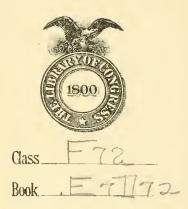
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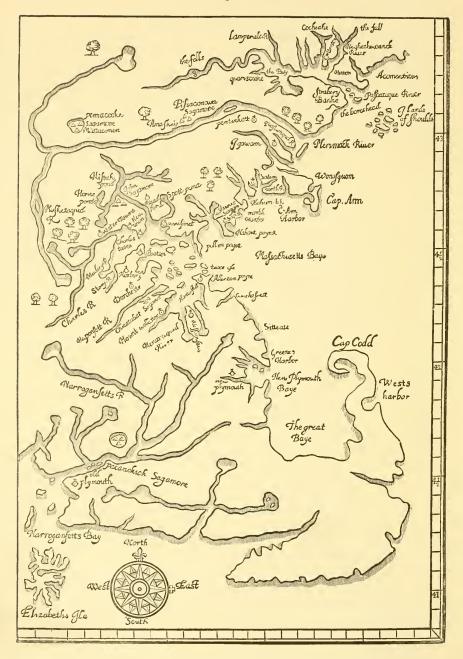


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# The South part of New-England, as it is Planted this yeare, 1634.



### TWO CENTURIES

OF TRAVEL IN

# ESSEX COUNTY MASSACHUSETTS

A COLLECTION OF NARRATIVES
AND OBSERVATIONS MADE
BY TRAVELERS
1605-1799

COLLECTED AND ANNOTATED
BY GEORGE FRANCIS DOW

, 01,

THE TOPSFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY TOPSFIELD, MASS.
1921

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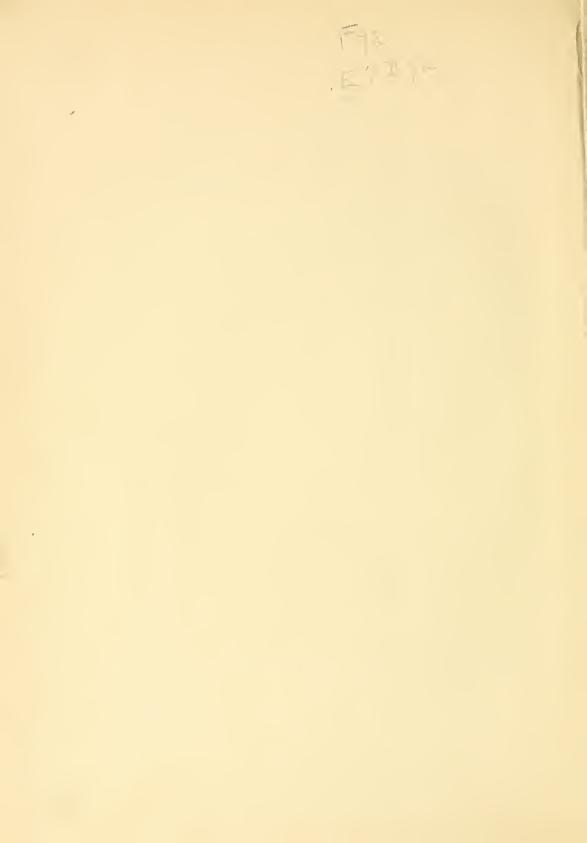
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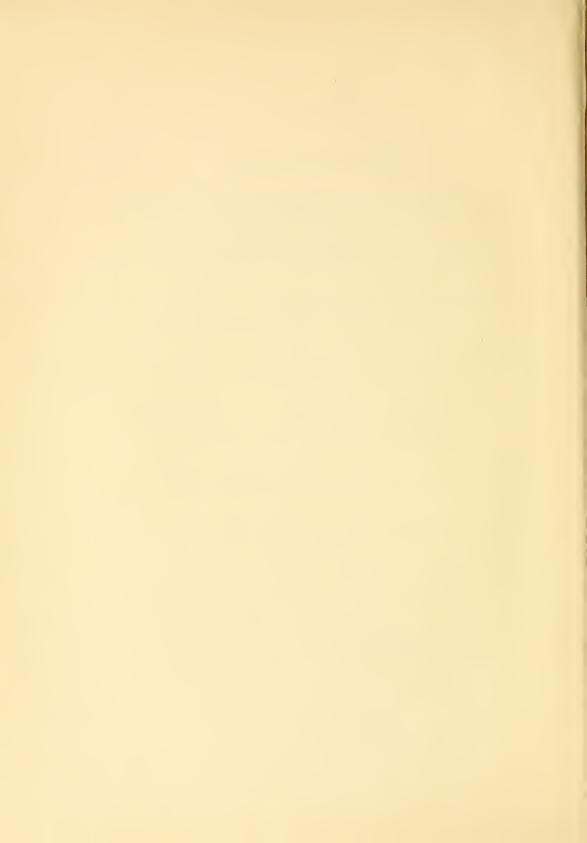
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#### INTRODUCTION

THE County of Essex is located in the northeastern corner of Massachusetts. It has at the north, the boundary line of New Hampshire, which skirts the Merrimack river at a distance of three miles, and at the east, the Atlantic ocean, with numerous rivers. bays and inlets indenting the coastline. The earliest settlements in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were made here and a growth of numerous towns with a considerable development of commercial enterprise, where suitable harbors existed, soon brought about a larger population than in any other part of the State save in Boston and its more immediate vicinity. Here are the towns of Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Haverhill, Gloucester, Marblehead and Lynn. With the increase of population came wealth followed by a higher standard of living and a culture and development of natural resources that could not fail to attract and interest the traveling stranger. In the course of time a considerable number of observers visited the County and some of them preserved a record of what they had seen which afterwards was published. In the following pages these descriptions have been collected and reprinted in chronological order. Only the more extended and important descriptions have been included, for in historical writings, in memoirs and in diaries, a considerable mass of matter may be found that has a certain amount of descriptive interest. Much of it, however, is so meagre and so disconnected that it has been found to be impracticable to gather up these loose threads and use them in the present work. Governor Winthrop's "History of New England," for example, has much of interest that wanders along the border line between history and description. Of autobiographical accounts, there are volumes too numerous to mention which frequently preserve a scrap or two of descriptive matter. The account of his life written by Josiah Cotton, who went to Marblehead in 1698 to teach school, may be taken as a fair example:

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

Many diaries have been kept by those who lived in the County and by others who had occasion to pass through it at various times. But aside from that monument to the industry of Rev. William Bentley, the Salem clergyman, published in four thick volumes, with but few exceptions they preserve only "line-a-day" entries that are little better than memory-joggers. Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston, frequently came to Salem or visited his relatives in Newbury, but he was interested in persons mainly, and so we find little in his Diary with which to picture the towns through which he passed. Noah Webster, the philologist rode through the County in 1784. He then was twenty-six years old and already had published the first part of his "Grammatical Institute of the English Language," and yet his diary, which he kept for many years, contains only the following scant information:

June 10, 1784. Rode in the Stage Coach to Newbury Port.

- 11. Took a view of the Town.
- 12. Rode to Portsmouth.

The almanacs of the day preserve information in relation to the roads and taverns with sometimes a scrap of description. In 1732 there was published in Boston, "The Vade Mecum for America, or a Companion for Traders and Travellers." The title locks promising but the descriptive matter is largely confined to a list of "The Principal Roads from the mouth of the Kennebec River in the North East of New England to the James River in Virginia." There are several

gazetteers and works like Herman Moll's "Modern History," Dublin, 1739, containing bits of information relating to Essex County, but when sifted to the bottom much, if not all of it, is the result of industry at the library table and has been taken from the published writings of those who have visited the County at an earlier date.

In 1670, were published in London, two thick folio volumes with the following title: "A Mirrour or Looking-Glass both for Saints, and Sinners . . . where unto is added a Geographical Description of all the Countries in the known World . . . with a True, and Faithful Account of the four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America . . . Collected by Samuel Clarke, sometime Pastor in Saint Bennet-Fink, London." The description of the towns in Essex County is scanty, but it would be of interest if it did not soon appear that the late Pastor of St. Bennets', had purloined his information from Higginson and Wood. The next year was printed: "America; being the latest and most accurate description of the New World . . . Collected from most Authentick Authors, augmented with later Observations, and adorned with Maps and Sculptures, by John Ogilby, Esq.," London, 1671. This text varies somewhat from the previous title for the reason that the "Wonder-Working Providence," by Johnson, supplied additional information. An active demand for such compilations must have existed about that time for five years later, John Speed published a volume with the following title: "England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland Described . . . In this New Edition are added, The Descriptions of His Majesties Dominions abroad, viz., New England, New York, Carolina, Florida, Virginia, etc.," London, 1676. This is a compilation from the same sources but greatly condensed.

Midway between the fragmentary allusions to Essex County towns and the extended descriptions here printed in the text come a number of short items which it has seemed best to group in this "Introduction." Some of them bring to light matter of considerable interest. In the "Collections of the New York Historical Society," 2d series Vol. III, part 1, is printed the "Journal of an Embassy from Canada to the United Colonies of New England in 1650 by Father Gabriel Druillettes of the Society of Jesus," in which appears the following:—

The 9th of said month [January, 1649-1650] bad weather stopped us at Morblentz [Marblehead] where there is a quantity of people. The minister, by name William Walter, received me with great affection, in company with him I went to Salem to speak to the Sieur Indicott [Endecott], who speaks and understands French well and is a good friend of the nation and very earnest to have his children inherit this affection. Seeing that I had no money, he defrayed my expenses and invited me to the table of the magistrates, who for a week were giving audience to everybody.

In the New England entries in the Plantation Office, now preserved in the Public Record Office, London, is a paper containing observations on New England made about the year 1673. Among other "observations" are the following:

Not 10 houses in Boston which have 10 rooms each. The worst cottages in New England are lofted.

There are no musicians by trade.

A dancing school was set up: but put down.

No cloth made there, worth 4/ per yard.

No linen above 2/6.

They take an oath of fidelity to the governor, but none to the king.

An unknown French protestant refugee in Boston, in 1687, in a report now preserved in the Library of Geneva and published in the "Bulletin Historique et Litteraire of the Societe de l'Histore du Protestantisme Francais, Feb. 1867" (reprinted Brooklyn, N. Y. 1868), has the following allusion to Salem, viz:—

There are here [Boston] divers French Families who have purchased English Residences all built, and which they have got exceedingly cheap. M. de Bourepos, Brother of our Minister, has bought one fifteen miles from here, and at one League from a very pretty town, and where there is a great Trade, which they call Sallem, for sixty-eight Pistoles,\* of ten Livres of France each. The House is very pretty, and it never was built for fifty Pistoles. There are seventeen acres of Land all cleared, and a little orchard.

The Maine Historical Society, in its sixth volume of Collections, prints a memoir copied from the French Archives, concerning Acadia and the New England Colonies in 1692. It was written by M. de la Mothe Cadillac. There is one small allusion to Salem:

Salem is another little town, at the distance of five leagues from \*The pistole was then worth about ten francs.

Boston. It is not fortified: it is the principal residence of the fishermen. Large vessels cannot get within half a league of it.

One Capt. Nathaniel Uring published in London, in 1726, a volume describing his voyages and travels from which the following is abstracted:

In April 1709, I set out from London for Plymouth, where a ship was bought for me of 150 tons and 16 guns, which I was fitting in order to make a voyage to the Streights: but the government at that time wanting a vessel to send Express to New England, hired her for that purpose, having provided the ship with all the necessaries for such a voyage. I received my Lord Sunderland's orders and dispatches (who was then one of the principal Secretaries of State) and set sail for Boston in New England, in May following; and in about a month arrived at that Port, and delivered my dispatches or Letters as I was directed. . . . There are several other towns of considerable trade, viz. Marble head, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbery, which are all good harbours, some of which rivers run up more than one hundred miles into the country, and there are several other lesser towns, to describe all which with their polity, manners, and nature of their trade, would take up a volume; . . . All the country of New England takes off great quantities of the British manufactories, and in return builds us ships, and sends us whale oil and bone, great quantities of turpentine, pitch and tar; some furs and deer skins; besides which many ships from England lade with dried fish for the Streights and Portugal . . . They have very good roads all through the country, where I have been more agreeably entertained in travelling, than in either France or Italy. The inhabitants of the towns, as well as in the country, are such enemies to trees that they have hardly left one standing in half a mile of their houses, but are all in general naked. They are mostly a sly, crafty, tricking, designing sort of people; and when ever you make an agreement with them, if you don't make it in writing, and have under their hands for the performance, if they meet with any man that will give them half a crown in a hundred pounds more than you have agreed for, they'll not stand to their bargain. The country people are so addicted to cheating, that governour Dudley used to say, if salt water were to be sold by measure they would even cheat; however, there are some honest gentlemen to be found in the place, that are men of honour and strict justice.

Near Boston are the following manufactories established, according to the accounts given me by a considerable merchant there:
. . . at *Newbury Port*, Joseph Brown, a clothier, makes a variety

of woolen goods of the coarse kinds; at *Ipswich*, the woolen manufactory, by Messrs. Warner and a Doctor Manning. There is also in this town, which is an inland situation, a large bone-lace manufactory, employing near an hundred cushions. But all these I judge rather the seeds of manufactories, than any large or permanent establishments.

So wrote Henry Wansey in his "Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the summer of 1794," Salisbury, 1796.

In 1801, was published in Cork, Ireland; "An Historical Review and Directory of North America, By a Gentleman immediately returned from a tour of that Continent:" containing the following comment on privateering that properly might have been brought to the attention of Parliament a few years later.

Salem is 18 miles distant from Boston. It is a large town extending near a mile in length, and contains about 1500 houses. It has a very noble church and meeting-houses. It stands on a plain between two rivers, and has two harbours. It is a town famous for ship-building, and carries on a very extensive trade. Here the planters of Massachusetts made their first settlement. It is not unlike Harwich.

Newbury is pleasantly situated at the mouth of the river Merrimack. It is 34 miles from Boston. It is a small town but well built, has several very handsome houses, and is encreasing daily. The ware-houses of the merchants which are near their own houses, serve by way of ornament, and in point of architecture, resemble not a little our large green houses.

N. B. Between Newbury and Salem lies Ipswich, a seaport town and very populous. The privateers which so greatly molested the British trade, were chiefly from those ports; and such is their position, that they can run out at any season of the year, and commit depredations on any of the maritime powers to which America is hostile, with little fear of retaliation. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Gulphs of St Lawrence and Florida, and the whole trade of the West Indian Archipelago, are in a manner at their doors.

The activities of the Quakers in New England in the early days are well known and Bishop's "New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord," London, 1661, presents their indictment against the Puritan leaders. Later, there were many wandering or itinerant preachers who traveled through New England and in due course visited the

towns in Essex County. In after years the story of their travels frequently was printed. There are a large number of these narratives sometimes only setting forth the bare fact that the author preached at Lynn or Salem, but always devoting liberal space to religious experiences and doctrinal analysis. An early example is "The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ, John Burnyeat . . . Collected as a Memorial to His Faithful Labours," London, 1691. He landed in Maryland in 1665 and after spending some time in New York, reached Salem in 1666.

I took my Journey . . . from *Boston* to *Salem*, and so on to *Piscatoway*, and when I was clear there, I returned back through the Meetings, and came to *Hampton*, *Salem*, *Boston*, etc.

This took place in August, 1666. He also visited Salem again in June, 1671. Again in June, 1672, he visited Salem in company with John Cartwright and George Patteson.

There we had a Meeting, and a blessed Season: but there we met with some, that were gone into that foolish notion of *John Parrots, Keeping on their Hats,* when Friends *prayed, &c.* So after meeting was over, when many People was in a *Barn,* we had a meeting with several of the Chief of Friends . . . and so took our Journey.

In 1671, William Edmundson, an English Friend," had movings of the Spirit" to come to America and sailed in company with George Fox. He visited the West Indies, Virginia, Maryland and New York and reached New England in 1675.

I took Passage for *Rhode Island* in a Yatch, that Joseph Bryar, a Friend, was master of . . . Peoples Minds were down, because of the *Indian* wars that prevailed mightily upon them.

His travels were published in Dublin in 1715. He made three voyages to America previous to the year 1700. Thomas Chalkley, the famous Quaker preacher visited Essex County in 1698 and again in 1704. His "Journal and Christian Experiences" has been published several times.

From Providence I went to Boston and Salem, where I had meetings, and from thence to Hampton. . . . In those parts God Almighty hath shortened the power of persecutors, and hath brought

his righteous judgments upon them for their unrighteousness . . . I being a stranger and traveller, could not but observe the barbarous and unchristian-like welcome I had in Boston, the metropolis of New-England, Oh! what pity (said one) it was, that all of your society were not hanged with the other four!\* . . . At Salisbury we had a large open meeting, as it was supposed, of about three hundred people, which was at this time accounted a great concourse of people thereabouts; also at Jamaica and Haverhill we had meetings, and from thence went to Salem and Lynn again.

[In the summer of 1737] I went with Benjamin Bagnal, to Boston, and from thence to Lynn and Salem, had several satisfactory meetings, which tended to the uniting our hearts together in the love of Christ, and the fellowship of his gospel. From Salem I went with Zaccheus Collins and his wife to their house, and lodged there three nights, and was lovingly entertained, as I was also at many other friends houses. From Lynn, Zaccheus Collins accompanied me to Boston, where we had a meeting on a fourth day of the week.

"An account of the Life and Travels of Benjamin Holmes in the Work of the Ministry, through several Parts of Europe and America, written by Himself," was published in London in 1754. It has brief mention of Essex County towns.

[In March 1715, I went] to Newberry: and at this Place some that were of account amongst the Presbyterians were convinc'd, and came to join with Friends, at which several of the Presbyterians were much disturbed; I had a publick Dispute there with the Priest of the Town, whose name was Christopher Toppin, in their Meeting-house, and it being given out before hand for several Days, there came some Hundreds of People and several Priests to the Place; we agreed to dispute concerning Water-Baptism, the Supper with Bread and Wine, the Sufficiency of the Light within, and that it was not lawful to preach for Hire, and some other Heads besides; I suppose the Dispute might hold five Hours, . . . After I had several meetings in those Parts I returned to Salem and Boston.

John Frothergill, another Quaker preacher, visited Salem in 1706 and went on to Dover, N. H. He came again in 1722. The "Account of his Life and Travels in the work of the Ministry," was published in Philadelphia in 1754.

In October, 1754, Catherine Phillips, an English Friend, visited

\*Referring to Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyer, aud William Ledra who were put to death in 1659 and 1660.

Lynn, Salem, Newbury and Almsbury, and held meetings in each of these towns. Her memoirs were published in Philadelphia in 1798. Daniel Sands, another Friend, visited Salem several times but left no account of what happened beyond the fact that in October, 1777, he lodged there with Jeremiah Hacker. The "Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of a Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Daniel Stanton," was published in Philadelphia in 1772, from which the following has been taken:

From Boston I went to Lyn, Salem, and Newberry, and had comfortable meetings, as also at another place between Newberry and Dover, and after I had seen Friends at Dover and Cachechy, and a meeting near Dover, I returned to Salem and Lyn, and staid sometime at my kind Friend Zaccheus Collins's, having met with some disappointment in travelling, which detained me some weeks, but I constantly attended meetings at Lyn, and found great openness and unity with Friends there, and believe my stay tended to some service, for the promoting of near love among the little flock of Christ in that place, having many blessed opportunities among them. I also went to the Yearly-Meeting at Boston, and back to the Yearly-Meeting at Lyn; which was large and greatly favoured with the ministry and service of that worthy handmaid of the Lord Lydia Norton.

After this volume was nearly all in type, through the courtesy of Mr. Henry Russell Drowne of New York City, a copy of a portion of the diary of his great-grandfather, Dr. Solomon Drowne, was received. This eminent physician was graduated at Rhode Island College (now Brown University) in 1773, studied medicine, became distinguished in his profession, and 1811 was appointed Professor of Botany and Materia Medica in Brown University.

He was a surgeon in the Revolution and in 1788 was with General St. Clair in the Ohio. The journey through Essex County here described was taken in company with Rev. James Manning, the founder and first President of Rhode Island College, who was a Baptist minister of great ability and influence.

Sept. 21, 1773. Towards 9 o'clock set out for Wenham, stop a short time at Mr Freemans and Mr Stilmans Doors. Cross Charlestown Ferry at 9. Go to Nat Brownes' in Charlestown. . . . I step to Mr Hurd's. . . . Dine at Mr Porter's Tayern; after which proceed to Salem, where we stop at Mr Goodhues' Tayern to

bait our horses &c. Cross beverly Ferry & reach Esqr Brown's,

Wenham, a little before 7, where we put up for this night.

22. Before 9 we mount for Ipswich. Esqr Brown accompanies us to the Hamlet. We go to Mr Appleton's where we dine. Afternoon: Mr Manning Joseph Appleton & I rode into the Town: stop at Mr Dany's, one of the ministers. Towards Sunset go to Mr Dutchs. Mr Manning goes to Mr Story's where he lodges. Dutch, Appleton & I go and see Kinsman, whom we take along with [us] to Mr Appletons, where Mr Stilman preaches a Lecture this Evening from John, 1, 29. I lodge here.

23. After Dinner muster up to Town expecting to hear Mr Manning preach their lecture; but are disappointed. One Parsons preaches it. The People are very desirous that the Meeting House Doors shou'd be opened for Mr Manning to preach a Lecture after this; but old Daddy Rogers, their Minister, is their absolute Ruler: However, they prevail upon Mr Manning to preach a lecture in the Court House in the Evening. . . . After the lecture Dutch & I ride

out to Kinsmans and stay at his house.

24. This morning rise early; go after our horses. While we are in the Pasture hear the Court House Bell ring; imagine Mr Manning is to preach another Lecture; hasten into town and find it really so. At the ernest Solicitation of the People he consented, last Evening, to give them another Lecture. His Text is in 2 Cor., 4, 17. Breakfast at Mr Dutchs. Set out for Rowley or Bradford; Appleton, Dutch, Mr Story & son and some others accompany us. Mr Manning preaches a Sermon at the Meeting House called *Free Grace* from Eph. 3, 8. After meeting go to Haverhill; cross Merimac River in a ferry Boat; get to Haverhill some time in the Evening; Put up at Mr John White's, Merchant, an old Acquaintance of Mr. Manning's. Haverhill is a pleasant little town situated on Merrimack River.

25. Aforenoon we go to Mr. Smiths. He Himself not at home, then to Mr Duncan's; thence back to Mr Whites where dine. At about 4 o'clock go again to Mr Duncans and drink tea; thence to

Mr Greenleafs, Tavern Keeper; thence to our Lodgings.

26. Sunday. This Forenoon hear Mr Manning from Col. 3, 4.

27. This morning pretty early we set out for Methuen, Mr Greenleaf and some others accompanying us. Stop a minute or two at the Door of a House where Mr Varnum's mother is. Mr Manning preached this Forenoon at Capt. White's (where Mr Smith meets us) from Prov. 3, 17. After Dinner set out for Chemsford where a meeting is appointed for Mr Manning at 4 Oclock.

#### SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN IN 1605.

AMUEL de Champlain, a native of France: soldier and adventurer and afterwards governor and the ruling spirit in New France, was the first to supply a printed description of explorations along the coast of the Massachusetts Bay. He arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River in the spring of 1603 and after exploring the Gulf returned to France in the early fall. The next year he came again reaching Nova Scotia early in May, 1604. That year he explored part of the Maine coast and after wintering near what is now Eastport, Maine, in June, 1605, he set sail for a survey of the New England coast touching at the mouth of the Kennebec river and at Saco and then closely following the coast line until he reached Cape Anne on the morning of the 16th of July, 1605. In September 1606 he again visited the Massachusetts coast and spent several days in Gloucester harbor. The following account of his observations is reprinted from The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, translated from the French, and published by the Prince Society, Boston, in 1880. The original work was printed in Paris in 1613.

