider.
	Ichabod Holmes, Jr.
	Silas Dunham.
	Barnabas Dunham.
	George Bartlett.
	Thomas Torrey.
	Thomas Morton, Jr.
	Zaccheus Barnes.
	Samuel Bradford.

Abiel Washburn for Isaac Lothrop.	Peleg Faunce.
Nath'l Leonard for George Watson.	Abner Sylvester for Robert Davie.
Patrick Welsh for Wm Watson.	James Churchill for Benj. Barnes.
William Drew.	Wilson Churchill.
Dolphin Negro for Elkanah Watson.	John Holmes for Eliab Richmond.
Amos Pettee for Andrew Cresswell.	Diman Bartlett for George Thrasher.
James Bishop for Isaac Doten.	Nath'l Holmes.
Thomas Foster.	John Bacon for Sylvanus Howes.
Thomas Lanman.	Thomas Sears.
Noah Perkins for John Bartlett.	Solomon Holmes.
Joseph Wright for John Thomas.	John Witherhead.
Charles Morton, Jr., for John Kempton.	Esra Harlow.
	George Ellis.
	Nath'l Clark.
	Lemuel Morton, Jr.

Men raised to serve as guard to the prisoners who surrendered with Gen. Burgoyne, October, 1777, for five months:

Nath'l Torrey.	Nath'l Barnes.
Samuel Holmes.	Daniel Howland.
Thomas Dogget for John Cobb.	Ebenezer Rider, Jr.
William Cassady for James Doty.	Eleaser Holmes, Jr.
John Witherhead for John Russell.	John Harlow, Jr.
Benjamin Watson.	Lemuel Doten.
William Blakeley.	Wm Bartlett.
James Collins.	Josiah Morton.
Edward Morton.	Levi Paty.
Benoni Shaw.	Israel Clark.
George Churchill.	Stephen Doten.
	Thomas Ellis.

The following company, composed of men from the South Precinct of Plymouth, served three months in Rhode Island in 1776 and 1777, under Col. Thomas Lothrop, of Plymouth:

Zaccheus Bartlett, capt.	Jonathan Harlow.
John Bartlett, lieut.	Cornelius Morey.
Branch Blackmer, sergt.	James Holmes.
John Cornish, sergt.	Barnabas Ellis.
Seth Holmes, sergt.	Silas Valler.
Andrew Bartlett, sergt.	Ezekiel Raymond.
Nath'l Bartlett, corp.	Nath'l Cornish.
Abner Bartlett, corp.	Thomas Clark.
Jacob Johnson.	Lothrop Clark.
James Wright.	

Plymouth enlistment in the company of Capt. John Russell, of Barnstable, in the regiment of Col. Gammel Bradford, of Duxbury, in 1776:

James Sharpe, deserted.

Plymouth enlistment in the company of Capt. Joseph Stetson, of Scituate, in the regiment of Col. Dyke, in 1776:

Bartlett Holmes, ensign.

Plymouth enlistments in the regiment of Col.

Aaron Willard, for the expedition to Lake Champlain, in January, 1777:

Samuel N. Nelson, capt.	Zadock Barrows.
Thomas Burgess.	William Holmes.

Plymouth enlistments in Capt. Sawyer's company, Col. Dykes' regiment, in 1777, for an unknown term of service:

Esra Holmes.	Joshua Bramhall.
William Rider.	William Blackmer.
Elkanah Holmes.	Rufus Robbins.
John Marshall.	Lemuel Bartlett.
Ebenezer Robbins.	Samuel Wheeler.
Ebenezer Robbins, Jr.	Barnabas Holmes.
Peter Lanman.	

Plymouth men drafted for nine months in 1778:

Nath'l Spooner.	Jonathan Holmes.
John Bacon.	Joshua Battles.
Joshua Wright.	John Rider.

The following company of Plymouth men was raised to march with the prisoners of war taken in the British ship "Somerset" in 1778:

Wm. Crow Cotton, capt.	Burnet Holmes.
John Goddard, lieut.	Ebenezer Robbins.
Amaiah Harlow, sergt.	Samuel Robbins.
Thaddeus Faunce, sergt.	William Keen.
William Barnes, sergt.	George Morton.
Ebenezer Cobb, corp.	Edward Morton.
Nathan Holmes, corp.	Judah Bartlett.
Richard Durfey.	George Sampson.
Job Cobb.	Edward Doten.
Ebenezer Nelson.	James Churchill.
John Peckham.	Zaccheus Morton.
Zadock Churchill.	William Holmes.
Cornelius Cobb.	Joseph Nelson.
Peter Holmes.	William Drew.

Men raised to serve as a guard under Gen. Heath in and about Boston, in 1778, for three months:

Oliver Morton.	Thaddeus Ripley.
Caleb Morton.	William Hunt.
John Southworth.	John Chubbuck.
Thomas Winslow.	Samuel Kempton, Jr.
Ebenezer Morton.	Noah Bisbee.
John Phillips.	Asaph Bisbee.
Cornelius Holmes.	William Ripley.
John King.	John Perkins.
William Lucas.	

Men raised April, 1778, for nine months, to march to Fishkill:

Joshua Wright.	Isaac Torrey.
Joshua Battles.	John Rider.
Patrick Wells.	Amasa Delano.
Nathaniel Spooner.	William Hunt.
Jonathan Holmes.	John Hunt.
John Bacon.	

Men raised April, 1778, to march to Peekskill for eight months' service:

James Shurtleff.	Mendall Churchill.
Samuel Holmes.	Levi Holmes.
Robert Harlow.	James Harlow, capt.

Men raised June, 1778, to march to Providence for six months' service:

Haviland Torrey.	John Darling.
Samuel Calderwood.	Stephen Gibbs.
Zadock Barrows.	Ezekiel Raymond.
Patrick Morris.	Lemuel Leach.
William Blakely.	Josiah Morton (3d).
George Davie.	

Men raised July, 1778, for six months' service under Gen. Heath in and about Boston:

Solomon Bartlett.	John Douglass.
Nathan Churchill.	Cornelius Morey, Jr.
Samuel Kempton.	Levi Tinkham.
Thaddeus Ripley.	

Men raised for two months' service under Gen. Sullivan, in Rhode Island, July, 1770:

William C. Cotton, capt.	William Barnes.
Abiel Washburn.	Zaccheus Barnes.
Samuel Holmes.	Ichabod Holmes, Jr.
John Hilland.	Barnabas Dunham.
David Gorham.	William Davie.
John Phillips.	Caleb Sampson.
William Clark.	Benjamin Chubbuck.
Cornelius Holmes.	Ephraim Hunt.
James Churchill.	William Cassidy.
William Drew.	Levi Paty.
Michael Poor.	Josiah Cornish.
Elnathan Lucas.	William Cornish.
Joseph Burbank.	Lemuel Bartlett.
William Coye.	Ephraim Norris.
Lemuel Robbins.	Ebed Meleck.
Lewis Weston, 2d lieut.	

Men raised to serve three months in and about Boston, under Gen. Heath, September, 1778:

Cornelius Holmes, for John Ansel Harlow.	
Kempton, Jr.	Benjamin Chubbuck.
Caleb Sampson.	

Men raised to serve three months under Gen. Sullivan, in Rhode Island, September, 1778:

Michael Power.	— Trask.
Cornelius Holmes.	

Men raised to serve two months under Gen. Sullivan, in Rhode Island, May, 1779:

Levi Tinkham.	Samuel Holmes.
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Enlistments in Capt. Edward Sparrow's company, Col. Nathan Tyler's regiment, for six months' service in Rhode Island, in 1779:

Nath ^l Bartlett.	Timothy Battles.
Elnathan Lucas.	Ephraim Paty.
Haviland Torrey.	

Men raised for nine months' service, June, 1779:

Stevens Mason.	Zaccheus Bartlett.
John Bates.	Levi Tinkham.
William Brown.	John Chubbuck.
Nath ^l Holmes, Jr.	Joseph Sylvester.
Michael Poor.	Plato Turner.
William Boies.	George Churchill.
William Cassidy.	

Men raised for two months' service, August, 1779:

Samuel Holmes.	Thomas Johnson.
William Garret.	

Men raised to march to Tiverton on three months' service, July, 1780:

Nath ^l Torrey.	Robert Jackson.
Nath ^l Holmes.	Ebenezer Lucas.
Issachar Howland.	Benjamin Washburn.
William Robbins.	William Barnes.
Samuel Nelson.	Corban Barnes, Jr.
Nathan Churchill.	Levi Holmes.
Ebenezer Churchill.	Joshua Battles.
Thomas Spooner.	James Wright, Jr.
Samuel Bates.	John Rider.
William King.	Sylvanus Paty.
John King.	Asa Dunham.
Israel Dunham.	Charles Morton.

Enlistments for six months in 1780:

Timothy Battles.	Joseph Fuller.
Diman Bartlett.	Patrick Morris.
Seth Thrasher.	Thaddeus Ripley.
Ephraim Paty.	William Holmes.
John King.	Samuel Bryant.
Jonathan Thrasher.	Samuel Holmes.
Josiah Morey.	Wilson Churchill.
Zaccheus Barnes.	Samuel Rogers.
Plato Turner.	Henry Richmond.
Silas Morey.	Joshua Battles.
Josiah Soule.	Thomas Kelley.

Miscellaneous enlistments:

Josiah Connell.	William Brown.
Daniel Lothrop.	George Tomson.
Ebenezer Howard.	Ralph Barrow.
Roger Magoon.	James Patterson.
Joshua Winship.	Solomon Bartlett, Jr.
Benjamin Clark.	Andrew Debarrow.
Joshua Sylvester.	Stevens Mason.
Cato (negro).	David Cobb.
Quash (negro).	Philip Foster.
Joshua Holmes.	Cornelius Holmes.
John Black.	Caleb Bartlett.
Samuel Hollis.	Isaac Lucas.
William Boies.	Seth Morton.
John Bates.	Richard Cooper.
Michael Bowes.	Lemuel Simmons.
Levi Tinkham.	

Men raised, for forty days, to reinforce Count de Rochambeau in Rhode Island, February, 1781:

Seth Churchill.	Silas Doty.
William Atwood.	Ezra Lucas.
Solomon Bartlett.	Jesse Harlow, Jr.
Thaddeus Robbins.	Lothrop Turner.
William Mackey.	Ebenezer Sampson.
Frank Churchill.	Ephraim Holmes.
John Harlow.	Diman Bartlett.
Rufus Bartlett.	William Morton.
Ansel Lucas.	James Finney.
Abraham Jackson.	Ephraim Paty.
John Rogers.	Joseph Holmes.

Enlistments of an unknown date for three years' service:

James Anthony.	Roger Daniel.
Thomas Burgess.	Frank May.
James Beaton.	William McCadden.
Joshua Bramhall.	Job Morton.
Joshua Battles.	Abram Morton.
Benjamin Balston.	James Morris.
Samuel Bryant.	John Marshall.
Ralph Bacon.	Paul McFarlen.
Solomon Bartlett, Jr.	David Morton.
John Black.	Joseph Plasket.
Joseph Bartlett.	Joshua Polden.
Jonathan Belcher.	James Patterson.
Joshua Bullen.	William Polden.
John Cooper.	James Polden.
Benjamin Cleaveland.	William Polden, Jr.
Cato (negro).	John Finney.
Thaddeus Churchill.	Joshua Pockemet.
Benjamin Clark.	David Page.
Josiah Conant.	Peter (negro).
John Clark.	John Paty.
Samuel Dunham.	Oliver Remington.
Dan (negro).	Nath ¹ Rhodes.
Joseph Delano.	John Ring.
Robert Dunham.	John Rogers.
Samuel Drew.	Daniel Robbins.
Samuel Dutch.	Rufus Robbins.
Samuel Dunham, Jr.	Richard (negro).
Jabez Delano.	Henry Richmond.
Nath ¹ Ellis.	James Rich.
John Foster.	William Robbins.
William French.	Silas (negro).
George Gamble.	Adam Shute.
William Greenway.	Peleg Stephens.
David Geffrey.	Levi Shurtliff.
John Hosea.	Barzillai Stetson.
Thomas Hackman.	Joshua Sylvester.
Ebenezer Howard.	Abel Syspason.
Jabez Holmes.	Stephen Torrey.
Zacheus Holmes.	George Thompson.
Benjamin Hoye.	John Totman, Jr.
Elijah Harlow.	Thomas Trumble (Tribble).
James Howland.	Thomas Torrey, Jr.
William Jones.	William Thorn.
Robert Keyes.	Joshua Totman.
John King.	David Thrasher.
Amaziah King.	Simon Valentine.
Oliver Kempton.	Joshua Winship.
Thomas Lake.	Luke Wheeler.
George Lemote.	Samuel Wheeler.
Abijah Luce.	Isaac Wilson.
Daniel Lawrence.	Martin Wright
Ephraim Luce.	
Pero (negro).	

Many of these enlistments and drafts were made from organized militia companies, composed of all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty capable of bearing arms. Of these companies there were five in Plymouth at the beginning of the war. The first included the district of Manomet Ponds, and was commanded by Zaccheus Bartlett, captain; John Bartlett, first lieutenant; Bartlett Holmes, second lieutenant. The second included the Chiltonville District, as far north as "Jabez Corner," and was

commanded by Robert Finney, captain; Philip Leonard, first lieutenant; Thomas Morton, second lieutenant. The third included the district between Jabez Corner and Town Brook, and was commanded by Sylvanus Harlow, captain; Stephen Churchill, first lieutenant; Nathaniel Carver, second lieutenant. The fourth extended from the brook to Middle Street, and was commanded by Benjamin Rider, captain; Richard Cooper, first lieutenant; John Torrey, Jr., second lieutenant. The fifth extended from Middle Street to the north limits of the town, and was commanded by Nathaniel Goodwin, captain; William Morton, first lieutenant; William Crow Cotton, second lieutenant. These companies included two classes,—one-quarter active or training members, called the train-band, and filled up either by enlistments or lot, and three-quarters, called the alarm-list, equally liable to be called on for active service, having a voice in the choice of officers, but on ordinary occasions relieved from training or muster service. All requisitions for men during the war were made through brigade, regimental, and company officers, and filled by enlistment, if possible, or otherwise by draft. At a later day Amaziah Harlow and Nathaniel Barnes took the places of Stephen Churchill and Nathaniel Carver, Stephen Churchill took the place of Sylvanus Harlow, Samuel Bartlett took the place of John Torrey, Jr., William Crow Cotton took the place of Nathaniel Goodwin, John Goddard of William Morton, Lewis Weston of William Crow Cotton, John Torrey became adjutant, and Nathaniel Goodwin was appointed military superintendent for Plymouth County, and afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment.

At a still later day Peter Kimball took the place of Samuel Bartlett, Thaddeus Churchill of Nathaniel Barnes, Branch Blackmer of John Bartlett, Thomas Ellis of Bartlett Holmes, Philip Leonard of Robert Finney, Ezekiel Morton of Philip Leonard. These companies, together with two of Duxbury, one of Kingston, four of Plympton, and one of Halifax, composed the First Regiment, of which Theophilus Cotton, of Plymouth, was colonel; Thomas Lothrop, of Plymouth, lieutenant-colonel, and John Torrey, of Plymouth, adjutant. In 1779 a company of artillery was added to the regiment, of which Thomas Mayhew, of Plymouth, was captain, with the rank of major; Thomas Nicolson, of Plymouth, first lieutenant, and John May, of Plymouth, second lieutenant. Before Col. Cotton commanded the First Regiment, succeeding Col. Gamaliel Bradford in that command, he commanded an eight-months' regiment at Roxbury in 1775, called the Sixteenth, the first company of which was under the command of Thomas Mayhew,

captain; Nathaniel Lewis, lieutenant, and Benjamin Warren, ensign. The above list of officers would be incomplete without the addition of James Warren, paymaster-general in the Continental army, major-general of the militia, and the successor of Gen. Joseph Warren as president of the Provincial Congress; of Dr. William Thomas, surgeon in the army, and his four sons,—Joshua, on the staff of Gen. John Thomas; Joseph, captain of artillery; John, surgeon's mate under his father; and Nathaniel, who served in some capacity unknown to the writer. All these officers were at some time in the field, and complete the list of eight hundred and twenty-six separate enlistments contributed by Plymouth to the war of the Revolution. Of this number three hundred and ninety-eight received in hard money for bounties paid by the town three thousand and fifty-six pounds, seven shillings, and three pence. According to the returns made in 1777, the number of men above the age of sixteen able to bear arms was six hundred and sixty-eight. That so heavy a drain of men and money should have been made on the resources of the town is abundant testimony to the energy and patriotism and self-sacrifice of its people.¹

During the war, aside from its distant horrors and their own sorrows and pecuniary burdens, the people of Plymouth felt nothing of its desolation. Away from the track of armies and beyond the sound of battles, their contribution of men and means and the rigid economy in living which the war enforced alone reminded them of the struggle going on. Among the interesting incidents of the period with which Plymouth was associated may be mentioned the appearance of Lieut. (afterwards Admiral) Nelson in the bay, and his capture of a schooner owned by Thomas Davis, and commanded by Nathaniel Carver. After the capture the admiral of the French fleet lying in Boston harbor, hearing of Nelson's presence in the bay, put out in chase. Capt. Carver, being familiar with the coast, was used by Nelson as a pilot, and safely carried the ship through the intricate channels of Vineyard Sound, and thus escaped the pursuer. Nelson afterwards returned into the bay, and sent Capt. Carver ashore in one of the boats of the frigate. Mr. Davis, learning the loss of his vessel from his captain, determined, if possible, to recover her. Loading a boat with fresh meats and provisions, he and Capt. Carver put out into the bay, and, running alongside the ship, passed the word to the lieutenant that he had brought him a present. They were at once asked on board, and invited to be the guests of the commander at the dinner at which he was just seating himself. At the close of the

dinner Nelson ordered his writing-desk, and wrote the following certificate, the original of which is in the author's possession:

"These are to certify that I took the schooner 'Harmony,' Nathaniel Carver, master, belonging to Plymouth, but on account of his good services have given him up his vessel again.

"Dated on board His Majesty's ship 'Albemarle,' 17th August, 1782, in Boston Bay.

"HORATIO NELSON."

It is a little singular that no papers in the Admiralty office and no records of Nelson's life contain any reference to his presence on the coast of Massachusetts during the war. While Abbott Lawrence was our minister to England, in 1850 or 1851, at a dinner where he and the Professor of History in the College of Edinburgh were guests, the conversation turning on Nelson, Mr. Lawrence, having seen the above certificate, ventured to allude to it, much to the surprise of the professor, who expressed great doubts as to the accuracy of the allusion. At the request of Mr. Lawrence, *fac-similes* of the certificate were taken and sent to him at London, for the purpose of removing, as they effectually did, the professor's doubts. Thus this small scrap of paper has been the means of rescuing from oblivion one of the events in the life of a man whose every act has now an importance and interest in the eyes of the world.

Among those associated with Plymouth in the earliest stages of the Revolutionary struggle there were two whose names must not be overlooked. In 1769, Alexander Scammell graduated at Harvard, and went to Plymouth in the same year to teach a public school. His predecessor in the school, John Barrows, of Attleboro', was displaced by the school committee, much to the annoyance of his friends, who endeavored to reinstate him. Mr. Scammell was unwilling to release the committee and remained. He was a native of Mendon and after teaching two years removed to Portsmouth, where he carried on the business of surveyor. At the breaking out of the war he was appointed brigade-major of the State of New Hampshire, and soon after colonel of the Third New Hampshire Regiment. He afterwards rose to the rank of adjutant-general of the American army, and at the siege of Yorktown, on the 30th of September, 1781, was wounded and made prisoner, and died in the following month. The building in which he taught school stood, until recently taken down, on the lot north of the Unitarian Church, now included within the limits of Burial Hill.

Peleg Wadsworth, a native of Duxbury, was a classmate of Scammell at Harvard, and while the latter was teaching a public school in Plymouth was successfully

¹ *Vide Appendix XV.* pg. 164.

conducting a private school in the building which formerly stood on the lot in Market Street now occupied by the widow of Zaben Olney. In May, 1775, then a resident in Kingston, he raised a company for service in and about Boston, and was placed in command. At a later day, after his removal to Maine, he was in command of a detachment of State troops, and, like Scammell, made prisoner of war. He married in Plymouth, in 1772, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Bartlett, and had a large family, one of whom, Zilpah, married Stephen Longfellow, the father of the poet. Both Scammell and Wadsworth were early members of the Old Colony Club, and joined in the first observance of the anniversary of the landing in Old Colony Hall, Dec. 22, 1769.

The finances of the town at the close of the war were in such a precarious condition that it was thought desirable to dispose of such town lands as remained unsold. The building yard, as it was called, in the rear of the house of the late David Turner, in Leyden Street, a portion of Training Green, the sheep-pasture, and sundry lots at the base of Burial Hill, were soon sold to the highest bidders. The sheep-pasture consisted of a tract of land about three miles square in the neighborhood of the Plympton guide-board, on the Carver road, extending northcasterly from a point a little northerly of the South Meadow road into what are now the towns of Plympton, Carver, and Kingston, granted in 1702 to certain individuals for the keeping of sheep. The experiment finally proved a failure, and on the surrender of the land to the town it was sold, the final sale of about eight hundred acres occurring in 1798. But the business of the town was in a flourishing condition, and in a few years its wealth far exceeded that of any previous period in its history. New opportunities for business enterprises were offering, which a new class of men, full of vigor and sagacity, were not slow to recognize and seize. Immediately before the war the navigation of the town consisted of about seventy fishermen of from thirty to thirty-five tons each, making several trips in the season, and about twenty merchant vessels engaged in trade with Jamaica, Spain, Martinique, Guadalupe, and other places. At the close of the war few of these remained, but soon new and larger fishing vessels were built, foreign trade revived, and the embargo in 1808 saw Plymouth the owner of seventeen ships, sixteen brigs, and about forty schooners. Wharves and warehouses were rebuilt on a larger scale, and were constantly laden with sugar, molasses, salt, iron, and other imports, sharing with those of Boston, Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth the foreign traffic of New England. Manu-

factures were also developed on a more liberal plan, and an atmosphere of comfort and wealth began to pervade a community which had long felt serious burdens, and had never before enjoyed the superfluities of luxurious living. Schools were improved, a library was formed, and in 1785 *The Plymouth Journal*, a weekly newspaper, was established, edited, and printed by Nathaniel Coverly. A market-house was constructed, and, as a crowning glory of enterprise, an aqueduct was built to supply the inhabitants of the town with water. This aqueduct is believed to have been the first constructed in the United States. On the 15th of February, 1797, Joshua Thomas, William Davis, James Thacher, William Goodwin, and Nathaniel Russell, and their associates, were incorporated as the proprietors of the Plymouth Aqueduct. Persons in other towns in the commonwealth obtained acts of incorporation of prior date, but no aqueduct was so early constructed as that in Plymouth. Luther Eames and others, of Boston, were incorporated Feb. 27, 1795; Lemuel Stewart and others, of Williamstown, Feb. 26, 1796; Theodore Sedgwick and others, of Stockbridge, June 15, 1796; John Bacon and others, of Richmond, Nov. 24, 1796; Calvin Whiting and others, of Dedham, June 15, 1796; Chandler Robbins and others, of the South Parish of Hallowell, Feb. 9, 1797; and Eli Stearns and others, of Lancaster, Feb. 14, 1797; but in all these towns the work of construction was more or less delayed.

The season of prosperity, however, which had so auspiciously opened, was destined to be of short duration. Foreign complications again arose, and the embargo of 1807 fell like a shock of paralysis on every seaport in the land. The prospects of trade had been so flattering that men of enterprise, like Thomas Jackson, James Warren, William Davis, Benjamin Barnes, Barnabas Hedge, George Watson, and Samuel and Joseph Bartlett, had invested in navigation to the extent of their means, and perhaps borrowed in anticipation of future earnings. Vessels of every class, with their topmasts housed and wearing what in the last days of the embargo were called Madison night-caps, lay useless and rotting at the wharves, crippling more or less every owner and involving some in bankruptcy, and producing a stagnation which was felt in every warehouse and factory and household. Exports ceased, the numerous fish-houses along the shore were packed with fish decaying for want of a market, sailors were idle, and the wheels of industry no longer vexed the streams in their passage to the sea. After a protracted season of endurance, when forbearance had ceased to be a

virtue, the citizens of the town felt themselves called upon to add their influence to efforts initiated in Boston to effect the removal of the terrible incubus resting on every community on the seaboard. At a meeting of the town, held on the 25th of August, 1808, and called at the request of one hundred and sixty-three of its inhabitants, it was voted, on motion of William Davis, to choose a committee, consisting of Joshua Thomas, Abner Bartlett, William Davis, Zaccheus Bartlett, Barnabas Hedge, Jr., Thomas Jackson, Jr., and John Bishop, to draw up an address to the President, requesting an entire or partial suspension of the embargo, or, if such a suspension were beyond his power, a special session of Congress to act in the premises. The committee reported at the same meeting the following address, which was unanimously adopted by the town :

"To the President of the United States :

"The inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in legal town meeting assembled, respectfully represent, that inheriting the principles of ancestors who combined the generous love of freedom with a due submission to the laws and institutions of legitimate government, they have acquiesced without remonstrance in all the measures of your administration, whatever opinion they may have entertained of their character and however distressing may have been their operation. But the long-protracted laws laying an embargo on the extensive navigation of the United States, and the unprecedented restrictive provisions contained in them, are so novel an experiment in the history of commerce, and is fraught with so numerous a train of political and moral evils, that they would betray not merely a destitution of patriotism, but a want of proper regard for the constituted authorities of their country, did they not remonstrate against the further continuance of the anti-commercial system, and express their ideas of its various tendencies in manly and decent language.

"The Inhabitants of this town deriving their subsistence altogether from commerce, and especially that laborious branch of it, the cod-fishery, prosecuted in Massachusetts from its earliest settlement with an enterprise and hardy industry luminously displayed in your Excellency's report on the subject of the fisheries, from the entire inhibition of their exportation are involved in unexpected and unexampled embarrassments; with large quantities of fish perishing in their stores, without any stimulating inducement to industrious exertion, and having no resources but those resulting from commercial employment, the prospect before them is melancholy in the extreme. That they can provide for themselves the comforts and conveniences of life without recurrence to distant countries is abundantly refuted by the well-tried experience of their ancestors, who, guided by the hand of heaven to these shores, came as mere cultivators of the soil, but were impelled by injurious circumstances, in spite of their usages and habits, to abandon their agricultural pursuits, and resort to the treasures of the ocean and the export of those treasures to distant countries for the means of support.

"While the dangers of traversing the Atlantic are diminished, and some of the accustomed avenues of trade are opened, as well by the convulsive struggles of the Spanish nation for the rights of self-government against the most wanton usurpation the world has ever witnessed, as by the relaxation of the order of the British Council in favor of that oppressed people, they candidly confess that their own sympathies are deeply excited

by their magnanimous struggles, and it will, in their opinion, tarnish the splendor of our own glorious revolution should the United States refuse to reciprocate those beneficial aids received in the progress of it from that gallant nation.

"Prohibiting laws that subject citizens to grievous privations and sufferings, the policy of which is at least questionable, and the temptation to the violation of which, from the nature of man, are almost irresistible, will gradually undermine the morals of society, and introduce a laxity of principle and contempt of the laws more to be deplored than even the useless waste of property. From these and other weighty considerations your memorialists pray the President wholly or partially to suspend the embargo laws, if his powers are competent to that object, and if not, to convene Congress at an early period, that an immediate repeal of them may be effected."

To this address the following reply from President Jefferson was promptly received, the original of which, written by his own hand, is preserved in Pilgrim Hall :

"To the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth in legal town meeting assembled :

"Your representation and request were received on the 8th inst., and have been considered with the attention due to every expression of the sentiments and feelings of so respectable a body of my fellow-citizens. No person has seen with more concern than myself the inconveniences brought on our country in general by the circumstances of the times in which we happen to live,—times to which the history of nations presents no parallel. For years we have been looking as spectators on our brethren of Europe afflicted by all those evils which necessarily follow an abandonment of the moral rules which bind men and nations together. Connected with them in friendship and commerce, we have happily so far kept aloof from their calamitous conflicts by a steady observance of justice towards all, by much forbearance and multiplied sacrifices. At length, however, all regard to the rights of others having been thrown aside, the belligerent powers have beset the highway of commercial intercourse with edicts which, taken together, expose our commerce and marines, under almost every destination, a prey to their fleets and armies. Each party, indeed, would admit our commerce with themselves with the view of associating us in their war against the other; but we have wished war with neither. Under these circumstances were passed the laws of which you complain by those delegated to exercise the powers of legislation for you, with every sympathy of a common interest in exercising them faithfully. In reviewing these measures, therefore, we should advert to the difficulties out of which a choice was of necessity to be made. To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence; to resist them by arms was war. Without consulting the state of things or the choice of the nation, the alternative preferred by the legislature of suspending a commerce placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to reverse a conduct as contrary to their interests as it is to our rights.

"In the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such change in their measures affecting natural commerce as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe in the judgment of the President, he is authorized to suspend the embargo. But no peace or suspension of hostilities, no change of measures affecting neutral commerce is known to have taken place. The

orders of England and the decrees of France and Spain existing at the date of these laws are still unrepealed as far as we know. In Spain, indeed, a contest for the government appears to have arisen, but of its course or prospects we have no information on which prudence would undertake a hasty change in our policy, even were the authority of the Executive competent to such a decision.

"You desire that in this defect of power Congress may be specially convened. It is unnecessary to examine the evidence or the character of the facts which are supposed to dictate such a call, because you will be sensible on an attention to dates that the legal period of their meeting is as early as in this extensive country they could be fully convened by a special call.

"I should with great willingness have executed the wishes of the inhabitants of Plymouth had peace or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts or other changes produced the case in which alone the laws have given me that authority, and so many motives of justice and interest lead to such changes that we ought continually to expect them. But while these edicts remain the legislature alone can prescribe the course to be pursued.

"THO. JEFFERSON.

"Sept. 10, 1808."

The sentiments of the above memorial to the President betray in the writer statesmanlike qualities, which the Legislature of later times sadly needs. Nothing is more true than that laws which do not represent the general sentiment of the community provoke violations, to which men from their very nature are irresistibly tempted, and gradually lead to a popular contempt for the law-making power, which is more dangerous than the evil sought to be remedied. The embargo laws furnished no exception. The feeling against them was so strong that, like the revenue laws of to-day, which a large part of the community think it no sin to evade, their violation was only restrained by force, and when successfully committed was universally applauded. In Plymouth there were some striking instances. One vessel loaded with fish for a foreign market at the time the laws went into operation, being under suspicion, was stripped of her rigging by government officers, and thus made, as it was thought, secure against any breach of the enactment. But the owners were more shrewd than the officers thought, and found ready hands to aid them in getting their vessel to sea. Capt. Samuel Doten, a man of peculiar courage and energy, selecting a dark and stormy night for his operations, after the town was quiet, with an active gang of men, stripped a vessel at the same wharf belonging to the same owners, fitted her sails and rigging to the dismantled schooner, and before daylight had made an offing in the bay. The same captain on another occasion, after night had set in, with a boat's crew sailed across the bay to Provincetown, and boarding a Plymouth vessel lying at anchor without officers or men, safe, as it was thought, under the eye of a gunboat commanded by Capt. Thomas Nicholson, of Plymouth, put quietly

out to sea, without being missed from her anchorage until outside of Wood-end, when a long parting shot was the only protest which could be made against the bold undertaking.

Affairs continued to grow worse, the embargo became more aggravated, and at a meeting of the town held Jan. 26, 1809, Joshua Thomas offered the following resolve:

"At a meeting of the town of Plymouth, legally assembled the 26th of January, 1809, after mature deliberation, resolved that the inhabitants of this town for the last eight years have witnessed a disastrous and anti-commercial system of policy in the administration of national affairs, which, by necessary gradation has reached so awful a crisis that, without some immediate radical change in this system, the United States will present the melancholy spectacle of a government without energy and a community without morals, and, as is always incident to so marked a state of the body politic, recourse must be had to military topics, which, instead of operating as restrictions, will precipitate its dissolution.

"That, early after the commencement of the present inauspicious administration, open hostilities were proclaimed against the enlightened principles and measures that, with a rapidity unknown in the annals of republics, had raised the United States to an unrivaled height of prosperity and happiness, and a relentless persecution was waged against its citizens and patriots who had expended their blood and treasure in the establishment of our independence, because they support the principles and measures thus sanctioned by experience.

"That, as well to depress foreign commerce as to answer certain favorite political purposes, the whole internal revenue, embracing chiefly articles of luxury, was improvidently abolished, and as a substitute additional duties were imposed upon articles of importation that, in large commercial cities and towns, among the more indigent class of citizens, constitute the necessities of life.

"That, when our extensive navigation was deriving security from our infant navy, which, rising rapidly to respectability, promised further protection from insult and depredation, this navy was suddenly consigned to destruction, on the miserable pretext of economical reform and upon the visionary idea that the empire of reason would be established among pirates and freebooters, while millions have been lavished in the purchase of a wild and useless waste of territory from an overgrown power, whose title to it was founded in violence and usurpation. That, by the partial and invidious management of our external relations, by a servile compliance with the views of one belligerent, whose restless ambition is grasping at the subjugation of the civilized world, and by the unnecessary provocations offered to another magnanimously contending for its existence and the emancipation of the oppressed, our national peace is endangered and our national dignity and good faith sacrificed on the altar of duplicity. That by the intentional suppression of material parts of the diplomatic correspondence with the belligerent powers in Europe, against whom we have grounds of complaint, the real disposition of those powers towards the United States has been withheld from the people, in consequence of which their passions and resentments have been unjustifiably influenced against the only belligerent possessing any formidable means of annoyance. And though in a just cause we will not shrink from war with the most powerful nation, we hesitate not to say that it would be madness wantonly to provoke hostilities with the British.

"That, in the rapid progression of calamitous measures, too

many and too painful to enumerate, the chilling hand of death has at length been laid on all our foreign and on almost all our domestic commerce, and the hardy and industrious men inhabiting an extensive sea-coast are called upon to endure with patience the miseries of starvation in the futile hope of starving one of the belligerents into unimportant concessions. That, to carry into complete effect the multiplied misnamed embargo laws, acknowledged arbitrary provisions are introduced into the laws that outrage the most sacred rights and immunities secured to us by the constitution, by which provisions the innocent are implicated with the guilty. Unreasonable and excessive bonds are required and excessive fines imposed. The President of the United States is vested with the power of legislation, with a standing army under his control and under the control also of officers of his creation, who are authorized, on pretended suspicions, without warrant from the civil magistrate, to violate and search our dwellings, and in the strong and emphatic language of the late celebrated Mr. Otis, in his argument against writs of assistance, a much less pernicious engine of oppression, they can go from house to house exercising their petty tyranny, till the sound of the last trump shall excite in their breasts different emotions. That by a base surrender of their invaluable blessings and rights, among which are the indefeasible rights of acquiring and alienating property, and using and possessing it conformably to our inclinations and wishes and for the special security of which the sacred compact was formed, we shall prove ourselves unworthy of the great and glorious ancestors from whom we boast our descent, and who, to avoid less aggravated evils than are inflicted upon us, abandoned their native land, and, encountering innumerable evils, began a settlement in this place.

"That we feel a high sense of gratitude for the noble stand and manly display of eloquence exhibited by the Hon. Messrs. Pickering and Lloyd in the Senate of the United States, and by the Hon. Mr. Quincy and his colleagues of the minority in the House of Representatives, and from all those of the minority in both houses of Congress who have lifted their voices and their hands against the unconstitutional invasion of our rights; and as their patriotic efforts have been unavailing, we will, as the last resort, petition our State Legislature to rescue us from impending ruin.

"And as we have the fullest confidence in their virtues, fortitude, and wisdom, we pledge ourselves to support the measures devised to attain this object to the utmost of our power."

The selectmen were appointed a committee to draft a petition to the Legislature, and the following resolve was also adopted:

"Resolved, That since the annihilation of our commerce, and the consequent failure of our revenue, the unnecessary employment, at exorbitant wages, of a horde of spies, patrols, and informers to watch our empty dismantled ships, is a waste of public money and must increase the necessity of resorting to the hard-earned savings of the laborers, husbandmen, mechanics, and sailors."

On the same day the selectmen, consisting of William Davis, John Bishop, Joseph Bartlett, and John Paty, reported the following petition, which was adopted:

"To the Honorable the Senate and the Honorable the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

"The Inhabitants of the town of Plymouth respectfully represent that they were among the most zealous in procuring the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and have

never considered it as containing more ample powers than were necessary to provide for the common defense and other important objects for which it was framed, neither have they, like other zealous citizens, received it in the light of a foreign government, hostile to the interests of the undivided States, but though they have endeavored to entertain correct ideas of the Constitution and the powers vested in it, they never consented to give the general government power, the exercise of which would contravene a single article in the Declaration of Rights that makes a part of the Constitution of this Commonwealth, because the power to infringe these essential rights would render the general government a very different thing from what it was designed to be, viz., a government of men and not of laws. They contemplate, however, that the Legislatures of the several States would keep a vigilant eye on the measures of the general government, and would interfere whenever unwarrantable measures were taken, or ambitious encroachments made on the rights of the citizens.

"With this impression they feel it their indispensable duty in this tremendous crisis to implore the Honorable Legislature to devise and pursue such measures as their enlightened judgment shall dictate, to preserve the general Constitution from violation, and to relieve them from the severe pressure under which they are suffering.

"Without undertaking to decide on the constitutionality of an unlimited embargo law, they do not hesitate to say with great confidence that the supplementary law made to enforce it contains many provisions that are in direct violation of the aforesaid Declaration of Rights, and that the people of this Commonwealth never conceded to the general government power and authority which they conceived dangerous to concede to the State government. Among the enumeration of these essential and inalienable rights are those of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, of exemption from excessive bail and the imposition of excessive fines, and of being secure from all unreasonable searches and seizure of their persons, their houses, their papers, and all their possessions. It is only necessary to read the group of embargo laws to discover, on the face of them, the most flagrant infractions of all those sacred rights. In addition to which, and the most monstrous of all the violations, these embargo laws are to be enforced by military execution without any application to the civil magistrate. They will not trespass upon the time of the Honorable Court by descanting on the general impolicy of the embargo laws, even if they were authorized by the Constitution. The privation and distress occasioned by them are universally felt, nor will they recompensate the other ruinous measures of the present administration of the general government, that by forcibly diverting the current when in the full tide of successful experiment have plunged the United States into a gulf of wretchedness. These measures are seriously impressed on the minds and hearts of most of our fellow-citizens.

"In the wisdom, firmness, and patriotism of the Honorable Legislature they place under Providence their last hope, with the most unbounded reliance that no constitutional remedy will remain untried to rescue this unhappy country from the destruction that threatens it.

"WILLIAM DAVIS.

"JOHN BISHOP.

"JOSEPH BARTLETT.

"JOHN PATY.

"PLYMOUTH, Jan. 26, 1809."

After the declaration of war with Great Britain, at a meeting of the town held July 20, 1812, the following petition to the selectmen was read:

"GENTLEMEN.—The subscribers alarmed at the momentous aspect of our public affairs request you to call a meeting of the inhabitants of this town at as early a period as conveniently may be, to deliberate upon and carry into effect such legal and constitutional measures as shall be calculated to terminate the calamities of an offensive war, commenced under the most unfavorable auspices, and which must be particularly distressing and ruinous to this section of the United States. By memorializing the President of these States upon the impolicy and injustice of this war, and by solemnly protesting against an alliance with despotic France, whose friendship more than its enmity has been fatal to every other republic on the globe, to choose delegates to meet in County Convention and Committee of Correspondence, and to do whatever else in the opinion of the town may be adopted to obtain the important objects in view.

"JOSHUA THOMAS & 15 others."

Then on motion made and seconded the moderator put the following votes:

1st. He requested all those persons in the meeting that were for war to hold up their hands; and not one hand was held up.

2d. He requested all those persons in the meeting that were for peace to hold up their hands; when it appeared that every hand in the meeting was held up, being about three hundred.

Then the following memorial to the President of the United States was read and adopted:

"To the President of the United States.

"The inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in legal town-meeting assembled, respectfully show that, having recently united with their fellow-citizens in the vicinity in memorializing Congress upon the menacing aspect of their public relations, solicitously, though ineffectually, supplicating the national legislature to remove the impolitic restrictions that had almost annihilated a once lucrative commerce, and especially to avert the host of calamities that in repeated succession will follow a war with Great Britain, they now address you, sir, to interpose your Presidential powers and influence, that in a great measure control the destinies of the nation, to rescue them from scenes of horror from the near prospect of which hope, the solace of the wretched, flees away, and which, in their serious apprehension, will endanger the existence of the social compact when the rulers of a free people deliberately and obstinately persevere in a system of measures directly tending, if not intentionally devised, to distress a large and respectable section of the country to gratify the unfounded jealousies and restless, envious passions of another, and the irritation produced by the operation of such a partial system begins to discover its natural effects, it is unquestionably the part of wisdom seasonably to contemplate the possible consequences.

"What must be the extent and degree of suffering before avowed resistance to the constituted authorities becomes a duty cannot be accurately defined, but the awful, though sometimes necessary, decision must be submitted to the judgment and feelings of the sufferers themselves. They have the authority of Mr. Madison that even the unpopularity of warrantable measures in the federal government in particular States will justify a refusal of concurrence; what then, they would inquire, is the justifiable mode of opposition to an unwarrantable measure of the government not only unpopular but fraught with degradation and ruin? Surely, in the opinion of Mr. Madison,

such efficient counter-action by regular and constitutional means as will insure redress.

"The enumeration of wrongs inflicted by Great Britain on the United States, exhibited by the committee of foreign relations, recapitulated in the manifesto and assigned as the cause of war by this vivid coloring and sublimated extravagance, evidently betrays the vagaries of an over-heated imagination. Allusions are made to injuries that have been honorably adjusted, and to swell the catalogue of wrongs, the stale, vulgar story of Indian hostilities, stimulated by British agents, and the miserable tale of John Henry are introduced, which affect your memorialists in the same ludicrous manner as a declaration of war against Great Britain by a former King of Spain, wherein he estimated the injuries he had received at the precise number of one hundred. Divert these pretended causes of war of all species and artificial representation, consult the history of all the wars among commercial belligerents for the last two centuries, contrast the injuries heaped upon neutrals in these wars with those sustained by the United States from Great Britain, take into account the peculiar ferocious character of the war that has raged in Europe almost without interruption for more than twenty years, the notorious partialities shown to France during the administration of your immediate predecessor, and your memorialists pronounce with much confidence that no legitimate causes of war exist against Great Britain. In the convulsed unnatural state of society, consequent on war, from the principles of policy assumed by belligerents arising from their varying relative situations, evils and embarrassments always have been and always will be incident to neutrals, unwilling to encounter any impediments in their pursuit of wealth, which, if considered as just causes of war, the inevitable result will be that a long continued conflict between two great maritime powers will embroil the whole commercial world.

"Conceiving this to be a correct view of the subject, this would be cause of multiplied observations upon the manifest impolicy and injustice of a war with Great Britain, commenced at a period and under auspices the most unfavorable to the Eastern States, exposing them to immense losses and accumulated distresses, but they will not trespass upon your time, as their losses and distresses have been depicted in numerous addresses with a force of reasoning and splendor of eloquence that have seldom been equalled. From the circumstances and manner in which the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees was lately made known, they have the most mortifying suspicion that a war with Great Britain was the express condition of their revocation, nor can they express their indignation at the imposition attempted to be practised on the credulity of their government by the disgusting pretext that their obnoxious decrees were revoked in April, 1811, and had a retrospect to the November before, in direct contradiction of every act public and private at the Court of St. Cloud, legerdemain worthy indeed of that prostituted Court, where the basest perfidy is openly rewarded, and a man of integrity and honor finds no ticket of admission.

"Among the innumerable train of evils that a war with Great Britain will produce, the one conspicuous above all others as pregnant with universal political and moral ruin, and which cannot be too often repeated and deprecated, is an alliance with the French empire, at the head of which is placed a desperate adventurer, who, to accomplish his infernal purposes of avarice and ambition, would waste countless millions of money and destroy whole generations of men; they sicken at the thought of their fellow-citizens being amalgamated with the slaves of this monster, and of co-operating with them in eliminating from the Globe the residue of virtuous freedom that yet remains; they invoke the genius of their fathers to save them from this

base and contaminating confederacy, and if they are destined to be wretched, that their wretchedness may not be embittered by a servile connection with profligate and infidel France.

"Thus, sir, with much brevity, but with a frankness that the magnitude of the occasion demands, they have expressed their honest sentiments upon the existing offensive war against Great Britain, a war by which their dearest interests as men and Christians is deeply affected, and in which they deliberately declare as they cannot conscientiously so they will not have any voluntary participation. They make this declaration with that paramount regard to their civil and religious obligations which becomes the disciples of the Prince of Peace, whose kingdom is not of this world, and before whose impartial tribunal Presidents and Kings will be upon a level with the meanest of their fellow-men and will be responsible for all the blood they shed in wanton and unnecessary war. Impressed with these solemn considerations, with an ardent love of country and high respect for the union of the states, your memorialists entreat the President immediately to begin the work of peace with that unaffected dignity and undisguised sincerity which distinguished one of your illustrious predecessors, and they have the most satisfactory conviction that upright, sincere efforts will secure success, while the land is undefiled with the blood of its citizens, and before the demon of slaughter, thirsty for human victims, 'cries havoc and lets slip the dogs of war.'"

After the adoption of the memorial several spirited resolves were passed, of which the following is one:

"Resolved, That, as neither the government or inhabitants of Great Britain have evinced any disposition to be at war with the people and Government of the United States, and that the existence of the present war is to be attributed to French intrigue and domination, it will be disrespectful in the inhabitants of this town to have any voluntary connection in the prosecution of it, either by engaging in privateering or any other species of plundering unoffending men, but that, with fraternal sympathy, they alleviate the misfortunes of each other under the heavy pressure that await them, associate to suppress riotous proceedings, and to support each other against all attempts of whatsoever nature to injure them for anything they rightfully do or say."

The above extracts from the records of the town are quoted for the purpose of showing the spirit and energy with which the war of 1812 was opposed and the character of the men who at that time gave tone to the sentiment of the town. There is an expression of thorough independence characterizing all the proceedings rarely found in a small community, or, if found, rarely declaring itself with so clear and emphatic a voice. In these latter days, when the reserved rights of individuals and states are swallowed up in the vortex of a powerful centralized government, such declarations as these addresses and memorials convey would have the sound and would wear the badge of treason. They will serve as landmarks to the present generation to show how far we have drifted from what our fathers considered the permanent moorings of the government under which we live. But the framers of our institutions builded better than they knew. They laid no foundations of

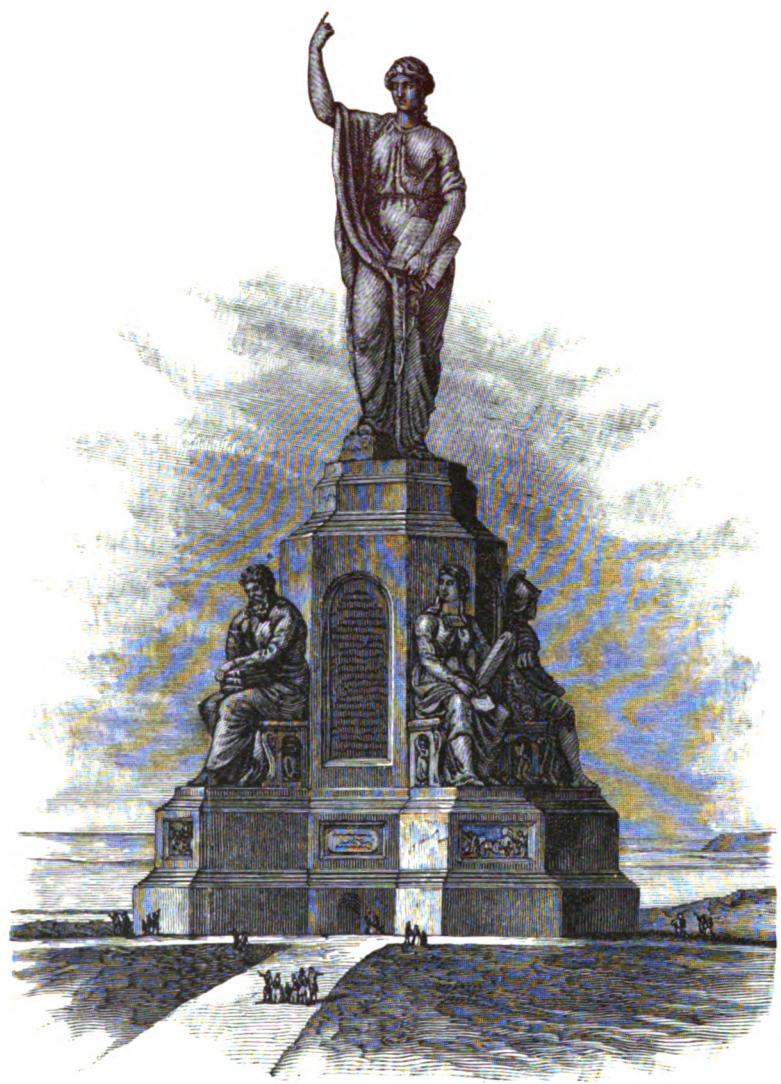
fixed dimensions and of unyielding material, precisely adapted to a structure of definite height and breadth and weight, never to be changed because never destined to bear a heavier burden; but, like the massive oak, whose roots stretch out beneath the surface of the soil and take stronger hold as its branches expand, the foundations they laid meet new conditions, with new elements of strength, and gain ampler dimensions and form with the increased demand on their sustaining power.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN TRADE—REPRESENTATIVE MEN—CELEBRATION OF 1820—FIRE DEPARTMENT—REBELLION.

By such men as those indicated in the last chapter it may be easily believed that disaster was not looked upon as ruin, that suffering was not mistaken for death, and that the elastic texture of their active natures promptly manifested itself when once relieved from the actual pressure of the war. They were far from disheartened by the losses they had incurred, and at once readopted navigation, which had been the vehicle of their disasters, as the only true and legitimate means of a complete recovery. Before the year 1820 the number of fishing-vessels, which had been reduced to five during the war, increased to forty-six, and the foreign and coasting trade, which had been completely destroyed, was represented by more than one hundred vessels. In the year 1819 the amount of duties on merchandise actually landed on the wharves amounted to sixteen thousand dollars, and in 1829 had increased to thirty-one thousand. As an indication of the character of the trade with foreign countries, it may not be out of place to include in this narrative the following list of entries from foreign ports during the year 1819, the only year which happens to be at present under the author's eye:

	Captain.	Port.	Cargo.
Hannah.....	Bartlett	Martinique.....	Molasses.
"	"	"	Molasses & coffee.
Schooners.			
Roseway	Simmons	St. Ubes.....	Salt.
"	"	Gibraltar.....	"
Independence....	Finney.....	Turk's Island...	"
Primrose	Robbins.....	Isle of Mayo...	"
Dolphin.....	Burgess.....	Bonavista.....	"
Maria	Finney.....	Guadalupe.....	Molasses.
William.....	Nelson	Martinique.....	"
Pilgrim.....	Soule.....	Rum Key.....	Coffee.
White Oak.....	Brewster.....	Figueira.....	Salt.
Economy.....	Winsor.....	St. Andrews....	"
Aurora	Hall.....	Halifax	"



NATIONAL MONUMENT TO THE FOREFATHERS.

Schooners.	Captain.	Port.	Cargo.
Rover	Finney.....	Guadalupe.....	Molasses.
Only Son.....	Fuller.....	Halifax.....	"
Three Friends...	Clark.....	Turk's Island.....	Salt.
Lucy.....	Robbins	Porto Rico.....	Molasses & sugar.
Collector.....	Soule.....	Oporto.....	Salt.
Grampus.....	Sylvester	Lisbon.....	"
Cowlsuff.....	Bradford	Figueira	"
Gustavus.....	Southworth	Exuma.....	"
Ann Gurley	Bradford	Figueira.....	"
St. Michael's	Bourne.....	Gottenburg.....	Sugar.
Thomas.....	Leach.....	Figueira.....	Salt.
Caravan.....	Paty.....	Gottenburg.....	Sugar.
Miles Standish...	Carver.....	"	"
Camillus.....	Jones.....	Liverpool.....	Molasses & coffee.

These figures, however, far from represent the actual foreign trade in which Plymouth capitalists were engaged. The process of centralization had already begun, which in later years made Boston and New York and other cities farther south the prominent points of trade, and which was destined, at least temporarily, to absorb the business of the outports and doom their wharves and warehouses to gradual decay. Between the Revolution and the embargo the foreign trade had so rapidly increased that in 1806 the duties paid in Plymouth amounted to ninety-eight thousand dollars. Notwithstanding the business revival after the war of 1812, no year since has seen so large an importation as that of 1806, because Boston became the distributing point for molasses and sugar and coffee and salt, and consequently the port of arrival and departure of vessels owned in Plymouth, which would otherwise have sought the channels and wharves of their own town. Aside from those centralizing tendencies, which must operate in every country, vessels were gradually built of larger tonnage and found it difficult to enter a shallow harbor. Those of the present generation who hear of the trade once carried on at the wharves naturally attribute its decline to a gradual shoaling of the harbor. There is no reason, however, to believe that such is the case. The author, after fifty years of careful observation, is satisfied that during that time no material change in the harbor has taken place. The precise boundaries of channels have from time to time been changed by the deposits or losses of sand on one side or the other, but he is convinced that at no time since the landing of the Pilgrims could a larger vessel enter the harbor than the soundings would admit to-day. How soon this process of centralization will cease it is difficult to say; that it will cease sooner or later is as sure as the growth of our country. The condition of things which will check it is already visible in the future. It will be controlled by the same law which carries tributary waters through artificial channels to a central reservoir, which, after it has reached a certain level, can rise no higher without feeding and filling the tributaries themselves. In a rapidly expanding

country like ours, destined to contain within its borders before another half-century expires a hundred millions of inhabitants seeking an outlet for their products and an inlet for their pay, it is absurd to suppose that any harbor along our seaboard can long remain idle. Already Boston and New York afford poor facilities for the successful and economical management of the grain and cattle trades, yet in their infancy, and the improvement of our water outlets by the general government, once resisted as unconstitutional, but now a well-grounded policy, cannot fail to furnish needed depth of water in the deserted outports as rapidly as the demands of trade shall require it.

The men who represented Plymouth during the two generations succeeding the Revolution were marked by other characteristics than those of business enterprise. This period, with the interruption of the war of 1812 and its foreshadowing clouds, was one of expansion and growth, both in population and wealth. During these fifty years Plymouth had doubled its number of inhabitants, and largely increased its circle of families who were warranted in the indulgence of something more than the ordinary comforts of life. Like all such periods in the life of every community, it developed a class of liberal, public-spirited, benevolent, upright, noble men. Those who were looked upon as the leaders in social and municipal life felt a pride in the welfare of the town, which no spirit of mean economy could crush; they used all the influence they possessed in securing a faithful and dignified administration of municipal affairs, and while conscious of their social rank were unbounded in their charities among those who, though dependents, were treated as neighbors and townsmen and friends. In those days the system of municipal and associated charities, which, it is to be feared, is doing much to extinguish the beauty and grace which only a personal contact with the poor, and the response of a grateful heart, can lend to benevolence, had not come into life. Charity was a virtue which bound the rich and poor together, and not a principle of political economy, which regards poverty as a burden, which the tax-payer must be assessed to sustain. It is a practical question for political economists themselves to answer, whether charitable organizations are not deceptive in their promises, inasmuch as the personal gifts on which they depend may in time utterly fail unless the heart of the givers be kept sympathetic and warm by contact with the recipients of their bounty.

Among those who lived during this period were Thomas and William Davis, father and son, both

enterprising and successful merchants, to the first of whom the town is indebted for the trees in Town Square, which were planted by him in 1784; John Russell, a merchant, from Scotland, the progenitor of a family which has since filled a large space in the social and civil ranks of the town; Barnabas Hedge, a Harvard graduate of 1783, whose intelligence and sagacity, while building his own fortune, were fruitful instruments in the promotion of the welfare of others; James Warren, whose special field of usefulness, already referred to, was found in the councils of the nation during the war of the Revolution; Joshua Thomas, a Harvard graduate of 1782, judge of probate, moderator of town-meetings, a member of the Committee of Correspondence during the war, a man whose patriotism and learning may be discovered in the addresses and memorials of the town; Ephraim Spooner, a respected deacon of the First Church, justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and many years clerk of the town; Isaac Lothrop, an active merchant, register of probate, and an early member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; William Water, a Harvard graduate of 1751, the first postmaster of the town, and collector of the port; John Watson, a Harvard graduate of 1766, and the second president of the Pilgrim Society; and George Watson, of whom the inscription on his gravestone says,—

"With honest fame and sober plenty crowned,
He lived and spread his cheering influence round."

To these must be added Daniel Jackson, largely and honorably engaged in commercial pursuits, which he transmitted to his sons; Nathaniel Goodwin, an officer in the Revolution, and afterwards a major-general in the State militia; Ichabod Shaw, an ingenious and skillful artisan; Joseph Bartlett, to whom the town was long indebted for liberal drafts on a fortune which the misfortunes of war seriously impaired; Benjamin and Isaac Barnes, brothers, whose influence in the town as active promoters of its industry was long and conspicuously felt; Nathaniel Carver, an intelligent and successful shipmaster, and afterwards merchant; James Thacher, a native of Yarmouth, who, after seven years' service as surgeon in the Revolution, settled in Plymouth, and added to a reputation already secured by professional and literary labors; Nathan Hayward, a Harvard graduate of 1785, a native of Bridgewater, and surgeon in the army under Wayne, who, as physician and high sheriff, held a high position in the community; Rossiter Cotton, a practicing physician and register of deeds; William Goodwin, the first cashier of the Plymouth Bank; Nathaniel Lothrop, a Harvard graduate of 1756; and Samuel Davis, the recip-

ient of an honorary degree from Harvard in 1819, in token of his modest but unwearied services as an antiquary and historian of the Old Colony. It may be invidious to mention these, where so many were, perhaps, equally conspicuous as citizens of the town, but they are such as most readily occur to the author in a cursory glance at the period under consideration.

On the 22d of December, 1820, the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims occurred, on which occasion Mr. Webster delivered his memorable oration. The celebration has been so fully described by Dr. Thacher in his history of Plymouth, that little further need be added in this narrative. It was at a period when, among men below middle life, small-clothes or breeches were beginning to disappear. By those who were older, to whom change of fashion was more difficult, they were worn during their lives. The last in Plymouth to wear them was Barnabas Hedge, who died in 1841. On this occasion Mr. Webster wore small-clothes and a silk gown, and stood during the delivery of his oration on a platform in front of the pulpit of the meeting-house of the First Parish. The scene has been described to the author by a gentleman who was present. Several clergymen, among whom was Dr. Kirkland, took part in the exercises, and during the oration stood leaning over the rail of the pulpit looking down on Mr. Webster and catching every word of his impassioned oratory. Finally, in concluding his denunciation of the slave trade, Mr. Webster said, "I would invoke those who fill the seats of justice, and all who minister at her altars, that they execute the wholesome and necessary severity of the law. I invoke the ministers of our religion that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent whenever or wherever there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust." As he uttered these scathing words he turned his face upward and backward, and the clergymen, whose silence on the subject was one of the extraordinary phenomena of the times, slunk back to their seats mortified and chagrined. The evening before the celebration Mr. Webster spent with a few friends at the house of William Davis, and seeming somewhat depressed, was asked if he was ill. He replied that he was perfectly well, but felt overwhelmed by a sense of the responsibility resting on him. The town was full of visitors, every house had its guests, and the representatives of the most cultivated families in New England were present to listen to the great orator of the age. A parchment preserved in Pilgrim Hall contains the autographs of

those who were present at the dinner on that occasion, both gentlemen and ladies, and the curious will find it indeed a notable list.

At this celebration escort duty was performed by the Standish Guards, a military company organized in 1818, and which made its first public parade on the 22d of December in that year. Its original members were:

James H. Holmes.	William Straffin.
George Cooper.	James Tufts.
John W. Cotton.	William Nelson, Jr.
Charles Bramhall.	Isaac Barnes, Jr.
Henry Seymour.	Isaac C. Churchill.
William Knowles.	Elijah Macomber.
Thomas Cooper.	Elkanah Barnes.
Daniel Gale.	Robert Clark.
Thomas Hedge.	James Bradford.
James G. Gleason.	Bridgman Russell.
John Washburn.	Israel Hoyt, Jr.
William H. Bradford.	Thomas Jackson, 4th.
James Hollis.	Isaac M. Sherman.
Charles Bradford.	Robert Davie.
Isaac Torrey.	John Burbank, Jr.
William Randall.	Perez Peterson.
Lewis Churchill.	Thomas Tribble.
Coomer Weston.	Samuel Nelson.
James Morton.	John Saunders.
Caleb A. Delano.	Southwick A. Howland.
Thomas Durfey.	Timothy Berry.

All of these are dead. The oldest living member of the company is Sidney Bartlett, of Boston, who joined Sept. 28, 1819. The autographs of the members of the company in 1820 may be seen on the parchment already referred to, containing the names of the guests at the dinner in that year. The company up to the time of its disbandment in 1883, which it is hoped may be only temporary, was commanded at various times by Coomer Weston, Bridgman Russell, James G. Gleason, John Bartlett, William T. Drew, Jeremiah Farris, Coomer Weston, Jr., Barnabas Churchill, Benjamin Bagnall, Sylvanus H. Churchill, Charles Raymond, Joseph W. Collingwood, Charles C. Doten, Josiah R. Drew, Herbert Morrissey, and Joseph W. Hunting.

One other volunteer company, the Plymouth Artillery Company,¹ was organized in 1809, but disbanded before the war of the Rebellion. In 1840 the town conveyed to the State such a portion of Training-Green as might be required for the erection of a gun-house for this company; but on the disbandment of the company the building was sold by the adjutant-general and the land restored to the town. The building was bought by Henry Whiting, and moved to a lot near Hobshole Brook, where it was converted into the dwelling-house which he now occupies. Until the old militia laws were repealed

there were, after the old train-bands were abolished, two militia companies in the town, including all within the ages prescribed by law, except members of the volunteer companies and certain specified exemptions, called the North and South Companies, which were required to parade once annually for inspection.

In 1835 the General Court passed an act establishing the Plymouth Fire Department. Under this act the selectmen annually appoint a board of engineers, who have the control and management of the fire apparatus, and all fires except those in the woods, which are managed by a committee annually chosen by the town. For more than a hundred years Plymouth had no means of extinguishing fires except wells of water on every man's premises. In March, 1727, a committee was chosen by the town, consisting of Isaac Lathrop, Benjamin Warren, John Dyer, John Foster, Josiah Morton, John Watson, John Murdock, Haviland Torrey, John Barnes, and Stephen Churchill, to devise some method of controlling fires. In January, 1728, it was voted "that every householder shall from time to time be provided with a sufficient ladder or ladders to reach from the ground to the ridge of such house, at the charge of the owner thereof; and in case the owner or owners of such house or houses be not an inhabitant of the town, then the occupiers thereof to provide the same, and deduct the charge thereof out of his or their rent, on pain of the forfeiture of five shillings per month for every month's neglect after the tenth day of June next." It was also voted "that from the first day of March to the first day of December, yearly, and every year hereafter, every householder that lives between the house of Deacon John Wood, in Wood's Lane, and Eleazer Churchill, at Jabez Corner, shall at all times, within the limitations aforesaid, keep in their house-yards or backsides, nigh to their houses, a hogshead or two barrels full of water, or a cistern to the value of two hogsheads, on pain of forfeiture of the sum of five shillings for every such neglect, it being provided that, notwithstanding this order, any house which stands twenty rods from the highway or king's road shall be exempt."

In 1752 fire wards were chosen, and thereafter annually until the organization of the fire department, in 1835. In 1757 it was voted "to purchase an engine for extinguishing fires, and that the said engine be of the largest sort called garden engines, that will throw about fifty gallons of water in a minute." Before 1770 another engine was purchased. In 1798 the town bought a bucket-engine, which in 1829 was altered to a suction-engine, and is now owned by the town. In the same year, after the construction of

¹ *Vide Appendix XVI. pg. 164.*

the aqueduct bringing water into the town from a point on Town Brook, near Deep-Water Bridge, an association with twenty-five members was formed, for mutual protection against fires, called the Plymouth Fire Association. The members were provided with bed-screws, canvas bags, and leather buckets bearing the name of the owner and the inscription, "For ourselves and neighbors." In 1801 another bucket-engine was procured. In 1823 an engine, bought by Barnabas Hedge, William Davis, and Nathaniel Russell for the protection of their iron-works, was presented by them to the town. In 1828 a suction-engine was purchased, and in 1836 still another; and these engines, until the purchase of the two steam fire-engines, in 1870 and 1874, constituted, with their equipment and hose, and two force-pumps connected with the mills at the foot of Spring Hill and Spring Lane, the fire apparatus of the town. In connection with the means thus provided for the extinguishment of fires, reservoirs in Town and North Squares were built in 1829, on Training-Green in 1834, on High Street in 1847, and opposite Pilgrim Hall in 1853. As the old aqueduct did not cross the brook, the reservoir at the Green was supplied with rain-water from adjacent roofs; and that on High Street, being higher than the head of the aqueduct, was supplied in the same manner.

In 1855 the present water-works were completed, and water from South Pond, one hundred and six and sixteen one-hundredths feet above low-water mark, was introduced into the town. With the pumps connected with the works in operation, their maximum capacity is sixty thousand gallons per hour. In addition to this, a contingent reservoir holds fifteen hundred thousand gallons, or enough for a three days' supply for the town. By the aid of the pump an average head is maintained twenty-five feet above the pond, or one hundred and thirty-one feet and sixteen one-hundredths above low-water mark. The water is of the purest description, and, with the gradually extending sewage system of the town, promises for the future increased protection to its health as well as its property. The introduction of water was anticipated a single year by the introduction of gas. It was no stranger, however, in Plymouth. In the closing years of the last century Martin Brimmer, a son-in-law of George Watson, came into possession of the land and privilege now owned and occupied by the Robinson Iron Company. During their possession by him a rolling-mill, slitting-mill, grist-mill, and oil-mill were built on the premises; and within their limits Mr. Brimmer, who was an ingenious man, and fond of experiments, manufactured

for the first time in America carburetted hydrogen gas for illuminating purposes.

During the next succeeding years, until the outbreak of the Rebellion, little occurred in the history of the town to detain our narrative. In Plymouth, as elsewhere in Massachusetts, the seed of anti-slavery sentiment was early sown, and encountered the same obstacles to its growth. Besides the interest owned by its people in local navigation, a considerable amount of tonnage in ships and barks was held by its capitalists, which was largely engaged in Southern trade, and sensitive to the touch of any movement which might tend to alienate those from whom its profits were earned. The conservative element was consequently strong, but as is always the case where capital is conservative, labor became radical, and the anti-slavery element grew in the soil of opposition. Plymouth furnished no exception to the general experience of New England towns, and accepted the war when it came, with all its extraordinary demands, with the same composure which has always characterized Americans in the varied scenes of their history.

Before the blow was struck which precipitated hostilities, the Standish Guards, then in a flourishing condition, in anticipation of trouble on the part of the government of the State, had been, like other militia companies in the commonwealth, notified of a possible call for men, and of the necessity of retaining only such men in their ranks as might be willing to respond at a moment's notice. When therefore, on the 15th of April, 1861, dispatches were received announcing the surrender of Fort Sumter and the issue of a proclamation by the President of the United States calling for the service of seventy-five thousand three months' men, Plymouth was fully prepared to perform her share in the terrible emergency. Further dispatches announced that Governor Andrew had issued orders to the commanders of the Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth Regiments of Massachusetts militia to report with their commands on Boston Common on the following day. At a later hour dispatches were received by Lieut. Charles C. Doten, then in command of the Standish Guards, Company B, in the Third Regiment, from Col. David W. Wardrop, of New Bedford, directing him to muster his company and report to him in Boston in accordance with the orders of the Governor. The necessary papers were received by the hands of a special messenger during the night. The town was at once in commotion. The company was mustered without delay, its members leaving their work of the next day in other hands, and their families to the

kind offices of friends, and to the promises of the selectmen that their wants would be abundantly supplied, and before midnight everything was arranged for departure in the morning. By the train leaving Plymouth at nine o'clock of the 16th, nineteen members of the company started, being escorted to the railway station by a procession of citizens, who gave them a hearty God-speed in the work in which they were about to engage. Their names were as follows:

Charles C. Doten, age 28; 1st lieut.; merchant.
 Otis Rogers, age 31, 2d lieut.; saloon-keeper.
 Lemuel Bradford, 2d, age 30; 4th lieut.; nailer.
 Charles H. Drew; age 22, 1st sergt.; lawyer.
 Leander L. Sherman, age 31; sergt.; shoemaker.
 Augustus H. Fuller, age 27; corp.; mariner.
 Frederick Holmes, age 25; clerk; moulder.
 Levonso D. Barnes, age 45; private; shoemaker.
 Nathaniel B. Bradford, age 24; private; trader.
 Charles E. Barnes, 2d, age 20; private; carpenter.
 Ellis B. Bramhall, age 41; private; trader.
 Amasa M. Bartlett, age 22; private; mechanic.
 Robert B. Churchill, age 19; private; mechanic.
 George H. Chase, age 29; private; shoecutter.
 Stephen C. Drew, age 19; private; printer.
 Eliphalet Holbrook, age 26; private; shoemaker.
 Henry Perkins, age 21; private; tin-worker.
 Charles M. Perry, age 19; private.
 James H. Robbins, age 25; private; ropemaker.

With whom went also

Charles Raymond, age 42; lieut.-col.; undertaker.

The above were joined at Abington by

Thomas B. Atwood, age 32; corp.; shoemaker.
 Timothy S. Atwood, age 22; private; shoemaker.

And in Boston by

William B. Alexander, age 31; 3d lieut.; carpenter.
 John B. Williams, age 24; private; mason.

All of the above were Plymouth men. The company was quartered on the night of the 16th (Tuesday) in the hall of the Old Colony Railroad station, and on the morning of Wednesday, the 17th, received from Plymouth the following recruits:

Caleb N. Brown, age 21; private; mechanic.
 Charles C. Crosby, age 22; private.
 Solomon E. Faunce, age 22; private; clerk.
 Lemuel B. Faunce, Jr., age 24; private; laborer.
 Theodore S. Fuller, age 23; private; printer.
 George H. Fish, age 29; private; laborer.
 Charles H. Holmes, age 17; private.
 Daniel D. Howard, age 26; private; laborer.
 Sylvanus R. Harlin, age 22; private; watchmaker.
 Charles Jones, age 33; private; mariner.
 John S. Lucas, age 27; private; mariner.
 Charles Mason, age 21; private; daguerreotypist.
 Charles W. Pierce, private; mariner.
 Francis H. Robbins, age 22; private; mason.
 Henry Ripley, private; shoemaker.
 Winslow B. Sherman, age 42; private; laborer.
 James C. Standish, age 23; private; blacksmith.

John Sylvester, age 31; private; laborer.
 Edward Smith, age 26; private; marble-worker.

On Wednesday afternoon the company embarked on the steamer "S. R. Spaulding," at Central wharf, and hauled into the stream. Wednesday evening the following additional recruits arrived from Plymouth, quartering Wednesday night in Faneuil Hall, and joining their company on board ship on Thursday morning:

Sherman Allen, age 36; private; shoemaker.
 George H. Atwood, age 22; private; shoemaker.
 William E. Barnes, age 26; private; carpenter.
 William S. Burbank, Jr., age 24; private; printer.
 George R. Barnes, age 25; private; shoemaker.
 David L. Chandler, age 27; private; mariner.
 Lyman Dixon, age 19; private.
 John F. Harten, age 24; private.
 Isaac T. Holmes, age 21; private; shoemaker.
 Thomas Haley, age 31; private; truckman.
 Asel W. Handy, age 23; private.
 Charles N. Jordan, age 41; private; laborer.
 Franklin S. Leach, age 29; private; mariner.
 Job B. Oldham, age 30; corp.; painter.
 Jacob W. Southworth, age 30; sergt.; carpenter.
 John Swift, age 24; private; blacksmith.
 James Tribble, age 44; private; mason.

Before the departure of the steamer Lieut.-Col. Raymond and Frederick Holmes left the company on recruiting service; and Nathaniel F. Bradford, Levonso D. Barnes, and George H. Atwood procured substitutes. The "S. R. Spaulding" left Boston on Thursday, the 18th, and arrived at Fortress Monroe on Saturday, the 20th, where the company was at once embarked on the U. S. S. "Pawnee," to destroy the Norfolk navy-yard. On the 22d it was mustered into the United States service. On the 30th, Lieut.-Col. Raymond and Frederick Holmes left Plymouth for the fortress with the following additional recruits for the company from Plymouth:

Nathaniel F. Barnes, age 25; private; carpenter.
 David W. Burbank, age 26; private; mechanic.
 Alexander Gilmore, age 25; private; shoemaker.
 Albert E. Davis, age 19; private; baker.
 Levonso D. Barnes, age 45; private; shoemaker.
 Josiah R. Drew, age 20; private; printer.
 Daniel Lucas, age 27; private; shoemaker.
 Harvey A. Raymond, age 26.

As the company had no captain, after its arrival at Fortress Monroe First Lieut. Charles C. Doten was chosen captain, Second Lieut. Otis Rogers first lieutenant, Third Lieut. William B. Alexander second lieutenant, and as only two lieutenants were permitted in the service, Fourth Lieut. Lemuel Bradford (2d) was not mustered in, but entered the government foundry at the fortress, and there remained in the employ of the government during the three months' service of his comrades. The company spent its

three months' service within the fortress and at Hampton, and reached Boston on its return in the steamer "Cambridge" on the 19th of July, and was mustered out on the 23d. In addition to the three months' men in Company B, Third Regiment, Plymouth had in the Fourth Regiment—

George W. Barnes, age 29; q.-m.-sergt.; trader.

At an informal meeting of the citizens of the town, called by the selectmen on the 20th of April, the following resolutions were passed:

"Resolved, That it is our pleasure as well as our duty to see to it that our brave volunteers be encouraged by the knowledge that those near and dear to them are made the care of their fellow-citizens who remain at home.

"Resolved, That the Selectmen be requested to apply and distribute, at their discretion, a sum not exceeding \$2000 towards the assistance of those families who, by the sudden departure of the troops, are left in need of pecuniary aid; such sum to be raised in the name of the Town, or in such other way as the Selectmen shall deem expedient."

At a legal meeting held on the 11th of May it was voted that, "whereas, at a meeting of citizens called by the Selectmen of the town, held on Saturday, the 20th day of April last, it was voted that the Selectmen be requested to distribute not exceeding \$2000 towards the assistance of those families who, by the sudden departure of the troops, are left in need of pecuniary aid, to be raised in such manner as the Selectmen may deem expedient; voted, that the Town of Plymouth hereby ratify the recommendation of said meeting, and direct that a sum not exceeding \$2000 be distributed by the Selectmen, in their discretion, to families of volunteers from this Town, who are now absent under the call of Government for three months' service."

It was also voted "that a sum not exceeding \$1500 is hereby appropriated for clothing and equipping such volunteers for three years' or more service as are citizens of the Town;" "that six dollars per month to each citizen of the Town having a family, and four dollars per month to each citizen of the Town who is single or unmarried, excepting commissioned officers, who shall enlist in the service of the United States for the war, shall be and the same is hereby appropriated by the Town as extra compensation, for the term of actual service, during one year from the 1st day of May current, to be paid in money in such manner and to such persons as the Selectmen shall deem expedient;" and "that the Treasurer is hereby authorized to hire such sums of money, under the direction of the Selectmen, as shall be necessary to carry the above votes into effect."

Steps had already been taken to recruit a company of three years' men. Capt. Samuel H. Doten received

from the Governor the necessary authority, and on the 20th of April held the first drill-meeting of the company, followed by the election of officers on the 6th of May, with the following sixty-seven enlisted men:

Samuel H. Doten, age 43; capt.; clerk.
 John B. Collingwood, age 35; 1st lieut., adjt.; shoemaker.
 Thomas A. Mayo, age 30; 2d lieut.; truckman.
 Edward L. Robbins, age 24; 1st sergt.; principal musician of regt.; printer.
 John M. Atwood, age 21; sergt.; clerk.
 Horace A. Jenks, age 28; sergt., 1st sergt., 2d lieut.; carpenter.
 George S. Morey, age 22; sergt.; shoemaker.
 Benjamin F. Bumpus, age 19; corp.; machinist.
 Ichabod C. Fuller, age 21; corp., sergt.; mariner.
 John K. Alexander, age 19; private, corp.; carpenter.
 Winslow C. Barnes, age 32; private; shoemaker.
 Charles C. Barnes, age 20; private; harness-maker.
 Moses S. Barnes, age 29; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 Nathaniel Burgess, age 27; private, 1st lieut.; nailer.
 George E. Burbank, age 21; private; shoemaker.
 George F. Bradford, age 18; private; clerk.
 Andrew Blanchard, age 43; private; laborer.
 Lawrence R. Blake, age 22; private; shoemaker.
 Cornelius Bradford, age 39; private; nailer.
 Simeon H. Barrows, age 32; private; shoemaker.
 Ellis D. Barnes, age 28; private; laborer.
 Thomas Collingwood, age 28; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 Sylvanus L. Churchill, age 18; private; carpenter.
 Barnabas Dunham, age 22; private; mariner.
 Henry F. Eddy, age 20; private; laborer.
 Philander Freeman, age 27; private, trans. to regular army; shoemaker.
 Timothy E. Gay, age 33; private; shoemaker.
 William P. Gooding, age 21; private, corp.; clerk.
 Thomas W. Hayden, age 27; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 James S. Holbrook, age 31; private, corp., sergt., 1st sergt.; clerk.
 Orin D. Holmes, age 20; private, sergt.; laborer.
 William H. Howland, age 31; private; mariner.
 Samuel H. Harlow, age 31; private, corp.; clerk.
 Alexander Haskins, age 35; private; laborer.
 John F. Hall, age 22; private, corp.; laborer.
 Henry W. Kimball, age 27; private, corp., sergt.; mechanic.
 Charles E. Merriam, age 17; private; shoemaker.
 Lemuel B. Morton, age 26; private, corp.; shoecutter.
 William Morey (2d), age 24; private; mariner.
 Isaac Morton, Jr., age 25; private; mechanic.
 John E. Morrison, age 24; private; shoemaker.
 John A. Morse, age 44; private; mariner.
 William T. Nickerson, age 24; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 George F. Pierce, age 18; private.
 Seth W. Paty, age 21; private, corp.; carpenter.
 William H. Pittie, age 38; private; shoemaker.
 John H. Pember, age 20; private; laborer.
 Henry H. Robbins, age 20; private; printer.
 Albert R. Robbins, age 18; private; last-maker.
 James E. Stillman, age 31; private; laborer.
 Winslow B. Standish, age 27; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 Albert Simmons, age 20; private; truckman.
 Miles Standish, age 21; private; blacksmith.
 William Swift, age 34; private; mariner.
 John Shannon, age 27; private, corp., sergt., 1st sergt., 2d lieut.; mechanic.

Patrick Smith, age 27; private; rope-maker.
 Frank H. Simmons, age 21; private; mariner.
 Samuel D. Thrasher, age 17; private; corp.
 Francis A. Thomas, age 26; private; shoemaker.
 Leander M. Vaughn, age 21; private; mariner.
 Francis H. Vaughn, age 27; private; mariner.
 George E. Wadsworth, age 33; private, corp., sergt., 1st sergt.; mariner.
 David Williams, age 18; private; nailer.
 Joseph B. Whiting, age 20; private.
 William Williams, age 27; private; mechanic.
 Alfred B. Warner, age 25; private, corp.; printer.

The following recruits were added to the company at the specified dates:

Benjamin F. Bates, age 23; mariner; March 1, 1862.
 Thomas B. Burt, age 23; shoemaker; March 10, 1862.
 Elisha S. Doten, age 26; shoemaker; March 1, 1862.
 Justus W. Harlow, age 24; tailor; March 1, 1862.
 Charles E. Kleinhans, age 20; mechanic; Feb. 27, 1862.
 George F. Peckham, age 38; mechanic; March 1, 1862.
 Charles E. Tillson, age 31; mariner; Feb. 27, 1862.

This company was equipped by the town, in accordance with the vote passed May 11th, at an expense of \$1025.29, and the uniforms were made by the ladies of the town. On the 18th of May the company left Plymouth, in obedience to orders received the day before from the adjutant-general of the State, and on the same afternoon left Boston for Fortress Monroe, on board the steamer "Cambridge," where it was mustered into the service on the 22d, and attached temporarily to the Third Regiment. On the 16th of July, 1861, it was attached, as Company E, to the First Massachusetts Battalion, and removed to Newport News, at the mouth of James River, where it was stationed at the time of the attack of the "Merrimac" on the "Congress" and "Cumberland." Its members were eye-witnesses of the fight between the "Merrimac" and "Monitor," and in Osborne's history of the Twenty-ninth Regiment, to which the company was attached Dec. 13, 1861, may be found the most graphic description of the fight which has yet come under the author's eye.

While stationed at Hampton, near Fortress Monroe, Simeon H. Barrows was wounded, July 14, 1861, and discharged July 21st. At Newport News, John F. Hall and Seth W. Paty were severely wounded, Feb. 11, 1862, by the bursting of a Sawyer rifle cannon. After the incorporation of the company, as Company E, with the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts Regiment and the capture of Norfolk, it was stationed for a time at Suffolk, and afterwards joined the army of McClellan before Richmond. It was engaged in the various battles from Fair Oaks to Malvern Hill, and suffered its share of loss. At Gaines' Mill, Lieut. Mayo was killed; at Fair Oaks, Charles E. Kleinhans was wounded; at White Oak

Swamp, George E. Wadsworth was wounded; and at Malvern Hill, Charles E. Merriam, and at Savage Station, David Williams, Charles E. Kleinhans, and Thomas Collingwood fell into the hands of the enemy. From the Peninsula the company went to Alexandria and Georgetown, coming up with the army immediately after the battle of South Mountain, and fought in the battle of Antietam, on the 17th of September, 1862, in which Lawrence R. Blake was killed and John Shannon and John K. Alexander were wounded. The company remained with the Army of the Potomac until after the battle of Fredericksburg, when it was sent to Central Kentucky and finally to Knoxville, to join Burnside in his defense of East Tennessee, where Seth W. Paty was severely wounded. It afterwards rejoined the Army of the Potomac after the battle of the Wilderness, soon after which the terms of service of such as had not re-enlisted expired. Those who did not re-enlist were attached to the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment, and the following, who re-enlisted, remained in the old organization:

Benjamin F. Bates.	John Shannon.
William T. Nickerson.	Orin D. Holmes.
Nathaniel Burgess.	Charles E. Tillson.

Of these, Nathaniel Burgess and John Shannon were promoted to first and second lieutenants respectively for bravery on the field, Charles E. Tillson was captured Jan. 20, 1864, near Strawberry Plains, East Tenn., Nathaniel Burgess and Orin D. Holmes were killed at Fort Steadman, William T. Nickerson and John Shannon were taken prisoners, and Benjamin F. Bates was wounded May 30, 1864. Of those who did not re-enlist and were attached to the Thirty-sixth Regiment, James S. Holbrook and Samuel D. Thrasher were wounded at the battles of the Wilderness, and John K. Alexander and Samuel B. Morton were killed. In addition to the members of this company, the following recruits from Plymouth joined the Twenty-ninth Regiment at various times:

Curtis Eddy, private Co. C; carpenter.
 Edward L. Daniels, age 22; private Co. H; shoemaker.
 Ephraim T. Lucas, age 21; private Co. II; shoemaker.
 Darius Perry, private Co. H.

In August, 1861, Capt. Joseph W. Collingwood, who had before the war commanded the Standish Guards, received the necessary authority to recruit a company to be attached, as Company H, to the Eighteenth Regiment. The organization of two Home Guard companies in the town—one of artillery and one of infantry—did much to facilitate enlistments. These companies drew into their ranks many young men, with little expectation of becoming actual

soldiers, but the military spirit which they gradually imbibed at their drills and parades soon became too strong to be content with anything less real than service in the field. Capt. Collingwood's company went into camp at Readville, was mustered into the United States service Aug. 24, 1861, and left for Washington August 26th, with the following soldiers from Plymouth:

Joseph W. Collingwood, age 37; capt.; trader.
 Charles H. Drow, age 22; 1st lieut., capt.; lawyer.
 Stephen C. Drew, age 19; sergt., sergt.-maj., 2d lieut., 1st lieut.; printer.
 James S. Bartlett, age 27; private; farmer.
 John Duffy, age 45; private; tailor.
 John Duffy, Jr., age 21; private; mariner.
 Thomas Haley, age 31; private; truckman.
 John F. Harten, age 24; private.
 John F. Hogan, age 19; private.
 John M. Harlow, private; laborer.
 George P. Hooper, age 16; private.
 Frederick W. Robbins, age 39; private, com.-sergt.; clerk.
 Horatio N. Sears, age 22; private; laborer.

In addition to the above, the following Plymouth men were attached to other companies in the Eighteenth Regiment:

William H. Winsor, age 30; 1st lieut., capt.; moulder.
 George W. Burgess, age 20; private Co. G; laborer.
 Winslow T. Burgess, age 19; private Co. C; mariner.
 Zenas Churchill, age 17; private Co. C.
 J. Q. A. Harlow, age 21; private Co. C; laborer.
 Ezra Burgess, age 37; private Co. C; mariner.
 S. M. Maybury, age 25; corp. Co. C; nailer.
 Winslow Churchill, Co. C; mariner.

The Eighteenth Regiment joined the Army of the Potomac at Hall's Hill, near Washington, and went to the Peninsula with McClellan. At the battle of Gaines' Mill a portion of Company H was cut off and obliged to rejoin the army at Harrison's Landing, on the James, by the way of Fortress Monroe. Capt. Collingwood and a few of his men followed the army and were engaged in all of the Seven Days' battles.

On the evacuation of the Peninsula Company H went to Acquia Creek, and thence to Falmouth, joining Pope at Rappahannock Station. It fought at the second battle of Bull Run; but after entering Maryland it was a part of the rear guard at South Mountain, and of the reserve under Porter at Antietam. It was fully engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg on the 13th of December, 1862, where Capt. Collingwood received a wound, of which he died on the 24th, and Capts. Drew and Winsor were wounded. At the battle of Chancellorsville the company was again engaged, and Zenas Churchill was wounded. It was attached to the Army of the Potomac in the battle of Gettysburg, and in the battles of Gen. Grant, from the Wilderness to Petersburg, until

Sept. 2, 1864, when all the Plymouth men, except Winslow T. Burgess, John Duffy, Jr., and John Q. A. Harlow, who had re-enlisted, were mustered out.

In September, 1861, Lieut. William B. Alexander received authority to recruit a company to be attached, as Company E, to the Twenty-third Regiment, and on the 21st of that month he went into camp at Lynnfield, and left Boston for Annapolis, November 11th, with a company of ninety-seven men, of whom sixty were from Plymouth, as follows:

William B. Alexander, age 31; capt.; carpenter.
 Otis Rogers, age 31; 1st lieut., capt.; saloon-keeper.
 Thomas B. Atwood, age 32; 2d lieut.; shoemaker.
 Josiah R. Drew, age 20; 1st sergt., 2d lieut., 1st lieut.; printer.
 David W. Burbank, age 26; sergt.; mechanic.
 Francis E. Davis, age 26; corp., sergt.; mechanic.
 William S. Burbank, Jr., age 24; corp.; printer.
 James C. Standish, age 23; corp.; blacksmith.
 Hiram T. Lanman, age 27; corp.; shoemaker.
 Albert Benson, age 29; teamster; teamster.
 Thomas C. Atwood, age 45; private; mariner.
 William T. Atwood, age 20; private; shoemaker.
 Charles H. Atwood, age 18; private.
 John E. Burt, age 37; private; mechanic.
 George Benson, age 35; private; nailer.
 Winslow Bartlett, age 18; private.
 Henry C. Bartlett, age 20; private; mechanic.
 Asaph S. Burbank, age 19; private; mechanic.
 Henry Baker, age 38; private; carpenter.
 Homer Bryant, age 41; private; mariner.
 George Bailey, age 29; private; laborer.
 James K. Burgess, age 17; private, corp., sergt.
 Edward Bassett, age 21; private, corp., sergt.; mariner.
 Edward D. Brailey, age 29; private; mariner.
 Ichabod P. Bagnall, age 43; private; mariner.
 John Burns, age 33; private; laborer.
 John R. Brailey, age 22; private; mariner.
 William E. Churchill, age 19; private, corp.
 Joseph L. Churchill, age 19; private; shoemaker.
 Augustus T. Caswell, age 18; private.
 Thomas Chandler, age 21; private; shoemaker.
 George H. Dunham, age 18; private.
 Theodore S. Fuller, age 23; private; printer.
 Walter H. Finney, age 20; private, corp.; mariner.
 George Feid, age 45; private; hostler.
 Warren Gibbs, age 41; private; laborer.
 Henry Gould, age 29; private, corp.; laborer.
 Samuel W. Holmes, age 18; private.
 Charles H. Long, age 24; private, sergt.; mariner.
 Perez McMahon, age 19; private; shoemaker.
 Henry Marshall, age 24; private; laborer.
 James W. Page, age 18; private; laborer.
 Seth Mehuren, Jr., age 22; private; laborer.
 William T. Pierce, age 17; private; mariner.
 Daniel H. Paulding, age 29; private; mechanic.
 George O. Paulding, age 21; private; shipwright.
 Nathan B. Perry, age 29; private; laborer.
 Isaac H. Perkins, age 19; private; laborer.
 John B. Ryder, age 27; private; laborer.
 William R. Swift, age 24; private; mariner.
 James H. Stillman, age 19; private, corp.; laborer.
 George W. Swift, age 22; private; laborer.
 Andrew T. Sears, age 21; private; laborer.

Edward Smith, age 21; private; marble-cutter.
 Thomas S. Saunders, age 27; trans. to Co. K; trader.
 Charles C. Stephens, age 26; private; mariner.
 Edward Stephens, age 30; private; mariner.
 Jacob W. Southworth, age 30; private, corp., sergt.; carpenter.
 John Taylor, age 33; private; mariner.
 Benjamin Westgate, age 18; private; mariner.

On the 9th of January, 1862, the company sailed with its regiment on the schooner "Highlander" and gunboat "Hussar" for Hatteras Inlet, and was engaged in the reduction of Roanoke Island, and the battles of Newberne, Rawle's Mills, Tarboro', Kinston, and Whitehall. In the battle of Newberne, Joseph L. Churchill was killed, and in that of Whitehall, Harvey A. Raymond and Benjamin Westgate were also killed. On the 20th of January, 1863, the company sailed for Hilton Head, where it arrived on the 2d of February, and on the 14th of February returned to Newberne. On the 17th of October it sailed from Moorehead City for Fortress Monroe, arriving on the 18th, and going into camp at Newport News. In May, 1864, it went with its regiment up the James, under Gen. Butler, and on the 29th of that month it temporarily joined the Army of the Potomac. On the 12th of June it returned to its camp on the James, and September 4th returned to Newberne, where it remained until its term of service expired, Oct. 13, 1864.

The following recruits were added to the company at the specified dates:

John Quinlan, age 30; private; Jan. 26, 1864; laborer.
 Harvey A. Raymond, age 27; private; shoemaker.
 Horatio N. Sears, age 24; private; Nov. 30, 1863; laborer.

Those who re-enlisted were as follows:

Charles H. Atwood.	James W. Page.
John Burns.	Charles C. Stephens.
Seth Mehuren, Jr.	Ichabod P. Bagnell.
Andrew T. Sears.	Henry Gould.
Edward Bassett.	Isaac H. Perkins.
George H. Dunham.	James H. Stillman.

Edward D. Brailey was killed on picket at Newberne, Edward Stevens was mortally wounded at Whitehall, and Isaac H. Perkins at Coal Harbor. William R. Swift and John R. Brailey were severely wounded at Whitehall; Hiram T. Lanman, John Taylor, and Edward Smith were captured at Newberne; John Quinlan was made a prisoner at Drury's Bluff, May 16, 1864, and Theodore S. Fuller near Newberne, Oct. 10, 1864.

In addition to the members of Company E, the following were members of the Twenty-third Regiment:

John Carline, age 41; private Co. B; truckman.
 H. J. Lucas; private Co. B; laborer.

Seth Mehuren, age 45; private Co. K; laborer.
 James Ryan, age 40; private Co. B; laborer.

In December, 1861, Lieut. Josiah C. Fuller recruited a company, which was attached to the First Battalion of Massachusetts Volunteers, afterwards recognized as the Thirty-second Regiment. It performed garrison duty at Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, until May 20, 1862, when it started for Washington with the following Plymouth men:

Josiah C. Fuller, age 33; 1st lieut., capt.; shoemaker.
 George M. Heath, age 26; corp.; truckman.
 Adoniram Holmes, age 43; corp.; brickmaker.
 James H. Allen, age 21; private, corp.; clerk.
 George W. Bartlett, age 33; private.
 George H. Blanchard, age 17; private, corporal.
 George B. Brewster, age 28; private; laborer.
 Arvin M. Bancroft, age 29; private; mariner.
 Levonzo D. Barnes, age 43; private.
 John R. Davis, Jr., age 21; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 William M. Lapham, age 27; private; mariner.
 Henry Morton, Jr., age 31; private; mariner.
 Weldon S. Pierce, age 22; private.
 Anthony L. Pierce, age 21; private, corp.; laborer.
 Henry L. Raymond, age 43; private.
 Eleazer Shaw, age 22; private, sergt.; mason.
 William H. Shaw, age 29; private; shoemaker.
 David A. Taylor, age 16; private.
 Weston C. Vaughn, age 33; private; mariner.
 Peres C. W. Vaughn, age 19; private; mariner.
 Seth Washburn, age 32; private; laborer.

In addition to the above the following Plymouth men enlisted in the Thirty-second Regiment, joining Company F:

Robert H. Barnes, age 26; private; laborer.
 George B. Beytes, age 18; private.
 George F. Green, age 28; private; laborer.
 Gustavus C. Green, age 17; private; laborer.
 William H. Green, age 19; private; mariner.
 Richard F. Green, age 26; private; laborer.
 Albert F. Green, age 21; private; laborer.
 Joseph Holmes, age 42; private; laborer.
 Charles H. Holmes, age 19; private.
 John F. Hoyt, age 20; private.
 Moses Hoyt, age 17; private.
 Augustine T. Jones, age 18; private.
 Charles W. Pierce, age 18; private.
 Edward F. Finney, age 19; private, sergt.
 Berri F. Phinney, age 20; private, 2d lieut.
 Alexander Ripley, age 21; private.
 William S. Robbins, age 17; private; clerk.
 Edward S. Snow, private.
 Samuel Sampson, age 42; private.
 Winsor T. Savery, age 17; private.
 Nehemiah L. Savery, age 18; private.
 Charles F. Washburn, age 21; private.

The following Plymouth men enlisted in other companies in the same regiment:

Patrick Downey, age 35; private.
 Melvin C. Faught, age 25; private.
 Thomas Felton, age 26; private Co. K.
 Charles E. Foster, age 23; sergt. Co. C.

Taylor Joyee, age 20; private.
 Abner Lucas, age 33; private Co. A.
 Patrick Manahan, private.
 John E. McDonald, private.
 John Keller, age 21; unattached.
 Paul Kriem, age 20; private Co. D.
 Henry W. Roberts, age 21; private Co. C.
 Patrick McSweeny, private.
 Edmund Read, age 24; private Co. I.
 James Rider, private.
 David Zeigler, age 26; private Co. A.

The Thirty-second Regiment encamped, on its arrival at Washington, at Camp Alexandria, on Capitol Hill, and soon after near Fairfax Seminary, at Alexandria, as a part of Sturges' reserve corps. On the 25th of June it started for Harrison's Landing, arriving there July 3d, and was at once assigned to Griffin's brigade, Morell's division, Porter's corps. On the evacuation of the Peninsula it retired to Williamsburg, Yorktown, and Newport News, and thence, by the way of Acquia Creek, hastened to Stafford Court-House, near Fredericksburg. Joining Pope's army, it afterwards went into Maryland under McClellan, was a part of the reserve at Antietam, and was afterwards engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg, in which William S. Robbins was severely wounded. In the battle of Gettysburg Charles H. Holmes was severely wounded, and in one of the battles in the subsequent Richmond campaign, in all of which the regiment was engaged, David A. Taylor, who had re-enlisted, and George W. Allen were killed. At the expiration of the three years' term of service the following Plymouth men re-enlisted:

George W. Bartlett.
 George F. Green.
 Abner Lucas.
 William H. Shaw.
 George H. Blanchard.
 Gustavus C. Green.
 Nehemiah L. Savery.

David A. Taylor.
 Perez C. W. Vaughn.
 John R. Davis, Jr.
 Adoniram Holmes.
 Anthony L. Pierce.
 Weston C. Vaughn.

In addition to the above re-enlisted men the following, belonging to other places, re-enlisted, and were credited to the quota of Plymouth:

George W. Allen.
 George C. Drown.

Henry W. Roberts.
 Elliott Pierce.

On the 26th of May, 1862, dispatches were received from the President by the Governor, urging him to send the whole available militia to Washington. Gen. Banks had been driven from the Shenandoah Valley, and the capital was thought to be in danger. In obedience to orders, Capt. Charles C. Doten reported in Boston on the 27th with his company,—the Standish Guards,—numbering fifty-seven men. The alarm, however, was found to be groundless, and the company returned the next day.

In July, 1862, the author, the chairman of the Board of Selectmen, received authority to recruit two companies, to be attached as Companies D and G to the Thirty-eighth Regiment, to aid in meeting a call on Massachusetts for fifteen thousand men, of which the quota of Plymouth was sixty-three. He was also authorized to recommend their officers for commission. He first recruited Company D, and recommended Lieut. Charles H. Drew, of Company H, Eighteenth Regiment, for captain, but the War Department refused to muster him out to enable him to receive his commission. The Plymouth men in Company D were:

Albert Mason, age 24; 2d lieut., 1st lieut., capt., a.q.m. U.S. vols.; lawyer.
 Francis Bates, age 27; musician; watchmaker.
 Gustavus D. Bates, age 38; private; teacher.
 James E. Barrows, age 19; private, corp.; printer.
 James A. Bowen, age 19; corp., sergt., 1st sergt.; shoemaker.
 Timothy Downey, age 39; private; tender.
 Benjamin F. Durgin, age 25; private, corp.; painter.
 George H. Fish, age 25; private; hostler.
 Solomon E. Faunce, age 20; sergt.; clerk.
 Albert F. Greenwood, age 27; private; laborer.
 Thomas Gallagher, age 16; musician; musician.
 Benjamin A. Hathaway, age 28; private; accountant.
 John H. Havistock, age 18; private; shoemaker.
 Benjamin Harvey, age 44; private; tender.
 George B. Holbrook, age 23; private; laborer.
 James Kimball, age 20; private; laborer.
 Daniel Lovett, age 35; private; waiter.
 William W. Lanman, age 19; private; laborer.
 Charles Mason, age 22; sergt., 2d lieut., 1st lieut.; daguerreotypist.
 Patrick Maguire, age 37; private; laborer.
 Charles S. Peterson, age 35; private; carpenter.
 Bernard T. Quinn, age 20; corp., Vet. Res. Corps; printer.
 Thomas G. Savery, age 18; private; farmer.
 Israel H. Thrasher, age 34; private; farmer.
 James T. Thrasher, age 22; private; farmer.