On the 15th of the month [July, 1605] we made twelve leagues. Coasting along, we perceived a smoke on the shore, which we approached as near as possible, but saw no savages, which led us to believe that they had fled. The sun set, and we could find no harbor for that night, since the coast was flat and sandy. Keeping off, and heading south, in order to find an anchorage, after proceeding about two leagues, we observed a cape\* on the main land south a quarter southeast of us, some six leagues distant. Two leagues to the east we saw three or four rather high islands,† and on the west a large

\*Cape Anne, which is the early spelling of this name.

†The Isles of Shoals.

bay. The coast of this bay, reaching as far as the cape, extends inland from where we were perhaps four leagues. It has a breadth of two leagues from north to south, and three at its entrance. Not observing any place favorable for putting in, we resolved to go to the cape above mentioned with short sail, which occupied a portion of the night. Approaching to where there were sixteen fathoms of water, we anchored until daybreak.

On the next day we went to the above-mentioned cape, where there are three islands near the main land, full of wood of different kinds, as at Chouacoet and all along the coast; and still another flat one, where there are breakers, and which extends a little farther out to sea than the others, on which there is no wood at all. We named this place Island Cape, near which we saw a canoe containing five or six savages, who came out near our barque, and then went back and danced on the beach. Sieur de Monts sent me on shore to observe them, and to give each one of them a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance again better than before. This over, I made them understand, as well as I could, that I desired them to show me the course of the shore. After I had drawn with a crayon the bay, and the Island Cape, where we were, with the same crayon they drew the outline of another bay, which they represented as very large; here they placed six pebbles at equal distances apart, giving me to understand by this that these signs represented as many chiefs and tribes. Then they drew within the first mentioned bay a river\* which we had passed, which has shoals and is very long. We found in this place a great many vines, the green grapes on which were a little larger than peas, also many nut-trees, the nuts on which were no larger than musket-balls. The savages told us that those inhabiting this country cultivated the land and sowed seeds like the others, whom we had before seen. The latitude of this place is 43° and some minutes. Sailing half a league farther, we observed several savages on a rocky point, who ran along the shore, dancing as they went, to their companions to inform them of our coming. After pointing out to us the direction of their abode, they made a signal with smoke to show us the place of their settlement. We anchored near a little

<sup>\*</sup>The Merrimack River.

island,\* and sent our canoe with knives and cakes for the savages. From the large number of those we saw, we concluded that these places were better inhabited than the others we had seen.

After a stay of some two hours for the sake of observing these people, whose canoes are made of birch bark, like those of the Canadians, Souriquois, and Etechemins, we weighed anchor and set sail with a promise of fine weather. Continuing our course to the westsouth-west, we saw numerous islands on one side and the other. Having sailed seven or eight leagues, we anchored near an island,† whence we observed many smokes along the shore, and many savages running up to see us. Sieur de Monts sent two or three men in a canoe to them, to whom he gave some knives and paternosters to present to them; with which they were greatly pleased, and danced several times in acknowledgment. We could not ascertain the name of their chief, as we did not know their language. All along the shore there is a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian corn. The country is very pleasant and agreeable, and there is no lack of fine trees. The canoes of those who live there are made of a single piece, and are very liable to turn over if one is not skilful in managing them. We had not before seen any of this kind. They are made in the following manner. After cutting down, at a cost of much labor and time, the largest and tallest tree they can find, by means of stone hatchets (for they have no others except some few which they received from the savages on the coasts of La Cadie, who obtained them in exchange for furs), they remove the bark, and round off the tree except on one side, where they apply fire gradually along its entire length; and sometimes they put red-hot pebble-stones on top. When the fire is too fierce, they extinguish it with a little water, not entirely, but so that the edge of the boat may not be burnt. It being hollowed out as much as they wish, they scrape it all over with stones, which they use instead of knives. These stones resemble our musket flints.

[September, 1606.] Continuing our course, we proceeded to the

\*Thatcher's Island. †In Boston harbour.

Island Cape,\* where we encountered rather bad weather and fogs, and saw little prospect of being able to spend the night under shelter, since the locality was not favorable for this. While we were thus in perplexity, it occurred to me that, while coasting along with Sieur de Monts, I had noted on my map, at a distance of a league from here, a place which seemed suitable for vessels, but which we did not enter, because, when we passed it, the wind was favorable for continuing on our course. This place we had already passed, which led me to suggest to Sieur de Poutrincourt that we should stand in for a point in sight, where the place in question was, which seemed to me favorable for passing the night. We proceeded to anchor at the mouth, and went in the next day.†

Sieur de Pontrincourt landed with eight or ten of our company. We saw some very fine grapes just ripe, Brazilian peas, pumpkins, squashes, and very good roots, which the savages cultivate, having a taste similar to that of chards. They made us presents of some of these, in exchange for little trifles which we gave them. They had already finished their harvest. We saw two hundred savages in this very pleasant place; and there are here a large number of very fine walnut trees, cypresses, sassafras, oaks, ashes, and beeches. The chief of this place is named Quiouhamenec, who came to see us with a neighbor of his, named Cohouepech, whom we entertained sumptuously. Onemechin, chief of Chouacoet, came also to see us, to whom we gave a coat, which he, however, did not keep a long time, but made a present of it to another, since he was uneasy in it, and could not adapt himself to it. We saw also a savage here, who had so wounded himself in the foot, and lost so much blood, that he fell down in a swoon. Many others surrounded him, and sang some time before touching him. Afterwards, they made some motions with their feet and hands, shook his head and breathed upon him, when he came to himself. Our surgeon dressed his wounds, when he went off in good spirits.

The next day, as we were calking our shallop, Sieur de Poutrincourt in the woods noticed a number of savages who were going, with the intention of doing us some mischief, to a little stream, where

\*Cape Anne.

†The harbor of Gloucester.

a neck connects with the mainland, at which our party were doing their washing. As I was walking along this neck, these savages noticed me; and, in order to put a good face upon it, since they saw I had discovered them thus seasonably, they began to shout and dance, and then came towards me with their bows, arrows, quivers, and other arms. And, inasmuch as there was a meadow between them and myself, I made a sign to them to dance again. This they did in a circle, putting all their arms in the middle. But they had hardly commenced, when they observed Sieur de Poutrincourt in the wood with eight musketeers, which frightened them. Yet they did not stop until they had finished their dance, when they withdrew in all directions, fearing lest some unpleasant turn might be served them. We said nothing to them, however, and showed them only demonstrations of gladness. Then we returned to launch our shallop, and take our departure. They entreated us to wait a day, saying that more than two thousand of them would come to see us. But, unable to lose any time, we were unwilling to stay here longer. I am of the opinion that their object was to surprise us. Some of the land was already cleared up, and they were constantly making clearings. Their mode of doing it as follows; after cutting down the trees at a distance of three feet from the ground, they burn the branches upon the trunk, and then plant their corn between these stumps, in course of time tearing up also the roots. There are likewise fine meadows here, capable of supporting a large number of cattle. This harbor is very fine, containing water enough for vessels, and affording a shelter from the weather behind the islands. It is in latitude 43°, and we gave it the name of Le Beauport.

The last day of September we set out from Beauport,\* and, passing Cap St. Louis, stood on our course all night for Cap Blanc.

<sup>\*</sup>Gloucester.

#### CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN 1614.

APTAIN John Smith, the hero of Virginia, visited the New England coast in 1614 in search of whales and mines of gold and in an open boat skirted the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. After his return to England he published A Description of New England: or The Observations, and Discoveries, of Captain Iohn Smith (Admiral of that Country), in the North of America, in the year of our Lord, 1614; London, 1616, a quarto volume of about eighty pages, from which the following is reprinted. This is the earliest book in which the name "New England" occurs.

Angoam\* is the next; This place might content a right curious judgement; but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbor; and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deep Sea. Heere are many rising hilles, and on their tops and descents many corne fields, and delightfull groues. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one half, plaine marish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groues of mulberrie trees and gardens; and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good and safe harbor.

Naimkeck† though it be more rocke ground (for Angoam is sandie) is not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor any thing I could perceiue, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland Tragabigzanda,‡ fronted with three Iles called the three Turks heads; to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields; they report a great Riuer, and at least thirtie habitations doo possesse this Countrie. But because the French had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it. The Iles of Mattahunts are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors; and then the Countrie of the Massachusets, which is the Paradise of all those parts; for, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbors; the Coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all

\*Ipswich. †Salem.

‡Cape Anne.

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along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people; but the *French* having remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, viz. if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles; and that the Riuer doth pearce many daies iournies the intralles of that Countrey. We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell wee had with one of them, hee only with three others crossed the harbor of *Quonahassit* to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.

#### CHRISTOPHER LEVETT IN 1624.

HRISTOPHER Levett landed on the Isles of Shoals in the autumn of 1623. From there he went to the mouth of the Piscataqua river, and then to an island in what is now the harbor of Portland, Me., where he established a settlement and left ten men while he returned to England for supplies. While he did not actually visit the Massachusetts Bay yet he alludes to Cape Anne and Plymouth in his printed narrative which was published in London in 1628 under the following title:—A Voyage into New England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett.

Thus have I related unto you what I have seen, and do know may be had in those parts of New England where I have been, yet was I never at the Massachusett, which is counted the paradise of New England, nor at Cape Ann, but I fear there hath been too fair a gloss set on Cape Ann. I am told there is a good harbour which makes a fair invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the ships which fished there this year, their boats went twenty miles to take their fish, and yet they were in great fear of making their voyages, as one of the masters confessed unto me who was at my house.

Neither was I at New Plymouth, but I fear that place is not so good as many others, for if it were, in my conceit, they would content

themselves with it and not seek for any other, having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people as they have now amongst them. But it seems they have no fish to make benefit of, for this year they had one ship at Pemoquid, and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation, but how long it will continue I know not.

#### REV. FRANCIS HIGGINSON IN 1629.

REV. Francis Higginson who had been settled at Claybrooke Parish, Leicester co., England, was engaged by "the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England" to join the emigration under Endecott at Salem. He left England in the spring of 1629, and not long after his arrival was ordained as teacher of the church. The exposure and privations of the following winter proved too severe and he died of consumption Aug. 6, 1630. The manuscript of his book "New-Englands Plantation," undoubtedly was sent to England by one of the returning vessels for it reached London before Nov. 20, 1629 and was shortly printed. It had been written for "the satisfaction of loving friends" and doubtless played its part in influencing the larger emigration of 1630 and the years that followed. Three editions were printed, all in 1630.

The following discriptive extracts are taken from an early manuscript in the Massachusetts Historical Society, describing the voyage and from the first edition of his book published under the following title: New-Englands Plantation, or, A short and trve Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Country. Written by a reverend Divine now there resident. London, 1630.

By noon we were within 3 leagues of Capan, and as we sayled along the coasts we saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shoare the more flowers in abundance, sometymes scattered abroad, sometymes joyned in sheets 9 or 10 yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadowes by the tyde. Now what with fine woods and greene trees by land, and these yellow flowers paynting the sea,

made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertilitie afarre off. Coming neare the harbour towards night we takt about for sea-roome.

[June 27, 1629] Saturday a foggie morning; but after 8 o'clocke in the morning very cleare, the wind being somewhat contrary at So. and by West, we tackt to and againe with getting little; but with much adoe, about 4 o'clock in the afternoone having with much payne compassed the harbour, and being ready to enter the same, see how things may suddenly change! there came a fearful gust of wind and rayne and thunder and lightning, whereby we were borne with no little terrour and trouble to our mariners, having very much adoe to loose downe the sayles when the fury of the storm held up. But God be praised it lasted but a while and soone abated agayne. And hereby the Lord shewed us what he could have done with us, if it had pleased him. But blessed be God, he soone removed this storme and it was a fayre and sweet evening.

We had a westerly wind which brought us between 5 and 6 o'clock to a fyne and sweet harbour,\* 7 miles from the head point of Capan. This harbour 20 ships may easily ryde therein, where there was an island whither four of our men with a boate went, and brought backe agayne ripe strawberries and gooseberries, and sweet single roses. Thus God was merciful to us in giving us a tast and smell of the sweet fruit as an earnest of his bountiful goodnes to welcome us at our first arrivall. This harbour was two leagues and something more from the harbour at Naimkecke,† where our ships were to rest, and the plantation is already begun. But because the passage is difficult and night drew on, we put into Capan harbour.

[June 28] The Sabbath, being the first we kept in America, and the 7th Lord's day after we parted with England.

[June 29] Monday we came from Capan, to go to Naimkecke, the wind northerly. I should have tould you before that the planters spying our English colours the Governour! sent a shalop with 2 men on Saturday to pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Capan; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the

<sup>\*</sup>Gloucester harbor. †The Indian name for the settlement at Salem. †Governor John Endecott.

curious and difficult entrance into the large and spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along it was wonderful to behould so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees, and many fayre greene pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the George\* to our great comfort then being on Tuesday which was 7 daies before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the worlds.

[June 30] The next morning the governour came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wiffe to come on shoare, and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

First therefore of the Earth of *New England* and all the appurtenances thereof: It is a land of diuers and sundry sorts all about *Masathusets* Bay, and at *Charles* Riuer is as fat blacke Earth as can be seene any where: and in other places you have a clay soyle, in other gravell, in other sandy, as it is all about our Plantation at *Salem*, for so our towne is now named, *Psal.* 76. 2.

The form of the Earth here in the superficies of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor too high in Hils, but partakes of both in mediocritic, and fit for Pasture, or for Plow or Meddow Ground, as men please to employ it: though all the Countrey be as it were a thicke Wood for the generall, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the *Indians*, and especially about the plantation: and I am told that about three miles from vs a man may stand on a little hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a Tree in the same. It is thought here is good Clay to make Bricke and Tyles and Earthen Pots as needs to be. At this instant we are setting a Bricke-kill on worke to make Brickes and Tyles for the building of our Houses. For Stone, here is plentie of Slates at the Ile of Slate in Masathulets Bay, and Limestone, Free-stone, and Smooth-stone, and Iron-stone, and Marble-stone also in such store, that we have great Rockes of it, and a Harbour hard by. Our Plantation is from thence called Marble-harbour.

\*The ship "George", 300 tons, 20 guns, had sailed early in April.

Of Minerals there hath yet beene but little trial made, yet we are not without great hope of being furnished in that Soyle.

The fertilitie of the Soyle is to be admired at, as appeareth in the aboundance of Grasse that groweth euerie where both verie thicke, verie long, and verie high in diuers places: but it groweth very wildly with a great stalke and a broad and ranker blade, because it neuer had been eaten with Cattle, nor mowed with a sythe, and seldom trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be believed how our Kine and Goats, Horses and Hogges doe thriue and prosper here and like well of this Countrey.

In our Plantation we have already a quart of milke for a penny: but the aboundant increase of corne proues this Countrey to be a wonderment. Thirtie, fortie, fiftie, sixtie are ordinarie here: yea *Iosephs* increase in *Egypt* is out-stript here with vs. our Planters hope to have more then a hundred fould this vere: and all this while I am within compasse; what will you say of two hundred fould and vpwards? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English Planters haue had by our Indian Corne. Credible persons haue assured me, and the partie himselfe auouching the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 Gallons of Corne he hath had encrease of it 52 Hogsheads, euerie Hogshead holding seuen Bushels of London measure, and euerie Bushell was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much Beauer as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare: where you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this land. There is not such great and beautifull eares of Corne I suppose any where else to be found but in this Countrey: being also of varietie of colours, as red, blew and yellow, &c. and of one Corne there springeth four or fiue hundred. I have sent you many Eares of divers colours that you might see the truth of it.

Little Children here by setting of Corne may earne much more then their owne maintenance.

They have tryed our *English* Corne at new *Plimouth* plantation, so that all our severall Graines will grow here verie well, and have a fitting Soyle for their nature.

Our Gouernor hath store of greene Pease growing in his Garden as good as euer I eat in *England*. . . .

Excellent Vines are here vp and doune in the woods. Our Gouernour hath already planted a Vineyard with great hope of increase.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

When we came first to *Nehum kek*, we found about halfe a score Houses, and a faire House newly built for the Gouernor, we found also aboundance of Corne planted by them, very good and well likeing. And we brought with vs about two hundred Passengers and Planters more, which by common consent of the old Planters were all combined together into one Body Politicke, vnder the same Gouernor.

There are in all of vs both old and new Planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are setled at *Nehum kek*, now called *Salem*: and the rest haue Planted themselues at *Masathulets* Bay, beginning to build a Towne there which wee doe call *Cherton*, or *Charles* Towne.

We that are setled at *Salem* make what hast we can to build Houses, so that within a short time we shall haue a faire Towne.

We have great Ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but wee shall fortifie our selves in a short time to keepe out a potent Adversarie. But that which is our greatest comfort, and meanes of defence above all other, is, that we have here the true Religion and holy Ordinances of Almightie God taught amongst vs: Thankes be to God, we have here plenty of Preaching, and diligent Catechizing, with strickt and carefull exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our People into a Christian conversation with whom wee have to doe withall. And thus wee doubt not but God will be with vs, and if God be with us, who can be against us?

#### GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY IN 1631.

OVERNOR Dudley was one of the five undertakers of the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay and came over with the Winthrop emigration in 1630. He previously had been steward for nine or ten years in the household of the Countess of Lincoln. His "Letter to the Countess of Lincoln," here abstracted, was written in March, 1631 and first printed in 1696 with other papers in a book entitled:—Massachusetts: or, The First Planters of New England. The End and Manner of their Coming thither, and Abode there, Boston, 1696.

Vppon the river of Mistick is seated Saggamore John, and vppon the river of Sawgus Sagamore James his brother, both soe named by the English. The elder brother John is an handsome young [one line missing] conversant with us affecting English apparell and howses and speaking well of our God. His brother James is of a farr worse disposition, yet repaireth often to us. Both theis brothers command not above 30 or 40 men for aught I can learne. Neer to Salem dwelleth two or three families, subject to the Saggamore of Agawam whose name hee tould mee, but I have forgotten it. This Sagamore hath but few subjects, and them and himselfe tributary to Sagamore James, haveing beene before the last yeare (in James his minority) tributary to Chicka Talbott. Vppon the river Merrimack is seated Sagamore Passaconaway haveing under his command 4 or 500 men, being esteemed by his countrymen a false fellow, and by us a wich.

#### WILLIAM WOOD IN 1633.

THE "New Englands Prospect" by William Wood, is the earliest topographical account of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, so far as the settlements then extended. It also has a full description of its fauna and flora, and of the natives. He arrived in the Colony in 1629 and remained here four years residing at Lynn. He may have come a second time in 1635 and represented Lynn in the General Court in 1637, the next year removing to Sandwich where he is said to have died in 1639. His book was entered in the Stationer's Register, "7 Julii, 1634," and was published under the following title: Nevv Englands Prospect. A true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called New England . . . By William Wood, London, 1634.

The next plantation is Saugus, sixe miles North-east from Winnesimet: This Towne is pleasant for situation, seated at the bottome of a Bay, which is made on the one side with surrounding shore, and on the other side with a long sandy Beach. This sandy Beach is two miles long at the end, whereon is a necke of land called Nahant: It is six miles in circumference; well woodded with Oakes, Pines, and Cedars: It is beside well watered, having beside the fresh Springs, a great Pond in the middle; before which is a spacious Marsh. In this necke is store of good ground, fit for the plow; but for the present it is onely used for to put young Cattle in, and weather-goates, and Swine, to secure them from the Woolues: a few posts and rayles from the low water-markes to the shore, keeping out thee Woolves, and keepes in the Cattle. One Blacke William, an Indian Duke, out of his generosity gave this place in generall to this plantation of Saugus, so that no other can appropriate it to himselfe.

Upon the South-side of the sandy Beach the Sea beateth, which is a true prognostication, to presage stormes and foule weather, and the breaking up of the Frost: For when a storme hath beene, or is likely to be, it will roare like Thunder, being heard sixe miles; and after stormes casts up great store of great Clammes, which the Indians

taking out of their shels, carry home in baskets. On the North-side of this Bay is two great Marshes, which are made two by a pleasant River which runnes betweene them. Northward up this River, goes great store of Alewives, of which they make good Red Herrings; in so much that they have beene at charges to make a wayre, and a Herringhouse, to dry these Herrings in; the last yeare were dryed some 4 or 5 Last for an experiment, which proved very good; this is like to prove a great inrichment to the land, (being a staple commoditie in other Countries) for there be such innumerable companies in every river, that I have seene ten thousand taken in two houres by two men, without any weire at all, saving a few stones to stop their passage up the river. There likewise come store of Basse, which the Indians and English catch with hooke and line, some fifty or threescore at a tide. At the mouth of this river runnes up a great creeke into that great Marsh, which, is called Rumny Marsh, which is 4 miles long, and 2 miles broad; halfe of it being Marsh ground and halfe upland grasse, without tree or bush: this Marsh is crossed with divers creekes, wherein lye great store of Geese, and Duckes. There be convenient ponds for the planting of Duckcoyes. Here is likewise belonging to this place divers fresh meddowes, which afforded good grasse and foure spacious ponds like little lakes, wherein is store of fresh fish: within a mile of the town, out of which runnes a curious fresh brooke that is seldome frozen by reason of the warmenesse of the water; upon this streame is built a water Milne, and up this river comes Smelts and frost fish much bigger than a Gudgion. For wood there is no want, there being store of good Oakes, Wallnut, Caedar, Aspe. Elme: The ground is very good, in many places without trees. fit for the plough. In this plantation is more English tillage, than in all new England, and Virginia besides; which proved as well as could bee expected, the corne being very good especially the Barly, Rye, and Oates.

The land affordeth the inhabitants as many rarities as any place else, and the sea more: the Basse continuing from the middle of Aprill to Michelmas, which stayes not above half that time in the Bay: besides here is a great deale of Rock-cod and Macrill, insomuch that shoales of Basse have driven up shoales of Macrill from one end

of the sandie Beach to the other, which the inhabitants have gathered up in wheelbarrows. The Bay that lyeth before the Town at a low Spring-tyde, will be all flatts for two miles together, upon which is great store of Muscle-banckes, and Clam-bancks, and Lobsters amongst the rockes and grassie holes. These flatts make it unnavigable for shippes, yet at high water great Boates, Loiters, and Pinnaces of 20, and 30 tun, may saile up to the plantation, but they neede have a skilful Pilote, because of many dangerous rockes and foaming breakers, that lye at the mouth of that Bay. The very aspect of the place is fortification enough to keepe off an unknowne enemie. yet may it be fortified at a little charge, being but few landing places there about, and those obscure.

Foure miles Northeast from Saugus lyeth Salem, which stands on the middle of a necke of land very pleasantly, having a South river on the one side, and a North river on the other side: upon this necke where the most of the houses stand is very bad and Sandie ground, yet for seaven yeares together it hath brought forth exceeding good corne, by being fished\* but every third yeare; in some places is very good ground, and very good timber and divers springs hard by the sea side. Here likewise is store of fish, as Basses, Eeles, Lobsters, Clammes, &c.

Although their land be none of the best, yet beyond those rivers is a very good soyle, where they have taken farmes, and get their Hay, and plant their corne; there they crosse these rivers with small Cannowes, which are made of whole pine trees, being about two foot & a half over, and 20 foote long: in these likewise they goe a fowling, sometimes two leagues to Sea; there be more Cannowes in this towne than in all the whole Patent; every household having a water-house or two.