The author then recruited Company G, with the following Plymouth men:

Charles C. Doten, age 29; capt.; engineer.
 George B. Russell, age 18; 2d lieut., 1st lieut., capt. Vet. Res. Corps, com. 1st lieut. and capt. in regular army; student.
 Charles E. Barnes, age 22; sergt., 1st sergt.; carpenter.
 Joseph A. Brown, age 20; corp.; cabinet-maker.
 Sanford Crandon, age 18; corp., sergt., 1st sergt., 2d lieut.; clerk.
 Job C. Chandler, Jr., age 24; trans. to 1st La. Cav.; merchant.
 Timothy T. Eaton, age 41; private; truckman.
 Lemuel B. Faunce, Jr., age 24; private; nailer.
 Albert T. Finney, age 28; chief musician, non-com. staff; musician.
 James Frothingham, age 31; private; ropemaker.
 Edward E. Green, age 24; private; laborer.
 Frederick Holmes, age 27; 1st sergt., sergt.-maj., 2d lieut.; moulder.
 William N. Hathaway, age 21; corp.; clerk.
 Thomas Haley, age 30; private; mariner.

Isaac T. Hall, age 28; private; teamster.
 Issachar Josselyn, age 18; private; shoemaker.
 John Edgar Josselyn, age 18; private; farmer.
 Bernard T. Kelly, age 18; private.
 Charles W. Lanman, age 16; corp., sergt.
 Joseph McLaughlin, age 18; private.
 William Perry, age 18; private; farmer.
 Christopher A. Prouty, age 16; private; musician.
 Heman Robbins, age 22; private, corp.; ropemaker.
 Levi Ransom, age 20; private; baker.
 Adrian D. Ruggles, age 18; private; clerk.
 Otis Sears, age 20; private; shoemaker.
 Horatio Sears, age 44; private; farmer.
 Joseph F. Towns, age 39; private; truckman.
 John M. Whiting, age 21; private; shoemaker.
 Charles C. White, age 23; private, corp.; shoemaker.
 Charles T. Wood, age 20; private; book-keeper.

The remainder of the quota was made up of the following men:

James A. Blanchard, age 21; private Co. D, 38th Regt.; laborer.
 Charles H. Drew, age 23; capt. Co. D, 38th Regt.; lawyer.
 George Feid, age 44; private Co. D, 38th Regt.; hostler.
 Frederic R. Raymond, age 24; private Co. D, 38th Regt.; carder.
 George B. Sawyer, age 24; private Co. D, 38th Regt.; jeweler.
 James D. Thurber, age 23; private, 1st lieut. 13th Regt., capt. 55th Regt.; clerk.
 Erik Wolff, age 25; private 20th Regt.
 George F. Wood, age 25; hosp. steward 35th Regt., after in regular army; teacher.

Recruits filling this quota received one hundred dollars bounty, in accordance with a vote of the town passed July 21, 1862. Charles H. Drew, as before stated, did not join his company, and James A. Blanchard and George Feid did not finally enter the service, consequently these three received no bounty. On the 3d of January, 1865, Edward Allsworth, thirty-nine years of age, joined the Thirty-eighth Regiment as a recruit, to the credit of Plymouth, and was transferred to the One Hundred and Nineteenth United States Cavalry, and commissioned second lieutenant. The regiment, after having been equipped at Lynnfield, left for Baltimore Sept. 24, 1862, from which place it embarked in the "Baltic," November 9th, for the gulf. It disembarked at Ship Island December 13th, and re-embarked on the 19th in the "Northern Light" for New Orleans, where it was ordered into camp at Carrollton, about four miles from the city. From Carrollton it proceeded, March 6th, to Baton Rouge, and thence to Port Hudson. From Port Hudson it went to Algiers, Brashear City, and Bisland, at which last place it received its baptism of fire, and Frederick Holmes, Joseph McLaughlin, Otis Sears, and Timothy Downey were wounded. Its next move was to Alexandria, and again to Port Hudson. At the siege of the latter

place on the 27th of May, George H. Fish was wounded, and on the 14th of June Lieut. George B. Russell, Sergt. Sanford Crandon, Israel Thrasher, Albert F. Greenwood, Thomas G. Savery, and Charles C. White were wounded, and Frederick Holmes was killed. After the fall of Port Hudson the regiment proceeded to Baton Rouge, again to Alexandria, and in April, 1864, took part in the Red River expedition. From Alexandria it went to Morganza Bend, and in July embarked for Algiers and Fortress Monroe, which latter place it reached July 28th. From the fortress it proceeded to Washington and Harper's Ferry, and joined the Army of the Shenandoah. In the Shenandoah Valley it was engaged in the battles of Opequan Creek, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek, in the first of which John M. Whiting was killed. On the 20th of December, 1864, the regiment started for Baltimore, and embarked for Savannah Jan. 13, 1865. From Savannah, after the evacuation of Charleston, it started for Newberne, where it remained until Richmond capitulated. On the 8th of April it proceeded to Goldsboro', joining there the army of Gen. Sherman, and remained on provost duty until May 1st, when it went to Morehead City, and once more embarked for Savannah. On the 30th of June it embarked for Boston, where it arrived on the 6th of July, and was mustered out at Galloupe's Island on the 13th.

In August, 1862, thirty-seven men were called for from Plymouth as its quota of three hundred thousand men called for by the President for nine months' service, and of nineteen thousand and eighty required from Massachusetts. It was ordered that a draft should be made unless the quota was filled within a specified time. The Third Regiment of the State militia undertook to raise the men for the towns within its jurisdiction, but as Plymouth, Plympton, and Carver, adjacent towns, each had a company belonging to this regiment, it was thought impossible to recruit each up to the standard. It was agreed, therefore, that the three companies should unite as Company B, Standish Guards, with the captain of the Carver company as captain, and with its first and second lieutenants from Plymouth and Plympton respectively. Under this arrangement the company organized and went into camp with the regiment at Lakeville, with the following thirty men from Plymouth:

John Morrisey, age 45; maj.; editor.
 Charles A. S. Perkins, age 35; 1st lieut.; printer.
 Edward L. Robbins, age 25; sergt.-maj.; printer.
 Benjamin F. Barnes, age 18; private.
 Amasa M. Bartlett, age 22; corp.; blacksmith.
 Ebenezer N. Bradford, age 25; private; broker.

John F. Chapman, age 25; private; hostler.
 Charles S. Cobb, age 21; private; mechanic.
 George H. Doten, age 36; private; laborer.
 Harvey B. Griffin, age 23; private; tin-worker.
 Samuel N. Holmes, age 19; private; laborer.
 Isaac S. Holmes, age 44; private; laborer.
 Nathaniel Holmes, age 30; private; shoemaker.
 Ivory W. Harlow, age 22; private; carpenter.
 Charles W. Johnson, age 27; private; mariner.
 George F. Jackson, age 21; private; farmer.
 Benjamin F. Jenkins, age 18; private; laborer.
 James Neal, age 39; private; ropemaker.
 Job B. Oldham, age 31; sergt.; painter.
 James T. Paulding, age 42; private; painter.
 Charles C. Place, age 33; private; tin-worker.
 Isaac H. Place, age 37; private; mariner.
 Charles M. Perry, age 20; corp.
 Herbert Robbins, age 18; private; ropemaker.
 James H. Robbins, age 26; sergt.; ropemaker.
 Samuel R. Raymond, age 34; private; laborer.
 Leander L. Sherman, age 32; private; laborer.
 James F. Sears, age 18; private; laborer.
 Thomas Smith, age 23; private; ropemaker.
 William F. Spooner, age 19; private; ropemaker.

The company left Lakeville Oct. 22, 1862, and embarked with its regiment on the same day for Newberne, N. C., on board the steamers "Merrimac" and "Mississippi." It afterwards engaged in the battles of Kinston, Whitehall, and Goldsboro', and on the 6th of March went into Jones and Onslow Counties, and on the 16th went with its regiment to Corn Creek on an expedition to raise the siege of Washington. On the 24th it returned to Newberne, and on the 11th of June embarked for Boston, where it arrived on the 16th, and was mustered out of the service on the 26th.

Besides the above, the following Plymouth men enlisted on the quota of nine months' men:

Edward H. Hall, age 31; chaplain 44th Regt.; clergyman.
 James B. Brewster, age 20, hosp. steward Co. D, 44th Regt.; student.
 Schuyler S. Bartlett, age 21; private Co. D, 44th Regt., clerk.
 William Burt, age 29; private Co. C, 4th Regt.
 George H. Cobb, age 21; private Co. H, 50th Regt., farmer.
 Horace Holmes, age 22; private Co. A, 45th Regt.; clerk.
 William Hedge, age 23; sergt., 1st lieut., Co. C, 44th Regt.; student.
 James R. McLaughlin, age 20; private Co. H, 50th Regt.; farmer.
 Winslow B. Sherman, age 42; private Co. C, 4th Regt.; truckman.
 Sylvester R. Swett, age 32; corp. Co. C, 4th Regt.; painter.
 William Stevens, age 28; private Co. F, 4th Regt.; clerk.
 Joseph H. Sears, age 24; private Co. G, 6th Regt.; student.

Of the above enlisted nine months' men, thirty-five received a bounty of one hundred dollars each. None were killed, and Horace Holmes was wounded at the battle of Whitehall.

On the 17th of July, under a draft, William Ross

commuted, Horace P. Bailey, Jesse Harlow, George A. Whiting, Francis H. Russell, Alfred Mayberry, Edward W. Atwood, William T. Dunham, Charles F. Ellis, John T. Stoddard, Lemuel B. Bradford, Lorenzo M. Bennett, Charles F. Harlan, and Gustavus G. Sampson found substitutes, and the three following entered the service:

Jedediah Bumpus, age 35; private Co. C, 9th Regt.; laborer.
 Thomas Dexter, age 25; private 55th Regt.; freed slave.
 Charles Wadsworth, age 29; private 12th Regt.; moulder.

A call for three hundred thousand men was issued by the President, Oct. 17, 1863, who were to be raised before Jan. 5, 1864, to avoid a draft. Soon after a new call for five hundred thousand men, including the previous three hundred thousand, was issued, and the quota of Plymouth was fixed at one hundred and seventeen. The selectmen had, in anticipation of a call, opened a recruiting-office long before, and, according to the accounts kept by them, had filled the quota before the call was made. At the last moment they were notified that certain claims for men in the navy had not been allowed, and that some men who had been in camp some time had not been mustered in, so as to be credited to the town. The consequence was that a draft for twenty-five men was ordered, and of those drafted Walter Gilbert alone was accepted, and he furnished a substitute. Before another draft was ordered the selectmen had obtained enough recruits in Boston to render a further draft unnecessary.

At a town-meeting held on the 31st of May, 1864, a vote was passed authorizing the payment of a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each recruit, and a committee—consisting of William S. Danforth, George F. Weston, Edward B. Hayden, Everett F. Sherman, and Charles O. Churchill—was appointed to raise funds to increase the bounty to such an amount as might become necessary. With the sum of \$3776.25 raised by this committee, the selectmen obtained the following recruits to make up the deficiency above referred to:

Wm. G. Blythe, 28th Regt.	Dennis Bassingham, unattached.
Thomas Coogan, unattached.	David Dow, 2d Regt.
John Ely, 2d Regt.	Robert Henry, 5th Cav.
Wm. Johnson, 5th Cav.	J. Lang, 2d Regt.
Gustavus A. E. Miller, 20th Regt.	Peter H. Mara, 2d Regt.
James McDonald, unattached.	William Mullins, 2d Regt.
Michael Maloney, 2d Regt.	Thomas Nolan, 2d Regt.
John Purdy, 2d Regt.	Eldridge Reed, unattached.
John Slocum, 2d Regt.	Edwin Terry, 2d Cav.
George Williams, 2d Cav.	Charles E. Williams, 5th Cav.
James White, 2d Cav.	William Johnson, 5th Cav.

To these were added four recruits for the navy included in the navy list, which more than filled the

quota. In July, 1864, another call for five hundred thousand men was issued, of which the quota of Plymouth (as before) was one hundred and seventeen. The selectmen, however, had been assiduously continuing their enlistments, and by persistent efforts had finally secured the credits for men in the navy before denied them, thus reducing the quota to twenty-seven. For the purpose of enabling the selectmen to secure recruits to fill this quota the committee chosen by the town raised the sum of five thousand and eleven dollars by subscription, and the following recruits were obtained :

James F. Andrews, 61st Regt.	Wilhelm Bruns, 2d Regt.
Thomas Bacon, 2d Regt.	Charles Brooks, 26th Regt.
Henry Crosley, 5th Cav.	John Clark, 2d Cav.
Thomas Foley, 33d Regt.	Edward H. Forbes, 2d Cav.
Edward Kenney, 2d H. Art.	Alvin H. Henry, 2d Cav.
Patrick Hagan, Vet. Res. Corps.	Patrick Kelley, 2d Regt.
John A. Keefe, 29th Unattached.	William Lee, 2d Regt.
John Leah, Vet. Res. Corps.	John Lyden, 2d H. Art.
Michael I. Menagh, 35th Regt.	Lewis Payzant, 2d Cav.
Abrnham Page, 5th Cav.	Edward Payne, 2d Cav.
Thomas Paine, Vet. Res. Corps.	Joseph O'Brien, Vet. Res. Corps.
John O'Brien, 2d H. Art.	Henry Robinson, 33d Regt.
John Riley, 2d Regt.	Frank Smith, 27th Regt.

To these is to be added a representative recruit voluntarily purchased by Daniel E. Damon, Esq., and credited to the town.

On the 19th of November, 1864, the following Plymouth men were mustered into the United States service (for one year) as members of the Twentieth Unattached Company, stationed at Marblehead :

Joseph L. Bartlett, age 18; private; teamster.
John C. Chase, age 18; private; shoemaker.
John F. Chapman, age 24; private; hostler.
Nathaniel M. Davis, age 18; private; shoemaker.
Abner Leonard, age 18; private; nailer.
Frank C. Robbins, age 18; private; nailer.
William Waterson, age 24; private.

On the 14th of December, 1864, the following Plymouth men were mustered into the service (for one year) as members of the Twenty-fourth Unattached Company, stationed at Forts Andrew and Standish, in Plymouth harbor, and afterwards at Readville until mustered out :

Jesse T. Bassett, age 26.	William H. Churchill, age 18.
Alexander J. Bartlett, age 19.	Eugene Callahan, age 18.
Charles T. Badger, age 37.	Samuel N. Dunham, age 32.
Edward D. Badger, age 32.	Francis E. Davis, sergt., 2d lieut.; age 28.
John Brown, age 21.	Charles F. Drake, age 27.
John R. Bradley, age 19.	William Dunlap, age 23.
Charles W. Bump, age 18.	Sylvester Dunlap, age 18.
George Bailey, age 31.	Thomas H. Ellis, age 19.
Albert L. Burgess, age 18.	George Green, age 24.
William B. Burt, age 30.	Charles G. Hathaway, age 19.
John E. Burt, age 39.	

Isaac K. Holmes, age 21.	Charles Remington, age 19.
Seth L. Holmes, age 24.	Timothy Ryan, musician; age 17.
William T. Harlow, age 17.	Barnabas E. Savery, age 18.
Sumner Leonard, age 25.	Leander M. Vaughn, age 23.
Stephen M. Maybury, age 24.	John B. Williams, corp.; age 26.
Michael McCrate, age 19.	Charles A. Washburn, age 26.
Simeon L. Nickerson, age 21.	Samuel A. Whitten, age 23.
Thomas M. Nash, age 23.	Daniel S. Wells, age 19.
Stephen P. Nightingale, age 23.	Philip H. Williams, age 18.
Obed C. Pratt, age 20.	Albert S. Wood, age 17.

In addition to the men whose names have been given in the foregoing statement, the following Plymouth men enlisted at various times and in various regiments in the United States service :

Charles B. Allen, age 35; Co. A, 5th Cav.; laborer.
George H. Atwood, age 24; Co. K, 13th V. R. C.; shoemaker.
Frederick Atwood, 7th Regt.
Daniel A. Bruce, age 20; Co. K, 99th N. Y. Regt.
C. B. Burgess, age 22; Co. B, 24th Regt.
Otis L. Battles, age 27; Co. A, 24th Regt.
John W. Bartlett, age 21; Co. E, 7th Regt.
Ellis E. Brown, age 19; corp. Co. A, 5th Cav.; laborer.
Joseph W. B. Burgess, age 25; Co. II, 8th N. H. Regt.; laborer.
Mason B. Bailey, 7th Bat.; brakeman.
Luke P. Burbank; age 19; Co. II, 34th Regt.
Phinehas Burt, age 23; Co. II, 58th Regt.; shoemaker.
Ansel Bartlett, age 24; Co. C, 58th Regt.; mariner.
Temple H. Bartlett, age 28; Co. H, 58th Regt.; mariner.
Orin Bosworth, 2d Regt.
Homer Bryant, age 43; 3d R. I. Cav.; laborer.
Frederick W. Buck, age 32; Co. E, 4th Cav.; 2d lieut., 5th Cav.; shoemaker.
Luther R. Barnes, age 18; Co. H, 58th Regt.; operative.
James H. Chapman, age 22; Co. K, 11th Regt.; laborer.
Nathaniel Carver, age 26; musician 12th Regt.; shoemaker.
James E. Churchill, age 32; Co. K, 99th N. Y. Regt.
Horatio Cameron, 1st Cav.
John Cunningham, age 17; 9th Regt.; trans. to Co. F, 32d Regt.
John S. Cassidy, age 41; 2d Art.; teamster.
William L. Douglass, age 18; Co. I, 58th Regt.; bootmaker.
William Duffy, age 18; Co. H, 1st Cav.; tailor.
John Duffy, age 45; Co. H, 2d Heavy Art.; tailor.
Isaac Dickerman, age 31; Co. K, 99th N. Y. Regt.; teamster.
Maurice Dooley, age 26; Co. G, 28th Regt.
Josiah M. Diman, age 24; 10th Pa. Cav.
John Daley, age 24; Co. K, 16th Regt.
Samuel Eliot, age 44; Co. K, 28th Regt.; laborer.
William Edes, age 33; corp. Co. F, 11th Regt.
Seth W. Eddy, age 27; corp. Co. H, 58th Regt.; shoemaker.
Frank Finney, age 18; Signal Corps.
Walter H. Finney, age 23; Co. H, 2d Heavy Art.
Henry Gibbs, Co. K, 99th N. Y. Regt.
Phineas Gibbs, age 42; Co. B, 24th Regt.
Thomas Gibbs, age 21; 3d N. Y. Regt.; laborer.
Amos Goodwin, age 24; Co. A, 5th Cav.; laborer.
Edwin F. Hall, age 18; Co. D, 58th Regt.; ropemaker.
Christopher T. Harris, age 21; Co. F, 12th Regt.; tin-worker.
B. F. Hartin, age 23; Co. F, 11th Regt.
Sylvanus K. Harlow, age 22; sergt.-major 20th Regt.; watchmaker.

Allen Hathaway, age 44; Co. K, 99th N. Y. Regt.; laborer.
 William C. Holmes, President's Guard.
 Allen T. Holmes, age 19; Signal Corps; clerk.
 Charles H. Howland, age 37; lieut., q.m. 34th Regt.; merchant.
 Daniel D. Howard, age 30; Co. H, 58th Regt.; farmer.
 Edwin P. Holmes, age 22; Davis Guards, of Lowell.
 Samuel N. Holmes, age 20; 3d R. I. Cav.; laborer.
 George A. Hall, age 34; Co. A, 5th Cav.; laborer.
 William H. Jackson, age 21; harness-maker.
 Henry A. Jenkins, 5th Bat.
 George H. Jenners, 5th N. H. Regt.; mariner.
 William King, age 25; 13th Regt.; mariner.
 John K. Kincaid, age 21; Co. H, 58th Regt.; tin-worker.
 James A. Lovell, age 21; 2d Heavy Art.
 William W. Lanman, age 20; 3d R. I. Cav.; laborer.
 Howard Morton, age 20; Co. D, 30th Regt., 2d lieut. Corps d'Afrique; clerk.
 Charles P. Morse, age 21; hosp. steward 17th Regt.; clerk.
 Melvin G. Leach.
 Stephen M. Maybury, age 25; corp. Co. C, 18th Regt.; afterwards in 24th unattached, and Co. C, 17th U. S. I.; watchmaker.
 John Matthews, age 20; 12th Bat.; mariner.
 Lewis S. Mills, age 18; Co. A, 5th Cav.
 William McGill; age 24; laborer.
 John Monks, age 33; Co. B, 2d Heavy Art.; ropemaker.
 Gideon E. Morton, age 21; Co. F, 7th Regt.
 James O'Connell, age 35; Co. C, 28th Regt.
 Isaac T. Oldham, age 38; Co. B, 24th Regt.
 J. S. Oldham, age 30; Co. B, 24th Regt.
 Albert D. Pratt, age 18; shoemaker.
 R. W. Peterson, age 19; Co. I, 1st Regt.
 John Perkins, 10th N. Y. Regt.
 Frank W. Paty, Co. F, 2d Art.
 William H. Pittie, age 41; 2d Heavy Art.; shoemaker.
 James H. Pratt, age 19; Co. D, 58th Regt.; shoemaker.
 Edward H. Paulding, age 18; Co. D, 58th Regt.; stonemason.
 Thomas Pugh, age 30; Co. A, 5th Cav.; mariner.
 Alonzo H. Perry, age 18; Co. H, 58th Regt.
 Edmund Read, age 24; Co. H, 58th Regt.; gunsmith.
 Charles Raymond, age 43; lieut.-col. 7th Regt.; undertaker.
 Edward L. Robbins, age 26; 2d lieut. 2d Heavy Art.; printer.
 Herbert Robbins, age 18; 3d R. I. Cav.
 Samuel B. Raymond, age 36; 3d R. I. Cav.; laborer.
 Charles B. Stoddard, age 21; 1st lieut., q.m. 41st Regt.; capt. 3d Cav. a.q.m.; student.
 James C. Standish, age 35; 2d Heavy Art.; blacksmith.
 John Sylvester, age 31; Co. I, 1st Cav.; laborer.
 Albert Simmons, age 22; 2d Heavy Art.; teamster.
 Augustus Sears, 7th Regt.; laborer.
 George A. Shaw, age 26; 8th Illinois.
 Winslow B. Sherman, age 44; 2d Heavy Art.; laborer.
 George A. Simmons, age 34; 2d Heavy Art.; teamster.
 Wallace Taylor, age 42; Co. B, 24th Regt.; mariner.
 John Taylor, age 34; Co. D, 58th Regt.; laborer.
 J. Allen Tillson, age 31; Co. H, 7th Regt.; laborer.
 Ansel H. Vaughn, age 30; 4th Cav.; manufacturer.
 Edward N. H. Vaughn, age 25; Co. K, 99th N. Y. Regt.
 Alexander J. Valler, age 25; Co. D, 30th Regt.; mariner.
 Taylor J. Valler, age 20; corp. Co. K, 17th Regt.
 David R. Valler, age 18; Co. I, 58th Regt.; operative.
 Erik Wolff, age 26; 2d lieut. 5th Cav.
 John B. Williams, age 26; 3d Bat.; mason.
 Benjamin Weston, age 22; Co. I, Col. Cav.
 Benjamin F. Whittemore, age 38; Co. E, 58th Regt.; machinist.
 William B. Whittemore, age 18; Co. E, 58th Regt.; laborer.

Of these, Temple H. Bartlett was wounded July 30, 1864, and James H. Pratt, Alonzo H. Perry, and John Taylor were wounded in the Wilderness. Further additions to the number of soldiers credited to Plymouth were made by six enlistments in the rebel States, under the direction of the commission appointed by the government, and by the following re-enlistments not included in any of the above lists:

William Duffy, 1st Cav.
 Nathaniel Carver, 58th Regt.
 Philander Freeman, regular army.
 Howard Morton, 1st lieut. Corps d'Afrique.
 Otis L. Battles, 3d R. I. Cav.
 Horatio Cameron, 1st Cav.
 Taylor J. Valler, 17th Regt.
 Alexander J. Valler, 30th Regt.

Besides the above roll of soldiers, the following Plymouth men entered the naval service and were credited to the quotas of the town:

Alexander B. Atwood, mate; age 33.
 Sherman Allen, master's mate; age 22.
 Edward Baker, master, act. lieut.; age 40.
 Winslow B. Barnes, mate; age 32.
 Francis Burgess, master; age 35.
 Charles H. Brown, master, act. lieut.; age 39.
 Cornelius Bartlett, ensign; age 32.
 John F. Churchill, ensign; age 23.
 William R. Cox, mate, ensign; age 23.
 Charles Campbell, mate; age 30.
 Francis B. Davis, ensign, act. master; age 30.
 Alvin Finney, master; age 29.
 George Finney, master; age 32.
 Elkanah C. Finney, mate.
 Robert Finney, mate; age 31.
 Augustus H. Fuller, mate, ensign; age 30.
 Ichabod C. Fuller, mate, ensign; age 25.
 Eliphilet Holbrook, mate, ensign; age 31.
 Charles H. Howland, mate; age 23.
 William H. Howland, mate; age 34.
 Lemuel Howland, Jr., mate; age 33.
 William H. Hoxie, mate; age 29.
 George H. Holmes, master; age 42.
 Nathaniel Goodwin, act. lieut.; age 52.
 Ezra S. Goodwin, master; age 28.
 Phineas Leach, master; age 56.
 Franklin S. Leach, mate; age 24.
 William W. Leonard, mate, ensign; age 23.
 Frank T. Morton, assist. pay.; age 23.
 John Morissey, ensign; age 24.
 Everett Manter, mate.
 Henry Rickard, mate.
 Thomas B. Sears, q.m.; age 29.
 Amasa C. Sears, q.m.; age 27.
 E. Stevens Turner, master, act. master in com.; age 29.
 Frank W. Turner, mate; age 24.
 Adoniram Whiting, mate; age 21.
 Benjamin Whitmore, master; age 38.
 Henry C. Whitmore, mate; age 26.
 John Whitmore, master; age 30.
 Victor A. Bartlett, sailmaker; age 21.
 Robert B. Churchill, 3d asst. eng.; age 23.
 William J. Dunham, 3d asst. eng.; age 34.
 Merritt Shaw, 3d asst. eng.; age 18.

Seamen.

William Archer, age 21.
 Edward A. Austin, age 31.
 Albert Ashport, age 35.
 Richard Atwell, age 24.
 Bache Melix, age 22.
 Patrick Murphy, age 22.
 Owen McGann, age 23.
 William H. Maxey.
 Temple H. Bartlett, age 28.
 Henry H. Burns.
 William Brown, age 44.
 Hiram F. Bartlett, age 21.
 Jesse T. Bassett, age 24.
 Caleb Bryant, age 27.
 John B. Chandler, age 24.
 James Cook, age 21.
 Solomon S. Churchill, age 21.
 Charles W. Chickering, age 21.
 Ephraim Douglass, age 36.
 B. F. Dunham, age 23.
 Robert Dunham.
 Atwood R. Drew, age 24.
 John Fisher, age 43.
 James L. Field, age 26.
 Henry C. Gage.
 Arthur M. Grant.
 James Gray, age 22.
 James Halpen, age 24.
 Charles H. Hollis, age 19.
 Thaxter Hopkins.
 Edward Howland, age 29.
 Ed. W. Hathaway, age 22.

After the last call for three hundred thousand, issued Dec. 19, 1864, was satisfied a surplus of twenty-two men stood to the credit of Plymouth, and this surplus before the end of the war was increased to twenty-eight. The following roll of those who died in the service will complete the record of the soldiers in the war:

John K. Alexander was born in Plymouth, March 2, 1837. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, as a private, was promoted corporal Feb. 17, 1863, and killed at the battle of Spottsylvania Court-House, May 12, 1864. Unmarried.

William T. Atwood was born in Plymouth, Oct. 3, 1841. He enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Sept. 23, 1861, and died of fever at Newberne, N. C., July 20, 1862. Unmarried.

Joseph W. B. Burgess was born in Plymouth, Sept. 8, 1838. He enlisted in Company H, 8th N. H. Regt., Aug. 13, 1864, and died of fever at Mount Pleasant Hospital, in Washington, Dec. 9, 1864. Unmarried.

Thomas B. Burt was born in Plymouth in January, 1839. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., March 6, 1862, and died of fever at Harewood Hospital, in Washington, Oct. 31, 1862. Unmarried.

William Brown was born a slave in Maryland in 1818, and enlisted in the navy in 1862. He died at sea, on board the U. S. "Constellation," Dec. 24, 1864. Married, leaving wife and four children.

Victor A. Bartlett was born in Plymouth, Aug. 29, 1841, and entered the navy as sailmaker early in the war. Sept. 8, 1863, with fourteen officers and ninety-six men of the U. S. steamer

"Housatonic," he was captured in a night attack on Fort Sumter, and died at Salisbury, N. C., March 25, 1864. Unmarried.

Nathaniel Burgess was born in Plymouth, Jan. 25, 1835. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, re-enlisted at the end of three years' service, was promoted first lieutenant for bravery in the field July 1, 1864, and died of wounds received March 25, 1865, at the battle of Fort Steadman. Unmarried.

Lawrence R. Blake was born in Duxbury, May 6, 1839. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, and was killed at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862. Unmarried.

Edward D. Brailey was born in Plymouth, in 1831. He enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Oct. 19, 1861, and was killed on picket at Newberne, N. C., April 27, 1862. Married, leaving a wife.

George W. Burgess was born in Plymouth, Oct. 16, 1841. He enlisted in Co. G, 18th Regt., in August, 1861, was transferred to U. S. Artillery, and died in hospital at Falmouth, March 8, 1863. Unmarried.

George W. Barnes was born in Plymouth, Sept. 19, 1832. He entered the 4th Regt. as a quartermaster-sergeant for three months' service; re-enlisted as the same in the 32d Regt., and died at Harrison's Landing, Aug. 3, 1862. Unmarried.

James A. Bowen, probably born in Duxbury, enlisted in Co. D, 38th Regt., and died June 7, 1864. Unmarried.

Jedediah Bumpus was drafted July 24, 1863; attached to Co. C, 9th Regt., and was killed in the Wilderness, June 30, 1864. Married, leaving a wife.

Joseph W. Collingwood was born in Nantucket, Jan. 5, 1822. His parents removed to Plymouth, where he became a trader. He recruited Co. H, 18th Regt., and was commissioned captain, Aug. 20, 1861. He was wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862, and died December 24th. Married, leaving a wife and five children.

John B. Collingwood was born in Nantucket, Dec. 30, 1825. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, was commissioned first lieutenant May 6th; appointed adjutant, July 16, 1861, of Massachusetts Battalion, and Jan. 22, 1862, adjutant of 29th Regt. He died in St. John's Hospital, Cincinnati, Aug. 21, 1863. Married, leaving wife and three children.

Thomas Collingwood was born in Plymouth, Nov. 10, 1831. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861; was taken prisoner at Savage Station, June 29, 1862; was exchanged August 10th; promoted corporal Feb. 17, 1863; and died at Camp Banks, Ky., Aug. 31, 1863. Married, leaving a wife and three children.

John Carline was born in Ireland, June 20, 1821. He enlisted in Co. B, 23d Regt., Sept. 23, 1861, and died at Roanoke Island, Oct. 14, 1864. Married, leaving a wife and two children.

Joseph L. Churchill was born in Plymouth, June 12, 1842. He enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Sept. 23, 1861, and was killed at the battle of Newberne, March 14, 1862. Unmarried.

Isaac Dickerman was born in Plymouth in 1833. He enlisted in Co. K, Bartlett's brigade, or what was afterwards the 99th New York Regt., and died at Chesapeake Hospital, near Fortress Monroe, Nov. 12, 1863. He left a wife and children.

Benjamin F. Durgin was born in Saratoga, N. Y., June 28, 1836. He enlisted in Co. D, 38th Regt., Aug. 4, 1862; was promoted corporal in December, 1862, and died in Convalescent Hospital, Baton Rouge, La., Aug. 8, 1863, of chronic diarrhoea. He left a wife and one child.

Robert Dunham, seaman in the navy, and died at some place unknown.

Seth W. Eddy was born in Plymouth, Aug. 5, 1837. He enlisted in Co. H, 58th Regt., March 11, 1864, and mustered as corporal, and died at Readville, Aug. 13, 1864, of chronic diarrhoea. He left a wife and one child.

William Edes was born in East Needham in 1828. He enlisted in Co. F, 11th Regt., in 1861; was made corporal; was captured, and died in Andersonville Prison, Aug. 30, 1864.

Theodore S. Fuller was born in Plymouth, Dec. 23, 1838. He enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Sept. 23, 1861, and was captured Oct. 10, 1863, near Newberne, and is supposed to have died in a rebel prison. Unmarried.

Melvin C. Faught was born in Calais, Me., in 1836. He enlisted in Co. A, 32d Regt., in December, 1862, and died at Windmill Point Hospital, Virginia, Feb. 5, 1863. He left a wife and two children.

Lemuel B. Faunes, Jr., was born in Plymouth, Sept. 22, 1834. He enlisted in Co. G, 38th Regt., Aug. 13, 1862, and died April 23, 1863, at Goldsboro', N. C., of internal rupture. Unmarried.

Edward E. Green was born in Plymouth, Nov. 19, 1837. He enlisted in Co. E, 38th Regt., Aug. 9, 1862, and died at Baton Rouge, July 11, 1863, of chronic dysentery. He left a wife.

Frederick Holmes was born in Plymouth, April 9, 1835. He first enlisted in Co. B, 3d Regt., for three months, found a substitute in Boston, and returned home, and left Plymouth again to join the company, April 30, 1861. He enlisted again in Co. D, 38th Regt., Aug. 6, 1862, and was mustered as first sergeant. He was promoted sergeant-major Nov. 1, 1862, second lieutenant Dec. 4, 1862; was wounded at Bisland, and killed June 14, 1863, in action at Port Hudson, before he was mustered as second lieutenant. He left a wife and children.

P. Marion Holmes, on the soldiers' monument as a Plymouth man. He was commissioned first lieutenant in 36th Regt. May 23, 1863, and was killed at Campbell's Station, Tenn., Nov. 16, 1863.

Thomas W. Hayden was born in Quincy, July 7, 1832. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Mass. Regt., May 6, 1861, was made corporal Feb. 18, 1862, and died at Crab Orchard, Sept. 4, 1863, leaving a wife.

Orin D. Holmes was born in Plymouth in 1843. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, was promoted sergeant Feb. 1, 1864, re-enlisted, and was killed at the battle of Fort Steadman, near Petersburg, March 25, 1864. Unmarried.

Edwin F. Hall was born in Weymouth, March 9, 1848. He enlisted in Co. D, 58th Regt., Feb. 27, 1864, and was killed at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864. Unmarried.

George M. Heath was born in Plymouth, March 24, 1835. He enlisted in December, 1861, in Co. E, 32d Regt., and was a corporal. He died at Harrison's Landing, July 30, 1862.

Justus W. Harlow was born in Kingston, Jan. 30, 1839. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., March 6, 1862, and died at Camp Hamilton, near Fortress Monroe, Sept. 16, 1862, leaving a wife.

William N. Hathaway was born in Plymouth, Nov. 17, 1840. He enlisted in Co. G, 38th Regt., Aug. 12, 1862, as corporal, and died Feb. 23, 1863, at Convalescent Camp, near Washington. Unmarried.

Thomas Haley was born in Plymouth, June 10, 1830. He enlisted in Co. H, 18th Regt., Aug. 5, 1861, was discharged at Hall's Hill, near Washington, Feb. 24, 1862, enlisted in Co. G, 38th Regt., Aug. 14, 1862, and died at St. James' Hospital, Louisiana, April 5, 1863, of phthisis, leaving a wife and children.

Horace A. Jenks was born in Springfield, April 30, 1833. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, as sergeant, was made first sergeant Oct. 31, 1862, second lieutenant June 18, 1863, and died at Mill Dale Hospital, Mississippi, July 24, 1863. He was color-sergeant in all the seven days' battles except Charles City Cross-Roads and Malvern Hill. He left a wife and child.

Josiah Leach, seaman in the navy, and died at some place unknown.

Thomas A. Mayo was born in Plymouth, Aug. 19, 1821. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, was made second lieutenant May 6, 1861, and was killed at the battle of Gaines' Mills, June 27, 1862. He left a wife and four children.

John D. Manter, a Plymouth man, but not one of the Plymouth soldiers. He enlisted in Co. B, 3d Regt., and died at Newberne, Feb. 6, 1863.

Charles E. Merriam was born in New Hampshire in 1844. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, and died at Harper's Ferry, Nov. 12, 1862. He had been previously wounded at Malvern Hill. Unmarried.

Lemuel B. Morton was born in Plymouth, May 2, 1834. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, and was killed in action at Spottsylvania Court-House, May 12, 1864. He was promoted corporal Feb. 18, 1862. He left a wife and child.

Gideon E. Morton was born in Plymouth, July 5, 1840. He enlisted in Co. F, 7th Regt., at the beginning of the war, and died at Fredericksburg, May 3, 1863. Unmarried.

Isaac T. Oldham was born in Plymouth in 1823, enlisted in Co. B, 24th Regt., and died at Newberne in 1863, leaving a wife and children.

Isaac H. Perkins was born in Plymouth, Dec. 15, 1836. He enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Sept. 23, 1861, re-enlisted at the expiration of his term of service, was wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864, and died of his wounds at Campbell Hospital, Washington, June 26, 1864. Unmarried.

George F. Peckham was born in Walpole, March 29, 1826. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., March 1, 1862, was made corporal Feb. 17, 1863, and died at Knoxville, Nov. 1, 1863. He left a wife and three children.

William Perry was born in Carver, Nov. 3, 1843. He enlisted in Co. G, 38th Regt., Aug. 14, 1862, and died at New Orleans, June 5, 1863. Unmarried.

Thomas Pugh was born in Baltimore in 1833 (probably a slave). He followed the sea, and enlisted in the 5th Cavalry, Dec. 22, 1863, and died after the expiration of his term of service, Nov. 18, 1865, at sea, while the regiment was on its way home from Texas, leaving a wife and four children.

Lewis Payzant was a recruit obtained in Boston, and no circumstances of his life or death are known. He left a wife and children.

Harvey A. Raymond was born in Plymouth, March 31, 1835. He left Plymouth, April 30, 1861, to join Co. B of the 3d (three months') Regt., at Fortress Monroe. He afterwards enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Aug. 2, 1862, and was killed at the battle of Whitehall, in North Carolina, Dec. 16, 1862. He left a wife.

Henry H. Robbins was born in Plymouth, Dec. 8, 1840. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861. He died of smallpox at the Kalorama Hospital, Washington, Dec. 4, 1863. Unmarried.

Albert R. Robbins was born in Plymouth, Sept. 9, 1841. He enlisted May 6, 1861, in Co. E, 29th Regt., and died in Plymouth, during a furlough, of smallpox, March 5, 1864. Unmarried.

Edward Stephens was born in Plymouth, April 22, 1821. On the 28th of September, 1861, he enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt. He died at Newberne, Jan. 19, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Whitehall, on the 16th of the previous month, leaving a wife and children.

Thomas S. Saunders was born in Plymouth, Aug. 27, 1834. He enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., but was afterwards transferred to Co. K of the same regiment. He died at Roanoke Island, March 11, 1862. Unmarried.

William H. Shaw was born in New Bedford, in December, 1830. He enlisted in Co. E, 32d Regt., in December, 1861, and

re-enlisted at the end of his term of service. He died in Plymouth, while at home on furlough, Aug. 6, 1865, of chronic diarrhoea, leaving five children and no wife.

Edward Smith was born in Halifax in 1835. He first enlisted for three months in Co. B, leaving Plymouth April 17, 1861, and again enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt., Sept. 23, 1861. He was captured, with John Taylor and Hiram J. Lannan, of the same company, at the time Edward D. Brailey was killed. Was afterwards exchanged, and died at Annapolis in May, 1862. He was unmarried.

John Sylvester was born in Plymouth, Aug. 30, 1831. He enlisted in the 1st Cavalry, was taken prisoner, and died at Andersonville, Dec. 16, 1864, leaving a wife and children. His grave at Andersonville is No. 12,053.

Otis Sears was born in Plymouth, Dec. 7, 1839. He enlisted in Co. G, 38th Regt., Aug. 12, 1861. He was slightly wounded at the battle of Bisland, in Louisiana, and died of chronic diarrhoea in Plymouth, while on a furlough, Jan. 5, 1864, leaving a wife and children.

E. Stevens Turner was born in Plymouth, Feb. 21, 1805, and was a successful ship-master until the war broke out, when, in 1861, he received a commission as acting master in the navy. He died at Rio Janeiro, Aug. 5, 1864, at the age of fifty-nine, while in command of store-ship "Relief," bound to East Indies. He left a wife and two children.

Frank A. Thomas was born in Plymouth in 1832. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, and died at Camp Hamilton, Sept. 14, 1862. His body was buried in Plymouth. He was unmarried.

David A. Taylor was born in Wareham, June 19, 1845. He enlisted in Co. E, 32d Regt., in December, 1861, and re-enlisted at the expiration of his term of service. He was never off duty on account of sickness, had no furlough except his re-enlistment thirty days' furlough, and was killed near Petersburg, June 22, 1864, at the age of nineteen, after four years' service. Unmarried.

Wallace Taylor, father of the above, was born at East River, St. Mary's, Sidney Co., N. S., April 13, 1809. He enlisted in Co. B, 24th Regt., in July, 1861, and died at Newberne, Nov. 23, 1862. He was a mariner, and left a wife and three children.

Charles E. Tillson was born in Plymouth, Sept. 12, 1830. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., Feb. 27, 1862; re-enlisted Jan. 1, 1864; was captured at Strawberry Plains, East Tenn., Jan. 23, before he was mustered as a re-enlisted man, and died at Andersonville, July 14, 1864, leaving a wife and children. His grave at Andersonville is No. 3828.

Israel H. Thrasher was born in Plymouth, Nov. 23, 1827. He enlisted in Co. D, 38th Regt., Aug. 4, 1861, and died June 29, 1863, at New Orleans, of wounds received at Port Hudson, June 14th, leaving a wife and children.

David R. Valler was born in Plymouth in 1846. He enlisted in Co. I, 58th Regt., Feb. 25, 1864, and went into camp at Readville. He there became sick with smallpox, and returned to Plymouth, his regiment leaving camp and going to the front before his recovery. He was afterwards sent on to join his company, but died at Alexandria, Oct. 6, 1864, before he was mustered. He was unmarried.

George E. Wadsworth was born in Plymouth, Jan. 3, 1828. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861, and was promoted corporal June 15, 1862, sergeant Sept. 1, 1862, 1st sergeant July 1, 1863, and died Aug. 31, 1863, of fever, at Camp Parks, in Kentucky. He was unmarried.

Charles Wadsworth, brother of George, was born in Plymouth, July 11, 1832. He was drafted July 24, 1863, and after some months' service at Galloupe's Island, in Boston harbor, was

attached to the 12th Regt. early in 1864, and was captured in one of Grant's battles on the Peninsula, and died at Salisbury, N. C., Nov. 29, 1864. He was unmarried.

David Williams was born in Richmond, Va., March 18, 1841. He enlisted in Co. E, 29th Regt., May 6, 1861. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Savage Station, June 29, 1862, exchanged May 10th of the same year, and died at Camp Dennison, Ky., Sept. 14, 1863. He was unmarried.

Benjamin Westgate was born in Plymouth in 1843, and at the age of eighteen enlisted in Co. E, 23d Regt. He was killed at the battle of Whitehall, N. C., Dec. 16, 1862. Unmarried.

John M. Whiting was not a native of Plymouth. He enlisted in Co. G, 38th Regt., at Plymouth, Aug. 12, 1862, at the age of twenty-one. He was killed in the Shenandoah Valley, at the battle of Opequan Creek, Sept. 19, 1864. Unmarried.

John Whitmore was born in Plymouth, and was master of a vessel at the time he received a commission as acting master in the navy, in April, 1862, and died of yellow fever at sea in August, 1863. He left a wife and children.

The war record of Plymouth would be far from complete without a statement of its expenditure of money in performing its share of the work of suppressing the Rebellion. The expenditure covers the several items of equipment, bounties, recruiting expenses, and aid to families of volunteers:

Equipment of Co. E, 29th Regt.....	\$1,025.49
Bounties.....	39,118.68
Recruiting expenses.....	1,492.81
State aid to families to Feb. 1, 1866.....	50,543.90
	<hr/>
	\$92,180.88

From this amount the following disbursements are to be deducted:

Received from Kingston for bounties.....	\$2,300.00
" Hingham" " ".....	1,350.00
" State" " ".....	482.15
" Duxbury, recruiting expenses...	48.80
" Plympton, " ".....	4.65
" State, State aid.....	41,237.25
	<hr/>
	\$45,422.85

Of this sum, \$8000 or thereabouts was reimbursed by the State in 1866 for State aid payments in 1865, leaving \$37,422.85 as the approximate estimate of the war expenditures of the town, including \$8787.25, the sum raised by subscription for the payment of bounties. The whole number of enlistments was, of soldiers, 658, and officers and seamen in the navy, 109.

The end of the war closes this narrative, so far as the general history of Plymouth is concerned. Since that time little has occurred which it is necessary to record to make the narrative complete. The business of the town is prosperous. Its population in 1880 of 7093 had increased about twelve per cent. on that of 6370 in 1875, and a valuation in 1860 of \$3,100,000 had increased to \$5,500,000 in 1883. There is no reason to doubt, with its railroad facilities, its harbor improving year by year under the eye of a paternal government, its manufacturing interests well estab-

lished and growing, its good hotel accommodations, its water, its sewage, its gas, its healthfulness, its increasing wealth, and its interesting antiquarian associations, that its foundations are substantially laid, and its prosperity is assured. The remaining chapter will be devoted to the churches, the schools, manufacturing establishments, and institutions of the town, all of which have a history of their own, and cannot be mingled with a general history without disturbing and obstructing its current.

CHAPTER VIII.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH—SCHOOLS—MANUFACTURES— INSTITUTIONS.

THE birth of the Plymouth Church at Scrooby and its infancy in Holland were sufficiently described in the opening chapter of this narrative. The rules of this church as to ecclesiastical government have been described as comprising the following points: "First, that every church of Christ should consist only of those who believe in and obey Him, and that no church should consist of more members than can conveniently meet for discipline and worship; second, that any suitable number have a right to form themselves into a distinct church and to choose their own officers; third, that these officers are pastors or teaching elders, ruling elders, and deacons; fourth, that baptism is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children, and that the Lord's Supper is to be received sitting at the table; fifth, that, besides the Sabbath and days of thanksgiving and fasting, no holidays should be recognized, and that no human invention should be permitted in religious affairs." The Pilgrim Church believed that "every Christian congregation ought to be governed by its own laws, irrespective of any bishops, synods, presbyteries, or any ecclesiastical assembly composed of deputies from different churches." It maintained that the inspired Scriptures alone contain the true religion, that every man has a right of judging for himself, of testing doctrines by the Scriptures, and worshiping according to his construction of them. Its pastors or teaching elders had the power of overseeing, teaching, and administering the sacraments. Its ruling elders were required to aid the pastor in overseeing and ruling, and its deacons had charge of the property of the church, paid the pastor, supplied the poor, and ministered at the Lord's table.

It will be remembered that when the Pilgrims left

Holland the majority remained in Leyden with their pastor, John Robinson, and the minority went with their ruling elder, William Brewster. It has so often been stated by historians that the Pilgrim adventurers and the church remaining at Leyden continued to be one church under Robinson, that some confusing claims have been made by the First Church in Salem of precedence in the line of Congregational Churches in America. But the Pilgrims and the Leyden Church did not continue one church. The Plymouth Church was an absolute church by itself. Bradford says in his history, "The greater number being to stay, require their pastor to tarry with them, their elder, Mr. Brewster, to go with the other; those who go first to be an *absolute* church of themselves, as well as those that stay, with this proviso, that as any go over or return they shall be reputed as members without further dismission or testimonial, and those who tarry to follow the rest as soon as they can." This statement of Bradford is further important as tending to establish the precise position held by Brewster in the church. Mr. Bancroft calls him teaching elder, and is criticised by Dr. Young for what he claims to be an inaccuracy. Dr. Young seems to have overlooked the anomalous condition and relation of the two churches. Although Brewster was chosen ruling elder in Holland, the entire independence of the Plymouth Church, which acknowledged him as its only head, while it could not, perhaps, elevate him to the pastorate without formal ordination, was undoubtedly sufficient to install him in the office of teaching elder, an office without which, in the absence of a pastor, the church would have been without an efficient administrator of its spiritual affairs.

That the church at Plymouth was not considered a mere branch of the Leyden Church is established by another circumstance. Robinson did not die until March 1, 1625, and yet, in 1624, John Lyford was sent over in the "Charity," with Edward Winslow, to be the pastor of the church, and, as appears from the records, nothing but a want of confidence in the man prevented his acceptance. It cannot certainly be claimed that, under any circumstances, one church would have had two pastors. Mr. Lyford was sent by a portion of the merchant adventurers, under whose auspices the Pilgrims had undertaken their enterprise, at a time when divisions and dissensions marked their counsels, who hoped, doubtless, to throw obstacles in the way of Robinson, whose migration they were anxious to prevent. This portion apparently used every effort to prevent the permanent establishment, on this side of the ocean, of a church in-

dependent of the mother establishment. Fortunately, the selection of Mr. Lyford was a bad one. He was a man of loose morals, insincere, hypocritical, and, having a hostile object in view, sought to keep it back until he had ingratiated himself in the affections of the colony. But he overacted his part, and through the mask of his humility and subserviency and piety the Pilgrims were shrewd enough to see the face of an enemy. After his rejection he soon began to cause trouble in the colony by exciting jealousies among its members, writing letters to England full of calumnies of its leaders, and assuming authority by virtue of his ministerial calling, which he did not rightfully possess. He was finally charged with his offenses, and though at first denying them, at length confessed with tears "that he feared he was a reprobate, and that his sins were so great that God would not pardon them; that he was unsavory salt, and that he had so wronged them that he could never make them amends." He soon after left Plymouth and accepted an invitation to be the minister of Cape Ann.

In 1628 a Mr. Rogers was sent over from England with Mr. Allerton, who had gone over on business of the colony, and it is probable that the same motives inspired his errand which had caused the mission of Lyford. Bradford says, "This year Mr. Allerton brought over a young man for a minister to the people here, whether upon his own head or at the motion of some friends there I well know not, but it was without the church's sending; for they had been so bitten by Mr. Lyford as they desired to know the person well whom they should invite amongst them. His name was Mr. Rogers; but they perceived upon some trial that he was crazed in his brain; so they were fain to be at further charge to send him back again the next year, and lose all the charge that was expended in his hither bringing, which was not small by Mr. Allerton's account, in provisions, apparel, bedding, &c. After his return he grew quite distracted, and Mr. Allerton was much blamed that he would bring such a man over, they having charge enough otherwise." It is indeed strange that such men as Winslow and Allerton should have been so far deceived by the appearance of Lyford and Rogers as to give their approval to their coming. The issue in both cases clearly proved that the unfitness of the candidates, and not any ill-founded fastidiousness on the part of the Pilgrims, caused their rejection.

In 1629, Ralph Smith, who had come over with Higginson in the "Talbot" in that year, became the first settled minister. Bradford says, "There was one Mr. Ralfe Smith, and his wife and family, that

came over into the Bay of Massachusetts, and sojourned at present with some stragling people that lived at Nantasket; there being a boat of this place putting in there on some occasion, he earnestly desired that they would give him and his passage from Plymouth, and some such things as they could well carry; having before heard that there was likelihood he might procure house room for some time, till he should resolve to settle there, if he might, or elsewhere, as God should dispose; for he was weary of being in that uncouth place, and in a poor house that would neither keep him nor his goods dry. So seeing him to be a grave man, and understood he had been a minister, though they had no order for any such thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained and housed, and had the rest of his goods and servants sent for, and exercised his gifts amongst them, and afterwards was chosen into the ministry, and so remained for sundry years." Mr. Smith was a graduate of the University of Cambridge in 1613, and proved himself a man of learning. The anomaly of finding such a man at a small fishing station, either a spiritual exile or an emigrant inspired by the spirit of adventure which marked the time, might be paralleled in our own day by the discovery in Australia and California, in South America and on our Western prairies, of men representing all stations in English life, seeking new and broader fields of enterprise.

Mr. Smith remained in the ministry at Plymouth until 1636, and, after a further short residence in the town, removed to Rhode Island, and finally to Boston, where he died March 11, 1662. From some time in the summer of 1631 to the summer of 1633, Roger Williams was an assistant of Mr. Smith in his ministry. Of the deportment of Mr. Williams during his short residence in Plymouth, and of the causes of his removal, sufficient has already been said. He was probably a native of Wales, and born between 1599 and 1603, and under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke was elected a scholar of Sutton's Hospital (now the Charter House) in 1621, was matriculated a pensioner of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in July, 1625, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1626-27. His passage from the national church to independentism was attended by sorrows and struggles. In a letter to Mrs. Sadleir, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, he said, "Truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church and ceremonies and bishops, beyond the conscience of your dear father. I say it was as bitter as death to me when I rode Windsor way to take ship at Bristol,

and saw Stoke House, where the blessed man was; and I durst not acquaint him with my conscience and flight." He left Bristol in the ship "Lyon" in 1630, and arrived in Boston in February, 1630/1. His career after leaving Plymouth, including his return to Salem and his retirement to Rhode Island, is well known, and does not concern this narrative.

Mr. Smith, while living in Plymouth, occupied a house on the south side of the present Unitarian meeting-house and improved lands in Newfields, granted to him as appurtenant to his homestead. When he removed from Plymouth he conveyed the house to John Doane, agent of the church, and Mr. Doane conveyed it to Mr. Smith's successor, John Rayner. During the pastorate of Mr. Smith the building on Burial Hill, erected in 1622, serving the double purpose of a church and a fort, was used as a place of worship. Prior to 1622, as has already been stated, it is probable that the common house was used. As Bradford says, "Mr. Smith laid down his pastorate partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others, and the church sought out for some other, having often been disappointed in their hopes and desires heretofore. And it pleased the Lord to send them an able and godly man and of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth and every way unrepentable in his life and conversation, whom, after some time of trial, they chose for their teacher, the fruits of whose labors they enjoyed many years with much comfort in peace and good agreement." This was John Rayner, who became pastor of the church in 1636. Before that time, however, in 1635, Edward Winslow went to England, and Bradford says that "amongst other business that he had to do in England he had," in anticipation of Mr. Smith's separation from the church, "an order to provide and bring over some able and fit man to be their minister. And, accordingly, he had procured a godly and a worthy man, one Mr. Glover; but it pleased God, when he was prepared for the voyage, he fell sick of a fever and died. Afterwards, when he was ready to come away, he became acquainted with Rev. John Norton, who was willing to come over, but would not engage himself to this place otherwise than he should see occasion when he came here; and if he liked better elsewhere, to repay the charge laid out for him (which came to about seventy pounds) and to be at his liberty. He stayed about a year with them after he came over, and was well liked of them and much desired by them; but he was invited to Ipswich, where were many rich and able men and sundry of his acquaintances, so he went to them and is their

minister. About half of the charge was repaid, the rest he had for the pains he took amongst them." It appears from this statement that during the last year of Mr. Smith's service Mr. Norton must have been acting as an assistant, as the previous extract from Bradford shows that Mr. Smith gave up his pastorate in 1636, and was succeeded in the same year by Mr. Rayner. Mr. Norton came over in the ship "Hope-well," probably with Mr. Winslow. He was born in Starford, and educated at Peter House, in the University of Cambridge, where he received his degree in 1624. After the death of John Cotton he was called to Boston as his successor in the First Church, and died in 1663.

The pastorate of Mr. Rayner extended from 1636 to 1654. He was a graduate of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and reckoned an eminent divine. His pastorate covered the trying period when a removal to Eastham was contemplated, and his patience, forbearance, and untiring spirit did much towards raising the church from the depressed condition into which it had fallen. During the second year of his pastorate, in 1637, the first meeting-house proper devoted exclusively to religious worship was built. Its site and the evidence pointing it out have already in another chapter been indicated. Nothing is known of its dimensions or appearance except that it had a bell. Its location on the north side of Town Square, opposite to Market Street, is as completely demonstrated as anything in history can be which has indisputable testimony to sustain it. From 1638 to 1641, Charles Chauncey was associated with Mr. Rayner, having arrived at Plymouth from England in December, 1637. Mr. Chauncey was born in Yardly, about thirty miles from London, and baptized in 1592. He was educated at Westminster school, and took his degree at Cambridge in 1613. After three years' service Mr. Chauncey removed to Scituate, from which place, in 1654, he went to Cambridge and became president of Harvard College. He died in Cambridge in 1672, at the age of seventy-nine. His career in Plymouth was cut off by a difference in opinion between him and Mr. Rayner on the subject of baptism. He held that sprinkling was unlawful, and that the immersion of the whole body was essential. The church agreed that immersion was lawful, but "in this cold country not so convenient." They would not agree, however, that sprinkling was unlawful, and expressed themselves content with the adoption by himself and Mr. Rayner of such method of baptism as each might prefer. On his refusal of this proposition the matter was referred to Rev. Ralph Partridge, of Duxbury, to the

church at Boston, and to the churches of Connecticut and New Haven. Still refusing to be satisfied, his separation from the church became essential to its peace. While in Plymouth Mr. Rayner occupied the house conveyed to him by John Doane, the agent of the church, and which had been previously occupied by Mr. Smith.

At the time of the departure of Mr. Rayner there were three children of the mother-church at Plymouth, those in Duxbury and Marshfield having had their birth in 1632, and that in Eastham dating from 1644. Before the formation of these churches settlements had begun to be made in these places, and the number of settlers and their distance from Plymouth soon made the establishment of the churches a necessity. Those who found early settlements in Duxbury continued for a time their connection with the chief seat of the colony and made it their place of winter residence. In the Old Colony Records may be found the following entry:

"Anno 1632, April 2. The names of those which promise to remove their families to live in the towne in the winter time, that they may the better repair to the worship of God.

John Alden,
Capt. Standish,
Jonathan Brewster,
Thomas Frence."

This entry is significant, as at least a partial contradiction of the statement, made without any apparent foundation, that Miles Standish was a Roman Catholic. It certainly does not seem probable, if such were the case, that he would have made any such promise. It is probable that the statement had its origin in the fact that the Standish family now occupying Duxbury Hall, of which the late Sir Francis Standish was a representative, adhere to the Catholic faith. Sir Francis spent many years in Spain, and, whether or not to that circumstance his religion may have been due, he preferred the Catholic government of France to his own as the beneficiary of a gift of Spanish pictures, known as the Standish gallery, and forming part of the collection in the Louvre, in Paris.

In 1654 the ministry of Mr. Rayner closed, and shortly after he was settled in Dover, N. H., where he died in 1669. The church records say that "he was richly accomplished, with such gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place and calling, being wise, faithful, grave, sober, and a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world." During his pastorate Elder Brewster died, in 1644, and in 1649 Thomas Cushman was chosen his successor. Mr. Cushman was the son of Robert Cushman, and at the age of fourteen years was brought over by his father

in the "Fortune," in 1621, and left in the care of Governor Bradford. In 1625, Mr. Cushman, the father, who had been disappointed in his hope of joining his fortunes permanently with those of the colony, wrote to the Governor, "I must entreat you to have a care of my son as your own, and I shall rest bound unto you." The character of the son in after-life attests the faithful manner in which the Governor performed his trust. Elder Cushman married Mary, daughter of Isaac Allerton, and died in 1691, at the age of eighty-four. His gravestone on Burial Hill bears the following inscription:

"Here lyeth buried ye body of that precious servant of God, Mr. Thomas Cushman, who after he had served his generation according to the will of God, and particularly ye church of Plymouth, for many years in the office of ruling elder, fell asleep in Jesus, Dec. ye 10th, 1691, in ye 84th year of his age."

Mr. Cushman was succeeded in the office of elder by Thomas Faunce, who was the last elder of the church. He was the son of John Faunce, who came in the "Ann," in 1623, and was born in 1647. He married, in 1672, Jean, daughter of William Nelson, and died in February, 1745/6, at the age of ninety-nine, up to which time he held his office in the church. After the departure of Mr. Rayner, Plymouth had no settled minister until 1667, when John Cotton was settled. During the interval the pulpit was supplied by James Williams and William Brimmead. The latter, a native of Dorchester, and a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1654, preached in Plymouth five years, from 1660 to 1665, and removed to Marlboro', where he was ordained in 1666, and died in 1701.

Mr. Cotton was ordained in 1669, having supplied the pulpit eighteen months previous to that time. He was the son of John Cotton, who was the pastor of the First Church in Boston, and graduated at Harvard in the class of 1657. Before coming to Plymouth he had been settled in Weathersfield, where he married (1660) Joanna, daughter of Brian Rossiter. His pastorate continued until 1697, when he went to Charleston, S. C., where he gathered a church, and died in 1699, at the age of sixty-six. In 1668 it was voted in town-meeting to allow him eighty pounds a year, one-third part in wheat or butter, one-third part in rye, barley, or peas, and one-third in Indian corn. In 1677 the same sum was allowed him, "and to continue till God in his providence shall so impoverish the town that they shall be necessitated to abridge that sum." He lived while in Plymouth in the parsonage house, which stood on the spot of ground on the north side of Leyden Street, now oo-

cupied by Le Baron's Alley and the house of Isaac Brewster. In 1673 the town granted this estate to Mr. Cotton conditionally, and in 1680 voted to convey it to him and his heirs forever. This lot of land was part of the estate occupied by Samuel Fuller, who came in the "Mayflower," and died in 1633. In 1664, Bridget Fuller, the widow of Samuel, and her son, Samuel, joined in conveying the estate as a gift to the church of Plymouth for the use of a minister. The whole estate was bounded south by Leyden Street, east by a line drawn through the middle of what is now the alley, north by what is now Middle Street, and west by the estate now owned by William R. Drew. That part of the estate conveyed to Mr. Cotton was a strip on the easterly side, below the homestead of Harvey W. Weston. The remainder was held by the church, apparently unimproved, until 1760, when a parsonage house was built for Rev. Chandler Robbins, which was for several years occupied by him. It was again used as a parsonage by Dr. James Kendall during the whole of his pastorate, and finally sold to Mr. Weston, in 1860.

During the pastorate of Mr. Cotton the meeting-house on the north side of Town Square was taken down and a new one built, substantially on the site of the present Unitarian Church. It is believed to have stood with its front about twenty feet farther down the square than that of the present church. It measured forty-five feet by forty, and in its walls sixteen feet, was unceiled, had a Gothic roof, diamond glass windows, and a small cupola with a bell. The records indicate that it was built without pews, and that these conveniences were constructed by individuals by the consent of the town. In 1744 another church was built on the same site, which was taken down in 1831, when the present church occupied by the Unitarian society was erected. By an agreement between the society and the town, the present church was situated about twenty feet farther west than the old one, and the same amount of land in front was thrown out into the square. In 1696, during the last year of Mr. Cotton's ministry, a church was organized in that part of Plymouth which, in 1707, was incorporated as the town of Plympton. Isaac Cushman, son of Elder Thomas Cushman, became the pastor of this church, which was the fourth child of the present Plymouth Church.

In 1699, Ephraim Little, after two years' probation, was ordained, and continued his ministry until his death, on the 23d of November, 1723. Mr. Little was the son of Ephraim Little, of Marshfield, and married, in 1698, Sarah, daughter of William Clark. He was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1695,

and, according to the record, "was a gentleman more inclined to the active than the studious life; but should be remembered for his useful services as a minister and for his exemplary life and conversation, being one of good memory, a quick invention, having an excellent gift in prayer, and in occasional performances also excelling. But what can never be sufficiently commended was the generosity of his spirit and his readiness to help all that were in distress." The author appreciates the truth of a portion of this description of the character of Mr. Little, having found in his investigation that he was largely engaged in the purchase and sale of real estate somewhat speculative in its character. He occupied several houses during his residence in Plymouth, one of which stood on the site of the Burgess house, at the corner of North Green Street, and another on what is now the garden of Albert C. Chandler, on Court Street. He was buried on Burial Hill, where his gravestone may now be seen. During his pastorate the Jones River parish was set off, in 1717, in that part of Plymouth which in 1726 was incorporated as the town of Kingston, and the Rev. Joseph Stacey, a graduate of Harvard in 1719, was ordained Nov. 3, 1720, as its pastor.

On the 29th of July, 1724, Rev. Nathaniel Leonard, of Norton, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1719, was ordained as the successor of Mr. Little, and remained with the church until 1755, when, on account of ill health, he asked his dismission and returned to Norton. Mr. Leonard was the son of George Leonard, of Norton, and married, in 1724, Priscilla Rogers. While in Plymouth he built and occupied the house on the southerly side of Leyden Street, now owned and occupied by Miss Louisa S. Jackson and her sister, having previously occupied for a time a house on the lot now occupied by the house of William Hedge, at the corner of Court Square. In 1743, during the pastorate of Mr. Leonard, the church fell into dissensions in consequence of the preaching of an itinerant minister, Andrew Croswell, who was permitted by the pastor to exhort from his pulpit. He initiated a revival, during which protracted meetings were held, and by his extraordinary declarations involved the town in excitement and disorder. He declared at communion that three-quarters of the communicants were unconverted, and finally so disgusted the more sober and intelligent part of the congregation that a meeting of the church members was held, at the request of Josiah Cotton and others, to consider whether, "1st, a sudden and short distress, followed by a sudden joy, amounted to true repentance; 2d, whether the judg-

ment and censure of good men as unconverted was not contrary to the rule of charity contained in the Scriptures; 3d, whether disorder and confusion in religious meetings was not opposed to the Scripture rule; and, 4th, whether, as three-fourths of the church had been declared unconverted, they were really so 'or not.' Nothing came of the meeting, and as Mr. Leonard continued to approve the irregular proceedings of Mr. Croswell, the better part of the church, including such men as Josiah Cotton, Thomas and John Murdock, Isaac Lothrop, and the venerable Elder Thomas Faunce, formed a new church and society, and in 1744 built a meeting-house on the north side of Middle Street, on land presented to the society by Mr. Thomas Murdock, one of the seceders.¹ The church occupied a lot which included what are now the estates of Charles H. Frink and Edgar C. Raymond and the alley between. In 1707 Plympton had been incorporated, so that the church organized at Manomet Ponds became the Second Church, and the new church in Middle Street was designated as the Third. In 1744, Thomas Frink, of Rutland, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1722, was installed as the pastor of this church, and remained four years. In 1749, Jacob Bacon, of Keene, a Harvard graduate of 1731, was installed, and continued his services until 1776, when, after preaching in that part of Plympton which is now Carver eighteen months, he went to Rowley, and there died in 1787. In 1783, the members of the church having become reduced in numbers and the old dissensions having become healed, the meeting-house was abandoned, and the society with its property rejoined the old organization. With regard to a part of its possessions a legal question arose, which either involved the First Church in litigation or was settled without resort to it. In 1758, John Murdock, a wealthy and active member of the Third Church, died, leaving to the church one hundred pounds, providing in his will that the capital should be preserved, and the interest should be devoted to the support of the church; and further providing that, in default of an observance of his directions, the bequest should revert to his son John and his heirs forever. In 1791, after the union of the two societies, as is declared by the probate records, the heirs of the son John applied for the appointment of an administrator *de bonis non* on the estate of the testator to recover the bequest from the First Church, into whose hands it had finally fallen.

In 1731, as has been stated above, a precinct was formed at Manomet Ponds, but not incorporated until 1810. In 1747 a church was formed, consisting of

¹ *Vide Appendix XVIII. pg. 165.*

twenty-five members, under the pastorate of Jonathan Ellis, a graduate of Harvard in 1737, and called the Second Church. A meeting-house had been built ten years before the ordination of Mr. Ellis, on what is now an old and abandoned road leading from the house of Israel Clark to the Brook neighborhood, and the ancient burying-ground may now be found near Mr. Clark's estate. The present meeting-house, built in 1826, is the third erected by the society, the second having stood nearly opposite, at the fork of the roads. Mr. Ellis participated in the extravagant proceedings of Andrew Croswell, and was dismissed in 1749, going from Plymouth to Little Compton, where he was installed in the same year. In 1753, Elijah Packard, of Bridgewater, was ordained, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1750, and continued his ministry until 1757. In 1770, after an interval of thirteen years, Ivory Hovey, a Harvard graduate of 1735, who had been previously settled in Rochester, was installed, and remained in the pastorate until his death, Nov. 4, 1803, in the ninetieth year of his age. The successor of Mr. Hovey was Seth Stetson, who was ordained July 18, 1804. Mr. Stetson seems to have been unstable in his faith. At first a Hopkinsian, he gradually drifted into Unitarianism, and out of Unitarianism into Universalism, when his connection with the church was dissolved. In 1821, Harvey Bushnell became the pastor, and was succeeded in 1824 by Moses Partridge, who died in the same year at the age of thirty-six. Joshua Barret was ordained in 1826, followed by Gaius Conant. The successors of Mr. Conant, in the order of their pastorates, have been John Dwight, J. L. Arms, Charles Greenwood, Daniel H. Babcock, John M. Lord, Sylvester Holmes, David Brigham, S. W. Cozzens, S. W. Powell, Asa Mann, and the present pastor, T. S. Robie.

After an interval of five years Chandler Robbins was, at the age of twenty-two, ordained in 1760 in the First Church as the successor of Mr. Leonard. Mr. Robbins was the son of Philemon Robbins, of Bradford, and married, in 1761, Jane, daughter of Thomas Prince, the annalist. He was a graduate of Yale, and, as the record states, "early impressed with the truth and importance of the Christian system and qualified by divine grace for the gospel ministry, commenced a preacher of this holy religion before he reached the age of twenty." His pastorate extended to the time of his death, June 30, 1799. He was buried on Burial Hill, the second minister in the line who had died in the service, and whose grave may be found on that sacred spot. He occupied the parsonage on the north side of Leyden Street until 1788, when he built and occupied the house nearly opposite, now

owned and occupied by James M. Atwood. During the pastorate of Mr. Robbins about fifty persons of high standing in his society became restless under the rigid rules and precepts adhered to by the church and pastor, and made proposals for a separation and the formation of a new society, with a new house of worship. A report made by a committee of the disaffected said, "Upon the whole the committee are constrained to lament the narrow policy of the church, in excluding from its communion many exemplary Christians merely on account of their different conceptions of some points of doctrine, about which learned and good men have entertained a great variety of opinion, and this circumstance is more especially a source of regret at this enlightened period, when the principles of civil and religious liberty are almost universally understood and practised; for whatever stress some persons may be disposed to lay in matters of mere speculative belief, the benevolent genius of the gospel will teach its votaries, amidst all their differences of opinion, to exercise mutual candor and indulgence, that they may, if possible, preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

The words of this report were strange words for the time, and uttered a sound to which religionists of that day had not been accustomed. They were the first utterances of a liberal spirit, which was destined within six years to control the church and to cause those who now opposed their separation to become separatists themselves. There are indications of the hand of Joshua Thomas in the report, a man of comprehensive views, broad charity, strong intellect, and a fearless tongue. As the narration proceeds these characteristics of the man will be more fully disclosed. The separation was not effected, and no breach existed in the church during the pastorate of Mr. Robbins. The reputation of Mr. Robbins as a learned and eloquent man was confined to no narrow limits, as a Doctorate of Divinity conferred on him at Dartmouth in 1792, and by the University of Edinburgh in 1793, plainly indicates. His death was widely lamented, and his funeral drew to Plymouth many of the learned men of New England.

On the second Sunday in October, 1799, James Kendall began to preach on probation as the successor of Mr. Robbins, and was ordained on the 1st of January, 1800. Mr. Kendall was the son of James Kendall, of Sterling, and was born in 1769. He married two wives, Sarah Poor and Sally Kendall, the latter the daughter of Paul Kendall, of Templeton. He graduated at Harvard in 1796, and was a tutor in the college at the time of his invitation to settle in Plymouth. He occupied the parsonage dur-

ing his entire residence in Plymouth, and died in 1859, and was buried on Burial Hill. On his first settlement his salary was six hundred dollars a year, together with the improvement of the parsonage and several pieces of land and marsh. The latter were situated on both sides of the mill-pond, and consisted chiefly of sedge flats granted by the town in 1702 to the precinct for the use of the ministry. Those on the north side were leased by the precinct to William Hall Jackson, in 1795, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at an annual rent of six bushels of corn, and those on the south side for the same term to Stephen Churchill at an annual rent of four bushels. As long as Dr. Kendall lived these rents were promptly collected, but though the precinct still retains its ownership in the land, it is believed that since 1859 no rent has ever been paid. Dr. Kendall received a degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard in 1825, and was always recognized as one of the most worthy sons of the college. His life was a useful one, his character was without a stain, his example of pure, upright, beneficent living has been a worthy legacy to the town, whose social and moral and intellectual welfare he so earnestly sought and did so much to maintain.

Soon after the settlement of Dr. Kendall, whose theological proclivities were strongly in the direction of the new doctrine of Unitarianism, which he afterwards warmly espoused, with the approbation of a large majority of his society, a movement was made to form a new church. A petition was presented to the town, signed by John Bishop and others, for the sale of a part of Training Green for the erection of a meeting-house for the accommodation of the seceders. The petition was referred to a committee, with Joshua Thomas as its chairman, who reported on the 5th of April as follows: "That so far as that part of their commission is concerned which relates to the sale of Training Green and purchasing a new training-field, your committee, after having fully discussed the subject, consider it inexpedient at this time. To comply with the request of the applicants by granting a lot in Training Green for the purpose mentioned would, in the opinion of your committee, not only preclude the town, under whatever circumstances it may be, from opposing the prosecution of that object, but would sanction the separation of a small number of persons on principles that do not appear to be substantial and well-founded. If religious societies are to be split up into divisions merely from a variance of sentiment in certain polemic speculations, about which the greatest and best men in all ages of the Christian church have differed, each Christian must consecrate his own dwelling as his sanctuary, for scarcely two of

the best-informed Christians can be found precisely to agree on every controverted point. It is true that the whole extent of the town will admit of two respectable parishes, if due regard be had to the situation of the houses of worship, and it is as true that without regard to this circumstance the rebuilding would be no better an accommodation to all the inhabitants than two. It is represented with much serious concern by some of the principal inhabitants of the Second Precinct, that on the removal of their present aged minister, without some considerable accession of numbers and property, that society will be dissolved, and the people who compose it be in a great measure destitute of the ordinances of the gospel; whereas if their house of worship could be located in a more central place, or another house be built in addition to that already erected, in both which a minister might preach alternately, the privileges and immunities of the gospel would be more equally enjoyed, and the peace and harmony of the town be preserved. Your committee would only further remark, that many persons have still a painful recollection of those hostile passions so subversive of the genuine spirit of Christianity which were excited by the existence of two parishes in the heart of the town, and while the nature of man remains unchanged, it is justly to be apprehended that the same causes will produce the same unhappy effects." This report, evidently written by Joshua Thomas, already referred to, was accepted by the town by a vote of 40 to 16.

The dissatisfied portion of the church adhered to their determination to form a new church, and on the 30th of March, 1802, they were incorporated as the Third Congregational Society of Plymouth. In the same year they occupied their new meeting-house, on the westerly side of Training Green, now the high-school house, built on land bought by them of Thomas Jackson in 1800. On the 12th of May, Adoniram Judson, a native of Woodbury and graduate of Yale College, was settled as pastor, having been previously settled in Malden and Wenham. He married Abigail, daughter of Abraham Brown, of Tiverton, and had four children, one of whom was Adoniram, the well-known missionary. In 1817, having become a Baptist, he dissolved his connection with the society, and after having preached two years to the Baptist Society in Plymouth, went to Scituate in 1820, and there died in 1826. William T. Torrey succeeded Mr. Judson, closing his pastorate in 1824, when he was succeeded by Frederick Freeman, whose pastorate continued until 1833. Thomas Boutelle followed Mr. Freeman, and in 1837, Robert B. Hall was ordained. In 1840, during the pasto-

rate of Mr. Hall, the present church was built and dedicated as "The Church of the Pilgrimage," and a new society formed called the "Society of the Pilgrimage," the name which the "Third Congregational Church" now bears. Charles S. Porter followed Mr. Hall in 1845, succeeded by Joseph B. Johnson in 1855. Nathaniel B. Blanchard succeeded Mr. Johnson, when, after a few months' supply by P. C. Headley, W. W. Woodworth became pastor. In 1864, David Bremner was installed, remaining four years, and in 1870, George A. Tewksbury, the recent faithful and beloved pastor of the church, was installed.

In 1814 the Eel River Church was organized under the pastorate of Benjamin Witmore. This church may be considered a child of the Third and a grandchild of the First. Under the ministry of Mr. Witmore it became divided into two sections, each of which has had a meeting-house of its own, and the division remains unhealed. In 1830 the Robinson Church was organized, also a child of the Third Church, and after the pastorates of Charles I. Warren, Lucius Clark, John Avery, and Cyrus Mann was dissolved and its meeting-house, built in 1830, was sold in 1852 to the Methodist Episcopal Society, which now occupies it. In 1844 the Episcopal Church was established under the inspiration of Robert B. Hall, who had become Episcopalian and left the Third Church, of which he was pastor. On the 18th of August, 1844, an Episcopal service was held in Leyden Hall, Theodore W. Snow officiating, and on the 15th of November a society was formed, and on the 13th of April, 1846, Mr. Snow was chosen rector. On the 3d of October the church in Russell Street was consecrated, and its ministers, in the order of their service, have been Mr. Snow, Samuel Clark, Thomas L. Franklin, Benjamin F. Cooley, G. W. E. Fisse, Benjamin B. Babbit, Robert B. Hall, William H. Brooks, John Downey, James A. Sanderson, J. E. Wilkinson, and its recent incumbent, C. D. Barbour.

Having described the various offshoots of the First Church, the narrative leads us to a closing sketch of that church. In 1838, George W. Briggs, a graduate at Brown University, left a settlement at Fall River and became colleague pastor with Dr. Kendall, in which capacity he continued until 1852. In 1853, Henry L. Myrick succeeded Mr. Briggs, followed by George S. Ball, of Upton, who in turn was succeeded by Edward H. Hall, of Providence, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1851. During the pastorate of Mr. Hall, Dr. Kendall died in 1859, leaving Mr. Hall the full pastor of the church. Mr.

Hall was in 1869 succeeded by Frederick N. Knapp, a Harvard graduate of 1843, and Mr. Knapp, in 1878, by Edmund Q. S. Osgood, of Cohasset, the present pastor.

In 1809 a Baptist Society was organized, and until its church in Spring Street was built, in 1821, its services were held for the most part in Old Colony Hall, in the rear of the market-house of Charles T. Holmes. Lewis Leonard, of Middleboro', was its first pastor, and was succeeded, in 1818, by Adoniram Judson, who in turn was succeeded, in 1820, by Stephen S. Nelson. In 1823, Benjamin S. Grafton was settled, and in 1829, Thomas Conant. In 1835, Elisha Cushman was settled; in 1838, Horatio N. Loring, who was followed by Joseph M. Driver. In 1842, Ira Person became the pastor; in 1845, Adiel Harvey; in 1856, B. A. Edwards; in 1861, C. C. Williams; in 1862, R. A. Patterson; in 1863, E. Humphrey; in 1868, R. B. Moody; in 1875, B. P. Byram; and in 1880, the present incumbent, H. W. Coffin. In 1861 the church in Spring Street was burned, and in 1865 the present church was built.

In 1842 a Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, and E. B. Bradford, of Duxbury, was appointed preacher. For some years services were held in various halls and in the present high-school building. In 1843 Plymouth was made a mission station, and Nelson Goodrich assigned to it as preacher. In 1852 the society bought the meeting-house of the Robinson society, and Lorenzo White became its minister. Since that time the various ministers in their order have been Moses Chase, William Keller, Carlos Banning, Edward H. Hatfield, E. K. Colby, Robert Clark, Thomas Sleeper, Franklin Gavett, George F. Pool, Henry F. Martin, William Liversey, T. M. House, A. W. Mills, George A. Morse, John W. Malcom, J. O. Thompson, F. A. Crafts, J. H. Allen, Walter J. Yates, and George H. Bates.

On the 10th of March, 1822, a Universalist Society was organized, and in 1824, Massena Ballou was invited to preach for six months. The society was incorporated in 1826. Mr. Ballou was followed by a Mr. Morse, who was succeeded, in 1826, by James H. Bugbee, who continued his pastorate until his death, in 1834. Mr. Bugbee was followed by Albert Case, who was succeeded by Russell Tomlinson, who resigned in 1867. In 1869 the pulpit was supplied for a time by A. Bosselman, who was followed by Alpheus Nickerson in 1872. In 1874, George L. Smith took charge of the pulpit, and was followed by A. H. Sweetser in 1877, and he, in turn, by W. W. Hayward, who has recently resigned.

A Christian Society was organized in 1825, and in

1827 built their church on Pleasant Street. John V. Himes, of New Bedford, was its first minister, and was succeeded by Timothy Cole, George W. Kelton, and Elders Baker, Sanborn, and Goodman. For a time after 1843 it was united with the Second Advent Society, under the care of H. L. Hastings, again for a time separated, and finally, in 1868, reunited, since which time it has continued in the occupation of its Pleasant Street Church under the name of the "Christian Society."

An African Methodist Church was formed in 1866, and until it bought the gymnasium building near the reservoir and converted it into a church, in 1871, it occupied a small extemporized chapel near the Plymouth Mills. Its ministers have been William Johnson, James Elsemore, Ebenezer Ruby, Daniel Francis, Joshua Hale, D. N. Mason, E. P. Greenwich, Israel Derrick, Isaac Emery, Jeremiah B. Hill, and Henry Buckner.

In addition to the above, a small society was organized some years since by William Faunce, near the Russell Mills, at Eel River, of which the author has no record. In 1874 a Catholic Church was erected on Court Street for the accommodation of a society which had previously held services for some years in one of the halls of the town. It was under the charge of James C. Murphy until his death, in 1879. D. B. Kennedy, assisted by John D. Colbert, succeeded Father Murphy, and the society is now under the charge of Father P. J. Halley. The first Catholic service ever held in Plymouth was in 1813. At that time John Burke and Michael Murphy were the only Irishmen and Catholics in the town. These men were in the employ of Joshua Thomas, who was then living in the house now occupied as a hotel, called the "Central House." Mr. Thomas, with a liberality of spirit already referred to in this narrative, for the gratification and benefit of Burke and Murphy and their families, interceded with the bishop in Boston, who consented to the performance of high mass in Plymouth, and the two parlors in the house of Mr. Thomas, on the south side of the entry, were used for the ceremony.

This narrative would be far from complete without some reference to the schools of the town. Some charges have been made that in the early days of the Plymouth Colony little interest was felt in the cause of education. Such charges, when investigated, will be found groundless, and Plymouth will be found to have been always abreast of the times in efforts to adequately instruct its youth. It is true that until 1662, when the court "recommended to the consideration of the several towns some preparations for schools," the only

allusion to schools in the records is that under date of 1635, when it was ordered "that Benjamin Eaton, with his mother's consent, be put to Bridget Fuller, being to keep him at school two years." In explanation of the silence of the records the circumstances of the Pilgrim Colony must be considered, and in the consideration this very entry concerning Benjamin Eaton will furnish important aid. It must be remembered that the Pilgrim Church at Leyden was composed of men of a fair education, surrounded by a population speaking a language different from their own, and compelled necessarily, during their residence there of eleven years, to educate their own children. This custom they brought with them to New England, and nothing occurred to require a change until many years after the landing, when immigration from England and the Massachusetts Colony had introduced more families of poor estate than the teaching heads of families, such, for instance, as Bridget Fuller, referred to in the entry, could properly provide for. In other words, the colony of Plymouth was content with the work of private schools until increasing illiteracy demanded the establishment of public ones.

In 1663 the recommendation of the previous year took the form of an enactment, and it was ordered "that the several townships in the jurisdiction ought to take into their serious consideration that there may be a schoolmaster in each town to teach the children in reading and writing." In 1670 a grant was made by the Colony Court "of all such profits as might or should annually accrue to the colony from time to time for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod for mackerel, bass, or herrings to be improved for and towards a free school in some town of this jurisdiction, provided a beginning was made within one year of the grant;" and in 1672 the profits and benefits of the Agawam and Sippican lands were appropriated by the town of Plymouth for the maintenance of a free school already established there. The enactment of 1670 established the first absolutely free school in America. In 1672 the Colony Court, "in order that they might have an interest with others in the blessing that the Lord may seek to convey unto the country" from Harvard College, ordered "that it be recommended to the ministers and elders in each town that they, taking such with them as they shall think meet, would particularly and earnestly move and stir up all such in their several towns as are able to contribute for the support and maintenance of the college." It does not seem probable that such a recommendation as this could have emanated from a community which had been backward in its educational efforts. It must

before that time have exhausted the resources of school education and seen the necessity of something higher, to crystallize into an enactment its hopes and aspirations. Indeed, before that time Plymouth had graduated three of its sons from the college.

In 1671, John Morton, a nephew of Secretary Nathaniel Morton, was employed by the town "to erect and keep a school for the teaching of the children and youth of the town to read and write and cast up accounts." He was succeeded in 1672 by Ammi Ruhamah Corlet, a graduate of Harvard in 1670, who enjoyed the distinction of being the first graduate bearing a middle name, a distinction shared by no successor until the graduation of Brocklebank Samuel Coffin in 1718. This school was a free school, and in 1673 it was ordered by the court "that the charge of this free school, which is thirty-three pounds a year, shall be defrayed by the treasurer of the profits arising by the fishing of the Cape until such time as the minds of the freemen be known concerning it, which will be returned to the next court of election." In 1677 it was ordered that "in whatever township in this government, consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar-school, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants of said town; and those that have the more immediate benefit thereof, with what others shall voluntarily give, shall make up the residue necessary to maintain the same; and that the profits arising from the Cape fishing, heretofore ordered to maintain a grammar-school in this colony, be distributed to such towns as have such grammar-schools, not exceeding five pounds per annum to any one town. And, further, that this Court orders that every such town as consists of seventy families and upwards, and hath not a grammar-school therein, shall allow and pay unto the next town that hath a grammar-school the sum of five pounds, to be levied on the inhabitants by rate, and gathered by the constables of such towns by warrant from any magistrate of this jurisdiction."

In 1699 the town voted that "the selectmen procure a schoolmaster for the town and settle him as near the centre as may be convenient, and that every scholar who comes to write or cipher or to learn Latin shall pay three pence per week; if to read only, then to pay three half-pence per week, and what remains due to the school to be levied by rate on the inhabitants." This vote indicates that the receipts from the fisheries and lands were insufficient for the support of the school, and that a small charge was necessary. After the passage of this vote, Moses Hale,

a son of John Hale, of Newbury, and a Harvard graduate of 1699, was engaged to keep the school, and he was succeeded for a time by John Dyer, a Plymouth man, who afterwards succeeded Elder Thomas Faunce in the office of town clerk. The charge for attending school was of short duration, as in 1703 the town voted "that there shall be a grammar schoolmaster provided for the use of the town, and that there shall be a rate on the inhabitants to defray the charges thereof." At this time the school was a movable one, and kept for a "quarter" at a time in each of the districts of the town. In 1705 the town voted "to pay thirty pounds per year for a schoolmaster for the term of seven years, provided that said schoolmaster be settled within forty rods of the old meeting-house, and that the town pay twenty pounds per year during the said seven years; and all children sent to said school, excepting the children of those who have subscribed for the support of the teacher, that live within one mile of said school, pay four pence a week for instruction in Latin, writing, or ciphering, and two pence a week for reading; and all those that are without the bounds of one mile and within the bounds of two miles, to pay two pence per week for Latin, writing, or ciphering, and one penny for reading, excepting the children of such as through poverty are unable to pay, who are to go free; and all fines that are by the law devoted towards the support of a school, and the money to be paid per week as abovesaid, to be improved toward paying the town's part of the said twenty pounds, and the subscribers to have no benefit thereby."

Under this vote Josiah Cotton was engaged as teacher, and a school-house which had been erected by individuals on the south side of the present Unitarian meeting-house was sold to the town. Mr. Cotton was the son of John Cotton, a former pastor of the Plymouth Church, and a graduate of Harvard in 1698. At the expiration of his term of service, in 1712, it was voted by the town "that for the four years next ensuing the use or interest of all the money voted by the town for the use of a school forever in said town, from the lands within the mile and a half already sold or yet to be sold, shall be by the town treasurer yearly paid to Capt. James Warren, Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, and Mr. John Murdock, provided they shall keep, or cause to be kept, in the middle of said town, in the school-house, a good grammar school, according to law, for the said four years." It was also voted "to pay, or cause to be paid, yearly during the said four years, ten pounds per annum unto the said Warren, Thomas, and Murdock, to be raised by rate on said inhabitants; and all

fines which by law shall belong to said school within four years shall be paid to said Warren, Thomas, and Murdock." And it was further voted "that during the said four years the school grant to be paid to the persons above named, according to the vote, and the said three persons be empowered by the town to collect and gather the same, and to have the benefit thereof." This arrangement was not in the nature of a contract by which the school was farmed out for the benefit of the contractors, if such might accrue, but one by which these three gentlemen, among the most influential and respectable in the town, acted as a sort of school committee. Mr. Warren was a magistrate, Mr. Thomas judge of probate, and Mr. Murdock an enterprising merchant, who at his death made a bequest to the town of two hundred pounds for the benefit of its schools and its poor. The bequest may perhaps be taken as an indication of an interest in the schools sufficiently strong to induce him to lend gratuitous service for their efficient management and support.

In 1714 it was voted by the town "to allow twenty pounds to the north end of the town, and twenty pounds to the south end, for the erection of school-houses;" and in 1716 it was voted "that there be three free schools set up in the town, one at each end, to teach reading and writing, and one in the middle of the town to be a grammar school, and that there be a committee chosen to provide suitable persons to keep the said schools, and the interest of the money of what lands are sold within the mile and a half to go towards the support of the schools, and the town will make up the deficiency, and the school to be continued five years." The committee consisted of John Bradford, Isaac Lothrop, Benjamin Warren, and Abiel Shurtliff. The north and south schools were located at Wellingsley, or Hobshole, and that part of Plymouth which is now Kingston.

John Denison, a son of John Denison, of Ipswich, and a graduate of Harvard in 1710, succeeded Mr. Cotton, and was followed by John Angier, son of Samuel Angier, of Rehoboth, and a Harvard graduate of 1720. These were the teachers of the grammar school. In 1724, opposition having sprung up to the maintenance of three schools, a town-meeting was held, at which much feeling was excited among the residents of the remote northerly and southerly sections of the town, and it was voted that the "two schools at the ends of the town be women's schools, or any other, so far as their proportion of taxes will go." This action, manifesting an indisposition on the part of the town to adequately provide for the educational wants of the Jones River district,

precipitated the incorporation of Kingston, which took place in 1726.

John Sparhawk, of Cambridge, a Harvard graduate of 1723, succeeded Mr. Angier, and was himself succeeded by Nathaniel Eels, of Scituate, a graduate of Harvard in 1733. Ebenezer Bridge, a Harvard graduate of 1736, after Mr. Eels, was succeeded by Ezra Whitmarsh, a Harvard graduate of 1736. In 1741, Enoch Ward, of Littleton, of the same class, became the teacher of the central school, followed by Samuel Gardner, of Stowe, a Harvard graduate of 1746. In 1747 it was voted to have two permanent schools besides the grammar school, one at Eel River and one at Manomet Ponds, and in that year Enoch Ward, of Haverhill, a Harvard graduate of 1748, assumed the charge of the central school, and was followed by Thomas Foster, also a graduate of Harvard in 1745. Mr. Foster was succeeded by Matthew Cushing, of Hingham, a Harvard graduate of 1739, who was followed by Charles Cushing, a Harvard graduate of 1755. Joseph Stockbridge, of Hanover, of the same class, succeeded his classmate, and was followed by Nathaniel Lothrop, of Plymouth, of the class of 1756. In 1765, Mr. Lothrop was succeeded by Perez Forbes, of Bridgewater, under whose incumbency a new school-house was built on the north side of the Unitarian Church, which until recently stood on the lot now inclosed within the Burial Hill in front of the tombs. John Barrows, of Attleboro', followed Mr. Forbes, and was succeeded in 1769 by Alexander Scammell, a Harvard graduate of the previous year. In 1774, Joseph Crocker, a Harvard graduate of that year, taught the grammar school, followed in 1776 by Ezra Ripley (Harvard, 1776), and in 1781 by Bartlett Le Baron of Plymouth (Harvard, 1766), who was succeeded by Timothy Healey, Joseph and Eleazer Tufts, and Nahum Mitchell, of East Bridgewater (Harvard, 1789). In 1795 a school for girls was established, to be kept during the daily intervals of the other schools. In the year 1803 there were eleven schools in the town,—the central and ten district schools at Northtown, West District, Wellingsley, Eel River, Manomet, Cedarville, Ellisville, Half-Way Ponds, and South Pond,—for all of which the sum of twelve hundred and twenty dollars was appropriated. To this sum, however, must be added the proceeds of the sale of Indian lands, and of the sale of herrings in Town Brook, applicable by a vote of the town to the support of schools.

In 1802, Martin Parris took the central school, followed by Nathaniel Bradstreet, a graduate of Harvard in 1795, and Benjamin Shurtleff, of Carver, father of the late mayor of Boston, who were

succeeded in order by Alexander Parris, of Pembroke; Thomas Wetherell, of Plymouth; Moses Webster, of Harvard, 1804; Philander Shaw, and Benjamin and Thomas Drew, of Plymouth. In 1826 the central school received the name of High School, and was taught from that time successively by Addison Brown, of Harvard, 1826; George W. Hosmer, of the same class; Horace H. Rolfe; Josiah Moore, of Harvard, 1826; and Charles Field. In 1830 the school came into the hands of Samuel R. Townsend, of Harvard, 1829, who was succeeded by Le Baron Russell, of Harvard, 1832; Isaac N. Stoddard, of Upton, a recent graduate at Amherst; Leonard Bliss, of Rehoboth; William H. Lord; Robert Bartlett, of Plymouth, of Harvard, 1836; and Mr. Stoddard again, whose second term of service expired in 1841. Mr. Stoddard was succeeded again by Charles Clapp, Philip C. Knapp, Francis Jenks, John Brooks Beal, Thomas A. Watson, of Harvard, 1845, and Samuel Sewell Greely, of Harvard, 1844. William H. Spear succeeded Mr. Greely, followed by J. W. Hunt, Frank Crosby, Edward P. Bates, and, in 1855, Admiral P. Stone. Mr. Stone taught five years, and during his term of service the High School for Girls, established in 1836, was consolidated with the High School for Boys. After its formation, in 1836, it was kept by Mary Adams, of Newburyport, in the lower room of Pilgrim Hall, until 1840, in which year the Russell Street school-house was built, and received both of the high schools. Mrs. Adams was succeeded by Frances Greigg, Almira Seymour, Mary E. Kendall, and Dorcas Maxwell; and in 1850, on the advent of Mr. Stone, the High School building at the Green was bought, and both schools were united. In 1853 the school districts were abolished, and Adiel Harvey was appointed superintendent of all the schools in the town, followed in 1859 by Charles Burton, who resigned in 1883, and was reappointed in 1884, after a year's service by T. D. Adams, of Newton.

Mr. Stone continued as principal of the school until 1855, when he was succeeded in order by George L. Baxter, of Harvard, 1863; Theodore P. Adams and Joseph L. Sanborn, both of Harvard, 1867; Henry Dame; George W. Minns, of Harvard, 1836; Gilman C. Fisher; and Charles Burton, who, with the exception of one year of his services as teacher, has performed also, until recently, the duties of general superintendent.

It is impossible, within available limits, to do more than follow the general current of school history. The affairs of the various districts, their methods and their teachers, are beyond the scope of this narrative.

The development of the school system of the town from its smallest beginnings has been sufficiently indicated by what has been expressed in these pages. The interest felt by its people in the cause of education is strikingly displayed by their readiness to accept and bear the burden of taxation for its support. The appropriation of twelve hundred and twenty dollars, already stated to have been made in 1803 by a population of three thousand five hundred, has swollen, with only double the population, to the sum of twenty thousand five hundred dollars in 1884. Nor is the burden believed to be a heavy one. It is looked upon as an investment from which something better than a percentage of interest is received,—an income in the shape of increased comforts, an enlarged capacity for enjoyment, a high standard of morals, the partial extinguishment of idleness and poverty, a more comprehensive view of life and its duties, and a more vigorous capacity to compete with the world in the exposure of its secrets and the development of its resources.

The manufacturing industries of Plymouth showed few signs of an elastic growth until navigation ceased to absorb its capital. During the first century and a half after its settlement, grist-mills, coopers' shops, domestic looms, and fulling-mills furnished, with agriculture, the chief employment of its people on the land. The most lucrative branches of business, however, were fishing, and a coastwise and a gradually increasing foreign trade. Finally, after the process of centralization of trade in the cities had set in, the fisheries only survived; but so reluctant was capital to abandon the source of its accumulation, that it continued to invest in tonnage which never floated in Plymouth waters, and which contributed little to the promotion of its welfare. Manufactures, it is true, began, in the latter part of the last century and in the beginning of this, to spring up in the hands of a few enterprising men, but their growth was limited until the channel by which wealth flowed into investments on the ocean was closed altogether, and a new one opened by which it sought new fields of activity on the land.