This Towne wants an Alewife river, which is a great convenience; it hath two good harbours, the one being called Winter, and the other Summer harbour, which lyeth within Derbies Fort, which place if it were well fortified, might keepe shippes from landing of forces in any of those two places. Marvill Head is a place which lyeth 4 miles full South from Salem, and is a very convenient place for a plantation,

<sup>\*</sup>Fertilized with fish.

especially for such as will set upon the trade of fishing. There was made here a ships loading of fish the last yeare, where still stands the stages, and drying scaffolds; here be good harbour for boates, and safe riding for shippes. Agowamme\* is nine miles to the North from Salem, which is one of the most spatious places for a plantation, being neare the sea, it aboundeth with fish, and flesh of fowles and beasts, great Meads and Marshes and plaine plowing grounds, many good rivers and harbours and no rattle snakes. In a word, it is the best place but one, which is Merrimacke, lying 8 miles beyond it, where is a river 20 leaugues navigable, all along the river side is fresh Marshes, in some places 3 miles broad.

In this river is Sturgeon, Sammon, and Basse, and divers other kinds of fish. To conclude, the Countrie hath not that which this place cannot yeeld. So that these two places may containe twice as many people as are yet in New England: there being as yet scarce any inhabitants in these two spacious places. Three miles beyond the river Merrimacke is the outside of our Patent for the Massachusetts Bay. These be all the Townes that were begun, when I came for England, which was the 15 of August 1633.

<sup>\*</sup>Settled in 1633 as the town of Ipswich.

#### THOMAS LECHFORD IN 1641.

HOMAS Lechford was a lawyer who came over in 1638. But lawyers were not wanted in the Colony and he could barely earn a living for his family, so in August, 1641, he returned to England and wrote his book which he published the following year. It is full of information relating to the manners and customs in the Colony, and was published under the following title: Plain Dealing: or, Nevves for New-England. . . . By Thomas Lechford of Clements Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent. London, 1642.

The publique worship is in as faire a *meeting house* as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have beene at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Psalme is sung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing. . . About two in the after-noone, they repaire to the meeting-house againe: and then the Pastor begins, as before noone, and a Psalme being sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to reade and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

After that ensues Baptisme, if there be any, . . . Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, where fore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another

one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to theire seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. . . .

But in *Salem* Church, those onely that are of the Church, offer in publique; the rest are required to give to the Ministerie, by collection, at their houses. At some other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; . . .

These are the Ministers of the Bay. . . . At Lynne, master Whiting Pastor, master Cobbet Teacher: At Salem, master Peter Pastor, master Norris Teacher, and his Sonne a Schoole-master: At Ipswich, master Rogers Pastor, master Norton Teacher, and master Nathaniel Ward, and his sonne, and one Master Knight, out of employment: At Rowley, Master Ezek. Rogers Pastor, Master Miller: At Newberry, Master Noyse Pastor, Master Parker Teacher: He is sonne of Master Robert Parker, sometime of Wilton, in the County of Wiltes, deceased, who in his life time writ that mis-learned and mistaken Book De Politeia Eccleseastica. . . .

The Lady *Moody* lives at *Lynne*, but is of *Salem* Church, shee is (good Lady) almost undone by buying master *Humphries* farme, *Swampscot*, which cost her nine, or eleven hundred pounds. . . .

at *Lynne*, in the *Bay*, whence some, by reason of straitnesse, did remove to the said Island; and one master *Simonds*, heretofore a servant unto a good gentlewoman whom I know, was one of the first Founders. Master *Peter* of *Salem* was at the gathering, and told me the said master *Henry Simonds* made a very cleare confession. . . .

And at *Cape Anne*, where fishing is set forward, and some stages builded, there one master *Rashley* is Chaplain: for it is farre off from any Church: *Rashley* is admitted of *Boston* Church, but the place lyeth next *Salem*, and not very far further from Ipswich.

## EDWARD JOHNSON IN 1652.

DWARD Johnson was the town clerk of Woburn where he died in 1672 aged 73 years. His book describes what took place in the Colony under his observation and undoubtedly he had visited the various towns of which he gives an account. The book is supposed to have been written a year or two before 1652 and the London publisher may have supplied its title page: The Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England: A History of New England from the English Planting in 1628, until the yeere 1652. . . . London, 1654.

OF THE SIXTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, GATHERED AT LINN, 1631.

The Sixth Church of *Christ* was gathered at *Linn*, betweene *Salem* and Charles Towne, her scituation is neere to a River, whose strong freshet at breaking up of Winter filleth all her Bankes, and with a furious Torrent ventes it selfe into the Sea; This Towne is furnished with Mineralls of divers kinds, especially Iron and Lead, the forme of it is almost square, onely it takes two large a run into the Land-Ward (as most Townes do), it is filled with about one hundred Houses for dwelling; Here is also an Iron Mill in constant use, but as for Lead they have tried but little yet. Their meeting-house being on a levell Land undefended from the cold North west-wind; And therefore made with steps descending into the Earth, their streetes are straite and comly, yet but thin of Houses, the people mostly inclining to Husbandry, have built many Farmes Remote there, Cattell exceedingly multiplied, Goates which were in great esteeme at their first comming, are now almost quite banished, and now Horses, Kine and Sheep are most in request with them, the first feeder of this flock of Christ was Mr. Stephen Batchelor, gray and aged.

OF THE NINTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, GATHERED AT IPSWICH.

This year came over a farther supply of Eminent instruments for furthering this admirable Worke of his, amongst whom the Reverend and judicious servant of Christ Mr. Nathaniel Ward, who tooke up his station at the Towne of Ipswich, where the faithfull servants of Christ gathered the Ninth Church of his. This Towne is scituated on a faire and delightfull River, whose first rise or spring begins about five and twenty Miles farther up in the Countrey, issuing forth a very pleasant pond. But soone after it betakes its course through a most hideous swamp of large extent, even for many Miles, being a great Harbour for Beares: after its comming forth this place, it groweth larger by the income of many small Rivers, and issues forth in the Sea, due East over against the Island of Sholes, a great place for fishing for our English Nation. The peopling of this Towne is by men of good ranke and quality, many of them having the yearly Revenue of large Lands in England before they came to this Wildernesse, but their Estates being imployed for Christ, and left in banke, as you have formerly heard, they are well content till Christ shall be pleased to restore it againe to them or theirs, which in all reason should be out of the Prelates Lands in *England*. Let all those, whom it concernes (to judge) consider it well, and do Justice herein.

This Towne lies in the Saggamooreship, or Earldome of Aggawam, now by our English Nation called Essex. It is a very good Haven Towne, yet a little barr'd up at the Mouth of the River, some Marchants here are, (but Boston, being the chiefest place of resort of Shipping, carries away all the Trade) they have very good Land for Husbandry, where Rocks hinder not the course of the Plow; the Lord hath been pleased to increase them in Corne and Cattell of late; Insomuch that they have many hundred quarters to spare yearly, and feed, at the latter end of Summer, the Towne of Boston with good Beefe: their Houses are many of them very faire built with pleasant Gardens and Orchards, consisting of about one hundred and forty Their meeting-house is a very good prospect to a great part of the Towne, and beautifully built. The Church of Christ here consists of about one hundred and sixty soules, being exact in their conversation, and free from the Epidemicall Disease of all Reforming Churches, which under Christ is procured by their pious Learned and Orthodox Ministery, as in due place (God willing) shall be declared, in the meane time, look on the following Meeters concerning that Souldier of Christ Master Nathaniel Ward.

OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST GATHERED AT NEWBERRY.

In the latter end of this yeare, two sincere servants of Christ, inabled by him with gifts to declare his minde unto his people, came over this broad Ocean, and began to build the Tenth Church of Christ at a Towne called Newberry, their names being Mr. James Noise, and Mr. Thomas Parker, somewhat differing from all the former, and after mentioned Churches in the preheminence of their Presbytery, and it were to be wished that all persons, who have had any hand in those hot contentions which have fallen out since about Presbyterian and Independent Government in Churches, would have looked on this Example, comparing it with the Word of God, and assuredly it would have stayed (all the godly at lest) of either part from such unworthy expressions as have passed to the grief of many of Godspeople; And I doubt not but this History will take of that unjust accusation, and slanderous imputation of the rise of that floud of errors and false Doctrines sprung up of late, as flowing from the Independent or rather congregationall Church. But to follow on, this Town is scituate about twelve miles from *Ipswitch*, neere upon the wide venting streames of Merrimeck River, whose whole strong current is such, that it hath forced its passage through the mighty Rocks, which causeth some sudden falls, and hinders Shipping from having any accesse far into the Land, her bankes are in many places stored with Oken Timber of all sorts, of which, that which they commonly call'd white Oke, is not inferious to our English Timber; in this River lie some few Islands of fertill Land, this Towne is stored with Meddow and upland, which hath caused some Gentlemen, (who brought over good Estates, and finding then no better way to improve them) to set upon husbandry, amongst whom that Religious and sincere hearted servant of Christ Mr. Richard Dummer, sometime a Magistrate in this little Common-wealth hathholpen on this Town, their houses are built very scattering, which hath caused some contending about removall of their place for Sabbath-Assemblies, their Cattell are about foure hundred head, with store of Corne-land in tillage, it consists of about seventy Families, the soules in Church fellowship are about an hundred, the teaching Elders of this Congregation have carried it very lovingly toward their people, permitting of them to assist in admitting of persons into Church-society, and in Church-censures, so long as they Act regularly, but in case of their male-administration, they assume the power wholly to themselves, their godly life and conversation hath hitherto been very amiable, and their paines and care over their flock not inferiour to many others, and being bound together in a more stricter band of love then ordinary with promise to spend their dayes together.

This yeare the reverend and judicious M. Jos. Glover undertook this long voyage, being able both in person and estate for the work he provided, for further compleating the Colonies in Church and Commonwealth-work, a Printer, which hath been very usefull in many respects; the Lord seeing it meet that this reverend and holy servant of his should fall short of the shores of New England; but yet at this time he brought over the zealous affected and judicious servant of his, Master Ezekiel Rogers, who with a holy and humble people, made his progress to the North-Eastward, and erected a Towne about 6 miles from Ipswich, called Rowly, where wanting room, they purchased some addition of the Town of Newberry; yet had they a large length of land, onely for the neere conveniency to the Towne of Ipswich, by the which meanes they partake of the continued Lectures of either Towne: these people being very industrious every way, soone built many houses, to the number of about threescore families, and were the first people that set up making of Cloth in this Western World; for which end they built a fulling-mill, and caused their little-ones to be very diligent in spinning cotton wooll, many of them having been clothiers in England, till their zeale to promote the Gospel of Christ caused them to wander; and therefore they were no lesse industrious, in gathering into Church society, there being scarce a man among them, but such as were meet to be living stones in this building, according to the judgement of man.

The next Town and Church of Christ planted in this Colony, was between Salem and Ipswitch, Salem the eldest of all the Sisters was very helpful to this her little Sister, nourishing her up in her own bosom, till she came of age, being beneficial to her besides, in giving her a good portion of Land; this Town is called *Wenham*, and is very

well watered, as most in-land Towns are, the people live altogether upon husbandry, *New England* having train'd up great store to this occupation, they are encreased in cattel, and most of them live very well, yet are they no great company; they were some good space of time there before they gathered into a Church-body, the godly and reverend Mr. *John Fisk* went thither with them, at first setting down as a planter among them, yet withal he became helpful in preaching the Word unto them, when they were but a few in number, they afterward call'd him to the office of a Pastor, with whom he now remains, labouring in the Word and Doctrine, with great industry.

There was another Towne and Church of Christ erected in the Mattachuset Government, upon the Northern-Cape of the Bay, called Cape Ann, a place of fishing, being peopled with Fishermen, till the reverend Mr. Richard Blindman came from a place in Plimouth Plantation called Green Harbor, with some few people of his acquaintance, and setled down with them, named the Town Glocester, and gathered into a Church, being but a small number, about fifty persons, they called to office this godly reverend man, whose gifts and abilities to handle the word, is not inferiour to many others, labouring much against the errors of the times, of a sweet, humble, heavenly carriage; This Town lying out toward the point of the Cape, the access thereunto by Land become uneasie, which was the chief cause it was not more populated; Their fishing trade would be very beneficial, had they men of estates to mannage it; yet are they not without other means of maintenance, having good timber for shipping, and a very sufficient builder, but that these times of combustion the Seas throughout hath hindered much that work, yet have there been Vessels built here at this Town of late.

OF THE PLANTING THE EIGHTEENTH CHURCH OF CHRIST AT THE TOWNE OF SALISBURY.

For further perfecting this Wildernesse-worke; not far from the Towne of *Hampton* was erected another Towne, called *Salsbury*, being brought forth as Twins, sometime contending for eldership; This being seated upon the broade swift torrent of *Merrimeck*, a very good-

ly River to behold, were it not blockt up with some suddaine falls through the rocks; over against this Towne lyeth the Towne of Newberry, on the Southern side of the River a constant Ferry being kept between; for although the River be about half a mile broad, yet, by reason of an Island that lies in the midst thereof, it is the better passed in troublesom weather; the people of this Towne have of late, placed their dwellings so much distanced the one from the other, that they are like to divide into two Churches; the scituation of this Towne is very pleasant, were the Rivers Navigable farre up, the branches thereof abound in faire and goodly medowes with good store of stately Timber upon the uplands in many places, this Towne is full as fruitfull in her Land, Chattell, and Inhabitants, as her Sister Hampton; the people joyned in Church-relation or brotherhood, nere about the time the other did, and have desired and obtained the reverend and graciously godly, M. Thomas Woster to be their Pastor.

The Town of Haverhill was built much about this time, lying higher up then Salisbury, upon the fair and large river of Merrimeck; the people are wholly bent to improve their labour in tilling the earth. and keeping of cattel, whose yearly encrease incourages them to spend their days in those remote parts, the constant penetrating farther into this Wilderness, hath caused the wild and uncouth woods to be fil'd with frequented wayes, and the large rivers to be over laid with Bridges passeable, both for horse and foot; this Town is of a large extent, supposed to be ten miles in length, there being an overweaning desire in most men after Medow land, which hath caused many towns to grasp more into their hands then they could afterwards possibly hold; the people are not unmindful also of the chief end of their coming hither, namely, to be made partakers of the blessed Ordinances of Christ, that their souls might be refreshed with the continual income of his rich grace, to which end they gathered into a Church-body, and called to office the reverend M. Ward, son to the former named M. Ward of Ipswitch.

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#### SAMUEL MAVERICK IN 1660.

THIS account of New England was found in the Egerton Manuscripts in the British Museum by Henry F. Waters and was published in the January, 1885 issue of the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register. It bears internal evidence that it was written by Samuel Maverick who records that he arrived in New England in 1624. He spent some years on Noddle's Island, now East Boston; in fact, was living there when Winthrop came; but being a zealous Episcopalian he suffered persecution and went to England to complain to the King. He was appointed in 1664 one of the four Commissioners for the settlement of difficulties in New England, and also to "reduce the Dutch in Manhadoes." Being unsuccessful in the Massachusetts Colony he removed to New York about 1665, where he probably died. His manuscript is entitled A Briefe Discription of New England and the several Townes therein, together with the present Government thereof.

Salisbury New & Old—Seaven Miles to the Southward of Hampton is Meromack River, on the mouth of which on the Northside is seatted a Large Toune called Sallisbury, and 3 miles above it a Village called old Salisbury, where ther is a Saw Mill or two. The Commodities this Toune affords are Corne, Cattle, Boards and Pipe Staues.

Haverhill Andover—Fouer Leagues up this River is Haverell, a pretty Toune & a few miles higher is the Toune of Andouer both these Tounes subsist by Husbandry.

Newbury—At the mouth on the southside of Meromack and upwards is seated the Towne of Newbury, the Houses stand at a good distance each from other a feild and Garden between each house, and so on both sides the street for 4 miles or therabouts betweene Salisbury and this Towne, the River is broader then the Thames at Deptford, and in the Sumer abounds with Sturgeon, Salmon and other ffresh water fish. Had we the art of takeing and saveing the Sturgeon it would

prove a very great advantage, the Country affording Vinager, and other Materialls to do it withall.

In this Towne and Newbury adjoining are 2 Meeting Houses.

Rowley—Three Miles beyound this Old Newbury is a large and populous Towne called Rowley about two miles from the Bay of Agowame within land the Inhabitants are most Yorkshiremen very laborious people and drive a pretty trade, makeing Cloath and Ruggs of Cotton Wool, and also Sheeps wooll with which in few yeares the Countrey will abound not only to supply themselves but also to send abroad. This Towne aboundeth with Corne, and Cattle, and have a great number of Sheep.

*Ipswich*—Three Miles beyond Rowley lyeth Ipswich at the head of Agawame River, as farr up as Vessells cane come. It hath many Inhabitants, and there farmes lye farr abroad, some of them severall miles from the Towne. So also they do about other Townes.

Wenham—Six Miles from this Towne lyeth a Towne called Wenham seated about a great Lake or Pond which abounds with all manner of ffresh ffish, and such comodities as other places have it affordeth.

Gloucester—Between these two Townes there runes out into the Sea that noated head land called Cape Ann fower miles within the outermost head. There is a Passage cutt through a Marsh between Cape Ann Harbour & Manisqwanne Harbour where stands the Towne called Glocester very comodious for building of shipping and ffishing.

Manchester—Four miles Westward from Glocester, lyeth on the Sea side a small Towne called Manchester, there is a Sawmill and aboundance of Timber.

Mackrell & Basse Cove—About six miles from this Towne lyeth by the Sea side a Village Called Mackarell Coue, and a mile or 2 aboue on a Branch of Salem River lyeth another Village called Basse Coue. These two have Joyned and built a Church, which stands between them both ower agst Salem.

Salem—On the South side of Salem River stands on a peninsula the Towne of Salem, setled some yeares by a few people befor the Patent of the Massachusits was granted. It is very commodious for fishing, and many Vessells have been built there and (except Boston) it hath as much Trade as any place in New England both inland and abroad.

Marblehead or Foy—Two miles below this Towne on the Southside of the Harbor by the sea side lyeth Marblehead or ffoy the greatest Towne for ffishing in New England.

Lynne—Five miles Westward lyeth the Towne of Lynne along by the sea side, and two miles aboue it within the bounds of it are the greatest Iron works erected for the most part at the charge of some Merchants, and Gentlmen here resideing and cost them about 14000£, who were as it is conceived about six yeares since Injuriously outted of them to the great prejudice of the Country and Owners.

## JOHN JOSSELYN IN 1671.

JOHN Josselyn, Gent. arrived in Boston in 1638 and was a guest of Samuel Maverick at Noddle's Island. He then went to Scarborough, Maine, and stayed with his brother Henry until the end of 1639 when he went home. In 1663 he came again and remained in New England until December, 1671 when he returned to England and the following year published his valuable book New England's Rarities which gives an account of the flora and fauna of the country. In 1674 appeared his description of New England published under the following title: An Account of two Voyages to New England, Wherein you have the setting out of a Ship, with the charges; The prices of all necessaries for furnishing a Planter & his Family at his first coming; A Description of the Country, Natives and Creatures; The Government of the Countrey as it is now possessed by the English, etc. . . . By John Josselyn, Gent. Lond. 1674.

Without Pullin-point, six miles North-east from Winnisimet is Cawgust, or Sagust, or Saugut, now called Linn, situated at the bottom of a Bay near a River, which upon the breaking up of winter with a furious Torrent vents it self into the Sea, the Town consists of more than one hundred dwelling-houses, their church being built on a level undefended from the North-west wind is made with steps descending into the Earth, their streets are straight and but thin of houses, the people most husbandmen.

At the end of the Sandy beach is a neck of land called Nahant, it is six miles in circumference. Black William an Indian Duke out of his generosity gave this to the English. At the mouth of the River runs a great Creek into a great marsh called Rumney-marsh, which is four miles long and a mile broad, this Town hath the benefit of minerals of divers kinds, Iron, Lead, one Iron mill, store of Cattle, Arable land and meadow.

To the North-ward of Linn is Marvil or Marblehead, a small Harbour, the shore rockie, upon which the Town is built, consisting of a few scattered houses; here they have stages for fishermen, Orchards, and Gardens, half a mile within land good pastures and Arable land.

Four miles North of Marble-head is situated New-Salem (whose longitude is 315 degrees, and latitude 42 degrees 35 minutes) upon a plain, having a River on the South, and another on the North, it hath two Harbours, Winter Harbour and Summer Harbour which lyeth within Darbies fort, they have store of Meadow and Arable; in this Town are some very rich Merchants.

Upon the Northern Cape of the Massachusetts, that is Cape-Ann, a place of fishing is situated, the Town of Glocester where the Massachusetts Colony first set down, but Salem was the first Town built in that Colony, here is a Harbour for Ships.

To the North-ward of Cape Ann is Wonasquam, a dangerous place to sail by in stormie weather, by reason of the many Rocks and foaming breakers.

The next Town that presents itself to view is Ipswich situated by a fair River, whose first rise is from a Lake or Pond twenty mile up, betaking its course through a hideous Swamp for many miles, a Harbour for Bears, it issueth forth into a large Bay, (where they fish for Whales) due East over against the Islands of Sholes a great place of fishing, the mouth of that River is barr'd; it is a good haven-town, their meeting-house or Church is beautifully built, store of Orchards and Gardens, land for husbandry and Cattle.

Wenham is an inland Town very well watered, lying between Salem and Ipswich, consisteth most of men of judgment and experience in re rustica, well stored with Cattle. At the first rise of Ipswich River in the highest part of the land near the head springs of many considerable Rivers; Shashin one of the most considerable branches of Merrimach River, and also at the rise of Mistick-River, and ponds full of pleasant springs, is situated Wooburn an inland-Town four miles square beginning at the end of Charles-Town bounds.

Six miles from Ipswich North-east is Rowley, most of the Inhabitants have been Clothiers.

Nine miles from Salem to the North is Agowamine, the best and spaciousest place for a plantation, being twenty leagues to the Northward of New-Plimouth.

Beyond Agowamin is situated Hampton near the Sea-coasts not far from Merrimach-River, this Town is like a Flower-deluce, having two streets of houses wheeling off from the main body thereof, they have great stores of salt Marshes and Cattle, the land is fertil, but full of Swamps and Rocks.

Eight miles beyond Agowamin runneth the delightful River Merrimach or Morrumach, it is navigable for twenty miles and well stored with fish, upon the banks grow stately Oaks, excellent Ship timber, not inferiour to our English.

On the South-side of Merrimach-River, twelve miles from Ipswich, and near upon the wide venting streams thereof is situated Newberrie, the houses are scattering, well stored with meadow, upland, and Arable, and about four hundred head of Cattle.

Over against Newberrie lyes the Town of Salisbury, where a constant Ferry is kept, the River being here half a mile broad, the Town scatteringly built.

Hard upon the River of Shashin where Merrimach receives this and the other branch into its body, is seated Andover, stored with land and Cattle.

Beyond this Town by the branch of Merrimach-River called Shashin, lyeth Haverhill, a Town of large extent about ten miles in length, the inhabitants Husbandmen, this Town is not far from Salisbury.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

In September [1663] following my Arrivage in the Massachusets about the twelfth hour of the eight day, I shipt my self and goods

in a Bark bound to the Eastward, . . . About nine of the clock at night we came to *Salem* and lay aboard all night.

The Ninth day we went ashore to view the Town which is a mile long, and lay that night at a Merchants house.

The Tenth day we came from *Salem* about twelve of the clock back to *Marble-head*; here we went ashore and recreated our selves with Musick and a cup of Sack and saw the Town, about ten at night we returned to our Bark and lay aboard.

The Eleventh being Saturday, and the wind contrary, we came to *Charles-town* again, about twelve of the clock we took store of *Mackarel*.

## JOHN DUNTON IN 1686.

HIS young bookseller from London came to New England in 1686 to collect a debt of five hundred pounds and incidentally to sell a considerable shipment of books that he had brought with him. Soon after arriving in Boston he opened a bookshop, and there he remained for five months during which time he indulged in "rambles" to nearby towns, Ipswich being the most distant. After returning to London, to his trade of bookselling he added that of publisher and shortly began to write books and pamphlets in great number.

His Letters from New England were written some years after his visit to Boston, probably about the year 1700, and must not be considered first-hand descriptions written upon the spot. Undoubtedly he visited the several towns that he describes and he also in all probability met the men and women who are characterized, but it has been demonstrated\* that his descriptions are largely borrowed from Josselyn and Roger Williams and his pictures of New England types are heightened by liberal extracts from the English authors of his time. His account is readable, however, and in the main may be accepted as approximating a picture of the Colony at the time of his visit.

\*CHESTER N. GREENOUGH in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. 14, pp. 213-257.

My Fifth Ramble from Boston was to a Town now call'd Lin, but formerly by the Indians, Cawgust, Sawust, Saugut: To this Town three or four of my Acquaintance took a Ramble with me, for the day was so inviting, that none that had any leisure to go abroad, wou'd stay at home: They were before-hand determin'd to go abroad, so that I didn't reckon my self much beholden to 'em for their Company, only they gave me leave to Chuse the place, and I pitch'd upon Lin, being (as I before told you) still for New Discoveries. . . . We all agreed to this motion, and in a little Time came to Lin; which is a Town situated at the Bottom of a Bay without Pullin-Point, six miles North-East from Winnisimet, near a River, which upon the breaking up of Winter vents it self with a furious Torrent into the Sea: The Town consists of more than an hundred dwelling Houses, their meeting-house being built upon a level, and defended from the North-West Wind, and is made with steps descending to it. Tho it be none of the first-rate Towns in this Countrey, yet there are many others that are inferiour to it.

Neither my self nor any of my Friends with me had any acquaintance there; so we went to a Publick House, where we met with good Accommodations: And our Host wou'd needs be acquainted with us whether we wou'd or no; he was a bold forward sort of a man, and wou'd thrust himself into our Company, and take up all the Discourse too, which was for the most part of his own good Qualities, Knowledge, and Understanding; valuing himself at such a rate that he wou'd have made one of the three Dukes of Dunstable; and yet wou'd bring Scripture to apologize for his Impertinence, telling us that a Candle shou'd not be hid under a Bus[hel], and made sensible that he wou'd not hide his, tho' it was but a Snuff, or at best but a rush Candle; and therefore those few good Qualities he had, he was no Niggard in displaying: Some of the Company affronted him sufficiently, but he took no notice on't, for he thought no vice so prejudical as Blushing. He din'd with us, without being invited, for he needed it not; and his talk at the Table was like Benjamin's Mess, five times his part to any others; and tho' we often shifted the Theme, yet no Argument wou'd shut him out for a Quarreller; and rather than be non-plust, wou'd fly to Nonsense for Sanctuary; For my part I admir'd the address of his humour, and let him alone, for I perceiv'd he wou'd be sooner dash'd out of anything than Countenance; and tho' at first he seem'd very troublesome, I was at last pleas'd with him; for I found it was his trade, and that his Words serv'd equally for all men, and were all equally to no purpose: The best thing in him was, that his Troublesomeness made me shake off that Indisposition that had lain upon me all Day, and brought me again to a good Humour. Having satisfyed the Cravings of our Stomacks with a good Dinner, and exhilerated our Spirits with some good Liquor, and being at last wearied with our Landlords Impertinence; We paid our Reckoning, and return'd towards Boston again.

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I write to others the Relation of my Rambles, but unto you, my Dear, I write of Business: And so it happens, that 'tis my Business here to give you a Relation of my Rambles: For having stock'd the Town of Boston with my Books; (some having bought more, I'm afraid, than they intend to pay for) and having still a Considerable Quantity left, Several Gentlemen have given me great Encouragement, (by their Promises of Assisting me in the Disposal of them) to send a Venture to Salem, (the next considerable Town to Boston in New England) and particularly one Mr. Sewel,\* who is a Magistrate in that Town, has given me Assurance of a Kind Reception there. Besides, I am the more Encourag'd to it, as 'tis in this Town the generous Mr. Herrick has taken a House; to whom for his Bottle of Water at Sea, mention'd in my Letter to Brother Lake, I was so much beholden: So that upon these considerations being resolv'd to send a Cargo thither, I thought it wou'd be first convenient to go my self. and see the Town, and take a Warehouse there, before I sent my Books. For I design to intrust Palmer as my Factor; for having trusted much in the adjacent Towns, (especially at Connecticot) I cann't be above three Days absent from Boston: And having thus resolved to Ramble to Salem, it is my Ramble thither, my Reception there, and the Success thereof, relating to my Books, that I intend shall be the Subject of this Letter.

I rambled to Salem all alone, (save that by an Intercourse of Souls, \*Major Stephen Sewell, Clerk of Courts and afterwards Register of Deeds.

my Dear, I had your Company) and upon Byard on Ten Toes too, like a meer Coriat: I shall say nothing of the several Towns I Rambled through to Salem, designing to describe them in my Ramble to Inswich: But it may not perhaps be altogether unprofitable to tell you how I employ'd my self, as I rambled along: For tho' I went by my self, yet I wanted no Company; for I convers'd with every thing I met with: and cou'd in some measure say with one of the Antient Fathers, I was never less alone than when I was alone. With these and the like Reflections I entertain'd my self upon the Road, and about Four of the Clock in the afternoon, I came to Salem; and found the Town about a mile long, with many fine Houses in it; and is reputed the next town to Boston for trade: The Account, my Dear, I have received about the Original of this Town, is, That in the year of our Lord 1628, Mr. John Endicot with a number of English People sat down by Cape Ann, at that place called afterwards Gloucester, but their abiding Place was at Salem, where they built a Town in 1629, and there they gathered a Church, consisting but of 70 Persons; but afterwards it increased to 47 Churches in joynt Communion with one another; and those Churches were about 7750 Souls: Mr. Endicot was chosen their first Governour.

The first Person I went to visit in Salem, was Mr. Herrick: How kindly he receiv'd a poor Traveller, my Dear, whose Life he had sav'd at Sea, you may Easier guess than I relate. From his House, we went to take a Glass, and talk over our Sea-Voyage: What we found hard to suffer, twas easie to recite: Nay, there is a certain kind of Pleasure in the reflecting upon Dangers that are past. And tho' now it was several Months since, I found the Deliverances we had then, were still fresh in his Remembrance. When we were at the Tavern, among other things, I renew'd my Acknowledgements for his former kindness, and drank a kind Remembrance in Wine, to the Bottle of Water that had sav'd my Life at Sea; and after that, to Captain Jenner,\* and our Ships Crew.

I have already told you, my Dear, that Travellers take Pleasure in recounting their past Dangers; and had you heard how Mr. Herrick

<sup>\*</sup>Dunton came over in the ship Susannah and Thomas, commanded by Captain Thomas Jenner.

was affected with it, I am sure you cou'd have had a great Esteem for him; he speaks of you with much Honour and Regard, and I believe we drank your health a dozen times in an hours sitting. From hence he went with me to take a Ware-house, which I think stands very conveniently. Having settled that affair, Mr. Herrick wou'd fain have had me lodg'd with him; which I believe I shou'd have accepted, but that Mr. Sewel, the Magistrate of Salem I before mention'd, sent me word he shou'd take it very unkindly if I did not make his House my Quarters: Whereupon, I desir'd Mr. Herricks Excuse, and lay at Mr. Sewel's who gave me a Reception worthy of himself. The Entertainment he gave me was truly Noble and Generous, and my Lodging so Extraordinary both with respect unto the Largeness of the Room, and Richness of the Furniture, as might have Entertain'd a King. So free he was, that had I staid a month there, I had been welcome gratis. To give you his Character; in brief, my Dear, He is a Person whose Purse is great, but his Heart greater; he loves to be bountiful, yet limits his Bounty by Reason: He knows what is good, and loves it; and loves to do it himself for its own sake, and not for thanks: He is the Mirror of Hospitality, and neither Abraham nor Lot were ever more kind to strangers. As he is a Magistrate, he desires to have his Greatness measured by his Goodness; and his Care is to live so, as to be an Example to the People. He wishes there were fewer Laws, so that they were better observ'd; and for those that are Mulctuary, he thinks their institution not to be like Briars and Thorns, to catch every thing they lay hold of, but like Sea-marks to avoid the Shipwreck of ignorant and unwary Passengers. He thinks himself then most honourably seated, when he gives Mercy the Upper hand; and strives rather to purchase a good Name than Land.

Having slept well in my New Quarters, the next Day I went to pay a Visit to the Ministers of Salem: (For you know, my Dear, they are generally the greatest Benefactors to Booksellers; So that my paying them a Visit, is but in other words to go among my Customers) who were Mr. Higgins,\* an Antient and Grave Minister, in his Stature and Physiognomy very much resembling your Reverend Father. He is one that knows the Burthen of his calling, and makes it [his]

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. John Higginson, the minister of the First Church.

business to Feed, and not Fleece his Flock. In his Discourse there is substance as well as Rhetorick; and he utters more things than Words: In controversal Divinity, he uses soft words, but hard Arguments; and labours more to shew the Truth of his Cause, than his Spleen: His sermon is limited by its Method, and not by the hourglass; and his Devotion goes along with him out of the pulpit. He preaches twice on the Lord's Day, and his Conversation is every Days Exercise. I din'd at his House, and he promises me great Assistance in my Business, and Speaks of your Father with a World of Honour. From him, I went to visit Mr. Noyse,\* his Assistant, who is a hail, lusty man, appears to be my hearty Friend, and treated me with very much respect.

Having made these Visits, the next day I went to Dine with Mr. Herrick, who gave me a very handsome and genteel Reception, and treated me with all that was rare in the Countrey, both as to variety of Fish and Flesh, and Choice of good Wine. In the afternoon he propos'd to shew me the Countrey round about Salem; and the next morning we were to visit Drinkwater (the Carpenter of the Ship we came to Boston in) who lives a mile from Salem. Drinkwater was very glad to see his Two Fellow Travellers, and gave us the welcome of his House. And so Mr. Herrick and my self came back again to Salem. The next morning I took my leave of Mr. Sewel, making my Acknowledgments to him for all his Favours: Who was pleas'd to tell me. I shou'd have been more welcome had I made a longer stay: And renewed his former Promise of giving all the Encouragement he cou'd to my Venture, when it came thither. I then went to take my leave of Mr. Herrick also, to whom I esteem my self very much beholden, for his Generous Treatment and great Civility. And so having spent four Days in Salem, to my great satisfaction, I return'd to Boston; and having made up a very considerable Cargo, I sent Palmer with it to Salem: Where he had very good Trading and took Money apace. But not having my Eye on him, I was told he neglected his Business and fell to shooting; but quite missed the Mark I aimed at which was, to have my Books sold.

\*Rev. Nicholas Noyes, settled in 1683, a conspicuous figure at the time of the witchcraft delusion in Salem.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

My Landlady (Mrs. Wilkins) having a Sister at Ipswich, which she had not seen a great while. Mrs. Comfort, her Daughter, (a young Gentlewoman Equally happy in the Perfections both of her Body and mind,) had a great desire to see her Aunt, having never been at her House, nor in that Part of the Countrey; Which Philaret\* having likewise a desire to see, and being never backward to accommodate the Fair Sex, Profers his Service to wait upon her thither, which was readily accepted by the young Lady, who knew Philaret so well, that she thought her self safe enough under his Protection. Nor were her Parents less willing to trust her with him; and Philaret was as careful not to betray his Trust to any Inconvenience. And now, Sister, all things being ready for our Ramble, I took my Fair one up behind me, and rid to the River-side, which tho' it be often and usually cross'd in a Canoo, yet I rather chose to cross it in a Ferry, having my Horse with me: Having cross'd the River, We mounted again, and rid on our way; meeting as we went a long with two or three Indians, who courteously saluted us, with, 'What Chear, Netop?' Netop in the Indian Language signifies Friend: I return'd their Salutation, and pass'd on; not without observing that there is a vein of Civility and Courtesie runs in the Blood of these Wild Indians, both among themselves and towards strangers.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

This Captain Marshal† is a hearty old Gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's Souldiers, upon which he very much values himself: He keeps an Inn upon the Road between Boston and Marble-Head: His House was well-furnished, and we had very good Accommodation. I enquir'd of the Captain what memorable Actions he had been in under Oliver, and I found I cou'd not have pleas'd him better; he was not long in Resolving me of the Civil Wars at his Finger's Ends; and if we may believe him, Oliver did hardly anything that was considerable without his Assistance; For his good Service at the Fatal Battel of Naseby, (which gave such a Turn to the King's affairs, that he cou'd never after come to a pitch'd Battel,) he was made a Cap-

<sup>\*</sup>The name Dunton applied to himself, signifying "a lover of virtue."

<sup>†</sup>Captain Thomas Marshall, innkeeper at Lynn.

tain; from thence he went to Leicester, and besieg'd that; then went to York, and afterwards to Marston-Moor; and in short, Rambled so far in his Discourse, that if I wou'd have stay'd as long as he'd have talk'd, he wou'd have quite spoil'd my Ramble to Plymouth; and therefore giving Mrs. Comfort to understand that I begun to be uneasie, she very seasonably came into my Relief, and the Captain was forc'd to leave a great part of his Noble Exploits unrelated. My Fellow-Traveller and I, having taken our leave of the Captain, quickly mounted, and went on our Ramble towards Marble-Head.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

This Discourse had brought us to Marvail, or Marble-Head, a small Town or Harbour, the Shore Rocky, upon which the Town is built, consisting of a few scattered Houses, where they have Stages for Fishermen, Orchards and Gardens; half a mile within Land, there is good Pastures, and Arable Land, very good. Having left Marble-Head behind us, we Rambled towards New Salem, four miles North of Marble-Head, and directly in our way to Ipswich; but having given a large Account of this Place, and of my Ramble thither, and staying there for some time, in a Letter to my Dearest Iris, which you may see when you please, I shall say nothing further of it here, but that having call'd at a Friends House, and refresh'd our Selves, we Rambled on towards Wenham.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

I had just concluded my Discourse, as we came to Wenham, which is an Inland Town, very well watered, lying between Salem and Ipswich, and consisteth most of Men of Judgment and Experience in Country Affairs; well stored with Cattel. At the first Rise of Ipswich River, in the highest part of the Land, near the Head, are the Springs of many Considerable Rivers; Shashin, one of the most considerable Branches of Merrimack River; and also at the rise of Mistick River, are Ponds full of Pleasant Springs. In this Town of Wenham, lives one Mr. Geery;\* whose Father is now a Captain in Boston, in so delicious a Paradice, that of all the Places in the Countrey, I shou'd have chosen this for the most happy Retirement: His House is neat and handsome, fitted with all Conveniences proper for the Countrey:

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. Joseph Gerrish, born in 1650 in Newbury.

And does so abound with every thing of his own, that he has no Occasion to trouble his Neighbours: The lofty spreading Pines on each side of his House, are a sufficient Shelter from the Winds; And the Warm Sun so Kindly ripens both his Fruits and Flowers, as if the Spring, the Summer and the Autumn had agreed together to thrust Winter out of Doors; He entertain'd us with such pleasant Fruits, as I must own Old England is a stranger to, and amongst all its great Varieties, knows nothing so Delicious.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

The honest Netop, or Friend Indian, had but just made an End of his Discourse, as we came to Ipswich: I gave him many thanks for the Information he had given me, and also for his good Company, and wou'd have made him drink, but he very thankfully refus'd it: And so we parted, he going about his Occasions, and I and my Fair Fellow-Traveller, to Mr. Steward's,\* whose Wife was Mrs. Comfort's own Aunt; whose Joy to see her Niece at Ipswich, was sufficiently Express'd by the Noble Reception we met with, and the Treatment we found there; which far out-did whate'er we cou'd have Thought: And tho' my self was but a Stranger to them, yet the Extraordinary Civility and respect they shew'd me, gave me reason enough to think I was very Welcome.

It was late when we came thither, and we were both very weary, which yet wou'd not Excuse us from the Trouble of a very Splendid Supper, before I was permitted to go to Bed; which was got ready in so short a time, as wou'd have made us think, had we not known the Contrary, that it had been ready Provided against we came. Tho' our Supper was extraordinary, yet I had so great a desire to go to Bed, as made it to me a troublesome Piece of Kindness. But this being happily over, I took my leave of my Fellow-Traveller, and was conducted to my appartment by Mrs. Stewart herself, who Character I shan't attempt tonight, being so very weary, but reserve till to morrow morning: Only I must let you know that my appartment was so Noble, and the Furniture so suitable to it, that I doubt not

\*William Stewart died in Ipswich, Aug. 5, 1693 aged 44 years. He lived in the ancient house yet standing at the corner of High and Manning streets and now known as the Caleb Lord house.

but even the King himself has been often-times contented with a worser Lodging.

Having repos'd my self all Night upon a Bed of Down, (than which there cou'd be nothing softer but the Arms of Iris,) I slept so very soundly that the Sun, (who lay not on so soft a Bed as I did) had got the start of me, and rise before me; but was so kind however as to make me one of his first visits, and to give me the Bonjeour; on which I straight got up and dress'd my self, having a mind to look about me and see where I was: And having took a view of Ipswich, I found it to be situated by a fair River, whose first Rise from a Lake or Pond was twenty miles up, breaking its course thorow a hideous Swamp for many miles, a harbour for Bears; it issueth forth into a large Bay, (where they fish for Whales,) due East over against the Island of Sholes, a great place of fishing;\* the mouth of that River is barr'd: It is a good Haven Town; their Meeting-House or Church is built very beautifully: There is store of Orchards and Gardens about it, and good Land for Cattel and Husbandry.

But I remember, Sister, I promis'd to give you Mrs. Steward's Character, and if I hadn't, yet Gratitude and Justice wou'd exact it of me: Her Stature is of a middle size fit for a Woman; Her Face is still the magazine of Beauty, whence she may fetch Artillery enough to wound a Thousand Lovers; and when she was about 18, perhaps there never was a Face more sweet and charming: Nor cou'd it well be otherwise, since now at 33, all you call sweet and ravishing, is in her face; which 'tis as great a Pleasure to behold, as a perpetual Sunshine, without any Clouds at all; and yet all this sweetness is joyn'd with such attractive vertue as draws all to a certain distance, and there detains them with reverence and admiration, none ever daring to approach her nigher, or having power to go further off. She's so obliging, courteous and civil, as if those qualities were only born with her, and rested in her Bosom as their Center. Her Speech and her Behaviour is so gentle, sweet, and affable, that whatsoever Men may talk of Magic, there is none Charms but she. So good a Wife she is, she frames her Nature to her Husband's; the Hiacinth

\*The previous fifty-three words are taken almost verbatim from Edward Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, London, 1654.

follows not the Sun more willingly, than she her Husbands pleasure. Her Household is her Charge; her care to that, makes her but seldom a Non-resident. Her Pride is to be Neat and Cleanly, and her Thrift not to be Prodigal. And, to conclude, is both Wise and Religious, which makes her all that I have said before.

In the next place, Sister, I suppose yourself will think it reasonable. that unto Mrs. Stewards, I shou'd add her Husband's Character; whose Worth and Goodness do well merit it: As to his Stature 'tis inclining to Tall; and as to his Aspect, if all the Lineaments of a Sincere and honest-hearted Man were lost out of the World, they might be all retrievd, by looking on his Face: He's one whose Bounty is limited by Reason, not by Ostentation; and to make it last, he deals it discreetly; as we Sowe our Land not by the Sack, but by the handful: He is so sincere and upright, that his word and his meaning never shake hands and part, but always go together: His Mind is always so serene, that Thunder does but rock him a sleep. which breaks other Mens slumbers. His Thoughts have an Aim as High as Heaven, tho' their Residence be in the Valley of an humble Heart. He is not much given to talk, tho' he knows how to do it as well as any Man: He loves his Friend, and will do any thing for him. except it be to wink at his faults, of which he will be always a severe Reprover: He is so good a Husband, that he is worthy of the Wife. that he Enjoys, and wou'd even make a bad Wife good by his Example.

Ipswich, my Sister, is a Country Town, not very large, and when a Stranger arrives there, 'tis quickly known to every one: It is no wonder then that the next day after our Arrival, the News of it was carry'd to Mr. Hubbald,\* the Minister of the Town, who hearing that I was the Person that had brought over so great a venture of Learning, did me the Honour to make me a visit at Mr. Steward's, where I lay, and afterwards kindly invited me and my Fellow Traveller to his own House, where he was pleas'd to give us a very handsome Entertainment. His writing of the History of Indian Warrs, shews him to be a Person of good Parts and Understanding: He is a sober, grave, and well accomplished Man; a good Preacher (as all the Town affirm, for I didn't hear him) and one that lives according to his Preaching.

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. William Hubbard, minister and historian.

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The next day I was for another Ramble, in which Mr. Steward was pleas'd to accompany me, (but I left Mrs. Comfort with her Aunt) and the place we went to, was a Town call'd Rowley, lying six miles North-East from Ipswich, where most of the Inhabitants had been Clothiers: But there was that Day a great Game of Foot-Ball to be play'd, which was the occasion of our going thither; There was another Town that play'd against them, as is sometimes common in England; but they play'd with their bare feet, which I thought was very odd; but it was upon a broad Sandy Shoar, free from Stones, which made it more easy. Neither were they so apt to trip up one anothers heels and quarrel, as I have seen 'em in England. . . . After their Sport was over we return'd home. . . .

From whence we were not long a going to his House, where Mrs. Steward had provided us a good Supper, and gave us a hearty welcome home.

You know my Rambling Humour, Sister, and that I am still for new Discoveries, which made me the next morning Enquire of Mr. Steward's Servants what other Towns there lay near Ipswich: (for I had a months mind that Day to make another Ramble) and they acquainted me that about Seven miles off there was the Town of Glousester, and that their Mistress had a Kinswoman that liv'd there, and therefore they believ'd she wou'd be very ready to go along with me thither. I was very well pleas'd with this Information, and presently went in and told Mrs. Steward, that I was for another Ramble that Day, being for seeing as much of the Countrey as I cou'd: She ask'd me whether I design'd to Ramble? I told her I design'd for Gloucester: 'O,' says she straight, 'I have a Kinswoman lives there, I want to see, and therefore Cousin Comfort and my self will go a long with you.' I readily accepted of her Kind offer, it being all I wanted; but Mr. Steward, by reason of some Business he had before appointed on that Day, cou'd not go with us, but sent his Chiefest Man, with one of his best Horses, to wait upon his Wife.

The Way we rid was very pleasant; for there the lofty Trees with their proud Spreading Tops, made a refreshing Shade, and kept us from the Suns too Officious Kindness. Besides the constant Pros-

pect of the Sea on our right hand, brought us such cool refreshing Breezes thence, as made our Journey extream delightful, tho' the Sun shin'd very hot: . . .

We were now come to Gloucester, which is a pretty little Town. Here it was that the Massachusets Colony first set down, tho' Salem was the first Town built in that Colony. Here is a very fine Harbour for Ships. Mrs. Steward's kinswoman, who was a very obliging Country-Widow, receiv'd us very kindly, and made us very welcome. While Mrs. Steward and Mrs. Comfort were talking with their kinswoman, my self and Mr. Steward's Man took a walk about the Town and went down to see the Harbour.

Mrs. So returning to the House again, we found Mrs. Steward and Mrs. Comfort waiting for us to take Horse; which (after taking my Leave of the Widow, and thanking her for our kind Entertainment) we quickly did, and came back in very good time to Ipswich, where Mr. Steward had taken care to have a good Supper ready for us.

The next morning, I was Returning to Boston, but Mr. Steward was very solicitous to have me stay that day, and go with him to Wanasquam,\* and Indian Town, where he had some business: I confess he hit me in the right Vein, for I lov'd Rambling dearly, and knew not how to deny him; and therefore was easily perswaded to go with him. Having refresh'd our selves before we went, by eating a good Breakfast, we began our Ramble, and had rid almost half the way to Wanasquam, when on the Road we met an Indian Woman, with her face all over black'd with soot, having a very sorrowful and rueful sort of Countenance; and quickly after, two or three Indian Men in the same black and sorrowful Condition, that had I been alone, it wou'd have frightened me. But having Mr. Steward with me, I was well enough: Indeed they all pass'd by us very civilly, saying only Ascowequassum, which is in English Good morrow to you.