The first mill built in the town was a corn-mill, which was probably located at "Holmes' Dam," near Billington Sea. In 1632 the Colony Court, on the application of Stephen Deane "to set up a water-work to beat corn upon the brook adjoining to the town of Plymouth, for the benefit of the commonwealth," ordered "that, provided the place be made choice of where no hinderance to a grinding-mill intended hereafter, he might bring his work nearer the town; that he should receive one pottle out of every bushel for toll and no more; and that in case the said

Stephen can beat all the corn that is or shall be used in the colony, it shall not be lawful for any other to set up a work of that kind except it be for his own use, or freely, without toll or any other consideration whatsoever, to give leave to others to make use of the same." In 1633 the court further ordered "that Stephen Deane have a sufficient water-wheel set up at the charge of the colony, consisting of one foot more in depth than that he now useth, at or before the 27th of March, the said Stephen finding the iron-work thereunto belonging; in consideration whereof the said Stephen to surrender up his work, and that right and claim he challengeth for the beating of corn, whenever a grinding-mill shall be set up at the order and appointment of the Governor and Council of Assistants."

The mill built by Mr. Deane stood near where the works of Samuel Loring now stand, and were operated by him until his death, in 1633. In 1635 it was agreed by the court "to be needful to build a mill, and these four whose names are underwritten were appointed to collect the money for the building of the same, as also to agree with workmen and order other all things for the dispatch thereof.—Captaine Standish, Mr. William Collier, John Done, and John Winslow."

In 1636 it was ordered "that Mr. John Jenney shall have liberty to erect a mill for grinding and beating of corn upon the brook of Plymouth, to be to him and his heirs forever; and shall have a pottle of corn toll upon every bushel for grinding the same for the space of the two first years next after the mill is erected, and afterwards but a quart at a bushel for all that is brought to the mill by others; but if he fetch it and grind it himself or by his servants, then to have a pottle toll for every bushel as before."

Mr. Jenney erected his mill on the site of the old one, and after his death, in 1644, it was carried on by his son Samuel until 1683. The town, still retaining title to the privilege, made in 1683 the following agreement with Charles Stockbridge, of Scituate:

"Whereas the town of Plymouth have been many years much damnified for want of the right management of their corn-mill, and having by their agents made suit to the said Charles Stockbridge to come and purchase said mill, and come and build it as he shall see cause for the good and benefit of the said town and himself, the said Charles Stockbridge coming to Plymouth on the account abovesaid, the said town of Plymouth have for his encouragement hereby granted unto the said Charles Stockbridge the whole use of their brook or stream commonly called Town Brook, where the old mill now standeth, to him, the said Charles Stockbridge, his heirs and assigns, for the use of a corn-mill or mills as he or they shall see meet, and for no other use no more than any other townsman; which

said brook and privileges said Charles Stockbridge, his heirs and assigns, shall have so long as he or they shall maintain a sufficient corn-mill and miller to grind the town corn well and honestly for one-sixteenth part of a bushel of corn or grain, which shall be brought unto the said mill in a fit capacity to grind; and for the further encouragement of said Charles Stockbridge herein the said town have paid unto him, said Stockbridge, eleven pounds in silver towards the raising of said mill-dam and making a waste-water course for the herrings to pass over the dam into the pond; and the said town by their agents, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby engage to and with the said Charles Stockbridge and his heirs and assigns to be at half the charge of maintaining the said water-course successively; namely, all that part of it that is below the said mill-dam. In confirmation of which articles of agreement aforesaid the agents for the said town of Plymouth and the said Charles Stockbridge have put to their hands the first of May, 1683.

"Signed in presence of

"ISAACKE LITTLE.

JOSEPH WARREN.

"JOHN HATHAWAY.

JOSEPH BARTLETT.

"EPHRAIM MORTON, SR.

CHARLES STOCKBRIDGE."

It is plain from these extracts from the records that corn was the prominent feature in the economy of the Pilgrims. It was undoubtedly in some shape, either ground or unground, their chief article of food. Winslow, in 1621, says in a letter to a friend in England who is preparing to come to New England, which has been already quoted, "Be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way, it will much refresh you;" "our Indian corn, even the coarsest maketh as pleasant meat as rice;" "let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adz or hatchet to work it out with." The colony looked upon corn as its main staff and support, and the mills for its grinding became, therefore, the wards of its court. After the death of Mr. Stockbridge, the mill was sold by his widow to her son, Charles, and a grist-mill continued to be operated on the old privilege until 1847, when the mill of that period was burned. In January, 1847, the condition of the original grant to Mr. Stockbridge—that he and his assigns should forever maintain a grist-mill—being no longer complied with, the town took action to discover its rights in the premises. The property was then in the hands of the Robbins Cordage Company, who were the final assignees of Mr. Stockbridge, and it was believed by many that unless the company complied with the conditions of the grant they would lose their title. The matter was referred to the selectmen, who after consulting counsel made a report abandoning all claims, which was accepted by the town. Thus the town lost all its right, title, and interest in a mill where for two hundred and fourteen years its inhabitants had enjoyed the privilege of grinding their corn at specified moderate rates.

No other mill was built in Plymouth until 1672,

when George Bonum built a fulling-mill on the Town Brook about two hundred feet above the works of the Bedstead-Joint Company. It was afterwards removed to the point where the works now stand, and continued in operation until the beginning of the present century. The appearance of this mill marks the time when spinning-wheels and looms began to be used in every household, and when the homespun cloth began to be made so extensively as to render such a mill necessary. From the date of this mill until the middle of the next century there seems to have been no new industrial enterprise established. At about that time a leather-mill was built where the factory of the Billington Mills is now situated, and not many years after a snuff-mill was erected near it. In 1809, William Davis, Nathaniel Russell, and Samuel Spear were incorporated under the name of "The Plymouth Cotton Company," and a cotton-factory was built in the place of the old mills, and burned in 1812. In 1813 it was rebuilt, and again burned in 1843. In 1855 the privilege was sold to the Samoset Mills corporation, who built the present factory, and sold it in 1872 to parties who changed its name from Samoset Mills to Billington Mills, and its product from thread to print cloths.

The two next privileges below the Billington Mills do not appear to have come into use until the latter part of the last century. Under either the ownership or direction of various parties—Solomon Inglee, Jacob Albertson, Anthony Dyke, John King, Ephraim Noyes, Nathaniel Russell, William Davis, Barnabas Hedge, Samuel Spear, and Oliver Ames—shovels and anchors were for some years manufactured at these privileges. In 1854 the lower of the two was sold to Jeremiah Farris and Oliver Edes, the grantors, in 1846, to the Plymouth Mills, and in 1854 the upper was sold to the Plymouth Mills, which, under the superintendence of William P. Stoddard, is extensively engaged in the manufacture of rivets and machinery. These privileges were owned many years by N. Russell & Co., who carried on extensive operations at a privilege below.

The next privilege on the Town Brook, that now occupied by the Robinson Iron Company, was first brought into use, in 1792, by Martin Brimmer, who bought it of his father-in-law, George Watson, and, after building a dam, erected a rolling-mill, slitting-mill, grist-mill, and oil-mill on the premises. In 1805, Sarah Brimmer, widow of Martin, sold it to Nathaniel Russell, William Davis, and others, from whom, in 1837, it passed into the hands of Mr. Russell, who for some years, either alone or in connection with his son, Nathaniel, carried on the manufacture

of nails and hoops and nail-plates. In 1866 it was sold by the family of Mr. Russell to the Robinson Iron Company, who continued, with enlarged facilities, substantially the same business. On the easterly part of the premises belonging to the Robinson Iron Company an extensive tan-yard was formerly located. William Crombie bought the land by two deeds in 1766 and 1786, of Richard Cooper, and established the tannery, which he carried on for many years. Solomon Richmond succeeded in the business until finally the land was sold, and is now the property of the present proprietors of the iron-works.

The privilege which has already been described as that used in connection with the ancient corn-mill was used many years by the Robbins Cordage Company, now dissolved, and is now utilized by Samuel Loring in the manufacture of tacks and rivets. In 1812 a cotton-factory was erected at Eel River, which, after thirty or forty years of varying success, was changed into a cotton-duck factory, which is now carefully managed by Mr. Edward B. Hayden. In 1827 a rolling-mill and nail-factory were also erected at Eel River by N. Russell & Co., which, after the death of Nathaniel Russell, were sold to the Russell Mills corporation, which took down the old buildings and erected the present commodious cotton-duck mill on the premises. Two zinc-mills have also been running for many years at Eel River, one owned by the estate of Oliver Edes and the other by N. Wood & Co.

In the north part of the town the Plymouth Cordage Company, incorporated in 1821, has an extensive establishment, which for many years, under the thrifty management of Bourne Spooner, more recently under that of his son, Charles W. Spooner, and at present under the superintendency of their able successor, Gideon F. Holmes, has continued to employ a large body of workmen and carried on a lucrative business. Near the railway station a factory for the manufacture of fancy cassimeres, under the management of Roswell S. Douglass, and a shoe-factory, owned by Francis F. Emery, an enterprising and substantial merchant of Boston, have been established within a few years and give employment to a large number of the town's inhabitants. A tack-factory, also near the station, and recently erected by Ripley & Bartlett; the gas-works, constructed in 1854; a foundry for the manufacture chiefly of stoves, owned by the Plymouth Foundry Company, and superintended by Luke Perkins; a saw-, stave-, and box-

mill, owned by E. & J. C. Barnes; a keg-factory, owned by Samuel Bradford; a grist-mill and mill for the manufacture of a recently-patented and extensively-used bedstead-joint, under the management of Nathaniel Morton; a shoe-shank factory, owned by Manter & Blackmer; and the usual variety of smaller enterprises complete the list of industries within the actual limits of the town, while just without its limits, at Rocky Nook, a part of Kingston, on Smelt Brook, are located extensive works for the manufacture of tacks and rivets by Cobb & Drew, whose office is located in Plymouth. The capital employed in these establishments in 1883 was \$2,017,000, and their product reached the sum of \$3,372,000. Without, of course, any allusion to the ordinary business of the stores and lumber-yards and coal-wharves, a statement of the indications of the prosperity of the town would be far from complete without a reference to the banking institutions and customs and postal business.¹ The banking institutions consist of the Plymouth National Bank, originally incorporated as the Plymouth Bank in 1803; the Plymouth Savings-Bank, originally incorporated as the Plymouth Institution for Savings in 1828, and rechristened by its present name in 1847; the Old Colony National Bank, originally incorporated as the Old Colony Bank in 1832; and the Plymouth Five-Cents Savings-Bank, incorporated in 1855. The capital and surplus of the two national banks are about \$550,000, and the deposits of the two savings-banks exceed the sum of \$2,800,000.²

The value of foreign imports during the year 1883 was \$320,021, on which the duties paid amounted to \$71,330.30. The number of tons of domestic imports was 46,246, valued at \$1,106,012, exclusive of the catchings of fishing-vessels,³ amounting in value to \$56,456. In addition to the above, merchandise amounting to 34,141 tons was brought into the town by rail⁴ during the year, the value of which there are no ready means of estimating.⁵ The net receipts of the post-office,⁶ after the payment of all expenses, was \$6100; and with this item the narrative of the history and present condition of the town of Plymouth must end. It has already exceeded the limits assigned to it, and the author must ask both the indulgence of the editors in occupying more than the share of space which perhaps justly belongs to Plymouth, and that of the reader in occupying so much less than the subject of the narrative deserves.⁷

¹ *Vide Appendix XIX.* pg. 166.

² *Ibid.* XX. pg. 167.

³ *Ibid.* XXI. pg. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.* XXII. pg. 168.

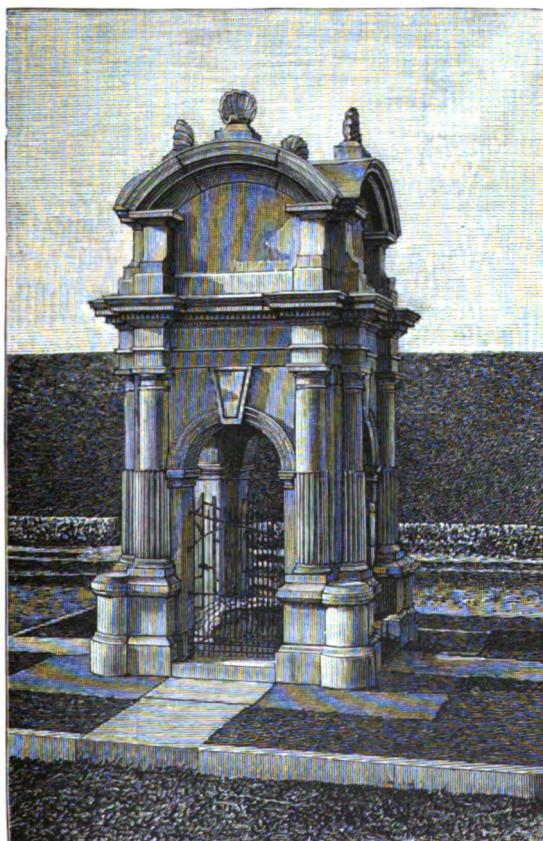
⁵ *Ibid.* XXIII. pg. 169.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXIV. pg. 169.

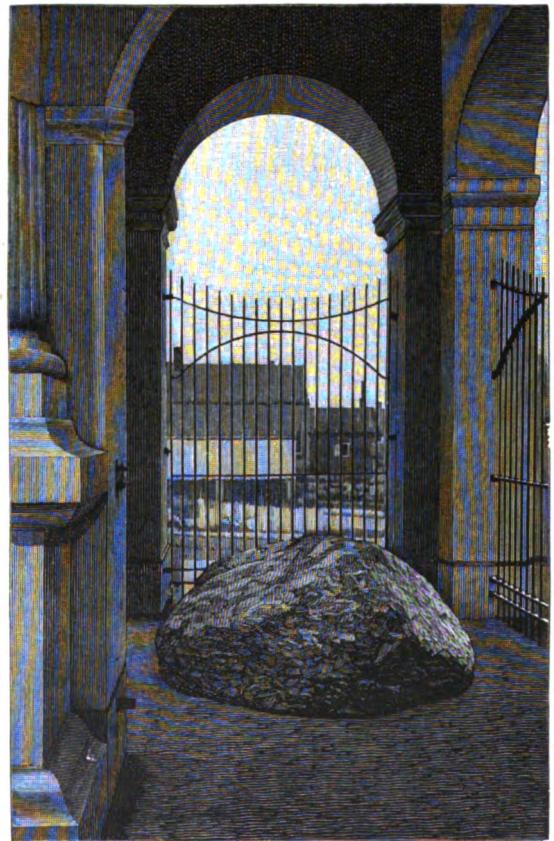
⁷ *Ibid.* XXV. pg. 172.



PILGRIM HALL.



CANOPY COVERING PLYMOUTH ROCK.



PLYMOUTH ROCK.

APPENDIX.

I. THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH.

DECEMBER 11, 1620.

Two articles have appeared in recent numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Monthly Magazine of History*, the aim of which was to show that the exploring party sent out from Cape Cod Harbor on the 6th of December, 1620, did not extend their exploration so far as Plymouth, and therefore could not have landed on Plymouth Rock on the 11th, or the 21st of new style, as now observed. The writer of neither of these articles raises any question concerning the date, though the writer of the former suggests that the Old Colony Club must have been aware of the difference between the old and new style when they celebrated in 1769, the 22d of December, but were led by an incorrect punctuation of the text in "Mourt's Relation" into the error of supposing that the Sabbath spent on Clark's Island was the 11th, and that the Monday when the shallop party reached the mainland was the 12th, or the 22d of new style.

This explanation of the error is not satisfactory. "Mourt's Relation" was sent in the "Fortune" in 1621, to London, where it was published in 1622. It was always a rare work, and, though reprinted in an abridged form by Purchas in 1625, and afterwards freely used by Bradford and Morton in their literary labors, it was never republished in a complete and correct form until the issue of Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," in 1841. No copy of the original work is now to be found in Plymouth, and it is not probable that the members of the Old Colony Club in 1769 had access to its pages. On the other hand, "Morton's Memorial" has always been a familiar book in the Old Colony since the time of its first edition, in 1669, and, as stated in the body of this work, was reprinted in Boston in 1721, and in Newport in 1772, not long after the first celebration of the Old Colony Club. This, therefore, was probably the book which the descendants of the Pilgrims had in their homes, and to which they referred as authority concerning the events of 1620.

There is to be found in its text no such misleading punctuation as that in "Mourt's Relation," but only the simple statement that the party in the shallop set

sail from Cape Cod Harbor on Wednesday, the 6th of December. There is no room for doubt that the Monday following was the 11th, and we must consequently look elsewhere for the cause of the error of our fathers in celebrating the 22d in 1769, instead of the 21st. It has been stated so often that its repetition seems almost unnecessary. At the time of the adoption of the new style, by order of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, an error of ten days had occurred in the Julian calendar, which was corrected by reckoning the 5th of October as the 15th, and changing the length of the year from 365 days and six hours, with every fourth year 366 days, to 365 days, with an additional day in February every fourth year, the additional day being omitted three times in every four hundred years. The English Parliament did not adopt the new style until 1751, at which time the variation, which had remained ten days from 1582 to 1700, had become eleven days, and consequently, in order to make the necessary correction in England and her provinces, it was provided by law that the 3d of September, 1752, should be reckoned the 14th. The error committed by the Old Colony Club in 1769 lay in supposing that the eleven days dropped seventeen years before, in 1752, represented the variation in 1620, at which time it was really only ten days. In other words, they incorrectly reckoned the variation at the time of the celebration instead of that at the time of the landing.

This matter of dates, however, is merely incidental to the main question considered by the articles referred to. The question is, Did the party in the shallop land at Plymouth? Of this there can be no doubt. The record is simple: "On the Sabbath day we rested; and on Monday we sounded the harbor and found it a very good harbor 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 to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." Where was the shore from which they marched into the land, and where were the little run-

ning brooks? The writer in the *Atlantic* declares that they must have "gone to the nearest mainland, right opposite, straight across the harbor, now Duxbury and Kingston, where corn-fields would be sure to be found, and where along the shore half a dozen little brooks are still loitering on their way to the sea." Here, however, the map to which he referred in his article led him into an error into which a personal knowledge of the localities would have prevented his falling. The fact is, that along the whole sweep of shore from the Gurnet to the present north-easterly line of Plymouth there is not a single stream which could be correctly called a "little running brook," while such streams as there are, only three in number, are more distant from Clark's Island, the starting-point of the party, than is the shore of Plymouth. On the other hand, along the Plymouth line of the harbor there are no less than seven small streams flowing into the sea, five of which would be accurately described as little running brooks, and another of which was that on whose banks the final settlement was made. These brooks were conspicuous and attractive features of the country in the eyes of the Pilgrims, and were especially referred to by their numbers of first, second, third, etc., in the location and division of lands in 1623.

Nor is this all; on the 15th of December the "Mayflower" weighed anchor for Plymouth, and on the 18th some of the party landed. It is fair to suppose that they landed first where the exploring party had reported that they found "divers corn-fields and little running brooks, a place very good for situation," which "was such good news to the rest of the people and did so much to comfort their hearts." Was this at Duxbury, or Kingston, or Plymouth? The context will tell,—"We found no navigable river, but four or

five small running brooks of very sweet, fresh water that all ran into the sea." It could not have been Kingston, because they speak of discovering Jones River on the next day, the 19th, and because, also, in their account of the landing on the 18th, they say they found no navigable river, while in their description of this stream they say,—"We found a creek and went up three English miles." It could not have been Duxbury, because there are not to be found on its shore the "four or five small running brooks, with their sweet, fresh water, running into the sea." Nor is this all. The record further states that "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 mainland, 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 runs under the hillside, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbor our shallop and boats exceedingly well; and in this brook much good fish in their season; on the further side of the river, much corn ground cleared." "On the first place," the record says, signifying that this was the spot first looked at after the arrival of the "Mayflower." The first place looked at was, of course, the place visited by the exploring party eight days before, the report of which "did much comfort their hearts." Here they found "divers corn-fields and little running brooks, a place very good for situation," and the spot was neither Duxbury nor Kingston, but Plymouth. On this spot they settled, on the sunny slope of the little hill whose eastern bank overhung the rock itself,—the only rock, as tradition states (and as may be readily believed), lapped by the incoming tide for two miles along the shore.

II. MARTIN PRING.

SOME recent historians have reached the conclusion that Pring in his voyage, in 1603, visited Plymouth, notwithstanding the latitude assigned by him to the locality described in his journal. In order that the reader may form an opinion of his own on this mooted question that part of the record is here included which relates to the subject.

"We bore into the great gulf which Capt. Gosnold overshot the year before, coasting and finding people on the north side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectations, we left there and sailed over and came to an anchor on the south side, in the latitude of 41 degrees and odd minutes: when we went on land in a certain bay which we called Whitson Bay by the name of the worshipfull Master John Whitson, the Mayor of the City of Bristol, and one of the chief adventurers, and finding a pleasant hill thereunto adjoining, we called it Mount Aldworth for Master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage. About the 8th or

9th of August we left this excellent haven, at the entrance whereof we found 20 fathoms water and rode at our ease in 7 fathoms, being land-locked, the haven winding in compass like the shell of a snail, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and twenty-five minutes."

The reader will observe that the description of the locality applies well enough to Plymouth except in the latitude, while that applies to Edgartown, the locality which, until recently, has been supposed to be the spot indicated. In order to come to a correct decision on this point it is necessary to determine whether Massachusetts Bay or Vineyard Sound was the great gulf entered by Pring and overshot by Gosnold in 1602. The record of Gosnold's voyage bearing on the question is as follows:

"The 15th day (of May) we had again sight of the land, which made a head, being as we thought an island by reason of a large sound that appeared west-

ward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof we did perceive a large opening; we called it Shole-hope; near the cape we came to anchor in 15 fathoms, where we took great store of codfish, for which we altered the name and called it Cape Cod. Here we saw schools of herrings, mackerels and other small fish in great abundance. This is a low, sandy shore, but without danger also; we came to anchor again in 16 fathoms fair by the land in the latitude of 42 degrees. This cape is well near a mile broad and lieth north-east by east. The captain went here ashore and found the ground to be full of pears, strawberries, hurtberries, etc., as then unripe; the sand also by the shore somewhat deep; the firewood there by us taken in was cypress, birch, wic-hazell and beech. The 16th we trended the coast southerly, which was all champain and full of grass, but the islands somewhat woody. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod we discerned a point with some breach a good distance off, and keeping our loss to double it we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we called Tucker's Terror upon his expressed fear. The point we named Point Care; having passed it we bore up again with the land & in the night came with it, anchoring in 8 fathoms. The ground good. The 17th, appeared many breaches round about us, so as we continued that day without remove. The 18th being fair we sent forth a boat to sound over a breach that in our course lay off another point called by us Gilbert's Point, who returned us 4, 5, 6 & 7 fathoms, also a discovery of divers islands, which after proved to be hills and hummocks distinct within the land. The 19th we passed over the breach off Gilbert's Point in 4 or 5 fathoms and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; between the last two points are 2 leagues. The latitude here is 41 degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$ parts. The coast from Gilbert's Point to the supposed islands lieth east by south. Here also we descrid two inlets which might promise fresh water inwardly, whereof we perceived much smoke as though some people had there been. This coast is full of people. The 21st we went coasting from Gilbert's Point to the supposed islands in 10, 9, 8, 7 & 6 fathoms close aboard the shore and that depth lieth a league off. A little from the supposed island appeared unto us an opening with which we stood judging it to be the end of that which Capt. Gosnold descrid from Cape Cod, and as he thought to extend some 30 or 40 miles in length, and finding there but 3 fathoms a league off, we omitted to make further discovery of the same, calling it Shole-hope.

"From this opening the main lieth southwest, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited islet which so afterwards appeared unto us; we bore with it and named it Martha's Vineyard; from Shole-hope it is 8 leagues. In circuit the island is 5 miles and hath 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude. The 23d we weighed and towards night came to anchor at the northwest part of the island.

The 24th we set sail and doubled the cape of another island next unto it which we called Dover Cliffe, and then came into a fair sound where we rode all night; the next morning we sent off our boat to discover another cape that lay between us and the main from which were a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water and without danger; we went about them and came to anchor in 8 fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the shore in one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in. This we called Gosnold's Hope, the north bank whereof is the main which stretches east and west. This island Capt. Gosnold called Elizabeth's Island, where we determined our abode."

Now which was the gulf entered by Pring in 1603, and overshot by Gosnold in 1602? Was it Massachusetts Bay or Vineyard Sound? Gosnold undoubtedly overshot Massachusetts Bay; but did he not overshoot Vineyard Sound, also? Pring says that the place he visited was in latitude 41° 25', and that is precisely the latitude of Edgartown, while that of Plymouth is 41° 57' 26". The course of Gosnold it is difficult to reconcile properly with any route, but the landmarks mentioned by him indicate that he sailed outside of and round Nantucket. Point Care was undoubtedly Monomoy Point; but Gilbert's Point must have been Sankoty Head, the most eastern part of Nantucket. The opening found was Muskeget Channel, between Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and this was the place called Shole-hope. The disinhabited island named Martha's Vineyard on the northwest side of which he anchored was Noman's Land; the Dover Cliffe was Gay Head and the sound into which he came and anchored on the night of the 24th was Menemsha Bight, the western entrance of Vineyard Sound. The other cape "between us and the main" was the southwestern extremity of the Elizabeth Islands and the ledge of rocks was that now called the Sow and Pigs. The final anchorage ground called Gosnold's Hope was the entrance of Buzzard's Bay, and the island noted was Cuttyhunk.

If the route of Gosnold was outside of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, he, of course, failed to enter Vineyard Sound, and that sound, taken in connection with the latitude stated by Pring as that of his final anchorage, must have been "that great gulf which Captain Gosnold overshot the year before." There has never been, until recently, any doubt that Edgartown, and not Plymouth, was the stopping-place of Pring; and the doubt recently expressed seems to have been prompted by that spirit of historical criticism which takes special delight in overturning long-established theories and traditions and setting up new. Those who, by careful study, have made themselves most familiar with the localities mentioned in the Gosnold and Pring records have reached no other conclusion than that Edgartown was Pring's resting-place and that he did not visit Plymouth. Mr. Obed Macy, the historian of Nantucket, says of Gosnold that, "having fallen in with the cape shore, he pursued

his course south till he came up with Sandy Point, the southern extremity of the county of Barnstable, in the State of Massachusetts. It being late in the day, to avoid danger, he stood off to sea, and in the night came in sight of the white cliffs at the east end of Nantucket, now called Sankaty Head, the highest land on that part of the island." Belknap, who, with journals in hand, made careful examinations of the spots which they described, commits himself fully to the theory that the course of Gosnold was outside of Nantucket and that Edgartown Harbor was the anchorage of Pring.

In support of the theory then universally adopted, he quotes as follows from a letter of Rev. Joseph Thaxter, of Edgartown, dated November 15, 1796, showing that that locality, not only in latitude, but in its general character, agrees with the description in the record of Pring:

"It is evident to me and others, better acquainted than I am, with whom I have consulted, that Pring, as soon as he passed the sandy point of Monomoy, bore to the westward and came through what is called Butler's Hole; that he kept the north channel till he got as far as Falmouth, and that he then crossed over into Old-Town Harbor (Edgartown), which corresponds in every respect to his description except in the depth of water at the entrance of the harbor; there are now but fourteen fathoms; in the harbor there are seven and a half. I would suggest an idea whether there is now the same depth of water at the entrance as in 1603. It is certain that the shoals

shift and that Cape Poge, within the memory of man, has been washed into the sea thirty or forty rods. From this circumstance the difference in the depth of water may be easily accounted for. There are several pleasant hills adjoining to the harbor, and to this day plenty of sassafras."

Peleg Coffin, also of Nantucket, a gentleman thoroughly familiar with Nantucket and the Vineyard, is also quoted by Belknap as saying that "the haven described by Pring must have been Edgartown. No other could with propriety be represented as winding or land-locked, as is truly the harbor of Edgartown, generally called Old-Town."

The extract from Gosnold's narrative quoted above, shows that the island now known as Noman's Land was named by him Martha's Vineyard. How long it bore that name it is difficult to say. What is now Martha's Vineyard was as late as 1650 called Martin's Vineyard, after Martin Pring. It was so called by Rev. Thomas Mayhew, the coadjutor of John Eliot, who lived on the island. In some way Martha superseded Martin, and the old Martha's Vineyard became Noman's Land. The author has recently examined a rough plan of what is now Martha's Vineyard, drawn about 1693, in which the southwesterly point is laid down as Tickanoman's Point; Tickanoman, sometimes spelled Tequanomin, was a famous sachem, who, under the influence of the white settlers, became a Christian in 1650. With the prefix dropped his name undoubtedly gave the name to Noman's Land.

III. THE NORTHMEN.

THE voyages of the Northmen are involved in some obscurity. The records of their discoveries, as published from Icelandic manuscripts by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians at Copenhagen, have recently thrown much light on these voyages, and made it extremely probable that Plymouth was visited by them in the beginning of the eleventh century. It is now known that Columbus himself visited Iceland in 1477, only fifteen years before his first voyage of discovery, and it is quite within the limits of possibility that from the pages of the Icelandic sagas he obtained enough information to warrant his adventurous enthusiasm. Iceland was colonized by Ingolf, a Norwegian or Northman, in 875. In the latter half of the tenth century Thorvald and his son, Eirek, fled on account of their crimes from Norway to Iceland, and after the death of Thorvald, the son, called Eirek the Red, fitted out a vessel and made a voyage, in the course of which he discovered Greenland. In 985 Eirek settled permanently in Greenland with a considerable colony, among whom was Heriulf, a kinsman of Ingolf, the first settler. After their departure from Iceland, Biarni Heriulfson, the son of Heriulf, returned home from a voyage to Norway, and finding his father gone, followed him, but, driven by gales to

the southward, sailed along within sight of the shores of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Massachusetts before he was able to again bear to the northward and reach Greenland, his destination.

Eirek the Red had three sons,—Leif, Thorvald and Thorstein. In 999, Leif visited Norway, and there becoming a Christian, on his return introduced, for the first time, Christianity into Greenland. In the year 1000, Leif, with thirty-five men, sailed south on a voyage of discovery, first making the coast of Newfoundland, where he landed and named the country Helluland. He again sailed farther south and came to another land, the description of which agrees perfectly with that of Nova Scotia, and this he called Markland. Sailing again still farther south, he passed between Cape Cod and Nantucket, through Vineyard Sound and Seconnet River, into Mount Hope Bay, the land about which he called Vinland. In the spring of 1001 he returned to Greenland. In the spring of 1002, Thorvald, a younger brother of Leif, took the same ship and with thirty men undertook to follow in the track of Leif and make a more thorough exploration. He went directly to Vinland, where he passed the winters of 1002 and 1003. In the spring of the latter year he explored the coast farther south,

but how far the record is too imperfect to determine. Returning to Vinland, he there passed another winter, and in the spring of 1004 sailed eastward and was driven ashore in a gale on Cape Cod, which he called Kialar-ness, or Keel Cape. After the necessary repairs had been made he sailed westward until he came to "a promontory," answering to the description of the Gurnet, where he was mortally wounded by the natives with a poisoned arrow. Before his death he said to his companions,—"Now it is my advice

that you prepare to return home as quickly as possible, but me you shall carry to the promontory which seemed to me so pleasant a place to dwell in; perhaps the words which fell from me shall prove true and I shall indeed abide there for a season. There bury me, and place a cross at my head and another at my feet, and call that place forever more Krossa-ness" (Cross Cape). Thorvald died and was there buried, and in the spring of 1005 his companions set sail for Greenland.

IV. THE "MAYFLOWER."

AN unfounded story has become quite current that the "Mayflower" was afterwards engaged in the slave-trade. While the truth or falsity of such a story has no bearing on Pilgrim history, it is desirable, if possible, to remove every taint and blemish from what we have been accustomed to look upon as the symbol of that purity and spirit of high resolve and noble endurance which characterized the passengers of that famous ship. The story doubtless had its origin in an English court record of a suit of Vassall and others against Jacket. In that suit, tried about 1650, "George Dethick, of Poplan, gentleman, aged 24, deposed that he well knew the ships the 'Mayflower,' the 'Peter' and Benjamin, of which Samuel Vassall, Richard Grandley and Company were the true and lawful owners, and that they fitted them out on a trading voyage to Guinea, and thence to certain places in the West Indies, and so to return to London. William Jacket was captain and commander, and Dethick himself sailed in the 'Mayflower' as one of the masters' mates, June 16, 1647. On the arrival of the ship at Guinea, they trucked divers goods for negroes, elephants' teeth, gold and provisions for the negroes. They got 450 negroes and more, with which he sailed in the 'Mayflower' to Barbadoes, arriving there at the beginning of March, 1647-48, Mr. Dethick being the purser." Such is the origin of a story which has been repeated with an unaccountable pleasure by that class of persons who enjoy a sneer now and then at the Pilgrims and everything connected with them. Aside from the probability that a vessel bearing the name "Mayflower," in 1647, was a different one from that which brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth twenty-seven years before, Mr. Hunter, F.S.A., of London, an assistant keeper of the public records, states, in his "Collections Con-

cerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, the First Colonists of New England," from which the above extract is quoted, that the "Mayflower" in the slave-trade was of three hundred and fifty tons burden, while it is well known that the Pilgrim ship was of only one hundred and eighty. Mr. Hunter further mentions his discovery of the existence of several vessels bearing the name in the early part of the seventeenth century. "In 1587 there was a 'Mayflower' of London, of which Wm. Morecock was master, and a 'Mayflower' of Dover, of which John Tooke was master, and at the same time another 'Mayflower,' of London, of which Richard Ireland was master. In 1633 there was a 'Mayflower' of Dover, Walter Finniss, master, in which two sons of the Earl of Berkshire crossed to Calais. A 'Mayflower' sailed from London in 1592. In a brief in a Florentine cause, in the Court of Admiralty, the subject is the ship 'Mayflower,' of three hundred tons, belonging to John Elredy and Richard Hall, of London, merchants, which arrived at Leghorn in 1605, and was there repaired by the merchants at the charge of three thousand two hundred ducats; when it was ready to return to England, it was stayed by the officers of the then Duke of Florence and compelled to unload her merchandise, saving some lignum vitæ left in her for ballast." All that is actually known of the history of the Pilgrim 'Mayflower' is that in August, 1629, she arrived at Salem, bringing, among others, thirty-five members of the Leyden Church on their way to Plymouth, and that on the 1st of July, 1630, she arrived at Charlestown with a portion of the colony of Winthrop. It is probable that long before 1647, the date of the slave-trade voyage, she had either died a natural death at home or had laid her bones at the bottom of the sea.

V. THE GREAT CHARTER OF NEW ENGLAND.

As is stated in the earlier part of this work, on the 10th of April, 1606, King James issued letters-patent to the Northern and Southern Virginia companies. The Pilgrims brought with them a patent from the latter company, whose jurisdiction was south of what is now New York. On the 3d of November, 1620, when the Pilgrims were on their voyage, the Northern

Virginia Company received a new charter under the name and title of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America." By this council the patent was issued June 1, 1621, which was sent over in the "Fortune" in that year, and which is now deposited in Pilgrim Hall,

in Plymouth. By this council also was issued the patent to William Bradford and his associates, dated January 13, 1629, which is deposited in the Plymouth Registry of Deeds. Both of these patents may be found in the body of this work, but they leave a history of Plymouth incomplete unaccompanied by the royal charter, from which they derive their authority and title. The following copy is taken from the book of "Plymouth Colony Laws," published in 1836, under the supervision of William Brigham, agreeably to a resolve of the Massachusetts Legislature, passed April 5, 1836:

"JAMES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER
OF THE FAITH, ETC.

"To all whom these presents shall come, greeting:—Whereas, upon the humble petition of divers of our well-disposed subjects, that intended to make several plantations in the parts of America, between the degrees of thirty-four and forty-five, We, according to our princely inclination, favoring much the worthy disposition, in hope thereby to advance the enlargement of the Christian religion, to the glory of God Almighty, as also by that means to stretch out the bounds of our dominions and to replenish those deserts with people, governed by laws and magistrates, for the more peaceable commerce of all that in time to come shall have occasion to traffic into those territories, granted unto Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Knights; Thomas Hamon and Raleigh Gilbert, Esquires; and others, their associates, for the more speedy accomplishment thereof, by our letters-patent, bearing date the 10th day of April, in the fourth year of our reign of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the fortieth, free liberty to divide themselves into two several colonies; the one called the first colony to be undertaken and advanced by certain knights, gentlemen and merchants in and about our city of London; the other, called the second colony, to be undertaken and advanced by certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and their associates in or about our cities of Bristol, Exon and our town of Plymouth and other places, as in and by our said letters-patents, among other things more at large, it doth and may appear.

"And whereas, since that time, upon the humble petition of the said adventurers and planters of the said first colony, we have been graciously pleased to make them one distinct and entire body by themselves, giving unto them their distinct limits and bounds; and have, upon their like humble request, granted unto them divers liberties, privileges, enlargements and immunities, as in and by our several letters-patents it doth and may more at large appear.

"Now, forasmuch as we have been, in like manner, humbly petitioned unto by our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, knight, captain of our fort and island, by Plymouth, and by certain the principal knights and gentlemen adventurers of the

said second colony, and by divers other persons of quality, who now intend to be their associates, divers of which have been at great and extraordinary charges, and sustained many losses, in seeking and discovering a place fit and convenient to lay the foundation of a hopeful plantation, and have, divers years past, by God's assistance, and their own endeavors, taken actual possession of the continent hereafter mentioned, in our name and to our use, as sovereign lord thereof, and have settled already some of our people in places agreeable to their desires in those parts, and in confidence of prosperous success therein, by the continuance of God's divine blessing and our royal permission, have resolved in a more plentiful and effectual manner, to prosecute the same, and to that purpose and intent have desired of us, for their better encouragement and satisfaction therein; and that they may avoid all confusion, questions or differences between themselves and those of the said first colony, that we would likewise be graciously pleased to make certain adventurers, intending to erect and establish fisheries, trade and plantations within the territories, precincts and limits of the said second colony, and their successors, one several distinct and entire body, and to grant unto them such estate, charters, privileges, enlargements and immunities there as are in these, our letters-patents, hereafter particularly expressed and declared.

"And forasmuch as we have been certainly given to understand, by divers of our good subjects, that have, for these many years past, frequented those coasts and territories between the degrees of forty and forty-eight, that there is no other the subjects of any Christian king or state, by any authority from their sovereign lords or princes, actually in possession of any of the said lands or precincts, whereby any right, claim, interest or title may, might or ought by that means accrue, belong or appertain unto them, or any of them.

"And also, for that we have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years there hath, by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague, together with many horrible slaughters and murders committed amongst the savages and British people there heretofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction, devastation and depopulation of that whole territory, so as there is not left for many leagues together, in a manner, any that do claim or challenge any kind of interest therein, nor any other superior lord or sovereign to make claim thereunto, whereby we, in our judgment, are persuaded and satisfied that the appointed time is come in which Almighty God, in His great goodness and bounty towards us and our people, hath thought fit and determined that the large and goodly territories, deserted, as it were, by their natural inhabitants, should be possessed and enjoyed by such of our subjects and people as heretofore have and hereafter shall, by His mercy and favor, and by His powerful arm, be directed and conducted thither; in the contemplation and serious consideration where-

of we have thought it fit, according to our kingly duty, so much as in us lieth, to second and follow God's sacred will, rendering reverend thanks to His Divine Majesty for His gracious favor in laying open and revealing the same unto us before any other Christian prince or state, by which means, without offence, and, as we trust, to His glory, we may with boldness go on to the settling of so hopeful a work, which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such savages as remain wandering in desolation and distress to civil society and Christian religion, to the enlargement of our own dominions and the advancement of the fortunes of such of our good subjects as shall willingly interest themselves in the said employment, to whom we cannot but give singular commendations for their so worthy intention and enterprise.

"We therefore, of our special grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, by the advice of our lords and others of our privy council, have for us, our heirs and successors, granted, ordained and established, and in and by these presents, do for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain and establish that all that circuit, continent, precincts and limits in America lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line to forty-eight degrees of the said northerly latitude, and in length by all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main land, from sea to sea, with all the seas, rivers, islands, creeks, inlets, ports, and havens within the degrees, precincts and limits of the said latitude and longitude, shall be the limits and bounds and precincts of the said second colony.

"And to the end that the said territories may forever hereafter be more particularly and certainly known and distinguished, our will and pleasure is that the same shall, from henceforth, be nominated, termed and called by the name of New England in America, and by that name of New England in America, the said circuit, precinct, limit, continent, islands and places in America aforesaid, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, name, call, erect, found and establish, and by that name to have continuance forever.

"And for the better plantation, ruling and governing of the aforesaid New England in America, we will, ordain, constitute, assign, limit and appoint, and for us, our heirs and successors, we, by the advice of the lords and others of the said privy council, do, by these presents, ordain, constitute, limit and appoint, that from henceforth there shall be forever hereafter, in our town of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, one body politic and corporate, which shall have perpetual succession, which shall consist of the number of forty persons and no more, which shall be, and shall be called and known by the name of the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America, and for that purpose we have, at and by the nomination and request of the said pe-

titoners, granted, ordained, established and confirmed, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant, ordain, establish and confirm our right trusty and right well beloved cousins and counsellors, Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, lord stewart of our household; George, lord marquis Buckingham, our high admiral of England; James, marquis Hamilton; William, earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of our household; Thomas, earl of Arundel; and our right trusty and right well beloved cousin William, earl of Bath; and our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, Henry, earl of Southampton; and our right trusty and right well beloved cousin, William, earl of Salisbury; and Robert, earl of Warwick; and our right trusty and right well beloved John, viscount Haddington; and our right trusty and right well beloved counsellor, Edward, Lord Zouch, lord warden of our cinque ports, and our trusty and well beloved Edmond, lord Sheffield, Edward, lord Gorges; and our well beloved Sir Edward Seymour, knight and baronet; Sir Robert Mansel; Sir Edward Zouch, our knight marshal; Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brooks, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Warwick Heale, Sir Richard Catchmay, Sir John Bourgchier, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Thomas Worth, knights; and our well beloved Matthew Sutcliff, dean of Exeter; Robert Heath, Esq., recorder of our city of London; Henry Bourgchier, John Drake, Raleigh Gilbert, George Chudley, Thomas Hamon and John Argall, esquires; to be, and in and by these presents, we do appoint them to be the first modern and present Council, established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America, and that they, and the survivors of them, and such as the survivors and survivor of them shall, from time to time, elect and choose to make up the aforesaid number of forty persons, when, and as often as any of them or any of their successors shall happen to decease or to be removed from being of the said council, shall be, in and by these presents, incorporated, to have a perpetual succession forever, in deed, fact and name, and shall be one body corporate and politic; and that those, and such said persons and their successors, and such as shall be elected and chosen to succeed them, as aforesaid, shall be, and by these presents, are and be incorporated, named and called by the name of the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America; and them the said duke of Lenox, marquis Buckingham, marquis Hamilton, earl of Pembroke, earl of Arundel, earl of Bath, earl of Southampton, earl of Salisbury, earl of Warwick, viscount Haddington, lord Zouch, lord Sheffield, lord Gorges, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Robert Mansel, Sir Edward Zouch, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe,

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brooks, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Warwick Heale, Sir Richard Cachmay, Sir John Bourghier, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Thomas Worth, knights; Matthew Sutcliff, Robert Heath, Henry Bourghier, John Drake, Raleigh Gilbert, George Chudley, Thomas Hamon and John Argall, esquires, and their successors, one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, by the name of the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America.

"We do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, really and fully incorporate, erect, ordain, name, constitute and establish, and that, by the same name of the said council, they and their successors, forever hereafter be incorporated, named and called, and shall, by the same name, have perpetual succession.

"And further, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said council established at Plymouth, that they, and their successors, by the same name, be, and shall be, and shall continue persons able and capable in the law, from time to time, and shall, by that name of council aforesaid, have full power and authority, and lawful capacity and ability, as well to purchase, take, hold, receive, enjoy and to have to them and their successors, forever, any manors, lands, tenements, rents, royalties, privileges, immunities, reversions, annuities, hereditaments, goods and chattels whatsoever, of, or from us, our heirs and successors, and of, or from any other person or persons whatsoever, as well in and within this our realm of England, as in and within any other place or places whatsoever or wheresoever, and the same manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, goods or chattels, or any of them, by the same name, to alien and sell, or to do, execute, or ordain and perform all other matters and things whatsoever to the said incorporation and plantation concerning and belonging.

"And further, our will and pleasure is that the said council, for the time being, and their successors, shall have full power and lawful authority, by the name aforesaid, to sue and be sued, implead and to be impleaded, answer and to be answered unto, in all manner of courts and places that now are, or hereafter shall be, within this our realm, and elsewhere, as well temporal as spiritual, in all manner of suits and matters whatsoever, and of what nature or kind soever such suits or actions be or shall be.

"And our will and pleasure is that the said forty persons, or the greater number of them, shall, and may, from time to time, and at any time hereafter, at their own will and pleasure, according to the laws, ordinances, and orders of or by them, or by the greater part of them hereafter, in manner and form in these presents mentioned to be agreed upon, to elect and choose amongst themselves, one of the said forty persons, for the time being, to be president of the said

council, which president, so elected and chosen, we will, shall continue and be president of the said council for so long a time as by the orders of the said council, from time to time to be made, as hereafter is mentioned, shall be thought fit, and no longer; unto which president, or, in his absence, to any such person as, by the orders of the said council, shall be thereunto appointed, we do give authority to give orders for the warning of the said council and summoning the company to their meetings.

"And our will and pleasure is that, from time to time, when, and so often as any of the said council shall happen to decease, or to be removed from being of the said council, that then, and so often, the survivors of them of the said council, and no other, or the greater number of them, who then shall be, from time to time, left and remaining, and who shall, or the greater number of which, that shall be assembled at a public court, or meeting, to be held for the said company, shall elect and choose one or more other person or persons to be of the said council, and which, from time to time, shall be of the said council, so that the number of forty persons of the said council may, from time to time, be supplied.

"Provided always, that as well the persons herein named, to be of the said council, as every other counsellor hereafter to be elected, shall be presented to the lord chancellor of England, or to the lord high treasurer of England, or to the lord chamberlain of the household, of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, to take his and their oath and oaths of a counsellor and counsellors, to us, our heirs and successors, for the said company and colony in New England.

"And further, we will grant, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said council, and their successors, that they and their successors shall have, and enjoy forever, a common seal, to be engraved according to their dispositions; and that it shall be lawful for them to appoint what other seal or seals they shall think most meet and necessary, either for their use, as they are one united body, incorporate here, or for the public use of their government and ministers in New England aforesaid, whereby the said incorporation may or shall seal any manner of instrument touching the same corporation; and the manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, annuities, hereditaments, goods, chattels, affairs and any other things belonging unto, or in any wise appertaining, teaching or concerning the said council and their successors, or concerning the said corporation and plantation, in and by their own letters-patent, as aforesaid founded, erected and established.

"And we do further, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said council and their successors, for the time being, in their dispositions, from time to time, to admit such and so many persons and persons to be made free and enabled to trade and traffic unto, within and in New England

aforsaid, and unto every part and parcel thereof, or to have powers and enjoy any lands or hereditaments in New England aforsaid, as they shall think fit according to the laws, orders, constitutions and ordinances by the said council and their successors, from time to time, to be made and established, by virtue of and according to the true intent of these presents, and under such conditions, reservations and agreements as the said council shall set down, order and direct and not otherwise.

“ And further, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, we do, by these presents, give and grant full power and authority to the said council and their successors, that the said council, for the time being, or the greater part of them, shall and may, from time to time, nominate, make, constitute, ordain and confirm by such name or names, style or styles, as to them shall seem good, and, likewise, to revoke and discharge, change and alter, as well all and singular governors, officers and ministers, which hereafter shall be by them thought fit and needful to be made or used, as well to attend the business of the said company here as for the government of the said colony and plantation.

“ And also to make, ordain and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation, so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, and the same at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke or change, not only within the precincts of the said colony, but also upon the seas, in going and coming to and from the said colony, as they, in their good discretion, shall think to be fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there.

“ And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, grant, declare and ordain that such principal governor as, from time to time, shall be authorized and appointed, in manner and form in these presents heretofore expressed, shall have full power and authority to use and exercise martial laws in cases of rebellion, insurrection and mutiny, in as large and ample a manner as our lieutenants in our counties within our realm of England have, or ought to have, by force of their commission of lieutenancy.

“ And forasmuch as it shall be necessary for all such our loving subjects as shall inherit within the said precincts of New England aforsaid, to determine to live together in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, Christian peace and civil quietness, each with the other, whereby every one may, with more safety, pleasure and profit, enjoy that, whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril.

“ We, for us, our heirs and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and, by these presents, do give and grant unto the said council and their suc-

cessors, and to such governors, officers and ministers as shall be, by said council, constituted and appointed according to the natures and limits of their offices and places respectively, that they shall and may, from time to time, forever hereafter, within the said precincts of New England, or in the way by the seas, thither and from thence, have full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule all such the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, as shall, from time to time, adventure themselves in any voyage thither, or that shall, at any time hereafter, inhabit in the precincts and territories of the said colony as aforsaid, according to such laws, orders, ordinances, directions and instructions as by the said council aforsaid shall be established; and, in defect thereof, in cases of necessity, according to the good discretions of the said governors and officers respectively, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and others; so, always, as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings, as near as conveniently may be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government and policy of this our realm of England.

“ And, furthermore, if any person or persons, adventurers or planters of the said colony, or any other, at any time or times hereafter, shall transport any monies, goods or merchandises out of any our kingdoms, with a pretence and purpose to land, set, or otherwise to dispose of the same within the limits and bounds of the said colony, and yet, nevertheless, being at sea or after he hath landed within any part of the said colony, shall carry the same into any other foreign country, with a purpose there to set and dispose thereof, that then all the goods and chattels of the said person or persons, so offending and transported, together with the ship or vessel wherein such transportation was made, shall be forfeited to us, our heirs and successors.