Mr. Steward ask'd me if I had ever seen any of those blackfac'd Indians before? I told him No, and ask'd him what the meaning of it was? He told me, They had had some Relation very lately dead; and that the Blacking of their Faces, was equivalent to the Englishes going into Mourning for their Relations; and ask'd me whether I had

<sup>\*</sup>Annisquam, near Gloucester?

ever seen an Indian Burial? I told him No, nor English neither, in New-England, for none had dy'd that I remember'd, since I came into the Country.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

But the End of his Story having brought us to the beginning of Wanasquam, put an End to our Discourse; It is a very sorry sort of a Town, but better to come at by Land than by Water: For it is a dangerous place to sail by, especially in stormy weather, by reason of the many Rocks and foaming Breakers all about it. We saw several other mourning Indians in that Town; and upon Enquiry found that one of the chief Indians in the Town was lately dead and buried. There was nothing else remarkable to be seen in the Town, and therefore as soon as Mr. Steward had done his business, we return'd back to Ipswich. And early the next morning, having paid our hearty and repeated thanks to Mr. Steward and his Charming Wife, for the Noble Entertainment we had receiv'd from them, my self and Mrs. Comfort took our leaves, and made the best of our way for Boston, where we arriv'd according to our Promise, to the great satisfaction of my good Landlord and his Wife: Mrs. Comfort being no less pleas'd with the pleasure of her Journey, than I was for her good Company.

#### EDWARD WARD IN 1699.

BOWARD Ward was born in Oxfordshire, England, in 1667 and after visiting Jamaica and New England became a taverner in London. His tavern and punch shop was located next door to Gray's Inn and was known as "The King's Arms." He began to publish pamphlets in 1691 and at his death in 1731 had produced over one hundred among them being an account of his visit to Boston, a folio tract of sixteen pages published with the following title:—A Trip to New-England with a character of the Country and People. . . . London, 1699.

They have a *Charter* for a *Fair* at *Salem*, but it Begins, like *Ingerstone* Market, half an Hour after Eleven a Clock, and Ends half an Hour before Twelve: For I never see any thing in it but by great Accident, and those were *Pumkins*, which were the chief Fruit that supported the *English* at their first settling in these parts. But now they enjoy plenty of good Provisions, *Fish*, *Flesh* and *Fowl*, and are become as great *Epicures*, as ever Din'd at *Pontack's* ordinary.

Lobsters and Cod-fish are held in such disdain, by reason of their Plenty, 'tis as Scandalous for a poor Man in Boston to carry one through the streets, as 'tis for an Alderman in the City of London, to be seen walking with a Groatsworth of Fresh-Herrings, from Billings-Gate to his own House.

There were formerly amongst them (as they themselves Report) abundance of *Witches*, and indeed I know not, but there may be as many now, for the men look still as if they were *Hag-ridden*; and every Stranger, that comes into the Country, shall find they will Deal with him to this Day, as if the *Devil* were in 'em.

Witchcraft they punish'd with Death, till they had Hang'd the best People in the Country; and Convicted the Culprit upon a single Evidence: So that any prejudic'd person, who bore Malice against a neighbour, had an easie method of removing their Adversary. But since, upon better consideration, they have mitigated the severity of that unreasonable Law, there has not been one accused of Witchcraft, in the whole Country.

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### THOMAS STORY IN 1699 AND 1704.

HOMAS Story was an itinerant Quaker preacher who came over from England in 1697 and between that year and 1708 visited all the colonies from New Hampshire to Carolina. The description of his travels and labors in America occupies nearly three hundred pages of his "Journal" which is the largest book of travel in what is now the United States, up to the year 1708. He is particularly racy about the laws of Connecticut and Massachusetts. His book was published under the following title:—Journal of the Life of Thomas Story: Containing an Account of . . . his Embracing the Principles of Truth as held by the People called Quakers—His Travels in America . . . Newcastle upon Tyne, 1747.

On the Second Day [July 1699] we went to Lynn; where, hearing of a Meeting appointed by our Friend Judadiah Allen, about two Miles thence, we went to it; and lodged that night with our Friend Richard Estis, at Lynn: and had a Meeting the next Day after at Salem; and, that Night, lodged with our Friend Mathew Estis; and proceeded next Day to Hampton, . . . The next Day we had a Meeting at Salisbury: and there having been a Report, that the minister of the Place, one Major Pike, and one Joseph Ring (all great Opposers) intended to be there, it was very great: yet none of them came but Ring: who did not oppose, but slunk off towards the Conclusion: and the meeting was held, and concluded in Peace, and the blessed Truth was over all, . . . On the 26th, I went towards Hampton, accompanied by my kind friend Samuel Collins, of Lynn; and, as we were near Ipswich, one of his acquaintance, not a Friend, overtook, and invited us to his House; where, Meat being set before us, I was concerned in Prayer before we ate, and they were well affected with it. . . . The next day had a meeting at the House of Joseph Paisley, in Haverhill: It was not large, by reason of the Throng of Harvest. . . .

That Afternoon [May 3, 1704] we went to Lynn with Samuel Collins: where we staid that Night and the next Day; and on the Seventh of the Week, the Fishermen being usually more at home on that

Day than any other of the Week-days, we had a Meeting at Marble-Head; where there is not a Friend: The Meeting was pretty large, and the People sober. The Creation of Man, his first State of Innocence, his Fall, present State of Nature, and Restoration by Christ the Second Adam, were Subjects of the Testimony: and the divine Truth the good Dominion over the People; who, after the Meeting, were loving, and behaved rather with awful Respect than light chearfulness, or Familiarity: and that Evening we returned to Lynn, . . . I remained at the House of our Friend Samuel Collins.

On the 7th of the Month, being the Third of the Week, we were at a marriage at *Salem*, which had been delayed sometime on purpose; but the Day proving very rainy and stormy, the meeting was not so large as otherwise it might have been; but several of the People, of both Sexes, being there, were generally sober, and some broken in Heart.

At Salem I remained until the 9th: and, being the Day of their Monthly Meeting, it was large; several of the People being there, were well satisfied with the Testimony of Truth therein: and Lydia Norton, Mary Dow, Esther Palmer, and Susannah Freeborn, all living Ministers, came to that Meeting: The next Day we had a Meeting at *Ipswich*, where there were no Friends: It was indifferent large. several of the People tendered, and generally satisfied: some of them giving particular Demonstrations of it. . . . that Afternoon we went forward to Newbury; and, Night coming on, I would have tarried there till the Morning, but there was no Provender to be had for my Horse so that I went over the great River with some Salisbury Friends, who had been at the Meeting; and we went together to our Friend Henry Dow's, and lodged there, though it was in the Time of War, and not under the Protection of any Garrison. And several Persons having been killed a little before by the Indians, who were for the French against the English, I found the People in those Parts under great Fear and Danger; and the Weight of their condition and Circumstances came heavy upon me.

The 11th I rested there; and, in the Morning, went alone up a Hill, not far from the House, and stood upon a Stump of a Tree, where I could see to a Garrison, some Distance of; and thought, in the mean

time, that if any Indians were in Ambush there, I might be a fair mark for them to shoot at; upon which I retired from thence and descended the Hill, and, near the Foot of it, sat down under the side of a Fence; where my mind was sensibly filled with divine Goodness, which staid me there for some time; and, when I returned, I found the Friends had been a little thoughtful where I could be, and that I staid so long; and when I told them I had been on the Top of the same Hill, they informed me, that was the Place where the sculking *Indians* sometimes came, to spy for Advantages against the People, especially against the Inhabitants of the Garrison, if they could see any of them come out any Distance from it, as a Prey unto them who thirsted for their Blood.

The same Day *Henry Dow* gave notice in the Neighbourhood of my being come, of the Meeting to be next Day at the House of Thomas Nichols, in the upper Part of the Town. It was a tender Meeting. the minds of the People being low for fear of the *Indians*, their cruel Enemies, and by reason of the great Distress many were in otherwise on that Occasion. It was a dismal Time indeed in those Parts; for no man knew, in an ordinary Way, when the Sun set that ever it would arise upon him more; or, lying down to sleep, but his first waking might be in Eternity, by a Salutation in the Face with a Hatchet, or a Bullet from the Gun of a merciless Savage: who, from Wrongs received, as they too justly say, from the Professors of CHRIST in New-England, are to this Day enraged, as Bears bereaved of their Cubs, sparing neither age nor sex: Nor are they capable of any Intreaty, but, on the contrary, by the Examples set them in the Destruction of their Ancestors, by the pretended Massachusets christians, promising Life and Friendship, they frequently murder their Captives in cold Blood; roasting some alive in Times of their Triumph and Merriment as Objects of their Revenge, Laughter and Scorn.

The People in those Parts, at this Time, were generally in Garrisons in the Night-time; and some professing Truth also went into the same with their Guns, and some without them; But the faithful and true, trusting in the LORD, neither used Gun nor Garrison, Sword, Buckler, nor Spear; the LORD alone being their strong Tower, . . . and that Night I lodged with *Thomas Nichols*.

On the 13th we had a Meeting at *Salisbury*: where there was a Garrison in some Part of the Town, (for the People garrisoned any convenient House, in Town or Country, they thought most proper for a common Good and safety, as they reckon'd) but I had not Liberty in myself to lodge near the Garrison that Night; but, after some Dispute with a Townsman, Brother-in-law to a Priest, returned, late in the Evening, to *Henry Dow's*, a place of as much seeming Danger as any, being within Pistol-shot of a great Swamp, and thicket, where *Indians* formerly inhabited, and there I lodged; where there was neither Gun nor Sword, nor any Weapon of war, but Truth, Faith, the Fear of God, and Love, in a humble and resigned mind; and there I rested with consolation.

And here I think fit to remark a particular Passage, viz. Mother of Henry Dow's wife, being a Friend of blameless Life, and living in this same House with them, let in Reasonings against their continuing in a place of so much apparent Danger, and frequently urged them to remove into the Town, where the Garrison was, that they might lodge there in the night for moral Safety, as many others, and some Friends did; which her daughter could never be free to do, believing, that if they should let in any slavish Fear, or distrust in the Arm and Protection of the LORD, some very hard thing would befal them; till at length her mother said to her, That if she could say she had the mind of the LORD against it, (being a minister, though young) she would rest satisfied; but nothing else than that could balance so rational Fears in so obvious Danger: But the young Woman, being modest, cautious, and prudent, durst not assume positively to place her Aversion to their Removal so high; so at length she and her Husband complied with the mother, and they removed to the Town, to a House near the Garrison; where the young Woman was constantly troubled with frightful surprizing Fears of the Indians: though, while at the House by the Swamp, she was free from it, and quiet.

But the Mother, having left some small Things in the House by the swamp, was going early in the Morning to fetch them, and, by some *Indians* in Ambush near the Town in her way, was killed; and the same morning, a young man, a Friend, and Tanner by Trade, going from the Town to his work, with a Gun in his Hand, and another with him without any, the *Indians* shot him who had the Gun, but hurt not the other; and when they knew the young man they had killed was a Friend, they seemed sorry for it, but blamed him for carrying a Gun: For they knew the Quakers would not fight, nor do them any Harm; and therefore, by carrying a Gun, they took him for an Enemy.

And the Garrison and Neighbourhood, being alarmed by the Guns of the *Indians*, some Inhabitants of some few Houses near made such precipitate Haste thither, that they left a little Boy behind them, whose Brains the *Indians* dashed out against a Plough, and made Prey of as many Goods as they could carry with them.

And, when the Town was alarmed, the young woman concluded her mother was slain, (but it was not by shot, but a Blow on the Head) but did not go into the Garrison, but took one of her children in each Hand, and went with them into a swamp, or thicket, full of Reeds, near the Place; where all her tormenting Fear left her, and she was then greatly comforted and strengthened in the Presence of the Lord, and confirmed in her thoughts, that they should not have left their House for her mother's Fears, though reasonable in human View, seeing that consequence had attended; after which she returned to her House by the Garrison with her children.

The loss of the mother was much lamented by the Son and Daughter, and others; but, as soon as her body was interred, they went back with their little children to the same Place by the Swamp; where I lodged with them when they gave me this Relation.

On the 14th of the Third month, we had a Meeting at an Inn in *Newbury*: There were not many Friends there, but probably may be in due time; for the Meeting was very large, and several Persons much broken under the testimony of the Truth. The Meeting continuing long, and the River being between that Place and *Salisbury*, I went late that Night with *Henry Dow* and his Wife, and several Friends. . . .

That Night [May 28th] I lodged again at *Henry Dow's*; and on the 29th, I was at another appointed Meeting as *Salisbury*; which was not large, but good and comfortable.

On the 30th I was at their Week-day meeting at *Jamaica*; which was pretty large, . . .

On the 1st of the Fourth Month we had a Meeting at *Henry Dow's*; which was also comfortable and edifying, and several of the People much tendered; But this Meeting also was hurt in the Beginning of it, by a forward Person, who prayed a long Sermon to the Almighty, with many Accusations in it against the People and their Ways. . . .

On the 2d, being the Seventh of the Week, we went up to *Haverell* from *Salisbury*; and, the next Day, had a Meeting there; which, being near the Presbyterian Meeting-house, several of them came to us in the Time between their Forenoon and Afternoon meetings, and some of them were affected and tendered, and others very sober and attentive to what was delivered; who, desired by some of the ruder sort of their own Profession to leave us, they would not; and then the others endeavoured to have them away by Force; But the Lord gave us a good Meeting notwithstanding this Treatment: . . . That Night I went to *Jamaica*, and lodged with *Thomas Nichols*, parting with some *Dover* Friends in the Road near that Place.

After this Meeting Jacob Moral of Salisbury informed me, that he had been with several Persons in that Town, in order to have a Meeting among them, but they generally refused; the old Stock of Persecutors, still ruling there, being much against it; but the younger People were, for the most part, for it: And that at last he had gone to one Major Pike, (an ancient man who had been very contentious, so that every mans Hand had been against him, and he against every Man) and desired his Consent that we might have a Meeting in their Meeting-house, to which the Major assented; and said also, "That if we could not have their Meeting-house to meet at once, we should have his House;" And accordingly Jacob Moral had given notice of a Meeting to be there the next Day.

Both Friends and others went to the Place about the Tenth Hour next morning, and the Major seemed very open and free; and Seats being ranged, and many People set down, all of a sudden, and without any Provocation, save from the Evil One in himself, the Major began to be very turbulent and abusive, saying, "Friends, if I may call you so, what is your business here? What means all this Concourse

of People?" To which Jacob Moral answered, "We have come here to have a Meeting, according to the Liberty thou hast given us." Then said he, "You told me of a Man that had a Message from Heaven to the People; which, if he hath, let him say on: but, for my Part, I did not expect such a multitude, neither did I intend any such Leave to such a People as ye are." Then he gave us much ill and abusive Language, saying, "We were led by the Spirit of the Devil." At length I stood up and told him, "That I was the Person intended in what had been said." . . . Then Jacob Moral cleared the matter, affirming in the audience of the People, "That he never said any thing of a Message from Heaven, but only that a travelling Friend, in the Love of God, had a mind to see them in a Meeting; which the Major had given Leave should be there in his House."

Notwithstanding this, the Major persisted in his Abuses, alledging that Scripture against us, and applying it unduly, *Try the Spirits, believe not every Spirit, &c.* I asked him, . . . This made the old Persecutor mad with Rage for a time, and he began to rub up his old rusty Tools of Persecution, asking me whence I came? and threatened to order me into Custody: . . . And so we went out, leaving him foaming and silent in his chair.

I went then immediately into the Street; where, seeing a Parcel of Logs of wood near the Side of a House, I went in and asked the woman of the House (the Goodman being absent) Leave to set the Logs in order, and sit upon them; and she was very willing, and said, "The Street is free for all; and as for the Logs ye cannot hurt them, use them at Pleasure," And, besides these, we procured some Deal-boards, and other things fit for seats, and sat down in the open Street by the House-side; which proved a far more convenient Place than the Major's House, for a multitude of People came thither; and though some were very light, airy and rude, most of them were sober, and several tender, I had a large time in Testimony among them. . . . During all this Time the People were generally attentive, and seemingly pleased; but just at the Close of the matter, I was attacked, all of a sudden, by a jolly, brisk Person, who brake into the Crowd behind me on Horseback, and, by his Garb, look'd like a Pastor of the People, (and, upon Enquiry afterwards, I found he was so) whose first Salutation was after this Manner: "Are you not ashamed thus to delude the People, imposing upon them false Glosses on the Scripture? I am a Stranger on the Road, and drawing near this multitude to know the Occasion of it, cannot but appear in defence of Truth." . . . Then he, wheeling his Horse about, said, "He could stay no longer:" and, in turning of his Horse, he prov'd resty, and ran back upon a Log, and his hinder Parts fell down, (which some would have a Judgment upon him:) but the Priest being a brisk nimble Man, kept upon his Back, and had no Harm, but rode hastily out of the crowd, and went off. . . . It was now near Night, and began to rain: and, with some other Friends, I took Horse and rode to Henry Dow's. [On the 5th of June, Thomas Story went to Haverhill where he visited the minister, Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, and engaged in a theological controversy which he records in much detail. He describes the "priest" as looking very surly, haughty and illnatured and mentions a fast recently appointed because of the cold and backward Spring season, the danger of Indian attack, "several of the Inhabitants of that Town having been some time before killed, and others (about nineteen in all) taken captives by those Savages," and lastly, against the prevailing of the Quakers, several of his congregation having left him not long before. "But mark the end of this ignorant and envious man: For (as I have been assured since) there came a Party of Indians to that Town, and before the dawning of the Day, placing themselves two at least at each Door of every House, and knocking softly as if they had been Neighbours, as soon as any open'd the Doors, the Indians rushed in and killed the first they met with their Hatchets, and then the rest, and many of them in their Beds: and this Teacher happening to be one who open'd his Door at this Time, an Indian killed him with a Hatchet; at which I did not rejoice when I was informed of it, though I could not but remember his Fast and Prayers." From Haverhill, Thomas Story went to Salem, Marble-Head and Lynn. At Salem he heard that the local "priest" had been "railing against Truth and us in his preachment; whereby he had offended several of the more sober sort of his Hearers." At Cambridge, a few days later, he held a meeting under an oak before the College buildings at which Samuel Gaskin of Salem, "stood up first."]

## JOHN HIGGINSON IN 1700.

JOHN Higginson lived in Salem where he was "a considerable merchant" and held many public offices. Three times deputy from Salem to the General Court, he became a member of the Governor's Council in 1700 and continued in that office until his death in 1719. He also was a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and Colonel of the local troop. The following account of the commercial conditions in New England in 1700 is abstracted from a letter that he wrote on August 29, 1700, to his brother Nathaniel and which was printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d Series, Volume VII (1838). Nathaniel Higginson was graduated at Harvard College in 1670 and four years later went to England. In 1683, he went to Madras, in the service of the East India Company where, in 1692, became Governor.

stock of 5 or 10 thousand pounds be employed?" I answer, the trade of New England is large. We trade to all parts where the law doth not prohibit. Our principal commodities are dry merchandise, codfish fit for the markets of Spaine, Portugal, the Straits, also refuse dry fish, mackerel, lumber, horses and provision for the West Indies; the effects whereof mostly return for England. The returnes made directly hence for England, are chiefly sugar, molasses, cotton-wool, logwood and brazilla-wood; for which, we are beholden to the West Indies. Of our owne produce, we have a considerable quantity of whale and other fish-oyles, whale bone, furrs, deer, elk and bear skins; which are usually sent for England. We have also silver, lead, and copper mines; but, for want of artists, there has been little got out of them. In all or any of which, a man may employ his money.

2d. "Whether 2 ships can be employed constantly between England and New England with that stock, and of what burden?" I answer; 2 ships may be employed with the stock of a 100 tons or more; but here is much shipping, freight very low, and it is a query whether you had not better ship upon freight, than either hire or owne

vessels. The factor here may always have freight when he can provide it.

3d. "How many trips can one ship make, in one year, between England and New England, and what are the proper seasons of voyaging?" I answer, It is possible for a ship to make two trips in a year, but it is seldom done. The season for voyaging is almost all the year; the dead of winter most difficult to come on this coast; the best time between April and November.

4th. "How many Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies or in Europe, be made use of in carrying on a trade between England and New England? Please to name the correspondent whom you have employed, or known, in any such place." I answer, that Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies, are very proper to be made use of in making returns for England, of their commodities, the more advantageous than direct from hence. For instance, molasses has been this year at 12d a gallon, besides the charge of casks, &c., in Barbadoes; and much molasses, which has been shipped of hence for England, cost here 2s a gallon; besides other charges of commission, cooperage, &c. The freight from Barbadoes being much the same as from hence, I judge it more advantageous to have returns of that kind from Barbadoes. than from New England; sugar and cotton are much the same. Places proper in Europe to make returns to England from, and are much improved for that end, from hence, are Bilboa, Cadiz, Oporto, and the Streights; where the markets are variable, according to the plenty or scarcity of the commodities. For correspondents in Barbadoes, I have had business with Mr. William Adams and his brother Conrad Adams. William served his time in this towne with Major Browne; has now married a good fortune in Barbadoes, and understands business well, and is a faithful man. His brother Conrad lived some time in this towne, is now at Barbadoes, a worthy man. If anything considerable should be sent that way, it may be best to consign them in partnership for France and Leward Islands. I know none there: but here is one John Bradstreet, son of Doctor Samuel Bradstreet, about 24 years old, who served his time with Moses Byfield and Mico; who has an estate in Jamaica, and is going this fall to settle there, whom I would commend to you, if you have occasion to send thither. At Jamaica, are sugar and log-wood for returns, and other things, peices of eight, &c., for Bilboa, Couzin Hayler can inform you.

5th. "Whether Salem or Boston be the best place for trade?" Answer, Boston, in some respects, Salem in others. Both well improved, may do well.

6th. "If Boston, whether you can manage business at Boston while you reside at Salem?" For answer thereunto, I would propound to your consideration, that I have a son whose name is Nathaniel, now at prentice with Mr. Benjamin Browne, who has given his master great satisfaction in his service; is twenty one years of age the 1st of April next; and then out of his time. I intend, God willing, he shall wait upon you by the first ship after he is out of his time, and hope he will be very capable of business, being bred up a Salem merchant, and went to the Latin school till he was fourteen years old. Now if any business considerable should happen, I do propound that my son Nat., should live at Boston, and manage a warehouse there, and what goods may be proper for our trade at Salem, I would manage here, and should be often also at Boston, to oversee and assist there; also my eldest son John, whom I brought up at home, is very capable of business, a very hopeful young man as any in our towne, sober and judicious. . . .

I would further propound my opinion, that considering that money is of late grown so exceeding scarce amongst us, that the making of returns for England, by the way of Barbadoes, Leeward Islands, Bilboa, Oporto, Cadiz, and Isle of Wight, would be more easy and safe than direct for England; and it's probable, more advantageous; because, money being scarce, and returns direct, difficult to be got, debts must be contracted to procure money, which will be hardly got in, whereas, a man may sell more goods, and better get in his debts more speedily and certainly; for barter of goods for those markets, than direct.

## REV. GEORGE KEITH IN 1702.

HIS is an account of the observations of a man more interested in religious doctrines than in the natural features of the country through which he passed and therefore the following abstracts have value only as touching upon men rather than things. George Keith was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, and becoming a Quaker suffered confiscation and imprisonment. He came to America in 1684 and became a surveyor in New Jersey and afterwards taught school in Philadelphia, where he became involved in disputes with his sect. Returning to England he was ordained in the Church of England, and in 1702 was sent to America by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His journeyings were published in a volume under the following title: A Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North-America, London, 1706.