“ And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, for and in respect of the considerations aforsaid, and for divers other good causes and considerations, us thereunto especially moving, and by the advice of the lords and others of our said privy council, have absolutely given, granted and confirmed, and, by these presents, do absolutely give, grant and confirm unto the said council, called the Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America, and unto their successors, forever, all the aforsaid lands and grounds, continent, precincts, place, places and territories (viz.:), the aforsaid part of America, lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line to forty-eight degrees of the said northerly latitude, inclusively, and in length of and within all the breadth aforsaid throughout the main land from sea to sea, together, also, with all the firm land, soils, ground, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings, mines

and minerals, as well royal mines of gold and silver as other mines and minerals, precious stones, quarries and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and pre-eminences, both within the said tract of land upon the main and also within the said island and seas adjoining.

“ Provided always, that the said islands, or any of the premises herein before mentioned, and by these presents, intended and meant to be granted, be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state, nor be within the bounds, limits or territories of that southern colony, heretofore, by us, granted to be planted by divers of our loving subjects in the south parts.

“ To have and to hold, possess and enjoy, all and singular, the aforesaid continent, lands, territories, islands, hereditaments and precincts, sea, waters, fishings, with all and all manner their commodities, royalties, liberties, pre-eminences and profits that shall arise from thence, with all and singular their appurtenances and every part and parcel thereof, and of them to and unto the said council and their successors and assigns, forever, to the sole, only and proper use, benefit and behoof of them, the said council and their successors and assigns, forever to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, in free and common socage and not in capite, nor by knights' services.

“ Yielding and paying, therefore, to us, our heirs and successors, the fifth part of the ores of gold and silver which, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall happen to be found, gotten and obtained in, at or within any the said lands, limits, territories and precincts, or in or within any part or parcel thereof, for or in respect of all and all manner of duties, demands and services whatsoever, to be done, made or paid to us, our heirs and successors.

“ And we do further, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant to the said council and their successors, forever, by these presents, that it shall be lawful and free for them and their assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of any our realm or dominions whatsoever, to take, lead, carry and transport in and into their voyages, and for and towards the said plantation in New England, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects and live under our allegiance, or shall willingly accompany them in the said voyage and plantation with shipping, armor, weapons, ordinances, munition, powder, shot, victuals and all manner of clothing, implements, furniture, beasts, cattle, horses, mares and all other things necessary for the said plantation and for their use and defence and for trade with the people there, and in passing and returning to and fro without paying or yielding any custom or subsidy, either inwards or outwards, to us, our heirs or successors

for the same, for the space of seven years from the day of the date of these presents.

“ Provided, that none of the said persons be such as shall be hereafter, by special name, restrained by us, our heirs or successors.

“ And, for their further encouragement of our special grace and favor, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, yield and grant to and with the said council, and their successors, and every of them, their factors and assigns, that they and every of them shall be free and quiet from all subsidies and customs in New England for the space of seven years, and from all taxes and importations for the space of twenty and one years, upon all goods or merchandise, at any time or times hereafter, either upon importation thither or exportation from thence into our realm of England, or into any other our dominions by the said council and their successors, their deputies, factors and assigns, or any of them, except only the five pounds per cent. due for custom upon all such goods and merchandises as shall be brought or imported into our realm of England or any other of our dominions, according to the ancient trade of merchants; which five pounds per centum only being paid, it shall be thenceforth lawful and free for the said adventurers, the same goods and merchandise, to export and carry out of our said dominions into foreign parts, without any custom, tax or other duty, to be paid to us, our heirs and successors. Provided that the said goods and merchandises be shipped out within thirteen months after their first landing, within any part of these dominions.

“ And further, our will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents, charge, command, warrant and authorise the said council and their successors, or the major part of them, which shall be present and assembled for that purpose, shall from time to time, under their common seal, distribute, convey, assign and set over such particular portions of lands, tenements and hereditaments as are, by these presents, formerly granted unto each our loving subjects, naturally born, or denizens, or others, as well adventurers or planters, as by the said company, upon a commission of survey and distribution, executed and returned for that purpose, shall be named, appointed and allowed, wherein our will and pleasure is that respect be had, as well to the proportion of the adventurers as to the special service, hazard, exploit or merit of any person so to be recompensed, advanced or rewarded.

“ And we do also, for us, our heirs and successors, grant to the said council and their successors, and to all and every such governors, or other officers or ministers as by the said council shall be appointed, to have power and authority of government and command in or over the said colony and plantation, that they, and every of them, shall, and lawfully may, from time to time, and all times hereafter, forever, for their several defence and safety, encounter, expulse, repel and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by

land, and all means and ways whatsoever, all such person and persons as, without the special license of the said council and their successors, or the greater part of them, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several precincts and limits of the said colony and plantation.

“ And also, all and every such person and persons whatsoever as shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance to the said colony and plantation.

“ And that it shall be lawful for the said council and their successors, and every of them, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, and they shall have full power and authority to take and suppress, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons whatsoever, with the ships, goods and other furniture, trafficking in any harbor, creek or place within the limits and precincts of the said colony and plantation, and not being allowed by the said council to be adventurers or planters of the said colony.

“ And of our further royal favor, we have granted, and for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said council and their successors, that the said territories, lands, rivers and places aforesaid, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented or traded into by any other of our subjects, or the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, either from any of the ports and havens belonging or appertaining or which shall belong or appertain unto us, our heirs or successors, or to any foreign prince, state or potentate whatsoever.

“ And therefore, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, charge, command, prohibit and forbid all the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, of what degree or quality soever they be, that none of them, directly or indirectly, presume to visit, frequent, trade or adventure to traffic into or from the said territories, lands, rivers and places aforesaid, or any of them, other than the said council and their successors, factors, deputies and assigns, unless it be with the license and consent of the said council and company, first had and obtained in writing, under the common seal, upon pain of our indignation and imprisonment of their bodies during the pleasure of us, our heirs or successors, and the forfeiture and loss, both of their ship and goods, wheresoever they shall be found, either within any of our kingdoms or dominions, or any of the place or places out of our dominion, and for the better effecting of our said pleasure herein, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority unto the said council and their successors, for the time being, that they by themselves, their factors, deputies or assigns, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, attach, arrest, take and seize all and all manner of ships, goods, wares and merchandises whatsoever, which shall be brought from or carried to the places before mentioned, or any of them, contrary to our own will and pleasure, before in these presents expressed, the moiety or one-half of all which forfeitures, we do hereby, for us, our heirs

and successors, give and grant unto the said council and their successors, to their own proper use, without accompt, and the other moiety, or half part thereof, we will, shall be and remain to the use of us, our heirs and successors.

“ And we likewise have condescended and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do condescend and grant to and with the said council and their successors, that we, our heirs or successors, shall not, or will not, give and grant liberty, license or authority to any person or persons whatsoever, to sail, trade or traffic unto the aforesaid plantations of New England, without the good will and liking of the said council, or the greater part of them for the time being, at any their courts to be assembled.

“ And we do, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said council, and their successors, that whensoever or so often as any custom or subsidy shall grow due or payable unto us, our heirs or successors, according to the limitation and appointment aforesaid, by reason of any goods, wares or merchandise, to be shipped out, or any return to be made of any goods, wares or merchandise, unto or from New England, or any the lands or territories aforesaid, that then so often, and in such case, the farmers, customers and officers of our customs of England and Ireland, and every of them, for the time being, upon request made unto them by the said council, their successors, factors or assigns, and upon convenient security to be given in that behalf, shall give and allow unto the said council and their successors, and to all person and persons free of the said company as aforesaid, six months time for the payment of the one-half of all such customs and subsidy as shall be due and payable unto us, our heirs and successors, for the same, for which these, our letters patents or the duplicate, or the enrolment thereof, shall be unto our said officers a sufficient warrant and discharge.

Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that if any of the said goods, wares and merchandises, which be, or shall be at any time hereafter, landed and exported out of any our realms aforesaid, and shall be shipped with a purpose not to be carried to New England aforesaid, that then such payment, duty, custom, importation or forfeiture shall be paid and belong to us, our heirs and successors, for the said goods, wares and merchandises so fraudulently sought to be transported, as if this our grant had not been made nor granted.

“ And we do, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said council and their successors forever, by these presents, that the said president of the said company, or his deputy, for the time being, or any two others of the said council for the said colony in New England, for the time being, shall and may, at all times hereafter, and from time to time, have full power and authority to minister and give the oath and oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or either of them,

to all and every person and persons which shall, at any time and times hereafter, go and pass to the said colony of New England.

" And further, that it shall be likewise lawful for the said president, or his deputy for the time being, or any two others of the said council for the said colony in New England, for the time being, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to minister such a formal oath, as by their discretions shall be reasonably derived, as well unto any person or persons employed, or to be employed in, for or touching the said plantation, for the honest, faithful and just discharge of their service in all such matters as shall be committed unto them, for the good and benefit of the said company, colony and plantation, as also unto such other person or persons as the said president or his deputy, with two others of the said council, shall think meet for the examination or clearing of the truth, in any case whatsoever concerning the said plantation, or any business from thence proceeding or thereunto belonging.

" And to the end that no lewd or ill-disposed persons, sailors, soldiers, artificers, husbandmen, laborers or others which shall receive wares, apparel or other entertainment from the said council, or contract and agree with the said council to go and to serve and to be employed in the said plantation in the colony in New England, do afterwards withdraw, hide and conceal themselves, or refuse to go thither after they have been so entertained and agreed withal, and that no persons which shall be sent and employed in the said plantation of the said colony in New England, upon the charge of the said council, do misbehave themselves by mutinous, seditious or other notorious misdemeanors, or which shall be employed or sent abroad by the Governor of New England, or his deputy, with any ship or pinnace, for provision of the said colony, or for some discovery, or other business and affairs concerning the same, do from thence treacherously either come back again, or return into the realm of England by stealth, or without license of the Governor of the said colony in New England for the time being, or be sent thither as misdoers, or offenders and that none of those persons, after their return from thence, being questioned by the said council here for such their misbehaviors and offences, do, by insolent and contemptuous carriage, in the presence of the said council, show little respect and reverence, either to the place or authority in which we have placed and appointed them and others for the clearing of their lewdness and misdemeanors committed in New England, divulge vile and slanderous reports of the country of New England, or of the government or estate of the said plantation and colony, to bring the said voyages and plantation into disgrace and contempt, by means whereof not only the adventurers and planters already engaged in the said plantation may be exceedingly abused and hindered, and a great number of our loving and well-disposed subjects, otherwise well affected

and induced to join and adventure in so noble a Christian and worthy an action, may be discouraged from the same, but also the enterprise itself, may be overthrown, which cannot miscarry without some dishonor to us and our kingdom.

" We, therefore, for preventing of so great and enormous abuses and misdemeanors, do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said president or his deputy, or such other person or persons as, by the orders of the said council, shall be appointed by warrant under his or their hand or hands, to send for or cause to be apprehended, all and every such person and persons who shall be noted, or accused, or found at any time or times hereafter to offend or misbehave themselves in any the affairs before mentioned and expressed, and, upon the exonerating of any such offender or offenders, and just proof made by oath, taken before the said council, of any such notorious misdemeanors by them to be committed, as aforesaid, and also upon any insolent, contemptuous or unreverent carriage, or misbehavior, to or against the said council, to be showed or used by such person or persons so called, convinced and appearing before them, as aforesaid, that in all such cases our said council, or any two or more of them, for the time being, shall and may have full power and authority either here to bind them over with good securities for their good behaviour, and further therein to proceed, to all intents and purposes, as it is used in other like cases within our realm of England, or else, at their discretions, to remand and send back the said offenders, or any of them, to the said colony of New England, there to be proceeded against and punished as the Governor, deputy or council there, for the time being, shall think meet, or otherwise, according to such laws and ordinances as are, and shall be, in use there for the well ordering and good government of the said colony.

" And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states that if any person or persons which shall hereafter be of the said colony or plantation, or any other, by license or appointment of the said council, or their successors, or otherwise, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob, or spoil, by sea or by land, or do any hurt, violence or unlawful hostility to any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, or any of the subjects of any king, prince, ruler, or governor, or state, being then in league and amity with us, our heirs and successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of such prince, ruler, governor or state, or their subjects, we, our heirs or successors, shall make open proclamation within any of the parts of our realm of England, commodious for that purpose, that the person or persons having committed any such robbery or spoil shall, within the time limited by such a proclamation, make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as the said princes, or others so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented;

and if that the same person or persons, having committed such robbery or spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful for us, our heirs and successors, to put the said person or persons out of our allegiance and protection, and that it shall be lawful and free for all princes to prosecute with hostility the said offenders, and every of them, their and every of their procurers, aiders, abettors and comforters in that behalf.

“Also, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, declare by these presents, that all and every the persons being our subjects, which shall go and inhabit within the said colony and plantation, and every of their children and posterity which shall happen to be born within the limits thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties and franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects, with any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions.

“And lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire or expect of this action is the conversion of and reduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which respect we would be loth that any person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to affect the superstition of the church of Rome, we do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage, from time to time to be made into the said country, but such as shall first have taken the oath of supremacy, for which purpose we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to the president of the said council to tender and exhibit the said oath to all such persons as shall at any time be sent and employed in the said voyage.

“And we also, for us, our heirs and successors, do covenant and grant to and with the council and their successors, by these presents, that if the council, for the time being, and their successors, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, upon any doubt which they shall conceive, concerning the strength or validity in law of this, our present grant, or be desirous to have the same renewed and confirmed by us, our heirs and successors, with amendments of such imperfections and defects as shall appear fit and necessary to the said council, or their successors, to be reformed and amended, on the behalf of us, our heirs and successors, and for the furthering of the plantation and government, or the increase, continuing and flourishing thereof, that then, upon the humble petition of the said council, for the time being, and their successors, shall, and will forthwith, make and pass, under the great seal of England, to the said council and their successors, such further and better assurance of all and singular the lands, grounds, royalties, privileges and promises aforesaid, granted or intended to be granted, according to our true intent and meaning, in these, our letters-patents, signified, declared or

mentioned, as by the learned council of us, our heirs and successors, and of the said company and their successors, shall, in that behalf, be reasonably devised or advised.

“And further, our will and pleasure is, that in all questions and doubts, that shall arise upon any difficulty of construction or interpretation of anything contained in these letters-patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted in most ample and beneficial manner, for the said council and their successors, and every member thereof.

“And we do further, for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command all and singular admirals, vice admirals, generals, commanders, captains, justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, customers, comptrollers, waiters, searchers and all the officers of us, our heirs and successors, whatsoever, to be, from time to time and all times hereafter, in all things aiding, helping and assisting unto the said council and their successors, and unto every of them, upon request and requests, by them to be made, in all matters and things, for the furtherance and accomplishment of all or any the matters and things by us, in and by these our letters-patents, given, granted and provided, or by us meant or intended to be given, granted and provided, as they, our said officers and the officers of us, our heirs and successors, do tender our pleasure, and will avoid the contrary at their perils.

“And also, we do, by these presents, ratify and confirm unto the said council and their successors all privileges, franchises, liberties and immunities granted in our said former letters-patents, and not in these, our letters-patents, revoked, altered, changed or abridged, although expressed, mentioned, &c. In witness, &c., witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our reign over England, &c.

“Par Breve de Privato Segillo, &c.

“This is a true copy from the original record remaining in the chapel of the rolls having been examined.

“HEN. ROOKE,
“Clerk of the Rolls.”

The above charter was surrendered in 1635 by the following instrument:

“To all Christian People to whom this present Writing shall come: The President and Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for planting, ruling and governing of New England, in America, send Greeting in our Lord God everlasting.

“Whereas, our late Sovereign Lord King James, of ever blessed memory, by his Highness' Letters-Patent under the Great Seal of England, bearing date at Westminster, the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's reign of England, France and Ireland, and Scotland the four and fiftieth; Upon the motives, reasons and causes in the said Letters-Patent, mentioned and contained, Did, for

him, his heirs and successors, grant, ordain, establish and confirm their right trusty and right well beloved Cousins and Councillors, Lodowick the Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward of his Household, George, the Marquess of Buckingham, the High Admiral of England, James, the Marquess of Hamilton, William, the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Chamberlain of his Household, who are since deceased; Thomas, now Earl of Arundell, and divers others of his Nobility and Gentry of the realme of England, therein named, to be the first and present Council established at Plymouth, aforesaid, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England, in America, aforesaid; And then the said then Duke of Lenox, Marquess of Buckingham, Marquess of Hamilton, Earl of Pembroke and Earl of Arundell and the said others of the Nobility and Gentry therein named, and the survivors of them and their successors, to be elected as in the said Letters-Patents is expressed, did, by the said Letters-Patents incorporate, erect, ordain, name, constitute and establish to be one body politick and corporate, in Deed and Name, by the Name of the Council of Plymouth, aforesaid, in the said County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England, in America, aforesaid, to have perpetual succession, with divers other powers, privileges, immunities, provisions and restrictions for the propagation and establishing of true Religion in those parts, and for the better regulating of the same plantations, as in and by the

same Letters-Patents, due Reference thereunto had more fully and at large appeareth. Now know ye that the said President and Council, for divers good causes and considerations them thereunto moving, have given, granted, assigned, yielded up and surrendered, and by these presents do give, grant, assign, yield up and surrender, unto our most gracious Sovereign, Lord Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, the said Letters-Patents to the Duke of Lenox, Marquess of Buckingham, Marquess of Hamilton, William, Earl of Pembroke, Thomas, Earl of Arundell, and to the rest of the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom therein named, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England, in America, aforesaid, and all and every the liberties, licenses, powers, priviledges and authorities therein and thereby given and granted, or mentioned to be given and granted, and all their and every their right, estate, title, interest, claim, demand whatever of, in and to the same Letters-Patents, licenses, powers, priviledges and authorities, and of, in and to every or any part or parcell of them or any of them. In witness whereof the said President and Council have caused their common Seal to be put to these presents the seventh day of June in the eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles, and in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred thirty-five."

VI. BOUNDARY OF THE OLD COLONY.

THE history of the process by which the western boundary of the Old Colony has been changed, and portions of its territory have at different times been added to Rhode Island, has never been fully written. It is only to be found in the laws and resolves of the Provincial Court, the journal of the Provincial Council and House of Representatives, the laws and resolves of the General Assembly of Rhode Island and the Legislature of Massachusetts, the reports of commissions and committees, the laws of Congress and the decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States. These have been examined by the author, and the following narrative, the result of his examination, is thought by him a fitting supplement to a history of Plymouth.

The patent issued to William Bradford and his associates by the "Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England in America" bore date January 13, 1629, and may be found in full in the earlier part of this work. The charter issued by James the First to the Council, under authority of which the patent was granted, may be found preceding this narrative in the supplement. The patent granted to William Bradford and his associates "all that part of New England in America, the

tract and tracts of land that lie within or between a certain rivolet or rundlett commonly called Coahasset, alias Conahasset, towards the North and the river called Naraganset river towards the South, and the great western ocean towards the East, and between and within a straight line directly extending up into the mainland towards the West from the mouth of the said river, called the Naraganset river, to the utmost limits and bounds of a country or place in New England called Pokernacutt, alias Puckenakick, alias Sawaamset, westward, and another straight line extending itself directly from the mouth of the said river called Coahasset towards the west, so far up into the mainland westward as the utmost limits of the said place or country called Pokernacutt doth extend, together with one half of the said river called Naraganset and the said rivolet called Coahasset."

The bounds will be more intelligible if stated as beginning at a point on Massachusetts Bay, between Scituate and Cohasset, and thence running to Providence River; thence across Narraganset Bay to and through Seconnet (Narraganset) River to the ocean, and thence through Vineyard Sound and round Cape Cod to the point of beginning. In 1643, under the Long Parliament, Robert, Earl of Warwick, who, as chairman of the Committee on the Colonies, bore the

title of General-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral of the colonies, granted a charter to the three Rhode Island Colonies, under the corporate name "of Providence Plantations in the Naraganset Bay in New England." The territory granted in this charter was originally included within the jurisdiction of the Council for New England, but that corporation had surrendered its charter in 1635. The charter of Warwick to the Providence Plantations included "a tract of land in the continent of America bordering Northward and Northeastward on the patent of Massachusetts, Eastward and Southward on Plymouth patent, south on the ocean, and on the West and Northwest by the Indians called Nahigganicks, alias Narragansetts; the whole tract extending about twenty-five English miles into the Pequod River and country." In 1663 a new charter was granted by Charles the Second to "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," covering "all that part of our dominions in New England in America, containing the Nahantic and Nanhyganset, alias Narraganset Bay and countries and parts adjacent, bounded on the West or westerly by the Pawcutuck alias Pawcawtuk river, and so along the said river as the greater or middle stream thereof stretches or lies up into the North country northward unto the head thereof, and from thence by a straight line due North until it meet with the South line of the Massachusetts colony, and on the North or Northerly by the aforesaid South or Southerly line of the Massachusetts colony or Plantation, and extending towards the East or Eastwardly three English miles to the East and Northeast of the most Eastern and Northeastern parts of the aforesaid Narragansett Bay as the said Bay lieth and extendeth itself from the ocean; on the South or Southerly, unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence; and from thence along the eastwardly side or bank of the said river (higher called Seacunk) up to the Falls called the Patucket Falls, being the most westwardly line of Plymouth Colony, and bounded on the South by the Ocean."

It will be seen at once that this charter covered a portion of territory over which the Old Colony claimed and held jurisdiction under its patent of 1629. In 1664 the General Court of Plymouth, in consequence of its issue, voted that an address be made for the confirmation of the patent of their colony, and passed the following resolve: "That the body of the Free-men of this corporation being assembled in Court, have ordered and do hereby declare their resolution to maintain their just rights, which for many years they have been possessed of in all those lands, from Cape Cod to Saconett Point, with Pochassett, Causumsett and the lands about Rehoboth to Patucket river, and as far up said river till we meet the Massachusetts line, which crosses the said river, and thence to Coahassett as the line runs.

"And that, in case any person or persons be seated

or shall seat themselves within any the said lands, or cause any cattle to be brought within the said bounds, or otherwise act to our trespass without leave from this Government, and not withdraw after warning given them; that then some effectual course be taken for the removal of them.

"And for that end it was likewise voted by the said Court that letters should be directed from the General Court to the Governor and Council of Rhode Island for the asserting of our just rights as aforesaid; and that they would employ their interest over such to reclaim them as have thrust in upon us near to Pochassett or elsewhere."

In the same year a royal commission, consisting of Robert Carr, George Cartright and Samuel Maverick settled the boundary in conformity with the Plymouth patent, and their decision was confirmed by the King in 1666. The following is the language of the King addressed to Massachusetts in a letter bearing date in that year: "And, for the better prevention of all differences and disputes upon the bounds and limits of the several colonies, His Majesty's pleasure is that all the determinations made by His Majesty's said commissioners with reference to the said bounds and limits may still continue to be observed till, upon a full representation of all pretences, His Majesty shall make his own final determination, and particularly the present temporary bounds set by commissioners between the colony of New Plymouth and Rhode Island, until His Majesty shall find cause to alter the same; and His Majesty expects that full obedience be given to the signification of his pleasure in all particulars."

In conformity with this decision, Plymouth Colony continued to exercise jurisdiction over the territory claimed by Rhode Island under her charter, and within the limits of this territory the Plymouth Court incorporated the town of Bristol in 1681, and Little Compton in 1682, and incorporated the county of Bristol, in 1685 with the town of Bristol as its shire. In 1692 the colony of Plymouth was united with Massachusetts, and in 1708 Massachusetts and Rhode Island confirmed the royal commissioners' line. In 1729 Rhode Island renewed the controversy concerning the boundary, but more especially concerning that part of it called the Attleboro' Gore, lying between Attleboro' and the town of Providence; and Daniel Updike, William Jencks and Daniel Abbott were appointed a committee to run the eastern line of Rhode Island Colony, and Mr. Updike, as attorney-general, was ordered to commence actions of ejectment against those claiming under Massachusetts, in order to try their titles.

No action, however, appears to have been taken either by the committee or the attorney-general. In 1731 it was enacted by the General Assembly of Rhode Island that William Willet, Isaac Hicks and James Jackson, of New York, be appointed commissioners to meet those to be selected by Massachusetts, and finally determine the boundary. In February,

1731-32 the Legislature of Massachusetts, in response to the action of Rhode Island, passed the following act:

"Whereas of late years there has been a claim made by the Government of Rhode Island of the Jurisdiction of a tract of land and the inhabitants thereof, lying to the Eastward of Pawtucket river, although of a long time the same has been under the Government of the ancient colony of Plymouth; and the General Court of Rhode Island having chosen Col. Willet, of Westchester, Col. Isaac Hicks and Mr. James Jackson, of Flushing, all in the Province of New York, on their part, and have proposed that this Court shall join the like number of disinterested persons to hear and determine the controversy; wherefore, for the deciding of this dispute,

"Be it enacted by His Excellency the Governor, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled and by the authority of the same;

"Sec. 1. That Roger Wolcot, of Windsor, Ozias Pitkin, of Hartford, Esquires, and Mr. Joseph Fowler, of Lebanon, all of the Colony of Connecticut, are hereby desired and are fully authorized and empowered to meet with the said Col. Willet, Col. Hicks and Mr. Jackson at such place and at such time as the said Roger Wolcot and the said Col. Willet shall appoint, then and there to order, agree, settle and determine under whose jurisdiction or government the said tract of land shall be and remain hereafter; and the agreement and determination, under the hands and seals of the said Commissioners, or the major part of them, and delivered to a committee of the Court to be appointed to attend the said Commissioners shall be binding and conclusive on this Province forever.

"Sec. 2. That in case it should so happen that the said Commissioners or the major part of them shall not agree, so as to give up their award in determination to the Committee aforesaid, then and in such case they or the major part of them present shall and may choose another disinterested person of any of the neighboring governments to join with and decide the said controversy as fully as if the said person was named in this Act; provided always that the inhabitants on the said land do in the mean time and until such determination be delivered as aforesaid, pay all taxes that have been or shall be laid on them and their lands according to the laws of this Province; the said inhabitants having been subjected in like manner ever since their first settlement; provided also the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island come into an Act like to this in substance."

For some reason no action was taken under this act, and in April, 1733, the Massachusetts Legislature passed another act having the same object in view, and expressed in almost precisely similar terms. Subsequent to the passage of the last act the commissioners for Rhode Island met with their Council at New London, the appointed place; but the Mas-

sachusetts commissioners failed to appear, and the settlement of the controversy was postponed. In pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, Governor Wanton, of Rhode Island, now petitioned the King in behalf of the colony, under date of April, 1734, for a final settlement under his direction of the protracted dispute. In May, 1738, His Majesty's Council reported, in response to a renewed petition, that the case should be referred to commissioners of royal designation from one of the neighboring colonies. Another attempt, however, was made to reach a settlement by joint commissioners before proceeding to the last resort,—a commission appointed by the King. On the 6th of June, 1739, Peter Bours, Daniel Updike, Godfrey Malbone and James Martin, of Rhode Island, proposed the appointment of an equal number of plenipotentiaries of each State to consider and make a final determination of the whole matter. The plenipotentiaries were duly appointed by both States, but no result was reached, and a royal commission was consequently appointed in September, 1740, consisting of Cadwallader Colden, Abraham Vanhorn, Philip Livingston, Archibald Kennedy and James De Lancey, of the province of New York; John Hamilton, John Wells, John Reading, Cornelius Vanhorn and William Provost, of the province of New Jersey, and William Shene, William Shireff, Henry Cope, Erasmus James Phillips and Otho Hamilton, of the province of Nova Scotia. In December the Legislature of Rhode Island appointed Henry Ball, Daniel Updike, James Honeyman, Jr., Peter Bours, Thomas Ward and Stephen Hopkins to manage the affairs of that colony before the commissioners, and in the following January the Legislature of Massachusetts appointed William Dudley, Samuel Wells, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., and Nathaniel Hubbard, of the Council, and Major Brown, Thomas Cushing, Col. John Chandler, Dr. Haile, and Capt. Watts, of the House, for the same purpose. Subsequently John Read, William Shirley, Robert Auchmuty and Christopher Kelly seem to have been added on the part of Massachusetts, and Samuel Clark, Thomas Spencer, Daniel Abbot and William Jencks on the part of Rhode Island.

On the 1st of April, 1741, the board of commissioners met at Providence and organized by the choice of Cadwallader Colden as chairman. On the 2d of May orders for a survey were issued, and on the third of June the case was formally opened. The agents for Massachusetts presented their claim in the following language:

"To the Honorable His Majesty's Commissioners for marking out and settling the boundaries between His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay and the Colony of Rhode Island Eastward.

"Humbly sheweth the Province aforesaid that they have always enjoyed and still claim as their boundaries between the Province & Colony aforesaid the middle of the Narragansett river between the end of Rhode

Island and Little Compton where the said river runs into the main ocean; and from thence along the middle of said river to the mouth of Seaconk river; and from thence up the said river called Seaconk river below and Patucket river above till we come against a heap of stones on the east bank of that river and a marked pine about fifteen rods eastwards; and from the said river at that place a line of marked trees and monuments of stones through the wilderness to the Colony of Connecticut marked out and preambulated by both governments by their Agents, May 14th, 1719; and therefore pray that the boundaries between the Province and Colony aforesaid may be settled and adjusted & determined accordingly. The foregoing are the claims of the Province of Massachusetts Bay voted by the General Assembly of the said Province in their present session held at Boston the 26th day of March, 1741.

"J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*"

The following claim was made by the agents for Rhode Island:

"To the Honorable His Majesty's commissioners appointed for settling and ascertaining the boundaries between the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and Colony of Rhode Island, etc., and now sitting in Providence, on the first day of April, 1741.

"May it please your Honors,—Whereas, His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant his commission for the settling and determining the great controversy that hath for a long time subsisted between the aforesaid governments respecting the Eastern boundaries of the said Colony; and as particular instructions, are given to each government to send unto the Honorable Court a plain and full statement of their demands or pretensions in writing, describing where & in what places the boundaries of said colony Eastward ought to begin, and what courses, and with what variation, and in what manner, and how far the same ought to run, to the end that copies thereof might be mutually exchanged, in order to prevent any unnecessary delay. In obedience to which we, the subscribers, in the name and behalf of said Colony, say that there were letters patent granted by His Majesty, King Charles the Second, to the said Colony of Rhode Island, dated the 8th day of July, in the fifteenth year of his reign, wherein, among other things, there was granted and conferred unto the government and Company of said Colony and their successors all that part of his dominion in New England in America, containing the Nchantic and Nanhyganset, alias Narraganset Bay, and countries and parts adjacent, bounded on the West or Westerly to the middle or channel of a river then commonly called and known by the names of Pacatuck, alias Pacatuck, river, and so along the said river, as the greater or middle stream thereof reaches or lies, up into the North Country northward unto the head thereof; and from thence

by a straight line drawn due North until it meet with the South line of the Massachusetts Colony, and on the North or Northerly by the aforesaid South or Southerly line of the Massachusetts Colony or Plantation, and extending towards the East or Easterly three English miles to the East and Northeast of the most Eastern and Northeastern parts of the aforesaid Narraganset Bay, as the said Bay lieth or extendeth itself from the ocean on the South or Southerly unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence; and from thence along the Easterly side or bank of said river higher, called by the name of Seaconk river, up to the Falls called Pawtucket Falls, being the most Westerly line of Plymouth Colony; and so from the said Falls in a straight line due North until it meet with the aforesaid line of the Massachusetts Colony, and bounded on the Southerly on the ocean; and in particular the lands belonging to the towns of Providence, Pawtucket, Warwick, Misgnomicuck, alias Pawtucket, and the rest upon the main land in the tract aforesaid, together with Rhode Island, Block Island and all the rest of the Islands and banks on the Narraganset Bay and bordering on the Coast of the tract aforesaid (Fisher's Island only excepted), together with all farm lands, soils, grounds, rocks, slates and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, pre-eminentes and hereditaments whatsoever within said tracts, bounds lands and Islands aforesaid or to them, or any of them belonging or in any wise appertaining. By virtue of which boundaries as aforesaid we apprehend that the said Colony of Rhode Island hath a just and lawful right to the jurisdiction of all the lands lying within and bordering on Narraganset Bay from three English miles East-Northeast from a place called Assonet, the same being the most Eastern and Northeastern part of the aforesaid Bay, and from the extent of the said three miles a due South course to the ocean, and also from the extent of the said three miles a West or Westerly course unto a place called Fox Point, being the mouth or entrance of the river that runneth unto the town of Providence; and from thence along the Easterly side or bank of said river higher, called by the name of Seaconk river up to the Falls called Pawtucket Falls; and so from the said Falls in a straight line due North until it meet with the aforesaid line of Massachusetts Colony, and bounded on the South by the ocean; all which is respectively submitted to your Honors' consideration by Peter Bours, Samuel Clark, Thomas Spencer, William Jencks, Stephen Hopkins, Daniel Abbott, Henry Bull, Daniel Updike and James Honeyman, Jr."

The line claimed by Rhode Island, it will be seen, reached as far northeasterly as what is now called Myricks, and embraced Freetown and Fall River, as well as Tiverton and Little Compton, on the East of Mount Hope Bay and Seconet River, and parts of

Berkley and Dighton, the whole of Somerset, most of Swansey, a part of Rehoboth and the whole of Warren, Bristol and Barrington, on the west of Mount Hope Bay. Thus the Rhode Island agents were not content with claiming three miles from the line of Narragansett Bay, as that bay is known and recognized, but claimed Mount Hope Bay as far as Assonet as a part of that bay, and consequently made their starting-point three miles from Assonet as the most eastern and northeastern part of said bay, as described in the Rhode Island charter of 1663. It is not improbable that this preposterous claim was set up merely for the purpose of giving the commissioners an opportunity to compromise on the line actually sought. If such were their policy, the result demonstrated its shrewdness. Massachusetts occupied, with the evidence at hand, an unfortunate attitude before the commission. It is true that she exhibited the patent to William Bradford and his associates; but though it clearly covered the territory in dispute, it was not sufficient evidence against the royal charter of Rhode Island. The charter of King James to the Council for New England, under and by authority of which the colony of Plymouth received its patent, was not in the country, and could not be put in evidence. However clearly expressed, therefore, the patent might be, it was like a deed in the air, without the support of authority or title.

The court "took into consideration the charters, deeds and other evidencies, claims, pleas and other allegations produced and made by each party," referring to the controversy before them, and after mature advisement, on the 30th of June, 1741, came to the following resolutions:

"That there is not any evidence proving that the waters between the mainland on the East and Rhode Island on the West, was ever at any time called Naragansett river;

"That, though there be evidence that the place where the Indian called King Philip lived, near Bristol, was called Pauconoket, and that another place, near Swansey, was called Sowams or Sowamset, yet no evidence has been produced of the extent of the Pawtucket country to Seconk or Patucket river, as it runs, to the South line of the late Colony of the Massachusetts Bay; for though there be some evidence that the Indians at enmity with King Philip, or with other Indians in amity with him, lived on the West side of the said river, and that the Indians subject to King Philip or at amity with him, lived on the East side of said river, there is no evidence that all the Indians subject to or in amity with King Philip lived in the Poconoket country;

"That the province not having produced the letters-patent constituting the Council of Plymouth for New England, nor any copy thereof, the recital of said letters-patent in the deed from the said Council to Bradford and his associates is not sufficient evidence against the King's Charter.

"That the Council of Plymouth, being a corporation, could not create another corporation, and that no jurisdiction within the King's dominions in America can be held by prescription or on the foot of prescription;

"That the determination of the boundary of the Colony of Rhode Island and New Plymouth by the King's commissioners in the year 1664 appears to have been only a temporary order preserving the peace on the borders of both Colonies, without determining the rights and titles of either.

"Upon the whole, nothing appears whereby the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations can be barred or hindered from extending their jurisdiction Eastward towards the Province of Massachusetts Bay, according to the true intent and meaning of their charter; but some dispute having arisen as to the true construction and meaning thereof, the Court is of opinion that the Naraganset Bay is and extendeth itself from Point Judith, on the West, to Seconet Point, on the East, and including the Islands therein, lieth and extendeth itself unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence; and that as it so lies and extends itself, it has and may be considered as having one Eastern side, as the Eastern coast of the said Bay runs up Northerly from Seconet Point, and one other Northeastern side from near Mount Hope to Bullock's Neck, as the said Bay runs up North Westerly towards the town of Providence; and that the lands adjacent to the said Northeastern and Eastern coasts and included within the following lines, and the said Bay are within the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, viz.: On the Northeast side of said Bay, one line running from the Southwest corner of Bullock's neck Northeast three miles; one other line running from the Northeast extremity of said line until it be terminated by a line three miles Northeast from the Northeasternmost part of the Bay on the West side of Rumstick Neck; and one other line from the termination of the last line to the Bay at or near Toweaset Neck; running so that it touch the Northeast extremity of a line running three miles Northeast from the Northeast corner of Bristol Harbor; and on the Eastern side of the Bay, opposite to the Southernmost part of Shawomet Neck, and four hundred and forty rods to the Southward of the mouth of Fallriver, running East three miles; and one other line running from the Easternmost extremity of said line till it be terminated by the Easternmost end of a line three miles East from the Easternmost part of a cove in the said Bay, which is to the Southward of Nannequacket; and one other line from the termination of the last line to the sea, running on such course as to be three miles East from the Easternmost part of the Bay adjoining to Setehawset, or Rhode Island; and that the said distances of three miles East and Northeast are to be measured from high-water mark. And the Court doth hereby settle, adjust and determine that the Eastern boundary of the said Colony

of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations towards the Massachusetts Bay is, shall be and runs from a certain point where a meridian line passing through Pawtucket Falls cuts the South boundary of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay South to Pawtucket Falls; thence Southerly along the Eastward side of Seconk river & the river which runneth towards the town of Providence to the Southwest corner of Bullock's Neck; thence Northeast three miles; then along the aforesaid lines running at three miles distance from the Northeasternmost parts of said Bay to the said Bay, at or near Teweset Neck; then, as the said Bay runs, to the southernmost part of Shawomet Neck, and then in a straight line to the aforesaid point opposite to the said Neck; then East three miles, and then along the aforesaid lines, running at three miles distance from the Easternmost parts of the said Bay to the sea. All which lines are to be run by making the proper allowances for the variations of the magnetic needle from the meridian. And for the better understanding of the description of the lines before mentioned, the Court hath caused the boundary lines of the land adjacent to the said most Eastern and Northeastern parts of said Bay to be delineated on the map or plan of the said Bay and countries adjacent, now in Court, and the same are distinguished on the said map or plan by A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H.

"CADWALLADER COLDEN,
"PH. LIVINGSTONE,
"ARCH'D KENNEDY,
"WILL SHEANE,
"ERASmus J. PHILLIPS,
"OTHO HAMILTON."

The New Jersey commissioners failed to make their appearance, and consequently took no part in the investigation. Of the remaining ten, the six who signed the decree were a majority, and made the decision valid. The agents of both Rhode Island and Massachusetts appealed from the decision to the King, but the decree was finally confirmed in 1746. The result of the decree was the annexation to Rhode Island of a strip of territory three miles wide along Seconet River from Narraganset Bay to the ocean, and a strip of the same width on Narragansett Bay from Mount Hope Bay to Bullock's Neck, near the mouth of Providence River. It gave to Rhode Island the Attleboro' Gore, which was afterwards incorporated as a township under the name of Cumberland, after William, Duke of Cumberland, who had then just fought the battle of Culloden; the whole of Eristol, a part of Swansea and a part of Barrington, which were incorporated as the town of Warren,—after Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath, and admiral in the navy, whose wife, a native of New York, gave the name to Warren Street in that city,—and what are now the towns of Tiverton and Little Compton.

Thus are explained the methods by which the

original westerly line of the Old Colony was drawn in, and a portion of its territory lost. But it was not long before new discontents arose concerning the boundary. The line established by the royal commissioners had been run by Rhode Island without notice to Massachusetts, and Massachusetts not only called for a new determination of the commissioners' line, but in 1779 renewed by a formal resolve her old claim "that the State had a clear right to all lands contained within the known and established limits of the old colony of Plymouth." In March, 1791, Walter Spooner, Elisha May and David Cobb were appointed by Massachusetts to establish a line, and in May, Jabez Bowen, Moses Brown and William Bradford were appointed by Rhode Island. In August the joint committee "agreed to preambulate the line between the two States and ascertain the bounds, agreeably to the determination of the King and Council, so far as from Bullock's Neck Eastward, leaving a line from Pawtucket Falls to be run and settled when the North line is settled." The line was duly perambulated, but no substantial result was reached, and for many years the royal commissioners' line was left, with all its uncertainties, undisturbed.

In February, 1844, in consequence of some action on the part of Rhode Island which seemed like encroachment beyond the line of her jurisdiction, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a resolve appointing Myron Lawrence, William Baylies and Johnson Gardner a commission to act in conjunction with Stephen Branch, Alfred Bosworth and R. B. Cranston, appointed by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in establishing that part of the line between Pawtucket Falls and Bullock's Neck. In January of the next year the commission was authorized to establish the whole line. In January, 1846, the commissioners reported to their respective States that they had completed a perambulation, but had not agreed as to a line. In April, 1847, Messrs. Lawrence and Baylies, Mr. Gardner dissenting, agreed with the Rhode Island commissioners, and the following report was made by the board in January, 1848:

"The undersigned, Commissioners appointed by the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island to ascertain and establish the true boundary line between the said states from the Atlantic Ocean to the Burnt Swamp corner in Wrentham, namely: Myron Lawrence and William Baylies, two of the Commissioners appointed on the part of Massachusetts, and Stephen Branch, Alfred Bosworth and R. B. Cranston, on the part of Rhode Island, after viewing the premises and a careful and deliberate examination of the subject, do hereby determine and agree that the following described line is the true boundary and jurisdiction line between the said states, from the Atlantic Ocean to the aforesaid Burnt Swamp corner, and that the same be and is hereby established as such, subject to the ratification of the Legislature of the said states

respectively, viz.: Beginning at the ocean at a point on the shore, in a line with a rock on the land of Charles Manchester, called the Peaked Rock, and running Northerly to a stone monument on the ground near the house of J. Sanford, opposite Nanequacket; thence Northerly to an angle on the Easterly side of Watuppa Pond; thence across the said pond to the two rocks on the Westerly side of said pond and near thereto; thence westerly to the buttonwood tree in the village of Fallriver; thence in a straight line to the shore opposite Teweset; thence in a Northerly direction to a place called King's Rock; thence continuing in a Northwesterly direction to a place called Munroe's corner; thence Southwesterly to Bullock's Neck on the Southwest corner thereof; and thence on the Easterly side of the river 'that runneth towards Providence higher called Seekonk,' in the line of ordinary high-water mark, to Pawtucket Falls. Provided, however, that the rights of the owners or occupants of lands bordering on said river, on the Easterly side thereof, are not hereby to be in any manner abridged or impaired; it being understood and agreed that the said owners or occupants have and shall continue to have in the adjoining shores, flats or marshes all the rights of property and all other rights of every description which appertain to riparian proprietors according to the common law of Massachusetts, said riparian rights to be enjoyed by said owners or occupants respectively in as full and ample a manner and to the same extent as the citizens of Massachusetts now have and enjoy said riparian rights. And it is further agreed that the rights of fishery in said river shall be enjoyed by the owners or occupants of the lands bordering on said river with the citizens of Rhode Island without being subject to any other regulations than such as shall apply equally to the said owners or occupants and the citizens of Rhode Island. From Pawtucket Falls, at a point on the Easterly side thereof, the line shall run Northerly along the centre of the river to the point where a due South line drawn from Burnt Swamp Corner meets the river; then on a due North line, to said Burnt Swamp Corner, it being understood by the Commissioners parties hereto that the line hereinbefore described is the same in substance as the line delineated in the maps of Massachusetts made by Simeon Borden and published by order of the Legislature of Massachusetts in the year 1846. And we, the said commissioners, further agree that at a proper and convenient time the location of said line shall be completed in accordance with this agreement and the principles thereof by the erection of such monuments thereon and at such places as may be necessary to the distinct marking of said line, so that the same may never hereafter be brought into dispute or question, to the disturbance of the friendly relations which ought to be preserved and cherished between the people of said states.

"Done at Boston, in duplicate, the 28th day of April in the year 1847.

"MYRON LAWRENCE,

"WILLIAM BAYLIES,

"*Comm. of Mass.*

"STEPHEN BRANCH,

"ALFRED BOSWORTH,

"R. B. CRANSTON,

"*Comm. of R. Island.*"

The report of the commissioners failing to be approved and ratified, in May, 1848, the Legislature of Massachusetts authorized the Governor and Council to appoint one or more new commissioners, not exceeding three in number, to settle upon a line, in conjunction with Rhode Island commissioners, and if said line shall not be established and confirmed before the 1st of May, 1849, the Governor was authorized to commence such process in the Supreme Court of the United States as he might deem proper for the purpose of having a final adjudication upon the boundary. It was further declared by the Legislature that the proceedings of the former board of commissioners were null and void. Tappan Wentworth, Warren Lovering and Increase Sumner were accordingly appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts, and the former commissioners of Rhode Island continued in office. In 1851 the board reported their inability to reach a satisfactory settlement, and on the 2d of September in that year, the Attorney-General of Massachusetts was authorized by the Governor and Council to employ assistant counsel for the purpose of commencing process in the Supreme Court, as provided for in the act of 1848. In May, 1852, the Governor of Massachusetts was authorized at his discretion to employ counsel for the defense of any suits which might be brought under the laws of Rhode Island, to the end that such suits might be carried to the Supreme Court for adjudication. No suit, however, was brought by Rhode Island; but not long after, a bill in equity was filed in the Supreme Court by Ellis Ames, acting as counsel for Massachusetts, in connection with John H. Clifford, Attorney-General. The attorneys opposed to them on the part of Rhode Island, were Charles S. Bradley and Thomas A. Jenks. In April, 1859, after John H. Clifford had taken the place of Mr. Ames as counsel, and Stephen H. Phillips had become Attorney-General, the Legislature of Massachusetts resolved,—

"That the Attorney-General and the counsel in behalf of the commonwealth, subject to the direction and approval of the Governor and Council, be and they are hereby authorized to negotiate for the adjustment of the proceedings in equity now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States between this commonwealth and the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, by the adoption of a Conventional line, to be confirmed by a decree of said court; and that for the purposes aforesaid and the general expenses of conducting said suit, the Gov-

ernor be authorized to draw his warrant for a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars." In the same year the Attorney-General of Massachusetts secured the passage by Congress of the following act: "That the Att'y-General of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to intervene and represent the United States in the proceeding in equity now pending in the Supreme Court between the commonwealth of Massachusetts and the State of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations, and to consent in behalf of the United States, to the adjustment of said suit by a conventional line to be agreed upon by the parties and confirmed by a decree of said court, if in his judgment the rights and interests of the United States will not be prejudiced thereby.

"That, in case such suit shall be adjusted as aforesaid, and a conventional line shall be taken, agreed upon and confirmed by a decree of the court as aforesaid, such line shall be, and deemed to be for all purposes affecting the jurisdiction of the United States or of any department of the government thereof, the true line of boundary between said commonwealth of Massachusetts and the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

On the 23d of January, 1860, Stephen H. Phillips, the Attorney-General of Massachusetts, reported to the Governor the following conventional line, and the same was reported by its counsel to the Assembly of Rhode Island:

"Beginning at Burnt Swamp Corner, in the town of Wrentham; thence in a due South line till it meets the Blackstone river; thence by the middle line of said river to a point in said river where it intersects the South line of the town of Pawtucket, continued westerly; thence by the said Southerly line and the continuation of the same Easterly to the Westerly line of the town of Rehoboth then Southerly by said Westerly line to the Southeast corner of said town of Rehoboth, and by a continuation of that line until it intersects the Northerly side of the highway leading Westerly by the house of Dexter Allen, from the main road which leads from Warren to Barneysville; thence in a straight line in a South-easterly direction to a point in the middle line of Cole's river, near the head of tide-water; thence at the Northerly side of a bridge in the main highway from Providence to Fallriver; thence Southerly by the middle line of Cole's river to Mount Hope Bay; thence across Mount Hope Bay to a point on the Easterly shore of the same, which will be intersected by the continuation Westerly of the most Southerly portion of the South line of the town of Fallriver, in Rhode Island, which crosses South Watuppa Pond; thence from said point on the shore of said Mount Hope Bay, in the course of said last-mentioned line, to the Westerly shore of said South Watuppa Pond; thence along the Westerly shore of said Watuppa Pond and of Sandy Pond and of the stream connecting said ponds following the highest water-

mark of said ponds and stream to the extreme South-easterly end of said Sandy Pond; thence Southerly, in a straight line, to a stone monument on the ground near the house of Jos. Sanford, opposite Wanaquabett; thence Southerly by the Western line of the town of Westport to a creek which runs into the western branch of Westport river; thence by the middle line of said creek and river to the Ocean."