July 8, July 9, Thursday. I went from Boston to Linn, accompanied with Mr. Talbot, and the next day, being the Quakers Meeting day, we visited there, having first called at a Quaker's House, who was of my former acquaintance. Mr. Shepherd the Minister of Linn did also accompany us, but the Quakers, though many of them had been formerly Members of his Church, were very abusive to him, as they were unto us. After some time of silence, I stood up and began to speak, but they did so interrupt with their Noise and Clamour against me, that I could not proceed, though I much entreated them to hear me; So I sat down and heard their Speakers one after another utter abundance of falsehoods and impertinencies and gross perversions of many Texts of the Holy Scripture. After their Speakers had done. they hasted to be gone; I desired them to stay, and I would shew them that they had spoke many falshoods, and perverted many places of Scripture, but they would not stay to hear. But many of the People staid, some of them Quakers, and others who were not Quakers but disaffected to the Quakers Principles. I asked one of their Preachers before he went away, seeing they Preached so much the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation, (without any thing else) did

the *Light* within teach him without Scripture, that our Blessed Saviour was born of a Virgin, and died for our Sins, etc. He replyed, If he said it did, I would not believe him, and therefore he would not answer me.

After their Speakers were gone, I went up into the Speakers Gallery, where they used to stand and Speak, and I did read unto the People that staid to hear me, Quakers and others, many Quotations out of Edw. Burroughs's Folio Book, detecting his vile Errors, who yet was one of their chief Authors, particularly in Page 150, 151. where he renders it the Doctrine of Salvation that's only necessary to be preached, viz. Christ within, and that he is a Deceiver that exhorts People for Salvation to any other thing than the Light within; as appears by his several Queries in the Pages cited. And where he saith, Page 273, that the Sufferings of the People of God in this Age (meaning the Quakers) are greater Sufferings, and more Unjust, than those of Christ and the Apostles; what was done to Christ, or to the Apostles, was chiefly done by a Law, and in great part by the due execution of a Law. But all this a noted Quaker, whose name I spare to mention, (as I generally intend to spare the mentioning of their Names) did boldly defend. But another Quaker who stood by, confessed the last Passage in rendering the Quakers Sufferings greater and more unjust than the Sufferings of Christ, was not well worded, but to excuse it, said, we must not make a Man an offender for a word.

July 19, Sunday. Mr. Talbot Preached at Salisbury in the Forenoon, and I Preached there in the Afternoon, on Philip 2, 13, where we had a great Auditory, and well affected, as also we had the like at Hampton. The occasion of our having so great an Auditory both at Hampton and at Salisbury was this, as some of them told us, that they had been inform'd concerning us, that We being Ministers of the Church of England, we would Preach down-right Popery to our Hearers; But (said they) we came the rather to hear you, to know whether we could hear any Popery Preached by you; but indeed, (said they which were the most Judicious, and most Ancient among them,) Praised be God we heard no Popish Doctrine Preached by any of you, but good sound Protestant Doctrine, the same which we have heard our Ministers of New-England Preach to us, and which to our great comfort we have believed

these Forty Years past, and we still continue to believe. We replied, we were very glad to find that they were of the same Faith with the Church of *England*, in these great Fundamentals of the Christian Religion. . . .

July 25, 1702. We arrived at *Salem*, and had intended to have visited the Quakers at their Meeting there, the next Day, but we were informed that they had removed their Meeting for that Day from *Salem* to another Place, of which we could have no notice, though we made enquiry. . . .

July 28. In our way from *Salem* to *Boston*, as we stayed some Hours at the Ferry by *Newberry*, I had much discourse with a sober Carpenter who was a Quaker, his Name was *William Clement*. He did readily confess to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, concerning our blessed Saviour; but had some dispute with me about Baptism, and by the Discourse I had there with him, seemed to be much convinced that it was his Duty to have his Children Baptized, as he had been himself, in Infancy, and had a Resolution to have it done.

## JOHN OLDMIXON IN 1708.

THIS English author is supposed to have visited America but some authorities incline to the belief that his book was compiled by Herman Moll, the cartographer. The dedication, however, is signed by Oldmixon who was the author of many plays, poems and historical and critical writings. He died in London in 1742. A second edition of his geographical work was published in 1741 and both editions were translated and published in Germany. The text bears evidence of a certain amount of compilation from earlier printed works and inaccuracies appear; in fact, one critic says of the book that "it contains almost as many errors as pages, and unsupported is not to be trusted." It was published in two volumes under the following title: The British Empire in America, Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress, and Present State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America, London, 1708.

Salem is the chief Town of this County, situated on the Northern Branch of the Charles River. Here is one of the best built churches in the Country: but it was put to a very ill Use in the Time of the Witch Plague, being generally the place of Meeting for the Witch Judges, when they began the Prosecutions of the poor Women, who were put to Death as witches; more were hang'd here than in all New-England besides. It broke out in the House of the Minister here, Mr. Paris, whose Daughter was a main Evidence against them, having been frequently under the Power of Witchcraft, which her Father contributed very much to the Belief of. The Town is situated in a Plain, between two Rivers, and has two Harbours, Winter Harbour and Summer Harbour. Here the Planters of the Massachusets Colony made their first Settlement, and a very good Trade is driven to Barbados and the Sugar Islands. It has a Market every Wednesday, and two Fairs in the Year, the last Wednesday in May, and the last Wednesday in September. The inferior Court is kept here the last Tuesday in June, and December, and the superior the second Tuesday in November. Northward of Salem is the high Promontory Trabigzando, now called Cape Ann, a

Place for fishing, and a Harbour for ships. A little higher is *Ipswich*, a large Town, situated by the side of a fine River. The inferior Court is kept here the last Tuesday in March, and the superior the third Tuesday in May. Lyn is a Market-Town, and I was surprised to read in Mr. Neal, that there's hardly any Town in the Country that has a market; for the Accounts we have met with of it name many Towns with Markets, and the days on which they are kept. Lyn is situated at the Bottom of a Bay, near a River, which on the breaking up of the Winter, empties itself with a rapid Torrent into the Sea. At the Mouth of the River Merrimack stands Newbury, pleasantly situated, where Abundance of Sturgeon are taken, and pickled after the manner used in the *Baltick*. The Society for propagating the Gospel according to the Church of England, have a missionary here, to whom they allow 60l. a Year. If the Design is to convert the *Indians* to Christianity, 'tis very pious and laudable, if only to convert the Pesbyterian, the Society allowing them to be already Christians, what is wanting to their Salvation? If it is to foment Division for indifferent Matters, to support Bigotry and Animosity, 'tis a pretty long way the Missionary goes for it, and I am afraid his Errand is not so necessary as a Mission among the Hurons and Iro*quois* would be. On the other side of the *Merrimack*, over-against Newbury, is Salisbury, where there is a Ferry; the River between the two Towns being half a Mile over, as broad as the Thames at Gravesend. Four Miles Southward of Salem is Marblehead, where there is another Missionary, who is not of the Religion as by Law establish'd in this Country. The above-mention'd Society allow him 50l. a Year. Both these Allowances are very handsom, and much more inviting than many a Welsh Curacy, which, however, the greatest Part of our Academists would prefer to the New-England Mission.

The Soil of *Essex* County is not very fertile except it be near the Sea Coast, where the Towns are built for the Convenience of Fishing. The River *Merrimack*, which waters it, is barr'd in some Places, or it would be navigable up very high within Land.

# REV. JOHN BARNARD IN 1714.

HIS description relates only to one town—Marblehead, but it is so vivid that it must not be overlooked. Rev. John Barnard was born in Boston in 1681 and after assisting Dr. Coleman of the Brattle Street Church and serving as Chaplain in the expeditions against Port Royal in 1707, he preached as a candidate in several pulpits and at last become the assistant of Rev. Samuel Cheever at Marblehead and there he remained for the rest of his life. He must have been a fine type of the dignified old-time minister for in the discourse preached at his funeral it was said—"His presence restrained every imprudent sally of youth, and when the aged saw him they arose and stood up." The following is reprinted from an autobiographical account printed in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d Series, Volume V. (1836)

When I first came, [in 1714] there were two companies of poor, smoke-dried, rude, ill-clothed men, trained to no military discipline but that of "whipping the snake," as they called it; whereas now, [in 1766] and for years past, we are a distinct regiment, consisting of seven full companies, well clad, of bright countenances, vigorous and active men, so well trained in the use of their arms, and the various motions and marches, that I have heard some Colonels of other regiments, and a Brigadier General say, they never saw throughout the country, not in their own regiment, no, nor in Boston, so goodly an appearance of spirited men, and so well exercised a regiment.

When I came, there was not so much as one proper carpenter, nor mason, nor tailor, nor butcher in the town, nor any thing of a market worth naming; but they had their houses built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and supplied themselves with beef and pork from Boston, which drained the town of its money. But now we abound in artificers, and some of the best, and our markets large, even to a full supply. And, what above all I would remark, there was not so much as one foreign trading vessel belonging to the town, nor for several years after I came into it; though no town had really greater advantages in their hands. The people con-

tented themselves to be the slaves that digged in the mines, and left the merchants of Boston, Salem, and Europe, to carry away the gains; by which means the town was always in dismally poor circumstances, involved in debt to the merchants more than they were worth; nor could I find twenty families in it that, upon the best examination, could stand upon their own legs; and they were generally as rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting a crew, as they were poor. Whereas, not only are the public ways vastly mended, but the manners of the people greatly cultivated; and we have many gentlemenlike and polite families, and the very fishermen generally scorn the rudenesses of the former generation.

I soon saw that the town had a price in its hands, and it was a pity they had not a heart to improve it. I therefore laid myself out to get acquaintance with the English masters of vessels, that I might by them be let into the mystery of the fish trade, and in a little time I gained a pretty thorough understanding in it. When I saw the advantages of it, I thought it my duty to stir up my people, such as I thought would harken to me, and were capable of practising upon the advice, to send the fish to market themselves, that they might reap the benefit of it, to the enriching themselves, and serving the town. But, alas! I could inspire no man with courage and resolution enough to engage in it, till I met with Mr. Joseph Swett, a young man of strict justice, great industry, enterprising genius, quick apprehension, and firm resolution, but of small fortune. To him I opened myself fully, laid the scheme clearly before him, and he hearkened unto me, and wise enough to put it in practise. He first sent a small cargo to Barbadoes. He soon found he increased his stock, built vessels, and sent the fish to Europe, and prospered in the trade, to the enriching of himself; and some of his family, by carrying on the trade, have arrived at large estates. The more promising young men of the town soon followed his example; that now we have between thirty and forty ships, brigs, snows, and topsail schooners engaged in foreign trade. From so small a beginning the town has risen into its present flourishing circumstances, and we need no foreigner to transport our fish, but are able ourselves to send it all to the market.

## DR. ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN 1744.

OCTOR Hamilton was a Scotchman who had learned pharmacy in Edinburgh and came to Annapolis, Maryland, where he set up the practice of medicine. After a severe illness he undertook a journey through the Colonies with the hope of benefitting his health and during that time kept a journal descriptive of his movements and the country through which he passed. Shortly after returning to Annapolis he presented this journal to an Italian gentleman, Onorio Razolini, who was visiting America and in whose family the manuscript remained until the beginning of the twentieth century when it passed into the hands of booksellers and eventually became the property of Mr. William K. Bixby of St. Louis, Missouri, who published it privately under the following title: Hamilton's Itinerarium, being a Narrative of a Journey from Annapolis, Maryland, though Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, from May to September, 1744, St. Louis, 1907.

### Mystic-Lynn

Departing Charlestown I passed thro' Mystic at ten o'clock, a pretty large village, about four miles northeast from Boston. A little after twelve I passed thro' Lynn, another village, but very scattered, and standing upon a large compass of ground, the situation very open and pleasant. Here I could have a view of the sea upon my right hand, and upon my left a large open hilly and rocky country with some skirts of woods, which seemed to be but low and of a small growth.

#### MARBLEHEAD

At one o'clock I arrived at Marblehead, a large fishing town, lying upon the sea coast, built upon a rock, and standing pretty bleak to the easterly winds from the sea. It lies eighteen miles northeast from Boston, and is somewhat larger than Albany, but not so neatly or compactly built, the houses being all of wood and the streets very

uneven, narrow, and irregular. It contains about 5,000 inhabitants and their commodity is fish. There is round the town above 200 acres of land covered with fish-flakes, upon which they dry their cod. There are ninety fishing sloops always employed, and they deal for £34,000 sterling prime cost value in fish yearly, bringing in 30,000 quintals,—a quintal being one hundredweight dried fish, which is 3,000,000 pounds weight, a great quantity of that commodity.

I put up here at one Ried's at the sign of the Dragon, and while I was at dinner, Mr Malcolm,\* the Church of England minister to whom I was recommended, came in.

After I had dined he carried me round the town, and showed me the fish-flakes, and the town battery, which is built upon a rock, naturally well fortified, and mounts about twelve large guns. We had a great deal of talk about affairs at home. I went to his house and drank tea with him.

He showed me some pretty pieces of music, and played some tunes on the flute and violin. He is author of a very good book upon music, which shows his judgment and knowledge in that part of Science.

Sunday, July 29th.—This morning inquiring for my portmanteau, I was told by my man Dromo that it was in his room. I had the curiosity to go and see what kind of a room his room was, and upon a reconnoitre found it a most spacious one, furnished a la mode de cabaret, with tables, chairs, a fine feather-bed with quilted counterpane, white calico canopy or tester, and curtains, every way adapted for a gentleman of his degree and complexion.

I went to church to hear Mr. Malcolm in the forenoon, who gave us a pretty discourse. This church is a building of wood, about eighty feet square, supported in the inside with eight large octagonal wooden pillars of the Doric order. Upon this church stands a steeple in which there is a public clock. The floor of the church is raised six or seven feet above the ground, and under it is a burying place.

The pulpit and alter are neat enough, the first being set out with a cushion of red velvet, and the other painted and adorned with the King's arms at top. There is one large gallery facing the pulpit, opposite to which at the south entry of the church hangs a pretty large

\*Rev. Alexander Malcolm, rector of St. Michael's Church (1740-1749) who resigned and removed to Maryland.

gilt candle branch. The congregation consists of about 400 people. I dined with Mr. Malcolm, and went to church again with him in the afternoon, and spent the evening agreeably in his company. In this town are likewise two great Presbyterian meetings.

### SALEM

Monday, July 30th.—Mr. Malcolm and I set out at eleven o'clock in the morning for Salem, which is a pretty town about five miles from Marblehead, going round a creek, but not above two if you cross the creek. We arrived there betwixt twelve and one o'clock, and called at Justice Sewell's,\* who invited us to dine with him. We put up our horses at the Ship Tavern, and went to Mr. Sewell's.

Our conversation ran upon the enthusiasm now prevalent in these parts, and the strange madness that had possessed some people at Ipswitch, occasioned by one Woodberry, a mad enthusiast, who, pretending to inspiration, uttered several blasphemous and absurd speeches, asserting that he was the same today, vesterday, and forever, saying he had it in his power to save or damn whom he pleased, falling down upon the ground, licking the dust, and condemning all to hell who would not do the like, drinking healths to King Jesus, the self-existing Being, and prosperity to the kingdom of heaven, and a thousand other such mad and ridiculous frolics. I was quite shocked at these relations, both when I heard them mentioned in conversation, and saw them published in the newspaper, being surprised that some of the chief clergy there had been so weak as to be drawn away by these follies. This is a remarkable instance to what lengths of madness enthusiasm will carry men once they give it a loose [rein], and tho' these excursions may appear shocking to people in their senses, yet so much good may follow them as that the interest and influence of these fanatic preachers will be thereby depressed among all such people as are not quite fools or mad.

These extravagancies take all their first root from the labours of that righteous apostle Whitefield, who, only for the sake of private lucre and gain, sowed the first seeds of distraction in these unhappy ignorant parts.

\*Stephen Sewall (1704-1760), Harvard College, 1721. Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature and Chief Justice from 1752 until his death. He was the son of Major Stephen Sewall who was the clerk of the witchcraft court.

In the afternoon Mr. Malcolm and I rid to the country-seat of one Brown,\* a gentleman who married a daughter of the late Governour Burnets', a grand-daughter of the bishops'. His house stands upon the top of a high hill, and is not yet quite finished. It is built in the form of an H, with a middle body and two wings.

The porch is supported by pillars of the Ionic order about fifteen feet high, and betwixt the windows of the front are pilasters of the same. The great hall or parlour is about forty feet long and twenty five wide, with a gallery over the first row of windows, and there are two large rooms upon a floor in each of the wings about twenty-five feet square.

From this hill you have a most extensive view. To the southwest you see the Blue Hills, about thirty-six miles distance; to the east the sea and several islands; to the northwest the top of a mountain called Wachusett Mountain, like a cloud, about ninety miles distance, towards Albany; and all round you have a fine landscape, covered with woods, a mixture of hills and valleys, land and water, upon which variety the eye dwells with pleasure. This hill Mr. Brown calls Mount Burnet in compliment to his wife.

In the hall I saw a piece of tapestry or arras of scripture history, done by Vanderbank, a Dutch artist. For elegance and design it is like painting, the passions in the faces being well expressed. It is the best of the kind ever I saw.

This gentleman has a fine estate, but withal has the character of being narrow and avaricious, a vice uncommon to young men. He has a strange taste for theological controversy. While we were there the conversation turned chiefly upon nice metaphysical distinctions relating to original sin, imputed righteousness, reprobation, effectual calling, and absolute decrees, which stuff—as I esteem it to be no more than the monstruous and deformed offspring of scholastic, theological heads—I should choose to hear at no other times but when I took a

\*Hon. William Browne (1709-1763), whose county seat in Beverly was popularly known as "Browne's Folly," a name afterwards applied to the hill on which it was built. He was a Justice of the Court of General Sessions and died suddenly while about his fields in Beverly. A reservior supplying water to the city of Salem now occupies the crest of this hill. For a full account of "Browne's Folly" and its owner see *Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 31, page 205*.

cathartic or emetic, in order to promote the operation if it proved too sluggish.

Mr. Malcolm and I returned to Salem a little before eight o'clock, and went to the Ship Tavern, where we drank punch and smoaked tobacco with several colonels; for colonels, captains, and majors are so plenty here that they are to be met with in all companies, and yet methinks they look no more like soldiers than they look like divines; but they are gentlemen of the place, and that is sufficient.

We went to Mr. Sewell's lodging betwixt nine and ten at night, and after some chat with him went to bed.

The town of Salem is a pretty place, being the first settled place in New England. In it there is one Church of England, one Quaker meeting, and five Presbyterian meetings. It consists of one very long street, running nearly east and west.

Upon the watch-house,\* is a grenadier, carved in wood, shouldering his piece.

# SALEM FERRY-IPSWITCH

Tuesday, July 31st.—At eleven o'clock this morning Mr. Malcolm accompanied me to Salem Ferry, where I crossed, and rid a pleasant level road all they way to Ipswitch, where the houses are so thick planted that it looks like one continued village. I put up at one Howel's in Ipswitch, at the sign of the Armed Knight. I waited upon Mr. John Rogers,† the minister there, and delivered him a packet of letters from his son at Annapolis.

I returned again to the tavern and there met a talkative old fellow, who was very inquisitive about my place of abode and occupation, as he called it.

He frequently accosted me with please your honour, with which grand title, like some fools whom I know, I seemed highly pleased, tho' I was conscious it did not belong to me. When I told him I came from Maryland he said he had frequently read of that place,

\*The watch house formerly stood in Town House Square, in the middle of what is now Washington Street. It was erected in 1712 and was little more than a large sentry box. The life-size figure of a grenadier bore on its breast the legend "Anne Regina, 1712."

†Rev. John Rogers died the next year. He had been minister of the Ipswich church since 1688. His portrait is at the Essex Institute, Salem.

but never had seen it. This old fellow, by his own account, had read of everything, but had seen nothing. He affected being a scholar, or a man much given to reading or study, and used a great many hard words in discourse, which he generally misapplied. There was likewise a young man in company, who rid with me some miles on my way to Newberry. He valued himself much upon the goodness of his horse, and said that he was a prime beast as ever went upon four legs or wore hoofs. He told me he had a curiosity to ride to Maryland, but was afraid of the terrible woods in the way, and asked me if there were not a great many dangerous wild beasts in these woods. I told him that the most dangerous wild beasts in these woods were shaped exactly like men, and they went by the name of Buckskins, or Bucks, tho' they were not Bucks either, but something, as it were, betwixt a man and a beast.

"Bless us! you don't say so," says he; "then surely you had needs ride with guns" (meaning my pistols). I parted with this wiseacre. When I had got about half way to Newberry, a little farther I met a fat sheep driving in a chaise, a negro sitting upon the box. I asked the negro if that was his master.

He told me no, but that it was a wether belonging to Mr. Jones, who had strayed and would not come home without being carried. Passing by this prodigy I met another, which was two great fat women riding upon one horse.

I arrived at Newbury at seven o'clock, and put up at one Choat's at the sign of the Crown, which is a good house. Newbury is a pretty large village, lying close upon the water; the houses are chiefly wood. In this town there is one handsome meeting built in a square form, with a spire or steeple upon which is a little neat publick clock.

## NEWBURY FERRY-HAMPTON

Wednesday, August 1st.—This morning proved very rainy, and therefore I did not set out till eleven o'clock.

I crossed Newbury Ferry, and rid a pleasant even road, only somewhat stony, and in a perpetual drizzle, so that I could not have an advantageous view of the country round me. At half an hour after one I passed thro' Hampton, a very long, scattered town. . . .

## NEWBURY FERRY

[August 3d] Near Newbury Ferry I met an old man, who was very inquisitive about news. He rid above a mile with me. I crossed the ferry at twelve o'clock, and dined at Choat's with two Boston gentlemen, and after dinner they would have had me go to the Presbyterian meeting to hear a sermon, but I declined it, and getting upon horseback departed Newbury at three in the afternoon, the day being pretty hot.

Some miles from this town I passed thro' a pleasant small plain about a quarter of a mile broad, thro' the middle of which runs a pretty winding river. On the way I met a young sailor on foot who kept pace with my horse, and he told me he was bound for Salem that night. He entertained me with his adventures and voyages, and dealt much in the miraculous, according to the custom of most travellers and sailors. I arrived at Ipswitch at six o'clock and put up at Howell's. I went to see Mr. Rogers, the minister there, and at night drank punch with his son, the doctor.

# SALEM FERRY

Saturday, August 4th.—I left Ipswich early in the morning, and had a solitary ride to Salem. I put up my horses there at the Ship Tavern and called at Messr's Sewell's and Brown's, but they were both gone out of town.

At Salem there is a fort with two demi-bastions, but they stand less in need of it than any of the other maritime towns here, for the entry to this harbour is so difficult and rocky that even those who have been for years used to the place will not venture in without a good pilot, so that it would be a hard task for an enemy to enter. Portsmouth harbour is easy enough, but the current of the tides there is so violent that there is no getting in or out but at particular seasons, and, besides, they are locked in on all hands by islands and promontories. At Marblehead the entry is very easy and open.

At twelve o'clock I thought of going to Marblehead again to pay another visit to Mr. Malcolm, whose company and conversation had much pleased me, but meeting here with a gentleman going to Boston, I took the opportunity, for the sake of company, to go along with him.

# REV. GEGRGE WHITEFIELD IN 1740.

Rev. George Whitefield, the revivalist, made several tours of New England and at last died suddenly in Newburyport, in 1770 and was buried "Under the church on Federal Street" where for many years the coffin was exhibited to visitors. Doctor Bentley, the Salem minister, viewed the remains on May 6, 1787 and records in his Diary: "His body is yet firm. The resistance of the breast is as great as in a piece of tight parchment, both his hands are taken away, and his throat cut open." His first tour of New England was published under the following title: "A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefields' Journal . . . Containing an account of the work of God at Georgia, Rhode Island, New-England . . . London, 1741.