At a meeting of the Governor and Council on the 25th of January, the report of the Attorney-General was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor and Messrs. Churchill, Mayhew, Greene and Baker, of the Council. In April the Attorney-General reported that the conventional line agreed on by counsel had been rejected by the Assembly of Rhode Island, and that an act had been passed by that body adopting a new line, which he and his associate, Mr. Clifford, approved. On the 3d of January, 1861, the governor and council gave it their formal approval also, and the line proposed in the following act of the Assembly of Rhode Island became the conventional line to be submitted to the Supreme Court for final adjudication:

Section 1. The Council of record of this State, for the time being, in the suit of the commonwealth of Massachusetts against this State, in the Supreme Court of the United States, in relation to the Eastern boundary of the State, are hereby authorized to agree to the entering of a decree in said Court in said suit establishing for the Eastern boundary of this State a conventional line as nearly as may be as follows, namely: "Beginning at Burnt Swamp corner, in the town of Wrentham; thence running Southwesterly to a point upon the Eastern side of Blackstone river, where said river meets the dividing line between Attleboro' and Pawtucket; thence Easterly by the Northern line of the town of Pawtucket to Farmer's, or Seven-Mile river, by its highest water-mark, to its junction with Ten-Mile river; thence by the highest water-mark upon the Eastern and Southerly side of Ten-Mile river to its most Southern bend; thence Southwardly, in a straight line, to a point in Runner's river where the same is intersected by the highway, near Luther's store; thence by the centre of said river to the dividing line between Barrington and Seekonk; thence to the most Northerly point of the town of Barrington; thence, in a straight line, to King's Rock, so called; thence, by the present dividing line between Swansey and Warren, to Mount Hope Bay; thence, in a straight line across said Mount Hope Bay, to the Westerly termination of the boundary line between Tiverton and Fallriver, in Rhode Island; thence by said boundary line to the Westerly shore of South Watuppa Pond; thence, by the Westerly shore of said South Watuppa Pond and of Sandy Pond and of the stream connecting said ponds, following the highest water-mark of said ponds and stream, to the extreme Southerly end of said Sandy Pond; thence Southerly, in a straight line, to a stone

monument on the ground near the house of Jos. Sanford, opposite Nanaquaket; thence Southerly by the western line of the town of Westport and Easterly of Quicksand Pond to the Ocean."

On the adoption of the above conventional line by the parties to the proceeding in equity, the Supreme Court ordered a survey to be made by Ezra Lincoln, of Boston, and Samuel B. Cushing, of Providence, two competent engineers, and on the 16th of December, 1861, issued their decree adjudicating the line according to the following courses and monuments reported by the engineers:

"Beginning at Burnt Swamp corner, in Wrentham, in Lat. $42^{\circ} 1' 08''$ N., Long. $71^{\circ} 23' 13''$ West of Greenwich, being the Northeasterly corner of Rhode Island; thence, in a straight line, to the centre of a stone monument in the division line between Attleboro' and Pawtucket, on the Easterly bank of Blackstone river, being in Lat. $41^{\circ} 53' 36''$ N. Long. $71^{\circ} 23' 14''$ W.; Thence, Easterly, by the Northerly line of the town of Pawtucket, to a point where said line intersects the highest water-mark on the Easterly side of Farmer's or Seven-Mile river, which point is shown on accompanying sheet marked A, and designated as Bound No. 1, being in Lat. $41^{\circ} 53' 54''$ N. Lon. $71^{\circ} 20' 40''$ W. From Bound No. 1 the line runs Southerly, following the highest water-mark on the Easterly side of Farmer's or Seven-Mile river, as designated on said sheet marked A, to its junction with the highest water-mark on the Southerly and Easterly side of Ten-Mile river, at a point designated as Bound No. 3. From Bound No. 3 the line runs Southerly, following the highest water-mark on the Southerly and Easterly side of said Ten-Mile river, as shown on sheet marked A, to a point designated as Bound No. 13, said last point being at the most Southerly bend of Ten-Mile river on said line of highest water-mark. The line of highest water-mark, as shown on sheet A, is defined by offsets at right angles to straight lines, shown on said plan in blue ink, from Bound No. 1, and passing through points designated as Bounds numbered 2 to 13 inclusive.

"From Bound No. 13 the line runs Southeasterly, being a straight line to the centre of a stone pier in the middle of Runner's river, on the North side of the road leading by Luther's store; thence through the centre or middle of said Runner's river, as the same is at low water, to a point where such line intersects the dividing line between Barrington and Seekonk, being in Lat. $41^{\circ} 46' 28''$, Long. $71^{\circ} 19' 30''$; thence in a straight line Southeasterly to the centre of a copper bolt in King's Rock, so called, and well known, near an ancient monument on said King's Rock, being on the West side of the road leading from Warren to Swansea. This point is in Lat. $41^{\circ} 45' 22''$, 98, Long. $71^{\circ} 16' 35''$, 75. From King's Rock the line follows the dividing line between Warren and Swansea to Mount Hope Bay, running in a straight line Southeasterly to a point on the Birch Swamp Farm,

in Lat. $41^{\circ} 45' 08''$, Long. $71^{\circ} 15' 58''$ 5; thence in a straight line to Mount Hope Bay, passing through the centre of a copper bolt in a boulder, in line of extreme high-water at Teweset, to a low-water line of said Bay. This bolt is in Lat. $41^{\circ} 42' 45''$ 27, Long. $71^{\circ} 13' 54''$, 70. From Teweset the line runs Southeasterly, crossing Mount Hope Bay to the Westerly end of line dividing Fallriver and Tiverton, where the same intersects low-water line of said Mount Hope Bay; thence Easterly, following said dividing line between Fallriver and Tiverton, passing through the middle of a town-way on the North side of a farm belonging to John Chase, and through the Southerly end of Cook's Pond to a line passing through the middle of a highway eight rods wide; thence running Southerly through the centre of said eight rod highway to a point in line with the stone wall on the Northerly side of the farm of Edward Estes. This wall is Easterly of the Stafford road, so called. Thence the line runs Easterly, in line with said wall, to a point in line of highest water-mark on the Westerly shore of South Watuppa Pond, which point is shown on accompanying sheet, marked B, and designated as Bound A. From Bound A the line runs Southerly, following the highest water mark on the Westerly side of South Watuppa Pond and of Sandy Pond and of the stream connecting said ponds, as shown on said sheet marked B, to a point designated as Bound F, said last point being at the most Southerly end of Sandy Pond in said line of highest water-mark. The line of highest water-mark, as shown on sheet B, is defined by offsets at right angles to straight lines from Bound A, and passing respectively through points designated B to F inclusive; and on South Watuppa Pond is also the line that would be traced by a level thirteen inches above a bolt in stone-work on the Westerly side of the water-way in the gate-house of the reservoir dam of the Watuppa Reservoir Company, on Quequecham river. On Sandy Pond the highest water-mark is the line that would be traced by the level of an iron bolt driven in the West side of the flume to the saw-mill at the Northerly end of said Sandy Pond. From Bound F the line runs Southerly by a straight line to the monument known as 'Joe Sandford's Bound,' being the centre of a copper bolt in a stone, on land of Jos. Tripp, and is in Lat. $41^{\circ} 35' 37''$, Long. $71^{\circ} 08' 13''$. From 'Joe Sandford's Bound' the line runs Southerly, following the Westerly line of the town of Westport to the Atlantic Ocean, passing Easterly of Quicksand Pond, through the centre of a bound known as Peaked Rock, situated in Lat. $41^{\circ} 29' 58''$, Long. $71^{\circ} 07' 34''$. The first point on this line Southerly of 'Joe Sandford's Bound' is on the North side of a mill-dam at Adamsville, 85.58 feet Easterly of straight line from Sanford's to Peaked Rock. The second point is 113.94 feet Easterly of said straight line, and is on the Easterly side of the road leading from Adamsville to the Ocean. The third point is 234.48 feet East of

said straight line on the road leading to Little Compton, by Philip Simmons' house."

Such is a minute description of the line decreed by the court, to take effect on the 1st of March, 1862. Its main features were the annexation of Pawtucket and a part of Seekonk to Rhode Island, and of Fall River, in Rhode Island, and a part of Tiverton to Massachusetts. Fall River, in Rhode Island, bore the same relation to Fall River, in Massachusetts, that Pawtucket bore to North Providence, and it was essentially proper that two communities, each of which had been divided by a State line into two municipalities should each be made homogeneous and placed under one jurisdiction. Fall River, in Rhode Island was made by an act of the Legislature a part of Fall River, in Massachusetts, and Pawtucket, in Massachusetts, was annexed by the Assembly of Rhode Island to that part of North Providence adjoining it, and incorporated under the old name of Pawtucket. A small part of the old territory of Pawtucket remaining within the limits of Massachusetts was annexed to Sekonk, and that part of Tiverton taken from Rhode Island was annexed to Westport. These were substantially all the variations from the commissioners' line of 1841, and the satisfactory manner in which the difficulties and obstacles in the way of a solution of a problem which had so long vexed the authorities of the two States were finally overcome reflects infinite credit upon the wisdom and good judgment and temper of Mr. Phillips, the Attorney-General of Massachusetts, and his associate, Mr. Clifford, and of Messrs. Bradley and Jenks, the counsel for Rhode Island.

Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were not included within the limits of the Old Colony. The former was conveyed, in 1641, by James Forrett, the agent of William, Earl of Sterling, to Thomas Mayhew and his son Thomas, with full power to them "and their associates to plant and inhabit upon Nantucket and two other small islands adjacent, and to enjoy the said islands to them, their heirs and assigns forever." In 1659, Thomas Mayhew conveyed his interest to Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Christopher Hussey, Richard Swain, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swain and William Pyle, for the consideration of thirty pounds and two beaver hats, one for himself and one for his wife, with the reservation of an interest to himself.

In the next year, 1660, the purchasers, including Thomas Mayhew, perfected their title by a deed from the Sachems Wanackmamuck and Nickanoose, for the consideration of twenty-six pounds. The three conveyances—James Forrett, agent, to Thomas Mayhew, Thomas Mayhew to Tristram Coffin and others, and the sachems to Thomas Mayhew and others—may be found in Macy's "History of Nantucket."

In 1664, Charles the Second granted to "his dearest brother" James, Duke of York, in disregard of previous grants, the territory lying between the Connecticut and the east side of Delaware Bay, the sea-coast from St. Croix to Pemaquid and the back country "to the river of Kennebec and upward to the river of Canada," and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Richard Nicolls was in the same year made Deputy-Governor under the Duke of York, and in the same year also the duke conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret the tract between the Hudson and the Delaware to be called Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey. In the same year, too, the eastern boundary of the duke's territory was settled by a commission which gave the whole of Long Island to the duke, a part of which had been claimed by Connecticut, and established the Connecticut line on the main land substantially where it now is. Pemaquid, Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard remained as before. The territory retained by the duke was called by Governor Nicolls New York, and the same name was given to the city, instead of New Amsterdam. In the year of the grant by Charles to the duke New Amsterdam was taken by the forces of the United Colonies, and Thomas Willet, of Plymouth, was made its first English mayor. In 1673 New York was again taken by the Dutch, but restored to the English in the next year. Under its various governments the grant of Nantucket and other grants were recognized, and in 1673, by order of Governor Lovelace, the town of Nantucket was called Sherburne, and bore that name until 1795, when it took the name it now bears. Both Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard remained within the jurisdiction of New York until October 7, 1691, the date of the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay issued by William and Mary, when, together with the colony of Plymouth, they were included within the limits of that province.

VII. THE PATENT OF 1629.

THE history of this patent between 1741 and 1820 has been recently discovered by the author in the Orders of the Provincial Council. From 1741 to 1749 it remained in the hands of Samuel Wells, one of the Council, who, as one of the agents of Massachusetts, had used it as evidence before the royal commissioners in the settlement of the Rhode Island boundary, and was then deposited in the registry of deeds at Plymouth. The following is

the entry in the orders of Council describing the fact:

"In Council, January 20, 1749: It being represented to this board that the patent of the colony of New Plymouth is in the hands of Samuel Wells, Esq., being delivered to him divers years since, for the service of this government; voted, that the said Mr. Wells be, and herein is, directed to deliver to the Secretary the said patent, who, after he has

recorded the same, is hereby directed to transmit the said patent to Josiah Cotton, Esq., register of the county of Plymouth, and other public papers which he may have in his hands."

While speaking of this patent, it may be well to enter a little more into detail concerning the organization of the company which granted it, and of its fellow, the Southern Virginia Company. It is stated in the general text that these companies were chartered by James the Second, in 1606, and it is also stated how far the jurisdiction of each extended. The charters were issued, as explained by Edward D. Neill, in his "History of the Virginia Company," in one instrument, to "Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerke Prebendarie of Westm., and Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hannam and Raleigh Gilbert, Esqs., William Parker and George Popham, Gents, and divers others," "to reduce a colony of sondry of' people into y^t part of America commonly called Virginia," between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and occupy islands within one hundred miles of the coast. The company under the joint charter was divided. Gates, Somers, Hakluyt and Wingfield, adventurers of the city of London, were called the First Colony, and were to begin their first plantation at any point in Virginia between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude; while Hannam, Gilbert, Parker, Popham, and associates, of the town of Plymouth, were called the Second Colony, and were to plant between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of the same latitude, with the conditions and restrictions described in the general text.

The first expedition of the First Colony sailed from the Downs January 1, 1606-7, and consisted of three ships,—the "Susan Constant," commanded by Christopher Newport, the "God-Speed," commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, and the "Discovery," commanded by John Ratcliffe,—carrying, in all, one hundred and forty-three persons. They ascended the James River, and on the 13th of May, 1607, landed at a place which they called Jamestown, after the King.

On the 23d of May, 1609, a new charter was granted to the colony, "authorizing," as stated by Mr. Neill, "the use of the corporate name of the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia," and granting that part of America, on the sea-coast, two hundred miles north, as well as two hundred miles south, of Point Comfort, with all the islands lying within one hundred miles." This charter contained the names of a large number of adventurers, among whom were William Brewster and his son, Edward. William Brewster went from England to Amsterdam in the spring of 1608, and at the date of the charter was doubtless in Leyden. His son Edward, however, went to Virginia, and, as Lord De-la-Warre, Captain-General of Virginia, to whom he appears to have

been attached in some official or military capacity, sailed from England in the spring of 1610, it is probable that young Brewster emigrated at that time. In the list of adventurers, with the amounts of their ventures, appear "William Brewster, 20 li.; Capt. Ed. Brewster, his son, 30 li."

Young Brewster remained in Virginia until the early part of 1619. On the 15th of October of the previous year, he was tried, by direction of Governor Samuel Argall, by court-martial, on the charge of having complained of the unlawful use of Lord Delaware's servants by Argall, and sentenced to death. Lord Delaware had died the previous spring, on his passage from England to Virginia. The punishment was afterwards commuted to banishment, and Brewster returned to England. At a later day the Virginia Company in London reviewed the proceedings of the court-martial and declared that they were "unjust and unlawful, and not warrantable either in matter or form by the laws of the realm or by any power or authority derived from His Majesty."

Brewster, after his return, conformed to the Church and settled down in London, where, according to Mr. Neill, "his name appears among members present at meetings of the Virginia Company in 1623-24. He and Henry Seile, in 1635, were booksellers, near the north door of St. Paul's, and at a later period he was treasurer of the Stationers' Company."

On the 12th of March, 1611-12, a third charter was granted to the First Colony, which conveyed to them all islands within three hundred leagues of the coast, between the thirtieth and forty-first degrees of north latitude. The purpose of this charter was to obtain possession of the Bermudas, or, as they were afterwards for some time called, the Somers or Sumer Islands, after Sir George Somers (sometimes spelled Sumers), admiral of Virginia. In 1624, factions having arisen in the company, and much dissatisfaction existing in England concerning its extraordinary powers, the Court of King's Bench, on the 16th of June, upon a *quo warranto*, declared its charter null and void. On the 15th of July the King issued a proclamation appointing commissioners to take charge of the affairs of the colony, and authorizing them to take possession of the seals, charters, books and letters of the company. What became of the original records of the company is not known, but previous to their surrender Edward Collingwood, one of the secretaries of the company, caused copies to be made, which were placed in the hands of the Earl of Southampton, the president. After the death of the earl they passed into the hands of his son, Thomas Wriothesley, who became Lord High Treasurer of England. After the death of the treasurer, his executors sold them to William Byrd, of Virginia, for sixty guineas. From Mr. Byrd they passed into the hands of Rev. William Stith, president of William and Mary College, and afterwards into the hands of Peyton Randolph, the brother-in-law of Mr. Stith, from whose library they

were sold after his death to Thomas Jefferson. The United States having purchased the library of Mr. Jefferson, the copies are now preserved in the library of Congress.

For the publication of these records the public is indebted to their editor, Edward D. Neill, and to their publisher, Joel Munsell, of Albany, by whose liberality, Mr. Neill states in his preface, he was enabled to issue his work. Mr. Neill's book is a square octavo of four hundred and thirty-two pages, and should find a place on the shelves of every American historian and antiquary.

The first expedition of the Second Colony, or the Northern Virginia Company, was undertaken under the direction of Lord Chief Justice Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. On the 12th of August, 1606, Henry Challons was sent to New England in a ship of fifty-five tons, with instructions, if found practicable, to leave some of his men as the nucleus of a settlement; but he was taken by the Spanish and carried to Spain. Shortly after, Thomas Hanam and Martin Pring were sent with supplies for Challons; but not finding him, returned. On the 31st of May, 1607, the company sent two ships, with a colony of more than a hundred, of which Captain George Popham was president, Captain Raleigh Gilbert admiral, Captain Edward Harlow master of the ordnance, Captain Robert Davis sergeant-major, Captain Ellis Best marshal, Martin Seaman secretary, Captain James Davis, captain of the fort, and Martin Goma Carew chief searcher. They planted themselves at Sagadahack and built a fortification, which they called St. George's Fort. During the next winter their storehouse, lodgings and provisions were burned, and Captain Popham, their president, died. In the December previous, however, the two ships returned to England, bearing the whole company except forty-

five. On their arrival home supplies were at once sent to the remaining colonists; but news of the death of the lord chief justice, and of Sir John Gilbert, brother of Raleigh Gilbert, the successor of Captain Popham in the presidency, together with the hardships endured, so discouraged the plantation that it was broken up, and its members returned home in the vessels dispatched to their relief. Sir Francis Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges continued to send vessels to New England to fish, and trade and discover the features of its coast; but no immediate steps were taken towards a permanent settlement. In 1614 John Smith arrived on the coast with two ships fitted out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Royden, Captain George Langham, Master John Buley and Master William Skelton, with a roving commission to take whales, discover gold and copper, and if these failed, to secure a cargo of fish and furs. In 1619, Thomas Dermer was sent out, and his expedition was the last before the arrival of the "Mayflower" with the Pilgrims.

As is stated in the general text, though the landing at Plymouth was within the limits of the Second Colony, or Northern Virginia Company, the patent held by the Pilgrims covered territory within the jurisdiction of the First Colony.

It is unnecessary to extend this note further. The issue of the various subsequent patents to the Plymouth planters by the Second Colony, after its new charter of November 3, 1620, as "the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling and governing of New England in America," is sufficiently treated in the general text. It is only necessary to add that the Second Colony, under its new name, survived the First Colony eleven years, and in 1635 surrendered its charter to the King.

VIII. EARLY SCHOOLS.

Under the date of August, 1645, in the records of the town of Marshfield, the author has found the following entry:

"On motion being made for one to teach school, we, whose names are underwritten, are willing to pay yearly, besides paying for our children we shall send, viz.:

	s. d.
" Edward Winslow.....	20 0
Thomas Bourne.....	10 0
John Bourne.....	10 0
Robert Carver.....	10 0
Thomas Chillingsworth.....	10 0
John Russell.....	5 0
Edward Buckley.....	13 4
Robert Waterman.....	10 0

	s. d.
Kenelm Winslow	10 0
Joseph ———	— —
Josiah ———	10 0
Edward ———	— —

The family names of three of the subscribers and the sums subscribed by two are illegible. The names were probably Joseph Beadle, Josiah Winslow and Edward Bumpus. This was the first recorded movement towards a public school in either of the New England colonies. It suggests the probability that the towns in the Plymouth colony were ready to establish schools without the spur of a colonial law, until a later date, when perhaps some of the newly incorporated towns were backward in that respect.

IX. TOWN TREASURERS.

It is probable that until 1695 the treasurer of the colony acted as the treasurer of the town. Since that time the office has been held by the following persons:

William Shurtleff	1695 to 1700
John Watson	1701 " 1720
John Dyer.....	1721 " 1732
Gershom Foster.....	1732 " 1733
John Foster	1734 " 1740
Thomas Foster.....	1741 " 1756
Joseph Bartlett.....	1757 " 1759
Edward Winslow.....	1760

John Cotton.....	1761 to 1789
William Goodwin.....	1790 " 1793
Sylvanus Harlow.....	1794 " 1798
Nehemiah Cobb.....	1799 " 1805
Benjamin Drew.....	1806 " 1819
William Bishop	1820 " 1822
Thomas Spooner.....	1823 " 1824
Jacob Jackson.....	1825 " 1826
Charles May.....	1827 " 1834
Samuel Sherman.....	1835 " 1856
James Cox.....	1857 " 1872
Curtis Davie.....	1875

X. NEW PLYMOUTH RECORDS.

David Pulsifer, of Boston, succeeded Dr. Shurtleff in editing the publication of the records, under the resolve of 1855, and the two volumes

containing the "acts of the commissioners of the United Colonies" were published under his direction.

XI. AGAWAM AND WAREHAM.

The plantation of Agawam, usually called in the records "Agawam Purchase," was bought of the Indians by the town of Plymouth, as is shown by the following deed:

"Know all men by these presents:

"That we, Nanumett, Weeankett, Acanootus, Attaywanpeek, Awano, Awampoke and Assaankett, alias Peter, natives of New England, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth in America, do acknowledge that for and in consideration of the full and just sum of twenty-four pounds and ten shillings, to us paid by Capt. Thomas Southworth, Nathaniel Warren, William Clark and Hugh Cole, of the town of Plymouth aforesaid, in the jurisdiction aforesaid, gentlemen wherewith we, the said Nanumett, Weeankett, Acanootus, Attaywanpeek, Awano, Awampoke and Assaankett, alias Peter, do acknowledge ourselves, and every of us, to be satisfied, contented and fully paid, and thereof, and every part and parcel thereof, do exonerate, acquit and discharge the said Capt. Thomas Southworth, Nathaniel Warren, William Clark and Hugh Cole, they and every of their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever, by these presents, have freely and absolutely, bargained, alienated and sold, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents do bargain, alienate, sell and confirm from us, the said Nanumett, Weeankett, Acanootus, Attaywanpeek, Awano, Awampoke and Assaankett, alias Peter, and our heirs to them, the said Captain Thomas Southworth, Nathaniel Warren, William Clark and Hugh Cole, in behalf of the town of New Plymouth, them and every of their heirs and assigns forever, two certain tracts or parcels of land, the one being called Weeyancett Neck, and another parcel adjoining thereto the aforementioned Weeyancett Neck, being

bounded on a salt water river on the south and which river runneth into Manomet Bay, and on the east side with a great salt water cove or river, which runneth into the same bay, and so bounded up along with the brook unto the head thereof, and to a meadow lying some space above the head of said brook, and so to a great pond lying about northeast near a quarter of a mile from the said meadow, all the said meadow being included within the said bounds; the other parcel of land of the above named, abutting on the tract or parcel of land which the town of Plymouth bought of us, Acanootus, Awampoke and Attaywanpeek, as appears by a deed under our hands bearing date Anno Domini 1665, and from the westernmost bounds expressed in said deed two miles and a half into the woods, running upon a line northeast and by north to the upper end of the said two miles and a half, running along by a swamp side until one side of the said swamp parteth and runneth away near east, and the other part more northerly, which place is agreed on by us, the said Nanumett, Weeankett, Acanootus, Awano, Awampoke, Attaywanpeek and Assaankett, alias Peter, to be the bounds of the said northeast and by north line, and so to run upon a straight line through the woods to the forenamed pond, which lyeth to the northeast of the forenamed meadow, to have and to hold all the said two parcels or tracts of land, so bounded as aforesaid, with all and singular the appurtenances whatsoever, within and between and belonging to the said two parcels or tracts of land bounded as aforesaid, unto them the said Captain Thomas Southworth, Nathaniel Warren, William Clark and Hugh Cole, on the behalf and to the use of the town of Plymouth, to them and every of them, their and every of their heirs, assigns, forever, the said premises,

with all and singular the appurtenances belonging thereunto, or to any part or parcel thereof, to appertain unto the proper use and behoof of them, the said Captain Thomas Southworth, Nathaniel Warren, William Clark and Hugh Cole, in behalf of the town of Plymouth aforesaid, to them and every of their heirs and assigns forever, to be holden as of his majesty, his manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not in caperty nor by knights' service, nor by the rents and service thereof and thereby due and of right accustomed, warranting the sale thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, against all persons whatsoever that might lay any claim thereunto, or to any part or parcel thereof, forever giving and granting liberty unto the said Captain Thomas Southworth, Nathaniel Warren, William Clark and Hugh Cole, or any whom they shall appoint to record and enroll these presents, either in her Majesty's court at Plymouth aforesaid, or in any other place of public records, according to the usual manner of enrolling evidences in such case provided.

"In witness whereof, we, the above named Nanumett, Weeanuckett, alias Peter, have hereunto set our hands and seals this of December, Anno Domini One Thousand Six hundred and Sixty-six (1666).

"Signed, Sealed and delivered in the presence of
 "The mark X of Causetan.
 "The mark of Aspackanuck, alias Ralph Jones, II.
 "Nathaniel Morton.
 "The mark of Peter, (.)
 "The mark of Tatosen, X.
 "Peter, his H mark and seal.
 "Acanootus, his H mark and seal.
 "Awano, his H mark and seal.
 "Awampoke, his H mark and seal.
 "Attawayanpeek, his H mark and seal.
 "Nanumett, his H mark and seal.

The bounds of the Agawam Purchase, according to existing landmarks as described by Rev. Noble Warren Everett, in his "History of Wareham," are as follows; "On the east by the arm of the sea which connects what is called the 'Head of the Bay' with Buzzard's Bay, the narrowest part of which is Cohasset

Narrows; thence up Red Brook to the head thereof, where stands a stone four feet high, lettered W. P.; thence North 32 deg. E. 420 rods to another stone like the first; thence North 78 deg. W. 250 rods, crossing White Island Pond and Oliver's Neck to another stone like the others, standing on the west bank of the pond; thence north 86 deg. 35 min. W. 965 rods, crossing Agawam River at 198 rods, and Little Long Pond at 484 rods, to a pine-tree at the forked swamp which is the corner of Tihonet; thence South 25 deg. W. 780 rods to a stake on the bank of a brook; thence down the brook to Agawam River, and by the river to Wankinco River, and down the Wankinco River, through the Narrows, to Buzzard's Bay, and by the Bay easterly to the beginning."

The territory covered by the purchase was sold by the town of Plymouth, in 1682, to John Chubbuck, Samuel Bates, John Fearing, Nathan Beale, Seth Pope, Ephraim Wilder, Nathaniel Morton, Joseph Warren, Joseph Bartlett and Josiah Lane, but remained within the jurisdiction of the town until its incorporation with a part of Rochester as the town of Wareham, in 1739. Cohasset Narrows, referred to in the above bounds, is a corruption of Coweeset Narrows, Coweeset having been the Indian name of that locality.

That small part of Plymouth which was annexed to Wareham in January, 1827, is that territory which, including also a small portion of Carver annexed at the same time to Wareham, is called Tionet. It is described in the act of annexation as "all that tract of land now forming a part of the towns of Plymouth and Carver comprised within the following limits, to wit: Beginning at the southwesterly corner of the said town of Plymouth, at a brook, thence North 23 E. about 757 rods to a point where the Southerly line of said town of Plymouth runs East and West thence; North 86 W. 450 rods to Wakinquo River, and across said river and in a straight line about 365 rods to the line now dividing the towns of Wareham and Carver; and thence Southeasterly following said last-mentioned line and the line now dividing Plymouth and Wareham, to the said first-mentioned corner."

XII. PLYMOUTH SOLDIERS ON THE EXPEDITION TO CROWN POINT, 1755-56.

Col. Thomas Doty.	Solomon Doty.	Richard Sawyer.	Samuel Walton.
Capt. Nathaniel Bartlett.	Jabez Pratt.	Daniel Dunham.	Jabez Fuller.
Lieut. Stephen Sampson.	Theodosius Ford.	Nathaniel Holmes, Sr.	John Foster.
Ensign Samuel Arnold.	Robert McSun.	David Morse.	Joshua Ripley.
Clerk Peleg Stevens.	Zebedee Delano.	Nathaniel Holmes, Jr.	Thomas Westgate.
Sergt. Richard Cree.	Josiah Rogers.	Samuel Rhodes.	Ephraim Warfield.
Sergt. Obed Hatch.	Seth Totman.	Henry Bradley.	Thomas Shaw.
Sergt. Ephraim Tinkham.	Jacob McSun.	Samuel Fuller.	Nathan Wood.
Corp. Abner Sampson.	John Lapham.	David Allen.	John Sampson.
Drummer Joshua Cook.	Daniel Tiffany.	Abraham Ashley.	Jabez Wickett.
William Doty.	John Humphreys.	Benjamin Raymond.	David Perry.

Ebenezer Drew.	Thomas Lewis.	Elkanah Pratt.	Corp. William Nicholas.
Cornelius Drew.	John Edwards.	James Dyer.	William March.
Ephraim Cole.	Benjamin Howland.	Joseph Scull.	Josiah Torrey.
John King.	Benjamin Rogers.	Joseph Soule.	John Perrigo.
Nathaniel Cobb.	Richard Sampson.	Silas West.	John Sullivan.
Joseph Holmes, Jr.	George Marshall.	James Howland.	Sylvanus Bramhall.
James Perrigo.	Elisha Joseph.	William Cobb.	Elisha Morton.
Capt. Samuel N. Nelson.	John Smith.	Eleazer Ralph.	George Hayden.
Lieut. Noah Sprague.	John Slack.	Aaron Redin.	Ezra Totman.
Sergt. Moses Bassett.	Samuel Joe.	Abel Francis.	Josiah Dunham.
Clerk Joseph Bridgham.	Peter Swift.	Samuel Doten.	Ralph Rickard.
Samuel Thomas.	Aaron Moses.	Lieut. Joseph Carver.	Charles Washank.
John Warren.	William Brady.	Ensign William Nye.	Joseph Cowett.
Benjamin Harkins.	John Thomas.	Sergt. Levi Drew.	Samuel Sampson.
Joseph Neigh.	John Hicks.	Corp. Samuel Sawyer.	

XIII. CELEBRATION OF FOREFATHERS' DAY.

The first celebration was that of the Old Colony Club, an association of gentlemen, formed in Plymouth, January 16, 1769, of which Isaac Lothrop, Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, Elkanah Cushman, John Thomas, Edward Winslow, Jr., and John Watson were the original members. On the 12th of July, Cornelius White was admitted a member, on the 2d of August, Thomas Mayhew, and on the 7th of October, Oakes Angier. On the 18th of the following December the club voted to celebrate Friday, December 22d, as the anniversary of the landing. On that day they met at the inn of Thomas Southworth Howland, which stood on the north side of North Street, where the house owned by Nathaniel Morton now stands, and partook of a dinner, of which the following was the bill of fare:

1. A large baked Indian whortleberry pudding.
2. A dish of sauquetach.
3. A dish of clams.
4. A dish of oysters and a dish of cod-fish.
5. A haunch of venison, roasted by the first jack brought to the colony.
6. A dish of sea-fowl.
7. A dish of frost-fish and eels.
8. An apple pie.
9. A course of cranberry tarts and cheese made in the Old Colony.

The club marched to the inn from their hall, headed by the steward, carrying a folio volume of the Old Colony laws. Their hall was called Old Colony Hall, and stood next south of the town-house, immediately in the rear of the provision-store of Charles T. Holmes. It was owned by John Thomas, one of the club, and built with reference to the wants of the association. As the club came out of their hall they were received by a body of citizens with cheers and a volley of small arms, and the pupils of Peleg Wadsworth, who taught a private school at the time in the building standing on the site now occupied by the house of Mrs. Olney, in Market Street, came into the street and sang a song

appropriate to the day. At the evening meeting of the club, at their hall, the names of the following gentlemen were added to the roll of membership: George Watson, James Warren, James Hovey, William Watson, Gideon White, Elkanah Watson, Thomas Davis, Nathaniel Lothrop, John Russell, Edward Clarke, Alexander Scammell, Peleg Wadsworth and Thomas Southworth Howland.

It was this celebration in 1769 which first recognized the 22d of December as the anniversary of the landing. The mistake was a natural one. The landing occurred on the 11th of December, old style, and the difference in 1620 between the old style and the new was ten days only. In 1752, when the new style was put in operation, in accordance with the act of Parliament passed in 1751, the difference had increased to eleven days, so that, in conformity with the act, eleven days were dropped in September, 1752, and the third day of that month was reckoned the fourteenth. At the time of the celebration in 1769, only seventeen years afterwards, the omission of eleven days was fresh in the popular mind, and, without thought that the difference in styles was only ten days in the previous century, the club added eleven days to the 11th of December and initiated the blunder of celebrating the 22d instead of the 21st, the correction of which has caused so much embarrassment and annoyance.

In 1770, Monday the 24th was celebrated instead of Saturday, a day which, in its closing hours, was, in those days, observed with much of the sacredness which surrounded the Sabbath. On that occasion the club, together with Thomas Foster, Lazarus Le Baron, John Torrey, Theophilus Cotton, Abraham Hammett, Ephraim Spooner and John Crandon, dined at the inn of Mr. Howland, and spent the evening at Old Colony Hall, where Edward Winslow, Jr., delivered the following short address, which may be considered the first public utterance in commemoration of the Pilgrims:

"When I recollect that about one century and a half since, a few worthies in the Island of Great Britain, persecuted and tormented by the wicked, aspiring great, for thinking freely and for acting with the same dignity and freedom with which they thought, although their sentiments and conduct were conformed to the laws of the society in which they lived, contrary to the common cause of suffering humanity, which frequently sinks in proportion to the power exerted against it, did dare, in defiance of their persecutors, to form themselves into one body for the common safety and protection of all, an engagement which, though founded on the true and genuine principles of religion and virtue, unhappy experience taught them was too weak and insecure a barrier against the arts and stratagems of such potent adversaries; when we recollect that, under these melancholy circumstances, having no other resort to preserve the purity of their minds, they abandoned their native country, their friends, their fortunes and connections and transported themselves to the city of Leyden, with the most sanguine hopes of a protection which the Island had refused to afford them; when we recollect that persecution from another quarter rendered their situation in the States of Holland equally as perplexed and disagreeable,—how am I astonished that such repeated disappointments had not rendered them too weak even to make another attempt! But when we view them rising from their misfortunes with tenfold vigor, and upon the same virtuous principles, crossing the Atlantic with the dearest companions of life,—their wives, their helpless offspring,—exposed to the roughness of the ocean, to the inclemencies of the weather and all their attendant evils, and landing in the tempestuous month of December upon an unknown shore, inhabited by men more fierce than beasts of prey, and scarcely deserving to be called human, natural enemies to their virtue and morality, with whom they are obliged to wage an immediate and unequal war for their defence and safety; when we view them, under all the disadvantages naturally attendant upon a state of sickness and poverty, defending themselves against savage cruelties, and still persevering in their virtuous resolutions, establishing their religion in this then desert, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their circumstances, and planting a colony which, through divine goodness, has flourished and become an important branch of that body which caused their emigration,—how am I lost in amazement! And to what cause can we ascribe these deliverances and salvation but to that Almighty being who orders all events for the benefit of mankind, whose ways are to us unsearchable and whose doings are past finding out.

"Upon a recollection of all these things, it is not to be wondered that we, the sons and descendants from such illustrious ancestors, upon this 22d of December, are assembled upon the very spot on which they landed to commemorate this period, the most important that the annals of America can boast,—a period

which, I doubt not, every person here present esteems an honor, as well as his incumbent duty, gratefully to remember; and while we feel for the misfortunes and calamities of those, our pious ancestors, the consequences of which to us are so delightful and glorious, let us also admire and adore their virtue, their patience, their fortitude and their heroism, and continue to commemorate it annually. This virtue is undoubtedly rewarded with joys which no tongue can utter, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive; and if we, their sons, act from the same principles, and conduct with the same noble firmness and resolution when our holy religion or our civil charters are invaded, we may expect a reward proportionate, for such principles render the soul tranquil and easy under all the misfortunes and calamities to which human nature is exposed, and of him who is possessed by them the poet with propriety says,—

"Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurled,
He, unconcerned, would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling world."

After the address the following song, written by Alexander Scammell, was sung to the tune of "The British Navy." It has the honor of being the first poetic tribute to the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers.

"All hail the day that ushers in
The period of revolving time,
In which our sires of glorious fame,
Bravely through toils and dangers came,—

"Novanglia's wilds to civilize,
And wild disorder harmonize;
To plant Britannia's arts and arms,
Plenty, peace, freedom, pleasing charms.

"Derived from British rights and laws,
That justly merit our applause;
Darlings of heaven, heroes brave,
You still shall live, though in the grave.

"Live, live within each grateful breast,
With reverence for your names possessed;
Your praises on our tongues shall dwell,
And sires to sons your actions tell.

"Ye distant poles their praise resound,
Let virtue be with glory crowned;
Ye dreamy wilds, each rock and cave,
Echo the virtues of the brave.

"They nobly braved their indigence,
Death, famine, sword and pestilence;
Each toil, each danger they endured,
Till for their sons they had procured

"A fertile soil profusely blest
With nature's stores, and now possessed
By sons who gratefully revere
Our fathers' names and memories dear.

"Plymouth, the great mausoleum,
Famous for our forefathers' tomb,
Join, join the chorus, one and all,
Resound their deeds in Colony Hall."

Edward Winslow, who delivered the above address, was the son of Edward, of Plymouth, and the fourth in descent from Governor Edward Winslow. He graduated at Harvard in 1765, and, with his father, became a Loyalist and left the country. His father

removed to Halifax, where he died in 1784, while he removed to Fredericton, New Brunswick, where he died, in 1815, leaving a family, many of whose descendants are now living. The house on North Street, built and occupied by the father, and now owned by the heirs of Lucia J. Briggs, a fine specimen of colonial architecture, was taken in execution, in 1782, after the departure of Mr. Winslow, by the town of Plymouth, and by Thomas Davis, William Thomas, Oakes Angier and John Rowe, and sold at various dates,—1782, 1789, 1790 and 1791,—by these parties and their representatives to Thomas Jackson, from whom it passed, through the hands of his cousin, Charles Jackson and heirs, in 1872, into the hands of Mrs. Briggs.

Alexander Scammell, the author of the song, was a native of Mendon, and after graduating at Harvard, in 1769, came to Plymouth to teach a public school. He removed to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1772, was commissioned colonel of the Third New Hampshire Regiment, and on the 21st of September, 1775, was made brigade-major, by the Continental Congress. On the 25th of September, 1778, he was made adjutant-general of the Continental army, and at the siege of Yorktown, on the 30th of September, 1781, received a wound from the effects of which he died in the following month, while a prisoner in Williamsburg, Va. Besides Edward Winslow and Alexander Scammell, eight others of the twenty-two members of the Old Colony Club enrolled during the first year were graduates at Harvard,—James Warren, 1745; James Hovey, 1740; William Watson, 1751; Nathaniel Lothrop, 1753; Pelham Winslow, 1753; John Thomas, 1765; John Watson, 1766; and Peleg Wadsworth, 1769.

In 1771 the 23d of September was celebrated by the Old Colony Club, on Monday, by a dinner at the inn of Thomas Witherell, which stood where Odd-Fellows' Hall now stands. In 1772, by invitation of the club, Rev. Chandler Robbins delivered an address in the First Church, and after the services, the club, with invited guests, dined at the inn of Mr. Howland, on which occasion General John Winslow presided. In 1773 the club celebrated the day by an address by Rev. Charles Turner, of Duxbury. In 1774 the anniversary was celebrated by the town, and an address was delivered by Rev. Gad Hitchcock, of Pembroke; and addresses were also delivered under the auspices of the town, by Rev. Samuel Baldwin, of Hanover, in 1775; Rev. Sylvanus Conant, of Middleboro', in 1776; Rev. Samuel West, of Dartmouth, in 1777; Rev. Timothy Hilliard, of Barnstable, in 1778; Rev. William Shaw, of Marshfield, in 1779, and Rev. Jonathan Moor, of Rochester, in 1780.

No celebration occurred again until 1794, when an address was again delivered by Rev. Chandler Robbins. After an interval of three years Dr. Zaccheus Bartlett, of Plymouth, delivered an address, and it is presumed that the addresses of both Mr. Robbins and

Dr. Bartlett were delivered under the auspices of the town, though the town records make no mention of a celebration in either of these years. For the celebration of 1794 the ode "Sons of Renowned Sires" was written by John Davis, and was then for the first time sung. The following gentlemen delivered addresses, in response to invitations of the town, in the years stated: John Davis, of Boston, in 1800; Rev. John Allyn, of Duxbury, in 1801; John Quincy Adams, in 1802; Rev. John T. Kirkland, of Boston, in 1803; Alden Bradford, of Boston, in 1805; Rev. Abiel Holmes, of Cambridge, in 1806; Rev. James Freeman, of Boston, in 1807; Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, of Dorchester, in 1808; Rev. Abiel Abbott, of Beverly, in 1809; Rev. James Flint, of Bridgewater, in 1815; Rev. Horace Holley, of Boston, in 1817; and Wendell Davis, of Sandwich, in 1818.

In 1819 the Pilgrim Society was formed. On the 9th of November, in that year, at a meeting of a number of citizens of Plymouth, held at the house of Joshua Thomas, "to take into consideration the expediency of forming a society to commemorate the landing of the Fathers in the town of Plymouth," William Davis was chosen chairman and John B. Thomas secretary. It was then voted "to form a society for the aforesaid purpose," and that the name of the society shall be "Old Colony Pilgrim Society." At the same meeting a committee, consisting of Joshua Thomas, William Jackson and Nathaniel M. Davis, was appointed to procure an act of incorporation at the next session of the General Court, and to secure an orator for the approaching anniversary. Though no mention is made in the records of the society of the name of the orator, it is known that Francis C. Gray, of Boston, delivered an address in that year, and it is therefore probable that he was the orator selected by the committee of the society. At the same meeting Barnabas Hedge, Nathaniel Russell and Nathan Hayward were chosen a committee of arrangements for the celebration; John Thomas, Jr., was chosen corresponding secretary; and William Davis, Zaccheus Bartlett, Benjamin M. Watson, Nathan Hayward and Zabdiel Sampson, a committee to admit members at their discretion. On the 18th of May, 1820, at the court-house in Plymouth, the first meeting of the incorporated "Pilgrim Society" was held at the call of John Watson, Joshua Thomas, Beza Hayward, William Davis and Barnabas Hedge, the persons named in the following act of incorporation, passed on the 24th of January preceding:

"Be it known by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same:—

"Sec. 1.—That John Watson, Joshua Thomas, Beza Hayward, William Davis and Barnabas Hedge, together with such others as now are or hereafter may be associated with them for the purpose of procuring in the town of Plymouth a suitable lot or plot of ground for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the

memory of the virtues, the enterprise and unparalleled sufferings of their ancestors, who first settled in that ancient town, and for the erection of a public building for the accommodation of the meetings of said associates, which monument and building shall forever be free from taxation (while the property of said corporation), be and they are hereby incorporated into a society by the name of the Pilgrim Society, and by that name shall be a corporation forever, with power to have a common seal; to make contracts relative to the objects of their institution; to sue and be sued; to establish by-laws for the regulation of the Society, provided such by-laws be not repugnant to the constitution and laws of this commonwealth; to choose a President and such other officers as may be thought expedient, to take, hold and possess any estate, real or personal, by subscription, gift, grant, purchase or otherwise, for the purposes aforementioned, provided the value of said estate shall not exceed ten thousand dollars.

"Sec. 2.—That the time and place for holding the first meeting of said Society may be appointed by any three of the aforesaid persons, by their giving notice thereof in the *Columbian Centinel*, printed in Boston, and at such meeting the said Society may agree upon the mode of calling future meetings, may adjourn from time to time, may choose such officers as may be deemed expedient, and establish by-laws to regulate said Society."

By an act passed February 4, 1854, the society was authorized to hold real estate to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars; and by an act passed February 20, 1853, authority was given to hold real and personal property to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, provided that any leased for business purposes should be taxed.

At the meeting of the corporation Joshua Thomas was chosen chairman, Benjamin M. Watson clerk and Beza Hayward, William Jackson, Zaccheus Bartlett, Samuel Davis and Benjamin M. Watson a committee to draw up a constitution and report at an adjourned meeting on the 29th of the same month. At the adjourned meeting a constitution was reported and adopted, and the following officers were chosen: Joshua Thomas, president; Benjamin M. Watson, recording secretary; Samuel Davis, corresponding secretary; Beza Hayward, treasurer; James Thacher, librarian and cabinet-keeper; John Watson, Barnabas Hedge, Thomas Jackson, William Davis and Zabdiel Sampson, of Plymouth, and James Freeman, Alden Bradford and William Sturgis, of Boston, trustees; and Nathan Hayward, William Davis, Jr., and Nathaniel Spooner, committee of arrangements. On the 22d of December, 1820, it was proposed to provide in the constitution for a vice-president, and on the 25th of June following the proposition was adopted and William Davis was chosen. The presidents and vice-presidents of the society up to 1885 have been as follows:

Presidents.

Joshua Thomas, of Plymouth...	1820
John Watson, of Plymouth.....	1821 to 1825
Alden Bradford, of Boston.....	1826 " 1840
Nath'l M. Davis, of Plymouth...	1841 " 1844
Charles H. Warren, of Boston...	1845 " 1852
Richard Warren, of New York...	1853 " 1861
Edward Everett, of Boston.....	1862 " 1863
William Whiting, of Roxbury..	1864
Edward S. Tobey, of Boston.....	1865 " 1871
Wm. T. Davis, of Plymouth.....	1872 " 1878
Thomas Russell, of Boston.....	1879

Vice Presidents.

William Davis, of Plymouth....	1821 " 1825
William Jackson, of Plymouth..	1826 " 1827
Zaccheus Bartlett, of Plymouth	1828 " 1835
Nath'l M. Davis, of Plymouth..	1836 " 1840
John B. Thomas, of Plymouth..	1841 " 1844
William Davis, of Plymouth....	1844 " 1852
Samuel Nicholson, of Boston....	1853 " 1855
James T. Haywood, of Boston..	1855 " 1859
Wm. T. Davis, of Plymouth....	1860 " 1871
Timothy Gordon, of Plymouth..	1872 " 1877

Vice-Presidents, 1878 to 1879.—Jacob H. Loud, of Plymouth; William M. Evarts, of New York; J. Henry Stickney, of Baltimore.

Vice-Presidents, 1880, and now holding office.—William M. Evarts, of New York; J. Henry Stickney, of Baltimore; Henry M. Dexter, of New Bedford; Frederick L. Ames, of North Easton.

In 1820, by invitation of the society, Daniel Webster delivered an oration, and since that time the following gentlemen have delivered addresses under the auspices of the society: Rev. Eliphale Porter, of Roxbury, in 1822; Edward Everett, in 1824; William Sullivan, in 1829; Rev. George W. Blagden, in 1834; Peleg Sprague, in 1835; Rev. Robert B. Hall, in 1837; Rev. Thomas Robbins, of Mattapoisett, in 1838; Joseph R. Chandler, of Philadelphia, in 1841; William H. Seward, in 1855; Robert C. Winthrop, in 1870. The society also celebrated the anniversary of the landing, in 1845, by religious services in the church of the First Parish, and by a dinner in the passenger-station of the Old Colony Railroad, at which Edward Everett and others made addresses; in 1853, by services in the same church, and by a dinner in a tent on Training Green, at which Edward Everett, Charles Sumner, John P. Hale, John H. Clifford and others spoke; in 1859, by laying the corner-stones of the canopy over the "Rock" and of the National Monument to the Pilgrims, and by a dinner in a tent on grounds adjoining the railroad-station, at which William M. Evarts, Salmon P. Chase, Nathaniel P. Banks and others made addresses; in 1880, by religious services in the First Church and a dinner in Davis' Hall, at which John D. Long, Alexander H. Rice, Rev. George W. Briggs, Rev. Alexander Mackenzie and others spoke. Full accounts of the cele-

brations of 1853 and 1870 have been published in book-form, containing the oration of Mr. Winthrop and the dinner speeches on both occasions. In 1882 the society again observed the day with religious services, and a dinner in Davis' Hall, at which Rev. George E. Ellis, of Boston, and others spoke. Appropriate addresses have been delivered by invitation of the First Parish by Rev. James Kendall, in 1804; Rev. John Elliott, of Boston, in 1811; Rev. John Brazier, of Salem, in 1831; Rev. Convers Francis, of Watertown,

in 1832; Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston, in 1833; and Rev. Thomas T. Stone, of Salem, in 1847; and by invitation of the Third Church by Rev. Richard S. Storrs, of Braintree, in 1826; Rev. Lyman Beecher, of Boston, in 1827; Rev. Samuel Green, of Boston, in 1828; Rev. Daniel Huntington, of Bridgewater, in 1829; Rev. Benjamin Wisner, of Boston, in 1830; Rev. John Codman, of Dorchester, in 1831; Rev. Robert B. Hall, of Plymouth, in 1839; Rev. Mark Hopkins, of Williamstown, in 1846.