Monday, Sept. 29, [1740]. Set out about 7 in the Morning, got to Marblehead, a large Town 20 Miles from Boston, about 11; preach'd to some Thousands in a broad Place in the middle of the Town, but not with much visable Effect. Din'd with Mr. Barnard, one of the Ministers of the Place. Rode to Salem, 4 Miles from Marblehead, and preach'd there also to about 7000 People; Here the Lord manifested forth his Glory. One Man was, I believe, struck down by the Power of the Word. In every Part of the Congregation Persons might be seen under great Concern; One Mr. Clark, a good Minister, as is granted by all Lovers of God, seemed to be almost in Heaven. Salem is the first settled, and except Boston, the largest Town in all New England; but rather, as far as I could see and hear, excells it for Politeness. Upon Enquiry, I found the Inhabitants had been sadly divided about their Minister; and God was pleased, before I knew their Circumstances, to direct me to a suitable Subject. . . . After the Exercise, I immediately set out and got to Ipswich, another large Town, 16 Miles (the Way we went) distant from Salem. Two or three Gentlemen came to meet me, and I and my Friends were kindly entertain'd at the House of Mr. Rogers, one of the Ministers of the Place.

Tuesday, Sept. 30. Preach'd at *Ipswich* about 10 in the Morning, to some Thousands; The Lord gave me Freedom, and there was a great Melting in the Congregation. Din'd, set out and reach'd *Newbury*, another large Town, twelve Miles distant from *Ipswich*, about 3. Here again the Lord accompanied the Word with his Power; The Meeting-House was very large, many Ministers were present, and People were greatly affected. Took Ferry immediately after Sermon; went with Mr. *Cotton*, Minister of the Place, who came to meet me in a Chaise to *Hampton*, another great Town, 9 Miles from Newbury.

Set out directly for *Newbury*; which we reach'd about 8 at Night, and were kindly entertain'd at a Gentleman's House with all my Friends, my Heart was much enlarged and fill'd with Joy. . . .

Saturday, Octob. 4. Lay at the House of Mr. Lowell, Minister of the Place. Preached in the Morning to a very throng'd Congregation, and saw the Outgoings of God in his Sanctuary; collected £80 9s. Hastned to Ipswich; preached to a larger Congregation, and with as much Power as when there last. Got to Salem about 8 at night, was most kindly received by Col. P—d; and also was favour'd with a Visit from the Minister belonging to the Church of England.

Sunday, October 5. Preach'd at 8 o'clock, this Morning in the Meeting-House. At the Minister's Request, read Prayers and assisted at the Sacrament in the Church of *England*, but thought Matters were not at all carried on with Decency and Order. Preached again in the Afternoon in the Meeting-House, but saw no such Power all the Day as when I preached here a few Days ago.

Monday, October 6. Spent the Sabbath Evening very comfortably with my dear Fellow Travellers in praying and singing spiritual Songs; I trust we made Melody, with Grace in our Hearts unto the Lord. Set out from *Salem* about 9, preached at *Marblehead* about 11, and with such Power that I trust it will be a Day much to be remembered by many Souls. The two Ministers presented me £70 2s. 6d. for the Orphan-House, which they had voluntarily collected Yesterday in their own private Meetings. Was most affectionately received and entertain'd by Col. M—n, from whom I parted almost with Tears.

## CAPT. FRANCIS GOELET IN 1750.

APTAIN Goelet was a merchant of the city of New York who made several voyages to England during one of which, in the ship "Tartar Galley," he encountered a severe storm which disabled the vessel and compelled it to put into Boston for repairs where he remained from Sept. 29 to Nov. 7, in the year 1750. He kept a journal of his "Voyages and Travels," and abstracts covering the time of his stay in Boston were printed in the January, 1870 issue of *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Included are accounts of visits to Salem and Marblehead.

October 19th [1750]. While at Breakfast Mr. Nath! Cunningham waited on me at Capt. Wends Agreeable to Promise and Furnished me with a Horse to go to Salem, being Very desirous to see the Country. Sett out abt 10 a Clock from Capt. Wendells and Rode trough the North End the Towne and Crostd Charles Town Ferry which is abt 1/4 mile Over its a Pleasant Little towne directly Opposite the North End of Boston and is pleasently Situated Consists of abt 200 Houses and where the Bostoneers Build many Vessels, it is the Chief Ferry from Boston Leading to the main Country Back abt 2 miles from thence we Crost Penny Ferry which is better then 1/2 mile Over being the Neighest way to Salem. From this to Mr. Wards is about 8 miles, and is abt a mile this Side of Lyn which is a Small Country Towne of abt 200 Houses, very Pleasently Situated, and affords a Beautifull Rural Prospect we came to Mr. Wards about One a Clock, and dynd upon Fryd Codd from this place is about 7 miles to Salem. after Dinner haveing Refreshed our Selves with a Glass wine Sett out on our Journey trough a Barren Rockey Country which afforded us not the Least Prospect of any thing but a Desart Country abounding with Loffty Cragged Rocks a Fine Pastering Ground only for their Sheep, the Rhoads are Exceeding Stony and the Country but thinly Peopled.

October 19th. Arived at Salem abt 3 a Clock put up our Horses at the Wido Prats from whence went to See Coll!. William Browne\* where drank Tea with his Spouse, after which Mr. Browne was so Good as to Accomodate us with a walk round the Towne Shewing us the wharfs warehouses &c. went up in the Steeple of the Church from whence had a Fine View of the Town Harbor &c. which is Beautyfully Situated From which have a View of Mr. Brownes Country Seat which is Situated on a Heigh Hill abt 6 Miles Eastward of Salem Spent the Evening at his House where Joynd in Company by Parson Appleton† and Miss Hetty his daughter from Cambridge they Being Acquaintence of Mr. and Mrs. Browne we Supd togeather and after that where Very merry, at Whist &c.

October 20th. Lodg'd at Mr. Brownes after Breakfast Saunterd round the Towne mayking Our Observations on the Builds &c Dynd at his House after Dinner had a Good Deal Conversation with him upon Various Subjects he being a Gent<sup>n</sup> of Excellent Parts well Adversed in Leaturate a Good Scholar a Great Vertuosa and Lover of the Liberal Arts and Sciences haveing an Extroardenary Library of Books of the Best Ancient and Modern Authors about 3 a Clock we Sett out in his Coach for his Country Seat rideing trough a Pleasant Country and fine Rhoads we arived there at 4 a Clock the Situation is very Airy Being upon a Heigh Hill which Over Looks the Country all Round and affords a Pleasant Rural Prospect of a Fine Country with fine woods and Lawns with Brooks water running trough them you have also a Prospect of the Sea on one Part and On another a Mountain 80 miles distant The House is Built in the Form of a Long Square, with Wings at each End and is about 80 Foot Long, in the middle is a Grand Hall Surrounded above by a Fine Gallery with Neat turned Bannester and the Cealing of the Hall Representing a

\*Col. Browne was, at one time, a conspicuous character in Salem. He probably married the daughter of Gov. Burnet while the latter resided in Mass. His son Col. William Brown, was a prominent loyalist.—Felt's *Annals of Salem*; Pickering's *Life of Timothy Pickering*; Sabine's *American Loyalists*.

†Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D. D.

Large doom Designed for an Assembly or Ball Room, the Gallery for the Mucisians &c. the Building has Four Doors Fronting the N. E. S. & W. Standing in the middle the Great Hall you have a Full View of the Country from the Four Dores at the Ends of the Buildings is 2 upper and 2 Lower Rooms with neat Stair Cases Leading to them in One the Lower Rooms is his Library and Studdy well Stockd with a Noble Colection of Books, the others are all unfurnish'd as yet Nor is the Building yet Compleat wants a Considerable workman Ship to Compleat it, so as the Design is But Since the Loss of his first wife who was Governour Burnetts Daughter of New York by whome he has yet 2 Little Daughters Liveing, the Loss of her he took much to heart as he was doateingly fond of her Being a Charming Ladie when married. But he is now determined to Compleat it we drank a Glass wine haveing Feasted our Eyes with the Prospect of the Country Returned to his House where Sup'd and Past the Evening Vastly Agreeable being a Very mery Facitious Gentlemen, went to bed Intendg to Proceed to Marble head Next Morning.

October 21st. Haveing Got our Horses ready, after Breakfast took our Leaves of Mr. Browne and Spouse. Before proceed shall Give a Discription of Salem Its a Small Sea Port Towne. Consists of abt 450 Houses, Several of which are neat Buildings, but all of wood, and Covers a Great Deal of Ground, being at a Conveniant Distance from Each Other, with fine Gardens back their Houses. the Town is Situated on a Neck of Land Navagable on either Side is abt 2 1/2 Miles in Lenght Including the Buildgs Back the Towne, has a main Street runs directly trough, One Curch 3 Presbiterian and One Quakers Meeting. the Situation is Very Pretty &c.

The Trade Consists Chiefly in the Cod Fishery, they have abt 60 or 70 Sail Schooners Employd in that Branch. Saw abt 30 Sail in the Harbr havg then abt 40 at Sea. They Cure all their Own Cod for Markett, Saw there a Vast Number Flakes Cureing, in the Harbour Lay also two Topsail Vessels and three Sloops, on Examg into the Fishery find it a very adventags Branch.

Wee arived at Marblehead at abt 10 a Clock, which is abt 4 Miles by Land, trough a Pleasent Country and good Roades, and is about 1 1/2 Miles by Water, it forms a Bay, Marblehead lays on the East-

ermost part of the Land but ye west Side the Bay, and Salem on a Point, the Westermost part of the Land and Easttermost Side the Bay, before you Enter Marblehead the Roads are Excessive Stony and Land very Rockey, affording only very Little Pasture Ground, Put up at Mr. Reads where Breakfast and Then went to see the Towne of Marblehead, has abt 450 Houses all wood and Clapboarded the Generallity Miserable Buildings, Mostly Close in with the Rocks, with Rockey foundations Very Craggy and Crasey. The whole Towne is Built upon a Rock, which is Heigh and Steep to the water. The Harbour is Sheltered by an Island, which Runs along Parralell to it, and brakes of the Sea, Vessells may Ride here Very safe, there is a Path or way downe to the warf which is but Small and on which is a Large Ware House, where they Land their Fish &c. From this heigh Cliffty Shore it took its Name, I saw abt 5 Topsail Vessells and abt 10 Schooners and Sloops in the Harbour, they had then abt 70 Sail Schooners a Fishing, with abt 600 men and Boys imployed in the Fishery, they take Vast Quantities Cod, which they Cure heere Saw Several Thousand Flakes then Cureing. This Place is Noted for Children and Noureches the most of any Place for its Bigness in North America, it's Said the Chief Cause is attributed to their feeding on Cods Heads, &c. which is their Principall Diett. The Greatest Distaste a Person has to this Place is the Stench of the Fish, the whole Air seems Tainted with it. It may in Short be Said its a Dirty Erregular Stincking Place. About Eleven Sett out from Marblehead and abt One Arived at Linn Dynd upon a Fine Mongrell Goose at Mr. Wards, after Dinner Proceedd on Our Journey Past trough Mistick which is a Small Town of abt a hundred Houses Pleasently Situated near to which is a Fine Country Seat belonging to Mr. Isaac Royall being One of the Grandest in N. America Arived at Charles Towne abt 7 a Clock and Crosed the Ferry at North End and Came to Mr. Jacob Wendells where Spent the Evening with Several Gentlemen.

# HUGH FINLAY IN 1773.

Where he established himself in business and became a Justice of the Peace and Legislative Councillor. When Benjamin Franklin came to Canada in 1772 to establish a postal service he placed it in Finlay's hands and when Franklin was dismissed in 1774 Finlay was made Deputy Postmaster General of the Northern District of North America. In 1775 he lived in "Holland House" which was occupied by Gen. Montgomery as his headquarters. After the Revolution he became Deputy Postmaster General for the British Colonies in North America and died in 1802. In 1773 and 1774 he made a tour of inspection along the Atlantic coast as far south as Georgia and the following account is abstracted from the Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, 1773-1774, Brooklyn, 1867.

Left Portsmouth [Oct. 9, 1773] after dinner, and arrived at Newbury (22 miles), Bulkeley Emerson, Dep'y. On Sunday 10th did no business.

Monday 11th. Examined the books, they were in form and up to this day: he has no office, but receives and delivers letters in his shop, he is a bookseller. He seems to be a stayed, sober man. Received the balance of the quarter ending the 5th. The Post from Boston arrives on Tuesdays at 6 o'clock in the evening. From Portsmouth on the same day at one P. M. From Boston on Friday 6 o'clock P. M. in summer. From Portsmouth on Friday between 4 and 5 P. M. The mail for Boston is made up on Tuesday, one o'clock. For the Eastward at the same time. For Boston on Friday 4 o'clock P. M. For the Eastward at the same time, but theres seldom any letters either for East or West. The stages and private conveyances take it all. Left a copy of Mr Foxcrofts directions to me dated 16th Sept. to settle and receive balances from the Deputy Post masters. Mr. Emerson thinks that the want of Post-horns is a loss to the office. for by warning given by the horn many letters wou'd go by Post which are now sent by other oportunity's—the Post shou'd blow before the hour of shutting, and in passing on his way many letters wou'd be deliver'd to him. He asks, whether, if the drivers of stages were to be paid a penny for every letter they bring to the office he might charge two pence for all such letters deliverable in town. The Rider who brings the mails to this office is punctual. The office here neither encreases nor diminishes, the rece't is from £9 to £10 lawful, quarterly.

Left Newbury and proceeded 12 miles to Ipswitch, James Foster, Dep'y. Gone to the country; he keeps a small shop. Left directions for him in writing to send his accots. with the General Post office by next Post., directed for me at the Post Office in Boston, and also to send the balance of his account, and to inform me of the days and hours of the arrival of mails at his office, and the times of the Post's departure from his office, with any proposals he may have to make for the good of the office—with his report of the riders employed. Proceeded 12 miles to Salem, Edward Norice, Dep'y.

October 11th. His books were not in good order, he follows the form, but they are dirty and not brought up regularly; he understands the business of a deputy. The office is kept in a small mean looking place. He teaches writing. He has no commission to act, he took charge of the office at the death of his father; he reports that every other day the stage coach goes for Boston, the drivers take many letters, so that but few are forwarded by Post to or from his office. If any information were lodged (but an informer wou'd get tar'd and feather'd) no jury wou'd find the fact; it is deem'd necessary to hinder all acts of Parliament from taking effect in America. They are they say to be governed by laws of their own framing and no other.

While Mr. Norrice was making up his accounts I went down the 12th, four miles, to Marblehead, Woodward Abrahams, Deputy. He was from home: his wife informs me that he accounts to Mr. Hubbard, Post Master in Boston, and the quarter ending the 5th July was settled and transmitted. Wrote a letter to Mr. Abrahams, as follows:

"My business with you was to look into your office books, to receive the quarters account ending the 5th of this month, and the

balance due by you to the General Office, and to enquire if you have anything to propose for the good of the service, or any thing to represent needing amendment, but as I have miss'd of you, I pray you to transmit the accounts and balance to me at Mr. Hubbard's in Boston by the first Post: and be so good as to inform me of any matter which you think a Surveyor shou'd be made acquainted with, whose business is to further the interest of the General Post Office, and facilitate correspondence by every possible means. I shou'd be glad to know particularly how the mails are forwarded, since John Noble cannot ride thro' this place. I shall leave Salem for Boston to morrow morning, where I shall remain some days."

In passing thro' the street in my way back to Salem, I met Mr. Abrahams on his return from the country: a few minutes before my letter was put into his hands, he promised to comply with my demands. He appears to be an intelligent man; he has an employment in the Customs, and keeps the Post Office where he does the Custom House business. Noble, the rider, cannot go down to Marblehead at present. The small-pox is in Salem, and was he to go down with the mail he wou'd be oblig'd to undergo the ceremony of smoaking, that is, to be fumigated with brim-stone; as he is of a weakly constitution he cannot submit to it, therefore he leaves the Marblehead bag to take its chance of a conveyance; opportunitys happen once or twice a day, yet it sometimes lies for days at Salem—the people in Marblehead complain of this. It is Noble's duty to send it down by a person sent on purpose, this rider is careful, sober and punctual; he rides all the way to Portsmouth.

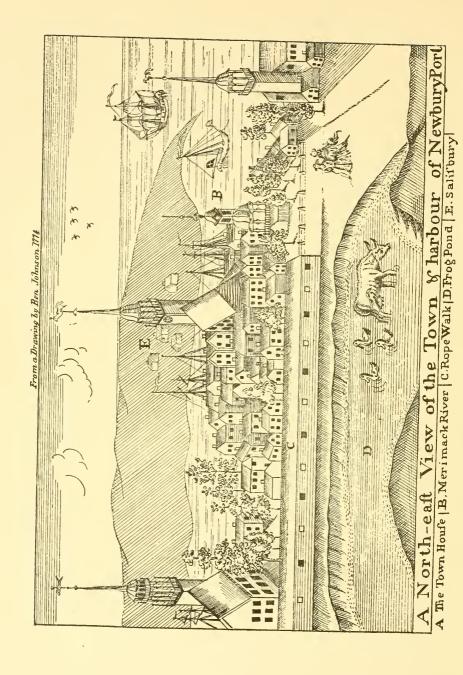
On my return to Salem I settled with Mr. Norice, who would not swear to his accounts as he has no commission. The Post from Boston arrives at Salem on Tuesday 12 o'clock, and he is dispatch'd for the Eastward at 2; coming from Boston the rider goes first to Marblehead. He returns from the Eastward every Saturday morning at 10 o'clock, and takes Marblehead on his way to Boston. Left Salem and proceeded 21 miles to Boston, (where I arrived the 13th), Tuthill Hubbard, Post Master.

## MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX IN 1782.

RANCOIS Jean Chastellux was born in Paris in 1734 and at an early age entered the army. In 1777, he was a Major-General under Rochambeau in the American army and afterwards travelled through the Middle States, to Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1782. The following year he sailed from Philadelphia and returned to France where he died Oct. 28, 1788 in Paris. The following account of his journey through Essex County is abstracted from the English translation of his travels published under the following title: Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782. By the Marquis de Chastellux, 2 vols., London, 1787.

It was on the morning of the 8th [Oct. 1782] that I examined the field of battle at Concord, which took me up till half past ten, when I resumed my journey. Ten miles from Concord is Bellerika, a pretty considerable township; the country here was less fertile, and the road rather stony. We halted at South Andover, five miles beyond Billerika, at a bad inn, kept by one Forster; his wife had some beautiful children, but she appeared disordered, and I thought her rather drunk. She shewed me, with much importance, a book her eldest daughter was reading, and I found it, to my no small surprise, to be a book of prayers in Italian. This daughter, who was about seventeen, repeated also a prayer in the Indian language, of which she understood not a word, having learnt it accidentally from an Indian servant; but her mother thought all this admirable. We contented ourselves with baiting our horses in this wretched alehouse, and set out at half past one, travelled through South and North Andover. North-Parish, or, North Andover, is a charming place, where there are a great number of very handsome houses, a quantity of meadows, and fine cattle. Almost on quitting this long township, you enter Bradford, where night overtook us, and we travelled two or three miles in the dark before we reached Haverhill ferry. It was half past six before we had crossed it, and got to Mr. Harward's inn, where we had a good supper, and good lodgings. At Haverhill, the





Merimack is only fit for vessels of thirty tons, but much larger ones are built here, which are floated down empty to Newbury. Three miles above Haverhill are falls, and higher up the river is only navigable for boats. The trade of this town formerly consisted in timber for ship-building, which has been suspended since the war. It is pretty considerable, and tolerably well built; and its situation, in the form of an amphitheatre on the left shore of the Merimack, gives it many agreeable aspects.

We left this place the 9th at nine in the morning, our road lying through *Plastow*, a pretty considerable township; after which we met with woods, and a wild and horrid country. [The Marquis then passed through Kingston, Exeter and Greenland and reached Portsmouth that evening.] . . .

The road from Portsmouth to Newbury passes through a barren country. Hampton is the only township you meet with, and there are not such handsome houses there as at Greenland. As we had only twenty miles to go, I was unwilling to stop, and desired the Vicomte de Vaudreiul only, to go on a little before us to dinner. It was two o'clock when we reached Merimack ferry, and from the shore we saw the openings of the harbour, the channel of which passes near the northern extremity of Plumb Island, on which is a small fort, with a few cannon and mortars. Its situation appears to me well chosen, at least as far as I was capable of judging from a distance. At the entrance of the harbour is a bar, on which there are only eighteen feet water in the highest tides, so that although it be a very commercial place, it has always been respected by the English.

Several frigates had been built here; amongst others, the Charles-Town, and the Alliance. The harbour is extensive, and well sheltered. After passing the ferry in little flat boats, which held only five horses each, we went to Mr. Davenports' inn,\* where we found a good dinner ready.

I had letters from Mr. Wentworth to Mr. John Tracy, the most considerable merchant in the place; but before I had time to send them, he had heard of my arrival, and, as I was arising from table.

<sup>\*</sup>Now the "Wolfe Tayern."

entered the room, and very politely invited me to pass the evening with him. He was accompanied by a Colonel, whose name is too difficult for me to write, having never been able to catch the manner of pronouncing it, but it was something like Wigsleps.\* This Colonel remained with me till Mr. Tracy finished his business, when he came with two handsome carriages, well equipped, and conducted me and my Aide de Campe to his country-house. This house stands a mile from the town, in a very beautiful situation; but of this I could myself form no judgment, as it was already night. I went however, by moonlight, to see the garden, which is composed of different terraces.

There is likewise a hot-house and a number of young trees. The house is very handsome and well finished, and every thing breathes that air of magnificence accompanied with simplicity, which is only to be found amongst merchants.

The evening passed rapidly by the aid of agreeable conversation and a few glasses of punch. The ladies we found assembled were Mrs. Tracy, her two sisters, and their cousin, Miss Lee. Mrs. Tracy has an agreeable and a sensible countenance, and her manners correspond with her appearance. At ten o'clock an excellent supper was served, we drank good wine, Miss Lee sung and prevailed on Messieurs de Vaudreiul and Taleyrand to sing also: towards midnight the ladies withdrew, but we continued drinking Maderia and Xary. Mr. Tracy, according to the custom of the country, offered us pipes which were accepted by M. de Taleyrand,† and M. de Montesquieu, the consequence of which was that they became intoxicated, and were led home, where they were happy to get to bed.

As to myself, I remained perfectly cool, and continued to converse on trade and politics with Mr. Tracy, who interested me greatly with an account of all the vicissitudes of his fortune since the beginning of the war. At the end of 1777, his brother and he had lost one and forty ships, and with regard to himself, he had not a ray of hope but in a single letter of marque of eight guns, of which he had received no news. As he was walking one day with his brother, and

<sup>\*</sup>Col. Edward Wigglesworth.

<sup>†</sup>Count Bozon de Perigord, alias de Talleyrand.

they were reasoning together on the means of subsisting their families (for they were both married) they perceived a sail making for the harbour. He immediately interrupted the conversation, saying to his brother, "Perhaps it is a prize for me." The latter laughed at him, but he immediately took a boat, went to meet the ship, and found that it was in fact a prize belonging to him, worth five and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Since that period, he has been almost always fortunate, and he is at present thought to be worth £120,000 sterling. He has my warmest wishes for his prosperity; for he is a sensible, polite man, and a good patriot. He has always assisted his country in time of need, and in 1781 lent five thousand pounds to the State of Massachusetts for the clothing of their troops, and that only on the receipt of the Treasurer, yet his quota of taxes in that very year amounted to six thousand pounds. One can hardly conceive how a simple individual can be burthened so far; but it must be understood, that besides the duty of 5 per cent. on importation, required by Congress, the State imposed another tax of the same value on the sale of every article, in the nature of an excise, on rum, sugar, coffee, &c. These taxes are levied with great rigour: a merchant who receives a vessel is obliged to declare the cargo, and nothing can go out of the ship or warehouse without paying the duty. The consequence of this restraint is, that the merchants, in order to obtain free use of their property, are obliged themselves to turn retailers, and pay the whole duty, the value of which they must recover from those to whom they sell. Without this, they could neither draw from their stores, what is necessary for their own consumption, nor the small articles, which they are in the way of selling, at the first hand; they are consequently obliged to take out licences, like tavern-keepers and retailers, thus supporting the whole weight of the impost both as merchants and as shop-keepers. Patriot as he is, Mr. Tracy cannot help blaming the rigour with which commerce is treated; a rigour arising from the preponderance of the farmers and landholders, and also from the necessity which the government is under of finding money where it can; for the farmers easily evade the taxes; certificates, receipts, alledged grievances, reduce them almost to nothing. Thus has a State, yet in its infancy, all the infirmities of age, and taxation attaches itself to the very source of wealth, at the risk of drying up its channels. [This observation appears rather forced, as applied generally, the Marquis admitting that these impositions were the result of a critical and immediate want. *Translator*.]