XIV. JAMES OTIS.

Among those of distinction living in Plymouth in the middle of the last century must be mentioned the patriot James Otis. He graduated at Harvard in 1743, and in 1745 began the study of law in the office of Jeremiah Gridley, of Boston, one of the leading lawyers of his time. Mr. Gridley graduated at Harvard in 1725, and came to Boston as an assistant in the grammar school, occasionally preaching in one or another of the pulpits of the town. He was at one time the editor of a weekly paper called the *Rehearsal*, and while a resident of Brookline was a member of the General Court and an opponent of the measures of the ministry. He was appointed Attorney-General, and obliged in that capacity to defend the "writs of assistance," with his former pupil, Mr. Otis, as his success-

ful opponent. He died in Boston, September 7, 1767. Mr. Otis, after completing his studies, was admitted to the bar in Plymouth, and occupied, in 1748 and 1749, as a law-office the southerly room in the house now standing on Main Street north of the engine-house. James Warren, who married his sister Mercy, was then living in the house now standing on the corner of North Street, and Mr. Otis, during his residence in Plymouth, was a member of his family. After his removal to Boston he lived in three different houses, one on the north side of School Street, immediately below City Hall Avenue, one on the south side of Court Street, afterwards owned by the Brattle Street Church, and one on the south side of the western entrance to Bowdoin Square.

XV. REVOLUTIONARY PRIVATEERS FROM PLYMOUTH.

Sloop "America," eighty tons, owned by William Watson, Ephraim Spooner and others, carrying six swivels and seventy men, and commanded by Thomas Nicolson, master; Corban Barnes, first lieutenant; Nathaniel Ripley, second lieutenant; commissioned September 6, 1776.

Sloop "America," seventy tons, owned by Samuel Jackson, carrying twelve carriage-guns and sixty men, and commanded by Samuel C. Avery, master; Osborn Morton, first lieutenant; John Wing, second lieutenant; commissioned May 26, 1778.

Schooner "Hawk," fifty tons, owned by Thomas Davis and Ephraim Spooner, carrying six carriage-guns and fifteen men, and commanded

by William Holland; commissioned November 1779.

Schooner "Hope," forty-seven tons, owned by William Watson, Ephraim Spooner, Samuel Jackson and John Gray, carrying five three-pounders and ten swivels, and forty-five men, and commanded by Walter Hatch, master; John Churchill, first lieutenant; Solomon Whitten, second lieutenant; commissioned September 26, 1776.

Sloop "Union," forty tons, owned by John Gray, carrying two carriage-guns and seven men, and commanded by Thomas Studson; commissioned May, 1780.

Schooner "Harrison," owned by William Watson and Ephraim Spooner.

XVI. ARTILLERY COMPANY.

The Plymouth Artillery Company was organized January 7, 1777, and not in 1809, as erroneously stated in the body of this work. Its first commander was Thomas Mayhew, but who immediately succeeded him the author has been unable to discover. From 1804 to the disbandment of the company its commanders were as follows:

George Drew.....1804 to 1809.
William Davis, Jr.....1809 " 1815.
Southworth Shaw.....1815 " 1820.
John Sampson.....1820 " 1824.

Nathaniel Wood.....	1824 to 1825.
Joseph Allen.....	1825 " 1829.
David Bradford.....	1829 " 1832.
Eleazer S. Bartlett.....	1832 " 1835.
William Parsons.....	1835 " 1839.
Ephraim Holmes.....	1839 " 1841.
David Holmes.....	1841 " 1842.
Wendell Hall.....	1842 " 1845.
Samuel West Bagnall.....	1845 " 1847.
Ebenezer S. Griffin.....	1847 " 1848.
Lieutenant Robert King, Jr....	1848.

XVII. PONDS IN PLYMOUTH.

Abner's.	Ezekiel's.	Leach.	Rabbit.
Bartlett's Mill.	Farm.	Little Billington.	Rivet-Factory.
Beaver Dam.	Fearing's.	Little Clear.	Rocky.
Billington Sea.	Federal-Furnace.	Little College.	Rocky.
Black.	Five-Mile.	Little Herring.	Rope Walk.
Bloody.	Forge.	Little Island.	Round.
Boot.	Fresh.	Little Long.	Round-Hole.
Bradford's Mill.	Gallows.	Little Muddy.	Russell Mills.
Brick-yard.	Gilbert's.	Little Sandy.	Salt.
Bump's.	Goose.	Little South.	Sandy.
Burt's.	Grassy.	Long.	Savery's.
Cattle.	Grassy.	Long.	Scook's.
Centre Hill.	Gunners' Exchange.	Long.	Shallow.
Charge.	Hadaway's.	Long Black.	Ship.
Clam Pudding.	Half-moon.	Long Duck.	Slaughter House.
Clear.	Half-way.	Lout.	South.
College.	Harlow's.	Micajah's.	South Triangle.
College.	Hedge's.	Micajah's.	Spooner's
College.	Hedge's.	Micajah's.	Stave-Mill.
Cook's.	Herring.	Micajah's.	Swan Hole.
Cotton's.	Hodge's.	Mill.	Three-Cornered.
Cotton Factory.	Hooper's.	Morey's Hole.	Three-Cornered.
Crooked.	Horse.	Muddy.	Triangle.
Croswell's.	Indian Brook.	Muddy.	Wall.
Curlew.	Island.	Murdock's.	West.
Deep-water.	Island.	Nail-Factory.	West.
Deer.	Island.	Nigger.	West.
Derby.	Island.	No Bottom.	West.
Duck.	Jackson's.	Pickerel.	White's.
Duck-Mill.	Jenkins' Hole.	Poor-House.	White Island.
Dug-away.	John Gibbs'.	Powder-Horn.	Widgeon.
Dunham's.	King's.	Pudding.	Wing's.
East-head.	King's.	Zinc-Factory.	
Eel River.	King's.		
Elbow.	King's.		

There are about forty other small ponds without well-recognized names.

XVIII. LIST OF SECEDERS FROM THE FIRST CHURCH IN 1743 TO THE THIRD CHURCH, IN MIDDLE STREET.

Joseph Abbot.	Jonathan Diman.	William Keen.	Joseph Rider, Jr.
Francis Adams.	Elisha Doten.	Isaac Little.	Josiah Rider.
Robert Brown.	Thomas Dotey.	Isaac Lothrop.	William Rogers.
Josiah Carver.	Joshua Drew.	Seth Luce.	James Saller.
Ebenezer Cobb.	Lemuel Drew.	John Marten.	Jonathan Saunders.
Elisha Cobb.	Charles Dyer.	David Morse.	Jedediah Stetson.
Ephraim Cobb.	James Faunce.	David Morton.	Perez Tillson.
Jabez Cobb.	Thomas Faunce.	Ephraim Morton.	Eleazer Tinkham.
Job Cobb.	John Finney.	Ezekiel Morton.	Helkiah Tinkham.
John Cobb.	Josiah Finney.	Joseph Morton.	Perez Tinkham.
Nathan Cobb.	Robert Finney.	Joseph Morton, Jr.	Zedekiah Tinkham.
Sylvanus Cobb.	Rodolphus Hatch.	Josiah Morton.	Richard Waite.
John Crandon.	Abner Holmes.	John Murdock.	Benjamin Warren.
Ebenezer Curtis.	Benjamin Holmes.	Thomas Murdock.	James Warren.
Jacob Curtis.	Cornelius Holmes.	Samuel Nelson.	Nathaniel Warren.
Zaccheus Curtis.	Nathaniel Holmes.	Ephraim Paddock.	Silas West.
Jonathan Darling.	Thomas Holmes.	Walter Rich.	Edward Winslow.
William Dawes.	Consider Howland.	Joseph Rider.	James Witherell.
Nathan Delano.	Nathaniel Howland.		Thomas Witherell.

The following persons also joined the Third Church on the condition of paying nothing for the meeting-house and the settlement of the minister:

Josiah Cotton.

Ebenezer Dunham.

Nathaniel Holmes.
Ebenezer Nelson.
Saml. Nichols Nelson.
Thomas Sawyer.

John Sturtevant.
Hannah Sylvester.
Solomon Sylvester.
John Thomas.

XIX. PLYMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARY.

On the 4th of June, 1856, Charles Burton, Le Baron Russell, John J. Russell, Charles G. Davis and William T. Davis were incorporated by the Legislature for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a library in the town of Plymouth. The capital of fourteen hundred and twenty dollars was divided into two hundred and eighty-four shares, all of which were at once taken, and on the 11th of June, 1857, Jacob H. Loud was chosen president, William S. Danforth clerk, Francis H. Russell treasurer, Charles Burton librarian and Jacob H. Loud, Le Baron Russell, Admiral P. Stone, Charles G. Davis, Charles Burton, Andrew L. Russell and William H. Nelson were chosen trustees.

It was provided in the by-laws that the payment of one dollar per year should entitle a subscriber to the privilege of taking books, and in November, 1857, the library was opened in what is now the rear room of the Five Cents Savings-Bank, where it remained until the spring of 1860, when it was moved to the building now occupied by Arthur Lord as a law-office. In the latter place the services of Mrs. Caroline H. Spear, at seventy-five dollars a year, were substituted for the gratuitous services of Mr. Burton. Up to the 25th of May, 1868, the corporation continued to perform its functions with more or less efficiency, expending for books, rent, librarian and miscellaneous expenses the sum of \$3187.33. At that date an arrangement was made with the Young Men's Literary Institute by which that association awarded and held the management of the library until March 1871. At the latter date it was moved to Pilgrim Hall, and conducted under the joint management of the Pilgrim Society, the Young Men's Literary Institute and the library corporation, until March, 1880, when the joint agreement entered into by the associations was annulled and the present Plymouth Public Library corporation was formed.

Under the arrangement between these associations, ten per cent. of the receipts for admission to Pilgrim Hall was retained by the Pilgrim Society, and, after deducting from the remainder the salary of the librarian and the cost of heating and lighting, one-half of the excess was given to the library and the other half to the Pilgrim Society. The result was, that during the eight years and eight months of the continuance of the arrangement the library obtained a substantial foothold and inspired so much confidence in its per-

manent life and usefulness that its fund, originally established by a fair held in its interest, was considerably increased by gifts and bequests.

On the 15th of April, 1880, the new corporation adopted a code of by-laws and chose William T. Davis president, Charles Burton vice-president, Charles O. Churchill treasurer, William T. Hollis clerk and William T. Davis, William S. Danforth, Thomas Loring, William T. Hollis, Arthur Lord, Charles O. Churchill and William W. Brewster directors.

The property and books of the library were soon after formally transferred to the corporation, and during the next year, until September, 1881, it occupied the rooms in Danforth Building, on the south side, in the second story. At the annual meeting of the town in March, 1881, it was voted to grant the use of the town-hall to the library, and in the following September it was moved to that place. In May, 1884, the town requiring their hall for the accommodation of town officers, the library was moved to the third story of the Drew Building, at the corner of Leyden and Market Streets, where it finds ample room for its present wants, and is rendering valuable service to the inhabitants of the town. The number of admission cards now in use is about eighteen hundred, and the number of books taken out amounts to about two thousand per month. The number of books in the library is six thousand five hundred. In the last eight years it has received the following annual grants from the town: 1877, \$250.72; 1878, \$237.17; 1879, \$231.21; 1880, \$234.78; 1881, 270.43; 1882, \$229.75; 1883, \$303.70; 1884, \$1000. The odd amount in each of the first seven years was the one-half of the dog fund, which the town voted to give to the library. The amount in the last year was made up of the whole of the dog fund and an additional appropriation. The capital fund now in the hands of the treasurer, the income of which is annually available, amounts to seven thousand seven hundred dollars, and this sum is exclusive of a bequest of about one thousand dollars under a will now in dispute. The officers of the corporation at this date (March, 1885), are William Hedge, president; Charles G. Davis, vice-president; Charles O. Churchill, treasurer; Charles H. Rogers, clerk; and William Hedge, Charles O. Churchill, Benjamin M. Watson, Charles Burton, Frederick N. Knapp, Nathaniel Morton, George A. Tewksbury, William S. Danforth and Arthur Lord, directors.

XX. VALUATION, ETC., OF PLYMOUTH FOR 1884.

Real estate.....	\$3,103,625.00
Personal property.....	1,481,025.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,584,650.00

Number of polls..... 1858
 Number of polls (women). 14
 Tax on polls..... \$2.00
 Rate of taxation on \$1000.. 13.60
 Number of horses..... 545
 " " cows 453
 " " sheep 85
 " " dwelling-houses 1233
 " " acres of land
 taxed 50,700

In 1855 the valuation was:

Real estate.....	\$1,738,183.33
Personal property.....	1,329,900.00
Showing an increase in twenty-nine years of.....	1,516,566.67

<i>Appropriations March 2, 1885.</i>	
For Schools.....	\$24,700
" Town debt.....	3,200
" Roads and bridges	9,500
" Fire Department.....	3,000
" Watch and police.....	1,260
" Lighting streets and town-house..	1,500
" Insane poor.....	1,600
" New roads.....	1,000
" Contingent expenses.....	3,000
" The poor.....	6,500
" Assessor's expenses.....	800
" Burial Hill.....	500
" Salary of collector of taxes.....	500
" Salary of treasurer.....	600
" Sinking fund.....	1,500
" Salary of Sexton.....	125
" Public Library.....	1,000
	<hr/>
	\$60,285

In 1855 the appropriation for schools was \$8600, and the whole amount appropriated for current expenses \$23,800. The amounts stated for both years are exclusive of the town's share of State and county taxes.

XXI. WHALE FISHERY.

Besides the industries enumerated in the general text, the whale fishery has been carried on at Plymouth, at different times, with more or less success. What was called shore-fishing—conducted in boats—was doubtless begun, as in Nantucket, about the year 1690. Then whales were abundant within sight from the land, and high staffs were erected as look-outs on some elevated ground, and when the spout of a whale was seen boats, well-manned and equipped put off, and, having captured their game, towed it to the shore where the blubber was tried out in try-pots belonging to different managers of the business. This method of taking whales continued until about 1760, though as early as 1712 it was found that the fishery could be more profitably carried on with small vessels fitted out for a few weeks' cruise, and carrying hogsheads enough for the blubber of a single whale, which, when stowed, would be brought home to the owners' try-pots. These vessels were sloops of from thirty to fifty tons each, and would make four or five trips in a season.

It was gradually found that whales were more abundant in distant waters, and from Nantucket vessels sailed for Davis' Straits as early as 1746, for Baffin's Bay in 1751, the coast of Guinea in 1763, the Brazil coast in 1774, and round Cape Horn into the Pacific in 1791. Plymouth, however, did not participate in these remote fisheries until 1821, when a company, consisting of James Bartlett, Jr., Isaac Barnes, Isaac L. and Thomas Hedge, Benjamin Barnes, Henry Jackson, Ichabod Shaw, Southworth Shaw, Atwood Drew, Thomas Jackson, Jr., Daniel Jackson, Jacob

Jackson, Josiah Robbins, John Harlow, Jr., Samuel Doten, Nathaniel Ripley, Nathaniel Ripley, Jr., William P. Ripley, Richard Holmes, Jr., Benjamin Bramball, William Davis, Jr., and John B. Bates, of Plymouth; John Wheeler and Luther Gay, of Cambridge; and Stephen Griggs, of Boston, contracted with Nehemiah Newhall, of Berkley, to build the ship "Mayflower," of 345 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, to be employed in the Pacific fishery. She sailed in September, 1821, under the command of George Harris, and made three voyages under his command of about three years each, and landed between six and seven thousand barrels of oil. In 1830 she was sold to Gideon Randall, of New Bedford, and sailed from that port under the command of Peleg Crowell, an interest in her being held in Plymouth by James Bartlett, Jr., Abner S. Taylor and the heirs of Atwood Drew.

In 1822 another company, consisting of James Bartlett, Jr., Josiah Robbins, Isaac L. and Thomas Hedge, John B. Bates, Thomas Jackson, Jr., John Thomas, Henry Jackson, Jacob Covington, Daniel Jackson, Jacob Jackson, Allen Danforth, Isaac Sampson, John Harlow, Jr., Richard Holmes, Jr., Ichabod Shaw, Isaac Barnes, Lemuel Bradford, George Bacon, Rufus Robbins and Ephraim Harlow, contracted with Richard Currier, of Amesbury, to build the bark "Fortune," of 278 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, for the same service. She sailed in September, 1822, under the command of Peter C. Myrick, and returned in 1825 with two thousand barrels of oil. She sailed again in 1825 and 1829, under the command of Charles P. Swain, and again in 1833, under the command of David Upham.

In 1837 she sailed under the command of Albert G. Goodwin, and in 1840, on her last voyage, from Plymouth as her hailing port, under the command of William Almy.

In 1830 the ship "Arbella," of 404 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Bath, was fitted out by her owners,—James Bartlett, Jr., Isaac L. and Thomas Hedge and Jacob Covington,—and sailed in August of that year under the command of George Harris, the old master of the "Mayflower." In 1834 and 1836 she sailed under the command of Ellis E. Eldridge, and these voyages terminated her career as a Plymouth vessel.

In 1831 the ship "Levant," of 332 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Newbury, was fitted out by her owners,—Isaac L. and Thomas Hedge, Jacob Covington, John Thomas and James Bartlett, Jr.,—and sailed in July under the command of Thomas Russell, and this was her only voyage from Plymouth.

In 1833 the bark "Triton," of 314 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Durham, N. H., was fitted out by her owners,—Jacob Covington, James Bartlett, Jr., Josiah Robbins, Jacob H. Loud and John B. Thomas,—and sailed in November under the command of Mason Taber. She sailed again in 1835, under the command of Thomas Russell, and finally on her last voyage from Plymouth, in 1838, under the command of Chandler Burgess, Jr.

In 1837 the bark "Mary and Martha," of 316 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Westbrook, in Maine, was fitted out by her owners,—James Bartlett, Jr., Daniel Jackson, Abraham Jackson, John B. Thomas, Jacob H. Loud, Nathaniel Russell, Nathaniel Russell, Jr., Allen Danforth, Thomas Russell, and the heirs of Jacob Covington, of Plymouth, and Thomas Russell, of Nantucket,—and sailed in December under the command of Thomas Russell. This is believed by the author to have been her only voyage from Plymouth.

In addition to the above, which were engaged in the

Pacific fishery, other smaller vessels were employed in Atlantic whaling. The brig "Yeoman," of 175 tons, built in Plymouth in 1833, by James Spooner, Southworth Shaw, Ichabod Shaw, Ichabod Shaw, Jr., Benjamin Bagnell, Nathaniel C. Lanman, Wm. M. Jackson and Stephen Turner, and the brig "James Monroe," of 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built in Sandwich, and owned by Isaac L. Hedge, George Churchill, Nathaniel C. Lanman, Benjamin Hathaway, Southworth Barnes, John B. Thomas, Ichabod Shaw, Comfort Bates, Joseph W. Hodgkins, Nathaniel Russell, Albert G. Goodwin, Isaac Barnes, Thomas Hedge, and Nathaniel M. Davis, were the only square-rigged vessels belonging to this class. The others were the schooner "Exchange," of 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, owned by Alonzo Scudder, Henry F. Jackson, James Collins, William Nelson and Rufus B. Bradford; the schooner "Maracaibo," of 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Plymouth, and owned by Atwood L. Drew, Josiah Drew, Ephraim Harlow, James Doten, Ellis B. Bramball, James Morton, Bartlett Ellis, Andrew L. Russell, Benjamin Barnes (2nd), David Turner, Lemuel Simmons, John Harlow (3rd), Robert Hatch, Nathaniel Holmes and David Holmes; the schooner "Mercury," of 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Middleboro', owned by Isaac Barnes, Southworth Barnes, Ivory L. Harlow and Charles Goodwin; and the schooner "Vesper," of 95 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, built at Essex, and owned by Bradford Barnes, Jr., William Atwood, Samuel Robbins, Jr., Benjamin Barnes, Bradford Barnes, Ellis Barnes, Nathaniel C. Barnes, Nathaniel E. Harlow, Bartlett Ellis, Joseph White, Robert Hatch, Heman Cobb, Jr., Corban Barnes, Jeremiah Farris, Samuel N. Diman, David Turner, Charles Goodwin, Southworth Barnes, Joab Thomas, Jr., Nathan H. Holmes, David Holmes, Ellis Drew, Ebenezer Ellis, Jr., and Edwin A. Perry. The business was conducted with varied success, and finally abandoned.

XXII. THE OLD COLONY RAILROAD.

The Old Colony Railroad has, of course, contributed largely to the prosperity of Plymouth. The road which now bears that name is a consolidation of several lines, the original line, running from Boston to Plymouth, having been chartered March 18, 1844, and opened November 8, 1845. Afterwards the line from South Braintree to Fall River was incorporated as the Fall River Railroad, and was consolidated with the Old Colony Railroad September 7, 1854, under the name of the Old Colony and Fall River Railroad. After the extension of the road from Fall River to Newport it for a time bore the name of Old Colony and Newport Railroad. In 1872 the Cape Cod Railroad, extending from Middleboro to the cape, was annexed, and the old name of Old Colony was resumed. The South Shore Railroad, from Braintree to Cohasset was purchased and added October 1, 1876; the Duxbury and Cohasset, from Cohasset to Kingston, October 1, 1878; and the Fall River, Warren and Provi-

dence December 1, 1875. The Middleboro' and Taunton Branch was opened in 1856, the branch line by way of Easton and Taunton to Fall River in 1871, and the Raynham and Taunton Branch in 1882. February 1, 1879, a contract was made under which the Old Colony and the Boston, Fitchburg and New Bedford Railroads were to be operated as one line, the latter receiving ten and two-thirds per cent. of the gross earnings of the consolidated lines. The Old Colony also leases the Lowell and Framingham Railroad, the railroad from Fall River to New Bedford, and the Dorchester and Milton Railroads. The company now operates 468.32 miles of road, made up of those above-mentioned and the following branches: South Abington to Bridgewater, Atlantic to Braintree, Cohasset Narrows to Wood's Hole, Yarmouth to Hyannis, Pratt's Junction to Sterling Junction, Whitenton Junction to Attleboro', Tremont to Fairhaven, and the Easton, Shawmut, Fall River, Warren and

Providence Extension; Lancaster, Marlboro', Framingham, Weir and Acushnet. Towards the construction of the Duxbury and Cohasset Railroad extending

from Cohasset to Kingston, the town of Plymouth subscribed, in 1874, \$40,000, and sold its interest in 1877 to the Old Colony Railroad for the sum of \$2,666.66.

XXIII. NEWSPAPERS.

The first newspaper established in Plymouth was the *Plymouth Journal*, the first number of which appeared in March, 1785, under the editorial management of Nathaniel Coverly, of Boston. The facilities for intercommunication were so limited that its circulation was chiefly local and unremunerative, and its life was short. At that time there were less than fifty newspapers in the United States. In 1822, Allen Danforth, a native of Taunton, commenced the publication of the *Old Colony Memorial*, the first number of which appeared on Saturday, the 4th of May, in that year. In 1836 it passed into the hands of James Thurber, under whose management it was carried on until his death, in 1857. During the next year it was conducted by James A. Danforth, and then sold to John Morrissey, who conducted it until 1861, when it passed into the hands of Thomas Prince and William T. Hollis. In 1863 the *Plymouth Rock* was consolidated with the *Memorial*, and, under the name of *Memorial and Rock*, it was carried on by George F. Andrews and Messrs. Prince and Hollis until 1864, when it passed into the hands of Andrews & Gifford, and soon after into the hands of G. F. Andrews & Co. In 1866, Mr. Andrews assumed the sole management, and sold the establishment in July, 1872, to Winslow W. Avery and Charles C. Doten, under whose ownership and management it is now conducted, under the name of *Old Colony Memorial*, with the sub-titles of *Plymouth Rock* and *Old Colony Sentinel*, they having bought, in April of the same year, and consolidated with the *Memorial and Rock*, the *Old Colony Sentinel* then owned by the Old Colony Association.

The *Plymouth Rock* was established in January,

1837, and conducted a number of years by William Young, who finally disposed of the paper to Samuel C. Baldwin. It was afterwards owned by Moses Bates and Charles A. S. Perkins and George F. Andrews, in the order named, and sold to Andrews, Prince & Hollis, the proprietors of the *Old Colony Memorial* in 1863.

The *Old Colony Sentinel* was established by Moses Bates, in July, 1864, and carried on by him under that name, and under that of the *True Plymouth Rock* and *Old Colony Sentinel*, until January, 1866, when it passed into the hands of the Old Colony Association, who sold it, in April, 1872, to Avery & Doten, who, in the succeeding July, consolidated it with the *Memorial and Rock*, as above mentioned.

For many years Saturday was the publication day of the *Memorial*, and Thursday that of the *Rock*. At the time of the consolidation of these papers the publication day was changed to Thursday, and that is still the day of issue of the *Memorial*.

The *Free Press* was established in October, 1871, by Daniel W. Andrews, and continues to be published as a weekly paper on Saturday.

The *Pilgrim* was established May 17, 1832, as a weekly paper, under the management of Rev. Frederick Freeman, but was discontinued at the end of a year.

A journal called *We the People and Old Colony Press*, devoted to anti-Masonry, was established October 27, 1832, as a weekly paper, but was discontinued in 1834.

The *Old Colony Democrat* was established February 16, 1833, as a weekly paper, but in May, 1834, was removed to Middleboro'.

XXIV. GOVERNMENT OFFICERS IN PLYMOUTH.

During the existence of the Plymouth Colony its General Court passed no law providing for port officers. After the union with Massachusetts in 1692, it was enacted by the Provincial Court that naval offices should be established and naval officers appointed at Boston for Boston and Charleston, at Salem for Salem and Marblehead, at Ipswich, Kittery, Plymouth and Bristol. This act was substantially a re-enactment of a law that had previously existed in Massachusetts, and under which, in 1682, Nathaniel Clark had been appointed naval officer for Newbury and Salisbury, Benjamin Gerrish for Salem and James Russell for Boston. No officer was appointed for Plymouth until the middle of the last century, when Roland Cotton was perhaps appointed collector, succeeded by Edward Winslow, who held office until 1776. The fact that no port officer was appointed for Plymouth at an ear-

lier date is established by the accidental discovery by the author, in the archives of the State, of the following letter:

"Hon. Sir :

"The late territory formerly called the Colony of New Plymouth, the first settled colony in New England, never had a collector of His Majesty's customs appointed at home when a separate government, nor since its incorporation with the government of Massachusetts Bay, which has been a great damage to the King's revenue, as well as to the traders in that colony, for, as they are obliged to travel, some of them eighty or ninety miles to enter and clear the vessels, no doubt many of them run all risques rather than travel so far, which deprives the King of his just dues.

"If, therefore, a collector of His Majesty's customs

in all the parts of that colony, so called, should be appointed from home, it would be of great service to the fair traders in those parts and profitable to the revenues of the crown, etc.

"There is one Roland Cotton, a native there, who has been in the service of the government of the Massachusetts Bay, as representative and clerk of the House of Representatives about twenty years past; but in the late times of confusion, as he was apprehended to be a friend of the crown and government, an enemy to riots, mobs, etc., he was laid aside and neglected.

"Now, as he is desirous to serve his King and country, if he could obtain a commission for collection of His Majesty's customs cum potestate substituendi (if proper), in all the parts of the old colony of New Plymouth (so called), it would be an advantage to His Majesty's revenues and to the honest fair traders in these parts of the country.

"Sir, your interest to accomplish this office at the proper office will oblige many of your friends and will insure a refund of all charges."

That part of the letter which is preserved bears no signature and no address, nor is it absolutely certain that Mr. Cotton received the appointment. If he did not, it is probable that Edward Winslow was the first appointee. The date of the letter is noted in pencil by Mr. Felt, who arranged and classified the manuscripts in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, as "about 1750."

In 1776 an act was passed by the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts entitled "An Act for establishing a naval office and for ascertaining the fees," which provided that in the "several sea-ports of Boston, Salem, Marblehead, Gloucester, Newburyport, York, Pepperelborough, Falmouth, on Casco Bay, Townsend (Boothbay), Penobscot, Goldsboro', Machias, Plymouth, Barnstable, Dartmouth and Nantucket, within this State, there be an office kept, to be called and known by the name of the naval office, for the purpose of entering and clearing of all ships and other vessels trading to or from this State, to take bonds in adequate penalty for observing the regulations, made, or which shall be made by the General Congress or the General Assembly of this State concerning trade, take manifests upon oath of all cargoes exported or imported, and keep fair accounts and entries thereof, give bills of health when desired, and sign certificates that the requisites for qualifying vessels to trade have been complied with, and the fees to be demanded and received in said office shall be those following and no greater, that is to say :

s. d.

"For entering any ship and vessel from any part of the State.....	2 0
For clearing any ship and vessel to any part of the State.....	2 0
For entering any ship and vessel from any other of the United States.....	6 0

For clearing any ship and vessel to any other of the United States.....	6 0
For entering any ship and vessel from a foreign voyage	6 0
For clearing any ship and vessel for a foreign voyage	6 0
For a register.....	6 0
For indorsing a register.....	1 0
For recording indorsement.....	1 6
For any bond.....	2 0
For a certificate to cancel bond.....	1 0
For a bill of health.....	2 0
For permit to unload.....	1 0
For a cocket.....	0 3
For a let pass.....	0 8"

Under the act on the 22d of November, 1776, the following naval officers were commissioned for one year: Thomas Mayhew, for Plymouth; Nathaniel Barker, Boston; Warwick Palfry, Salem; Richard Trevet, York; Tristram Jordan, Pepperelboro'; Samuel Whittemore, Gloucester; Edward Pope, Dartmouth; Captain Michael Hodge, Newburyport; Joseph Otis, Barnstable; Thomas Child, Falmouth; Colonel Jonathan Lowder, Penobscot; Ichabod Plaisted, Nantucket. On the 2d of December, John Beath was appointed for Townsend (Boothbay), William Nichols for Goldsboro', and Stephen Smith for Machias.

Thomas Mayhew was appointed annually until 1782, when he received his last commission, the original of which, in the author's possession, reads as follows :

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"Council Chamber, Boston, June 29, 1782.

"These certify that Mr. Thomas Mayhew, of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, was appointed by the Honorable General Court, on the sixth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, a naval officer for the port of Plymouth, in said county, agreeably to the constitution.

"JOHN AVERY, Secretary."

In September, 1782, William Watson was appointed naval officer, and acted in that capacity until 1789, when he was appointed by Washington collector of the port. In 1803, Mr. Watson was superseded by Henry Warren, who held office until 1820. Zabdiel Sampson succeeded in 1820, and held office until his death, in 1828. He was followed by Pelham W. Warren, who held office one year, and was, in turn, succeeded, in 1830, by Schuyler Sampson. Mr. Sampson remained in office until 1841, when Isaac N. Stoddard succeeded him, who was followed by William M. Jackson, in 1845. In 1849, Thomas Hedge became collector, followed by Edward P. Little, of Marshfield, in 1853, who was succeeded, in 1857, by Moses Bates. Mr. Bates held office two and a half years, and was succeeded by Wait Wadsworth. In 1861, Thomas Loring was appointed, and held office until 1878, when Samuel H. Doten, the present incumbent, was appointed.

The postal system was more crude in its early stages, and developed more slowly than the revenue service. In the Plymouth Colony it received no attention at the hands of the General Court. In the Massachusetts Colony, as early as 1639, it was ordered "that notice be given that Richard Fairbanks, his house, in Boston, is the place appointed for all letters which are brought from beyond the seas or are to be sent thither, to be left with him, and he is to take care that they are to be delivered or sent according to the directions, & he is allowed for every letter a penny, and he must answer all miscarriages through his own neglect in this kind;" and on the 1st of June, 1677, the General Court of that colony ordered, "in answer to the request of several merchants of Boston, declaring that they have heard many complaints made by merchants and others that have been sensible of the loss of letters, whereby merchants, with their friends and employers in foreign parts are greatly damnified; many times letters are thrown upon the exchange that who will may take them up, &c.; therefore, humbly desire this Court to depute some meet person to take in and convey letters according to your discretion. This Court judgeth it meet to grant the petitioners' request herein, and have made choice of Mr. John Hayward, the scrivener, to be the person for that service."

In 1672 New York established a weekly mail to Boston, advertising that "those that be disposed to send letters, to bring them to the Secretaries office, where, in a locked box, they shall be preserved till the messenger calls for them, all persons paying the post before the bag be sealed up."

On the 17th of February, 1691, a postal system was projected in England for the colonies, and letters-patent were issued to Thomas Neale, authorizing him to establish an office for letters, the rates to be established by the "planters" or residents in the colony. On the 9th of June, 1693, the Provincial Assembly passed an act establishing a general letter-office in Boston. Andrew Hamilton was appointed by Neale to manage the business, who appointed Duncan Campbell postmaster at Boston, who at his death, in 1701, was followed by John Campbell. In 1703 the annual expense of the post from Piscataqua to Philadelphia was six hundred and eighty pounds, and exceeded the receipts by two hundred and seventy-five pounds. By an act of Parliament passed in 1710, the Postmaster-General of the colonies was requested "to keep his chief letter-office in New York, and to keep other offices at convenient places." In 1714 the weekly post between Boston and New York was carried every fortnight in the months of December, January and February. In 1718, John Campbell was succeeded by William Brooken, by Henry Marshal in 1725, and Ellis Huske in 1743. In 1753, Benjamin Franklin was appointed Postmaster-General, and under his directions a horseback fortnightly post was established between Boston

and Albany and a weekly post between Boston and Philadelphia. As late as 1757 the mail-bag was passed along from planter to planter in Virginia, and each planter was required by a State law to send a messenger with it to his next neighbor, under penalty for a failure so to do, of a hogshead of tobacco.

In 1774, when Franklin was in England, he was removed from office, and at that time there were seventy-five post-offices in the colonies and eighteen hundred and seventy-five miles of post-routes. On the 26th of July, 1775, it was ordered by the Continental Congress "that a Postmaster-General for the United Colonies be appointed, who shall hold his office in Philadelphia, and shall be allowed a salary of one thousand dollars, and three hundred and forty dollars for a secretary and comptroller, with power to appoint as many deputies as he may think necessary from Falmouth (Portland) to Savannah, with as many cross-posts as he shall think best; the allowance to deputies to be twenty per cent. on the sums they collect and pay into the general post-office annually, when the whole is under one thousand dollars, and ten per cent. for all sums above one thousand dollars." It was further recommended to the Postmaster-General that he establish a weekly post to South Carolina. The Congress then proceeded to choose Benjamin Franklin Postmaster-General.

Up to 1775 no post-office had ever been established in Plymouth. On the 12th of May in that year, before the action of the Continental Congress, William Watson was appointed postmaster, and in 1790 was commissioned by Washington, under authority of the post-office law passed by the United States Congress September 22, 1789. At that time and until 1816 the rates of postage were as follows:

Single letter under 40 miles, 8 cts.; under 90 miles, 10 cts.; under 150 miles, 12½ cts.; under 300 miles, 17 cts.; under 500 miles, 20 cts.; over 500 miles, 25 cts.

At the time of the appointment of Mr. Watson, in 1775, a horseback mail route was established from Cambridge to Falmouth, through Plymouth, down and back, once in each week. Timothy Goodwin and Joseph Howland, of Plymouth, were appointed joint post-riders, with the following orders: "To set off from Cambridge every Monday noon, and leave letters with William Watson, postmaster at Plymouth, Tuesday afternoon at four o'clock; to set off from Plymouth at nine o'clock Wednesday morning, and leave letters with Joseph Nye, 3rd, postmaster, at Sandwich, at four o'clock, and leave letters with Moses Swift, postmaster at Falmouth, Thursday morning at eight o'clock; to set off from Falmouth Thursday noon, reaching Sandwich at four o'clock; to set off from Sandwich Friday morning at six o'clock, reaching Plymouth at noon, and setting off from Plymouth at four o'clock Friday afternoon, leave letters with James Winthrop, postmaster at Cambridge, Saturday evening." In 1796 the first stage-line between Boston

and Plymouth was established, and that means of conveyance of the mails was adopted. At the present time three daily mails each way do not more than meet the wants of the community.

Mr. Watson held the office until 1803, the early part of Jefferson's administration, when he was succeeded by James Warren, the son of James Warren of the Revolution, who kept his office in the corner room of the building now standing at the corner of Main and North Streets. Mr. Warren was succeeded, in 1822, by William Brown, whose office was in the building on Market Street next south of the town-house, by Bridgham Russell in 1833, Jeremiah Farris in 1838, Ephraim Spooner in 1840, Joseph Lucas in 1841, and Ephraim Spooner, a second time, in 1842, in the

order named, all of whom kept their offices in the building on the north side of Town Square, which stood on the upper half of the lot now occupied by Odd-Fellows' Hall. Moses Bates, 1853, and Charles A. S. Perkins, 1857, followed Mr. Spooner, the former opening an office in Davis' Building, and afterwards removing to rooms on the corner of Court and North Streets, which his successor, Mr. Perkins, continued to occupy. In 1861, George F. Weston was appointed and held the office twenty years, occupying at first the front room in Davis' Building (now occupied by Charles A. Smith), and afterwards the office now in use in Odd-Fellows' Building. In 1881, George H. Chase succeeded Mr. Weston, and in the present year, 1885, has himself been succeeded by William Burns.

XXV. POPULATION OF PLYMOUTH AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

1620	102.	1800	3524.
1630	300.	1810	4228.
1646	500 estimated.	1820	4384.
1670	800 "	1830	4751.
1690	1000 "	1840	5281.
1700	1200.	1850	6026.
1764	2246.	1875	6370.
1783	2380.	1880	7093.
1791	2995.	1885	7500 estimated.

XXVI. DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Town Square.—The first street laid out by the Pilgrims extended from the harbor to the top of what is now Burial Hill. It was sometimes called First Street, sometimes Great Street, and sometimes Broad. The square represented in this view is the upper part of the street below the hill. The church at the head of the square is that of the First Parish, now Unitarian. It was built in 1831, after designs by George Brimmer, of Boston. Its predecessor on the same site was built in 1744, and the first church on that site was built in 1683. The last date of course marks the period when the boundary of the street was fixed at the margin of the hill. The meeting-house used by the Pilgrims before 1683 was built in 1637, on the right of the square as the view is held before the eye. On the right, also, was the house of the Governor of the colony, and the sites of both the church and the Governor's house are covered by Odd-Fellows' Hall, which is partially exposed to view. On the left of the picture is the town-house. It was built by the county of Plymouth, in 1749, for a court-house, and was used as such until 1820, when, on the erection of the present court-house, it was sold to the town. Previous to 1749 the site was occupied by the old government-house, which antedated in its erection the establishment of the county, in 1685, and was before that time called the country-

house. The land on which it stands was never granted to individuals, and has always been associated with the government of either the colony, county or town. The five elm-trees in the square were set out in 1784 by Thomas Davis, who at that time owned and occupied a house on land now covered by the westerly end of Odd-Fellows' Building. One of these trees, on which placards may be seen in the view, is called the town tree and has for many years been the recognized spot for the posting of official and other advertisements.

Views of Scrooby.—These illustrations are taken from photographs taken on the spot by order of Lord Houghton (Monckton Milnes), and presented by him to the author. Recalling to mind as they do the residence of Elder Brewster and the birth-place of the Pilgrim Church, they cannot fail to be of interest.

The "Mayflower."—This illustration is taken from a picture by William F. Halsall, of Boston, representing the "Mayflower" at anchor and at rest after her long and stormy voyage. The picture is full of sentiment, and tells the story of the perilous Pilgrim enterprise with wonderful effect. It hangs in Pilgrim Hall, and is the property of the Pilgrim Society.

The Landing of the Pilgrims.—This illustration is taken from a photograph, belonging to the Pilgrim Society, and hanging in Pilgrim Hall, of a pic-

ture painted in 1856 by H. Carmiencke, of New York, for J. Henry Stickney, Esq., of Baltimore. The picture has all the realism of a photograph of the actual landing, and, though entirely devoid of sentiment, recalls to the mind with great vividness the incidents and scenes attending the great event in New England history.

Autographs.—The page of autographs contains facsimiles of autographs of all the Governors of Plymouth colony except John Carver, of all the Deputy-Governors and all the secretaries. Governor William Bradford succeeded John Carver, who died in 1621, and was chosen annually until his death, in 1657, with the exception of the years 1633, 1634, 1636, 1638 and 1644. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor in 1633, 1636 and 1644. Thomas Prence was chosen in 1634 and 1638, and again in 1657, after which time he was chosen annually until his death, in 1673. Governor Prence was succeeded by Josiah Winslow, who served until his death, in 1680, when Thomas Hinckley was chosen, who, including the time of the administration of Andros, served until the union of the colonies, in 1692.

Thomas Hinckley, the first Deputy-Governor, was chosen in 1680, and was succeeded by James Cudworth, in 1681. In 1682, William Bradford, the son of the Governor, was chosen, and, including the time of the administration of Andros, served until the union, in 1692.

Nathaniel Sowther, the first secretary, was chosen in January, 1636-37, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Morton in 1645, who served until his death, in 1685, when he was succeeded by Nathaniel Clark, who was followed by Samuel Sprague, the last secretary of the colony.

National Monument to the Pilgrims.—In May, 1855, the Pilgrim Society adopted a design offered by Hammatt Billings, of Boston, and, in accordance with this design, the monument has been nearly completed. The spot chosen for its erection is a hill immediately in the rear of the northerly part of the town of Plymouth, and, when thoroughly graded according to the plans of the society, will show an octagonal plateau about four hundred feet in diameter surrounded by a level belt of grass forty feet in width, outside of which a driveway will be constructed fifty feet wide and about two-fifths of a mile in length. The design of the monument, the corner-stone of which was laid Aug. 2, 1859, consists of an octagonal granite pedestal forty-five feet high, on which stands a statue of Faith thirty-six feet in height. From the four smaller faces of the pedestal project buttresses, on which are seated statues emblematic of Morality, Education, Law and Liberty. Below these statues, in panels, are alto-reliefs in marble of "The Departure from Delft-Haven," "The Signing of the Compact in the Cabin of the Mayflower," "The Landing at Plymouth" and "The Treaty with Massasoit." On the four other faces are panels extending to the top of the shaft containing the names of the pas-

sengers in the "Mayflower," and below these are smaller panels for such inscriptions as may hereafter be thought desirable. The statue of Faith rests its foot on Plymouth Rock, and in its left hand holds an open Bible, while its right is uplifted to heaven. It is constructed of fourteen blocks of granite, weighing in all one hundred and eighty tons, and was placed on the pedestal Aug. 9, 1877. It was a gift of the late Oliver Ames, and cost thirty-one thousand three hundred dollars.

The statues of "Morality" and "Education" are also in place. These are colossal granite monoliths, seated on thrones, and are sixteen feet in height. That of "Morality," presented by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, holds the Decalogue in its left hand and the scroll of Revelation in its right. In a niche on one side of the throne is a prophet, and in one on the other side one of the evangelists. The statue of "Education," presented by Roland Mather, of Hartford, has in one niche a figure of Wisdom ripe with years, and in the other a figure of Youth led by Experience. The statues of "Law" and "Liberty" are not yet furnished. That of the former will have in one of its niches an emblem of Justice, and in the other an emblem of Mercy. That of the latter will exhibit in one niche Peace resting under its protection, and in the other Tyranny overthrown by its power. Beneath the statue of "Morality" is a marble relief representing the "Embarkation," presented by the State of Connecticut; and beneath that of "Education" is one representing the "Signing of the Compact," presented by Mr. Mather, who gave the statue above it. The panels representing the landing and the treaty are not yet furnished. For the completion of the monument the society relies on an increasing sinking-fund which it has established for that purpose, and on contributions from the general government and States and individuals.

Pilgrim Hall.—This memorial building was erected by the Pilgrim Society in 1824, its corner-stone being laid September 1st in that year. It was built by Jacob and Abner S. Taylor, of Plymouth; and though on the 1st of July the stone of its walls was still in the quarry at Weymouth, and the timber of its frame in the forests of Maine, on the 22d of December it was finished and occupied for the celebration of the anniversary of the landing. It is built of unwrought split granite, and is seventy feet in length by forty in width. The Doric portico of wood now ornamenting its front was added in 1834. In 1880 the building was remodeled and made proof against fire, under the direction of J. Henry Stickney, Esq., of Baltimore, a liberal benefactor of the society, who defrayed the entire cost of the work, amounting to more than fifteen thousand dollars. The hall contains an extensive cabinet, rich in relics of the Pilgrims and of early colonial times, a gallery of pictures of rare value and interest, and a library, which is receiving constant accessions of books relating to New England history. A librarian is in

constant attendance at the hall, and a well-conceived descriptive catalogue facilitates an examination of everything worthy to be seen.

Plymouth Rock.—The authenticity of the story of the landing on this rock rests both on general tradition and well-defined statements transmitted from generation to generation. Among the latter may be mentioned the statement of Ephraim Spooner and others to persons, either now living or recently deceased, that in 1741, when it was proposed to construct a wharf over the rock, Elder Thomas Faunce, born in 1647 and then ninety-four years of age, was carried in a chair to the spot, and, supposing it about to be buried forever, bade it an affectionate farewell as the first resting-place of the feet of the Pilgrims. He stated that his father, John Faunce, who came over in the "Ann" in 1623, had repeatedly told him the story. He was also old enough to have heard the story from the "Mayflower's" passengers themselves. He was ten years old when Governor Bradford died, twenty-five when John Howland died, nine years old when Miles Standish died, and thirty-nine when John Alden died, and he would have been at least likely to have learned from them whether the story of his father was correct or not.

The rock, however, was not buried, as Elder Faunce feared it would be, but raised upwards from its bed so that its top might show above the roadway of the wharf. In 1774 an attempt to remove the rock to the foot of the liberty-pole in Town Square resulted in its separation, and while the upper half

alone was removed, the lower remained in its bed. On the 4th of July, 1834, the severed portion, which since 1774 had remained in the square, and by the side of which the lower southerly elm-tree now in the square was planted in 1784, was removed to the front yard of Pilgrim Hall, and the next year inclosed by the iron fence which now on another spot surrounds the stone slab bearing the text of the compact. The remainder of the rock continued in its bed, merely showing its surface above the earth, until 1859, when the land on which it stands came under the control of the Pilgrim Society, and steps were taken to carry out a previously-formed plan of erecting over it a granite canopy. A design offered by Hammatt Billings, of Boston, was adopted, and on the 2d of August, 1859, the corner-stone was laid. The canopy consists of four angle piers, decorated with three-quarter reeded columns of the Tuscan order, standing on pedestals and supporting a composed entablature, above which is an attic. Between the piers on each face is an open arch, so that the rock is visible from all sides, and these arches are fitted with iron gates. The canopy measures about fifteen feet square, and is about thirty feet high. In the chamber between the dome and the capstone are deposited the remains of some of the Pilgrims who died the first winter. The discovery of these remains is described in the main body of this history. In 1880 the severed portion of the rock was restored to its old resting-place, and it now lies within the canopy re-united to its fellow-rock.

XXVII. SAMOSET.

Who was Samoset? how came he at Plymouth and what became of him? Answers to these questions may not be uninteresting. He was a sagamore from Monchiggon, or Monhegan, or perhaps more properly Menahankegan (meaning "an island on the coast"), in the Pemaquid country in Maine, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Bristol, Maine. Mr. Rufus King Sewall states that there is a Cove in that region known in tradition as "Samaaset's cove," and the island near it is called in the early records "Samasits," or "Sommarset" Island, and sometimes Muscongus. Samoset probably came to Cape Cod with Thomas Dermer, in the spring of 1620, and had not yet returned to his home when the Pilgrims landed. After his final departure from Plymouth he returned to Maine, and is next heard of as a visitor of Captain Christopher Levett, who, in 1623-24, arrived at Capenewagen (now Southport, Maine) with nine ships, on a trading expedition. Levett describes him as "one who had been found very faithful to the English, having saved many lives of the English nation, some from starving, some from killing."

"During Levett's stay a son was born to Samo-

set, which he was asked to name, Samoset declaring there should be 'Mouch-i-ke-lega-matche,' great friendship between Levett's son and his own until Tanto should take them both up to his wigwam,"—that is, to the heavenly home. Samoset next appears in 1625, at Pemaquid, as grantor with Unonngoit in a deed to John Brown, of New Harbor, of twelve thousand acres of land, for which the consideration was fifty beaver-skins. This was the first deed ever given in New England to a white man by an Indian. In 1653, as Sommarset of Muscongus, he conveyed, by deed, one thousand acres of land to William Parnell, Thomas Way and William England. Mr. Sewall, in an article in the *Magazine of American History* for December, 1882 (of which this note is an imperfect abstract), says that "in 1673 the remembrance of Samoset was fresh and honored by his race." Says Jocelyn, "Among the Eastern Indians he was remembered as a famous sachem, and to the English in New England he was well known under various names,—'Sommarset,' 'Samaaset,' 'Somerset,' and in Plymouth 'Samoset.' 'Samaaset,' of the Penobscot tongue, is, without doubt, the true version of his native name."

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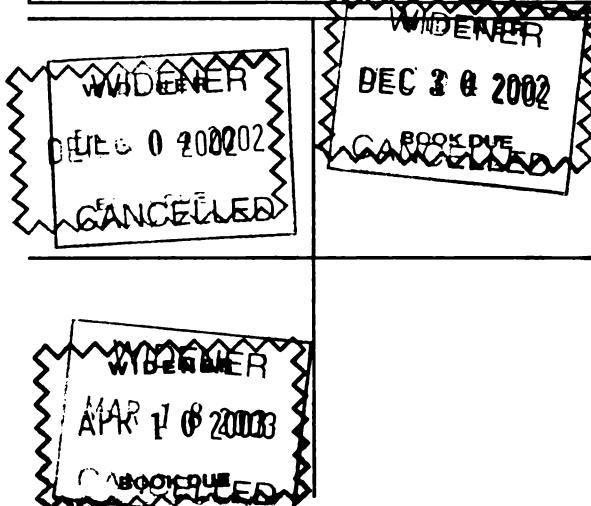
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