I left Newbury Port, the 13th at ten in the morning, and often stopped before I lost sight of this pretty little town, for I had great pleasure in enjoying the different aspects it presents. It is in general well built, and is daily increasing in new buildings. The warehouses of the merchants, which are near their own houses, serve by way of ornament, and in point of architecture resemble not a little our large green-houses. You cannot see the ocean from the road to Ipswich; and the country to the eastward is dry and rocky. Toward the west it is more fertile; but in general the land throughout the country, bordering on the sea, is not fruitful. At the end of twelve miles is Ipswich, where we stopped to bait our horses, and were surprised to find a town between Newbury and Salem, at least as populous as these two sea-ports, though indeed much less opulent.

But mounting an eminence near the tavern, I saw that Ipswich was also a sea-port. I was told however that the entrance was difficult, and at some times of the year there were not five feet upon the bar. From this eminence you see Cape Anne, and the south side of Plumb island, as well as a part of the north. The bearing of the coast, which trends to the eastward, seems to me badly laid down in the charts; this coast trends more southerly above Ipswich, and forms a sort of bay.

Ipswich at present has but little trade, and its fishery is also on the decline; but the ground in the neighborhood is pretty good, and abounds in pasturage, so that the seamen having turned farmers, they have been in no want of subsistence, which may account likewise for the very considerable population of this place where you meet with upwards of two hundred houses, in about two miles square.

Before you arrive at Salem, is a handsome rising town called Beverley. This is a new establishment produced by commerce, on the left shore of the creek which bathes the town of Salem on the north side. One cannot but be astonished to see beautiful houses, large warehouses. &c. springing up in great numbers, at so small a distance from a commercial town, the prosperity of which is not diminished by it. The rain overtook us just as we were passing near the lake which is three miles from Beverley. We crossed the creek in two flat-bottomed boats, containing each six horses. It is near a mile wide; and in crossing, we could very plainly distinguish the opening of the harbour, and a castle situated on the extremity of the neck, which defends the entrance. This neck is a tongue of land running to the eastward and connected with Salem only by a very narrow sort of causeway. On the other side of the neck, and of the causeway, is the creek that forms the true port of Salem, which has no other defence than the extreme difficulty of entering without a good practical pilot. The view of these two ports, which are confounded together to the sight; that of the town of Salem, which is embraced by two creeks, or rather arms of the sea, the ships and edifices which appear intermingled, form a very beautiful picture, which I regret not having seen at a better season of the year. As I had no letters for any inhabitants of Salem, I alighted at Goodhue's tavern,\* now kept by Mr. Robinson, which I found very good, and was soon served with an excellent supper. In this inn was a sort of club of merchants. two or three of whom came to visit me; and amongst others, Mr. de la Fille, a merchant of Bordeaux, who had been established five years at Boston; he appeared a sensible man, and pretty well informed respecting the commerce of the country, the language of which he speaks well.

The 14th in the morning, Mr. de la Fille called upon me to conduct me to see the port and some of the warehouses. I found the harbour commodious for commerce, as vessels may unload and take in their lading at the quays; there were about twenty in the port, several of which were ready to sail, and others which had just arrived. In general, this place has a rich and animated appearance. At my return to the inn I found several merchants who came to testify their regret at not having been appraized more early of my arrival, and at not having it in their power to do the honours of the town.

\*The "Sun Tavern," located in Essex Street, a short distance east of St. Peter Street.

At eleven, I got on horseback, and taking the road to Boston, was surprised to see the town, or suburb of Salem, extending near a mile in length to the westward. On the whole it is difficult to conceive the state of increase, and the prosperity of this country, after so long and so calamitous a war. The road from Salem to Boston passes through an arid and rocky country, always within three or four miles of the sea, without having a sight of it; at length, however, after passing Lynn, and Lynn Creek, you get a view of it, and find yourself in a bay formed by Nahant's Point, and Pulling's Point. I got upon the rocks to the right of the roads, in order to embrace more of the country, and form a better judgment.

I could distinguish not only the whole bay, but several of the islands in Boston road, and part of the peninsular of Nantasket, near which I discovered the masts of our ships of war. From hence to Winisimmet ferry, you travel over disagreeable roads, sometimes at the foot of rocks, at others across salt marshes. It is just eighteen miles from Salem to the ferry, where we embarked in a large scow, containing twenty horses; and the wind, which was rather contrary, becoming more so, we made seven tacks, and were near an hour in passing. The landing is to the northward of the port, and to the east of Charles-Town ferry.

## JOHN ADAMS IN 1766-1774.

THE second President of the United States, when a young man and a practicing lawyer, frequently had occasion to visit Essex County in connection with the sessions of the Courts. He also had a brother-in-law living in Salem—Richard Cranch, a watchmaker, whose son William, became a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. John Adams makes no mention in his diary of a murder trial held in the old court house at Salem in 1769 in which he appeared for the defendant. The case was unusual in that at a preliminary hearing the medieval "ordeal of touch" was invoked to support the claims of the accusers. There was a similar instance at Woburn a few years earlier. The following extracts are taken from his diary as printed in Volume II of *The Works of John Adams, Boston, 1850.* 

August 12, 1766. Tuesday. Set out with my wife for Salem; dined at Boston; drank tea at Dr. Simon Tuft's at Medford; lodged at Mr. Bishop's.

Aug. 13. Wednesday. Set out from Mr. Bishop's, oated at Norwood's, alias Martin's, and reached brother Cranch's\* at twelve o'clock; dined and drank tea, and then rode down to the Neck Gate, and then back through the Common and down to Beverly Ferry, then back through the Common and round the back part of the town home; then walked round the other side of the town to Colonel Browne's, who not being at home we returned.

The town is situated on a plain, a level, a flat; scarce an eminence can be found anywhere to take a view. The streets are broad and straight, and pretty clean. The houses are the most elegant and grand that I have seen in any of the maritime towns.

Aug. 14. Thursday. In the morning rode a single horse, in company with Mrs. Cranch and Mrs. Adams in a chaise to Marblehead. The road from Salem to Marblehead, four miles, is pleasant indeed. The grass plats and fields are delightful, but Marblehead differs from

<sup>\*</sup>Richard Cranch, who had married a sister of John Adams' wife.

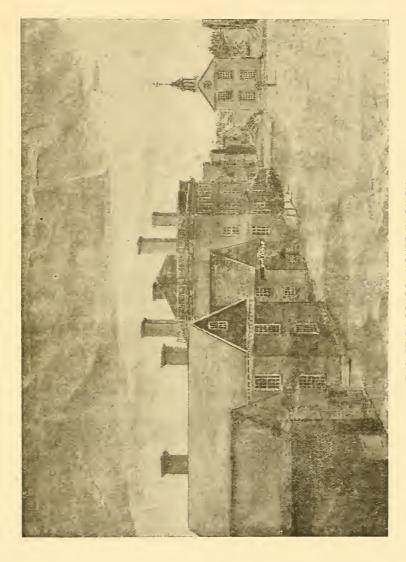
Salem. The streets are narrow, and rugged, and dirty, but there are some very grand buildings.

Returned and dined at Cranch's; after dinner walked to Witchcraft hill, a hill about half a mile from Cranch's, where the famous persons formerly executed for witches were buried. Somebody within a few years has planted a number of locust trees over the graves, as a memorial of that memorable victory over the "prince of the power of the air." This hill is in a large common belonging to the proprietors of Salem, &c. From it you have a fair view of the town, of the river, the north and south fields, of Marblehead, of Judge Lynde's pleasure house, &c., of Salem village, &c.

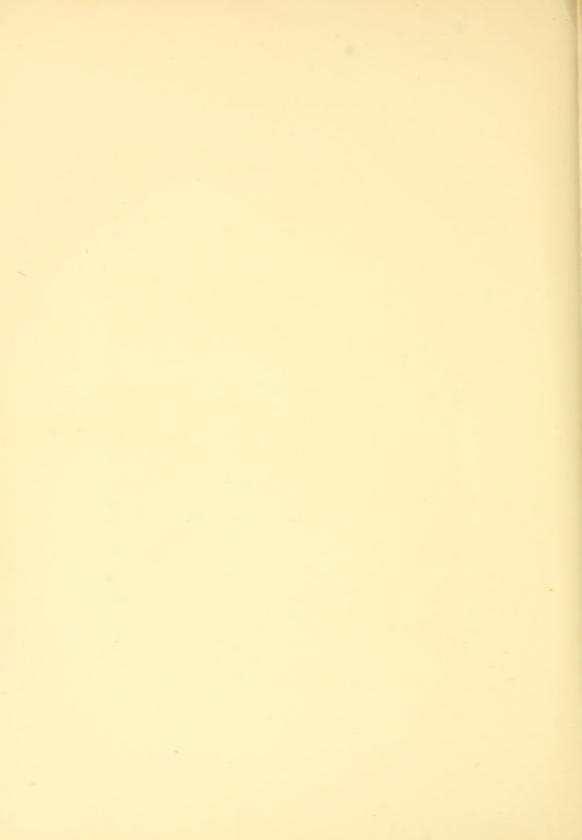
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November 3, 1766. Monday. Set off with my wife for Salem; stopped half an hour at Boston, crossed the ferry, and at three o'clock arrived at Hill's, the tavern in Malden, the sign of the Rising Eagle, at the brook near Mr. Emerson's meeting-house, five miles from Norwood's; where, namely, at Hill's, we dined. Here we fell in company with Kent and Sewall. We all oated at Martin's, where we found the new sheriff of Essex, Colonel Saltonstall. We all rode into town together. Arrived at my dear brother Cranch's about eight, and drank tea, and are all very happy. Sat and heard the ladies talk about ribbon, catgut, and Paris net, riding-hoods, cloth, silk, and lace. Brother Cranch came home, and a very happy evening we had. Cranch is now in a good situation for business, near the court-house and Mr. Barnard's meeting house, and on the road to Marblehead; his house fronting the wharves, the harbor and shipping, has a fine prospect before it.

Nov. 4. Tuesday. A fine morning. Attended court all day; heard the charge to the jury, and a prayer by Mr. Barnard. Deacon Pickering was foreman of one of the juries. This man, famous for his writing in newspapers concerning church order and government they tell me is very rich; his appearance is perfectly plain, like a farmer; his smooth combed locks flow behind him like Deacon Cushings,' though not so gray; has a quick eye like——; he has an hypocritical demure on his face like Deacon Foster; his mouth makes a semicircle when he puts on that devout face. Deacon Penniman



Erected in 1760. The whipping post is in front of the building. From a water color made about 1765, now at the Essex Institute THE BRICK SCHOOL-HOUSE IN SALEM.



is somewhat like him, though Penniman has more of the grave solemnity in his behavior than the other. The picture of Governor Endicott, &c. in the council chamber, is of this sort; they are puritanical faces.

At this court I also saw a young gentleman lately sworn in the inferior court, whose name is Samuel Porter;\* he lived with Mr. Farnham, took his second degree last year, and lives at Ipswich. Thus every county of the Province swarms with pupils, and students, and young practitioners of law.

Nov. 5. Wednesday. Attended court; heard the trial of an action of trespass, brought by a mulatto woman, for damages, for restraining her of her liberty. This is called suing for liberty: the first action that ever I knew of the sort, though I have heard there have been many. Heard another action for assault and battery, of a mariner, by the master of a vessel; a little fellow was produced as a witness who is a Spaniard; speaks intelligible English; black eyes, thin sharp features; has been among the English three or four years. Here I saw Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent, of Methuen,† two years an attorney of superior court, now commencing a barrister. He took his degree the year I entered college; he has the character of sense, ingenuity, &c., but not of fluency; he is a stout man, not genteel nor sprightly. This is the gentleman whom Thacher recommended for a justice, and admired for his correctness and conciseness, as another Father Read. Here I found the famous Joseph Eaton, at law as usual. I knew him when I lived at Worcester, where he had a suit. I believe, every court while I lived there. He now lives at Lynn End, on the borders between Essex and Middlesex. This is one of the stirring instruments that Goffe has patronized and encouraged for many years. I remember to have heard Goffe celebrate him for selfgovernment, for a cool, steady command of his passions, and for firmness of mind, &c. Eaton is now at law with the Harts, whose characters are as curious as his and more so. This Eaton, Goffe set up, as

\*Afterwards of Salem and a Loyalist who died in London in 1798. It is said that he indicated to Lieut-Colonel Leslie, which street he should take on reaching Salem, Feb. 26, 1775, while on the way to the North Bridge.

†Afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He died in 1791.

Pynchon tells me, to be a justice, but Thacher got him indicted in the county of Essex for a barrator, which defeated the scheme of Goffe, and he came near conviction. Goffe grew warm, and said that Eaton's character was as good as any man's at the bar. Spent the evening at Mr. Pynchons, with Farnham, Sewall, Sargent, Colonel Saltonstall, &c. very agreeably. Punch, wine, bread and cheese, apples, pipes and tobacco. Popes and bonfires\* this evening at Salem, and a swarm of tumultuous people attending them.

Nov. 6. Thursday. A fine morning; oated at Martin's, where we saw five boxes of dollars, containing, as we were told, about eighteen thousand of them, going in a horse-cart from Salem custom-house to Boston, in order to be shipped for England. A guard of armed men, with swords, hangers, pistols, and muskets, attended it. We dined at Dr. Tuft's in Medford.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

June 29, 1770. Began my journey to Falmouth in Casco Bay. Baited my horse at Martin's in Lynn, where I saw T. Fletcher and his wife, &c. Dined at Goodhue's, in Salem, where I fell in company with a stranger, his name I knew not; he made a genteel appearance, was in a chair himself with a negro servant; seemed to have a general knowledge of American affairs; said he had been a merchant in London; had been at Maryland, Philadelphia, New York, &c. One year more, he said, would make Americans as quiet as lambs; they could not do without Great Britain, they could not conquer their luxury, &c; Oated my horse, and drank balm tea at Treadwell's in Ipswich, where I found Brother Porter, and chatted with him half an hour, then rode to Rowley, and lodged at Captain Jewett's. Jewett "had rather the House should sit all the year round, than give up an atom of right or privilege. The Governor can't frighten the people with, &c."

June 30. Saturday. Arose not very early, and drank a pint of new milk, and set off; oated my horse at Newbury, rode to Clark's, at Greenland meeting-house, where I gave him hay and oats, and then set off for Newington; turned in at a gate by Colonel March's, and passed through two gates more before I came into the road that

<sup>\*</sup>Pope's Night—the celebration of the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot.

carried me to my uncle's.\* I found the old gentleman, in his eighty-second year, as hearty and alert as ever, his son and daughter well, their children grown up, and every thing strange to me. I find I had forgot the place; it is seventeen years, I presume, since I was there. My reception was friendly, cordial, and hospitable, as I could wish; took a cheerful, agreeable dinner, and then set off for York over Bloody Point Ferry, a way I never went before, and arrived at Woodbridge's half a hour after sunset.

I forgot yesterday to mention, that I had stopped and inquired the name of a pond in Wenham, which I found was Wenham Pond, and also the name of a remarkable little hill at the mouth of the pond, which resembles a high loaf of our country brown bread, and found that it is called Peters' Hill to this day from the famous Hugh Peters, who about the year 1640 or before preached from the top of that hillock to the people who congregated round the sides of it without any shelter for the hearers, before any buildings were erected for public worship.

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June 17, 1771. Monday. Set out upon the eastern circuit. Stopped at Boston, at my office, and nowhere else. Came over Charlestown ferry and Penny ferry, and dined at Kettel's, in Malden, by the meeting-house. Kettel is a deputy sheriff; the meeting-house is Mr. J. Thatcher's. I mounted my horse and rode to Boston, in a cloth coat and waistcoat, but was much pinched with a cold, raw, harsh, northeast wind. At Boston, I put on a thick flannel shirt, and that made me comfortable, and no more; so cold am I, or so cold is the weather. -17th June. Overtook Judge Cushing in his old curricle and two lean horses, and Dick, his negro, at his right hand, driving the curricle. This is the way of travelling in 1771;—a judge of the circuits, a judge of the superior court, a judge of the King's bench, common pleas, and exchequer for the Province, travels with a pair of wretched old jades of horses in a wretched old dung-cart of a curricle, and a negro on the same seat with him driving. But we shall have more glorious times anon, when the sterling salaries are ordered out of the

\*Rev. Joseph Adams, minister of that town. He had been a great admirer of Doctor Mather and was said to affect an imitation of his voice, pronunciation, and manner in the pulpit.

revenue, to the judges, &c. as many most ardently wish, and the judges themselves, among the rest, I suppose. Stopped at Martin's in Lynn, with Judge Cushing; oated and drank a glass of wine, and heard him sigh and groan the sighs and groans of seventy-seven, though he kept active. He conversed in his usual, hinting, insinuating, doubting, scrupling strain.

Rode with King, a deputy sheriff, who came out to meet the judges, into Salem; put up at Goodhue's. The negro that took my horse soon began to open his heart;—he did not like the people of Salem; wanted to be sold to Captain John Dean, of Boston; he earned two dollars in a forenoon, and did all he could to give satisfaction, but his mistress was cross, and said he did not earn salt to his porridge, &c. and would not find him clothes, &c. Thus I find discontents in all men;—the black thinks his merit rewarded with ingratitude, and so does the white; the black estimates his own worth and the merit of his services higher than anybody else, so does the white. This flattering, fond opinion of himself, is found in every man. I have hurt myself today, by taking cold in the forenoon, and by drinking to much wine at Kettel's, and at Martins. I drank half a pint at Kettel's, and two glasses at Martin's.

Just after I had drank tea and got my fire made in my chamber, my old neighbor, Jo. Barrell, came and lodged at Goodhue's in the same chamber with me. His grief is intense indeed. He spent the whole evening and a long time after we got to bed, in lamenting the loss of his wife, in enumerating her excellencies, &c.; heartily wishes himself with her; would have been very glad to have gone with her. He married from pure regard, utterly against the will of his mother and all his friends, because she was poor; but she made him happy. She was the best of women; the world has lost all its charms to him. She beckoned to me but a few minutes before she died, when her hands were as cold as clods. She whispered to me, "I love you now; if I could but carry you and the children with me, I should go rejoicing." In this eloquent strain of grief did he run on. Millions of thoughts did this conversation occasion me. I thought I should have had no sleep all night; however, I got to sleep and slept well.

June 18. Tuesday. Rode with Mr. Barrell to Ipswich, and put

up at Treadwell's. Every object recalls the subject of grief. Barrell, all the way to Ipswich, was like the turtle bemoaning the loss of his mate. "Fine season and beautiful scenes, but they did not charm him as they used to. He had often rode this way a courting with infinite pleasure," &c. "I can't realize that she has left me forever. When she was well, I often thought I could realize the loss of her, but I was mistaken; I had no idea of it." In short, this man's mournings have melted and softened me beyond measure.

June 22. Saturday. Spent this week at Ipswich, in the usual labors and drudgery of attendance upon court. Boarded at Treadwell's; have had no time to write. Landlord and landlady are some of the grandest people alive; landlady is the great grand-daughter of Governor Endicott, and has all the great notions of high family that you find in Winslows, Hutchinsons, Quincys, Saltonstalls, Chandlers, Leonards, Otises, and as you might find with more propriety in the Winthrops. Yet she is cautious and modest about discovering it. She is a new light; continually canting and whining in a religious strain. The Governor was uncommonly strict and devout, eminently so in his day; and his great, great grand-daughter hopes to keep up the honor of the family in hers, and distinguish herself among her contemporaries as much.

"Terrible things sin causes," sighs and groans, "the pangs of the new birth. The death of Christ shows above all things the heinous nature of sin! How awfully Mr. Kent talks about death! How lightly and carelessly! I am sure a man of his years, who can talk so about death, must be brought to feel the pangs of the new birth here, or made to repent of it forever. How dreadful it seems to me to hear him, I that am so afraid of death, and so concerned lest I an't fit and prepared for it! What a dreadful thing it was that Mr. Gridley died so!—too great, too big, too proud to learn any thing; would not let any minister pray with him; said he knew more than they could tell him; asked the news, and said he was going where he should hear no news," &c.

Thus far, landlady. As to landlord, he is as happy, and as big, as proud, as conceited as any nobleman in England; always calm and good-natured and lazy; but the contemplation of his farm and his

sons and his house and pasture and cows, his sound judgment, as he thinks, and his great holiness, as well as that of his wife, keep him as erect in his thoughts as a noble or a prince. Indeed, the more I consider of mankind, the more I see that every man seriously and in his conscience believes himself the wisest, brightest, best, happiest, &c. of all mankind. . . .

June 23. Sunday. In the morning my horse was gone. Went to meeting all day, and heard old Mr. Rogers, a good well-meaning man, I believe. After meeting rode to Newbury and visited Brother Lowell, Brother Farnham, and then went and supped with Mr. Jonathan Jackson in company with Captain Tracy, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Williams, Mr. Frazier, and Brother Lowell; then went and lodged with Lowell.

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Nov. 9, 1771. Saturday. At Salem all this week, at court. Dined one day at Chief Justice Lynde's, all the rest of the week till this day with the court. Dined this day, spent the afternoon, and drank tea, at Judge Ropes's, with Judges Lynde, Oliver and Hutchinson, Sewall Putnam and Winthrop. Mrs. Ropes is a fine woman, very pretty and genteel. Our Judge Oliver is the best bred gentleman of all the judges by far; there is something in every one of the others indecent and disagreeable at times in company—affected witticisms, unpolished fleers, coarse jests, and sometimes, rough, rude attacks; —but these you don't see escape Judge Oliver. Drank tea at Judge Ropes', spent the evening at Colonel Pickmans. He is very sprightly, sensible, and entertaining, talks a great deal, tells old stories in abundance about the witchcraft, paper money, Governor Belcher's administration, &c.

Nov. 10. Sunday. Heard Mr. Cutler of Ipswich Hamlet; dined at Dr. Putnam's, with Colonel Putnam and lady, and two young gentlemen, nephews of the Doctor, and Colonel ——, and a Mrs. Scollay.

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Mar. 28. 1774. Monday. Rode with brother Josiah Quincy to Ipswich Court. Arrived at Piemont's, in Danvers, in good order and well conditioned. Spent the evening, and lodged agreeably. Walked

out in the morning to hear the birds sing. Piemont\* says there is a report that the Sons of Liberty have received some advices from England, which makes them look down; that they have received a letter from Mr. Bollan, that they must submit; and others letters which they kept secret.

Mar. 29. Tuesday. Rode to Ipswich, and put up at the old place, Treadwell's. The old lady has got a new copy of her great grandfather Governor Endicott's picture hung up in the house.

The old gentleman is afraid they will repeal the excise upon tea, and then that we shall have it plenty; wishes they would double the duty, and then we should never have any more. The question is, Who is to succeed Judge Ropes? Whether Brown, or Pynchon, or Lee, or Hatch? The bar here are explicit against the two last as unfit. Lowell says Pynchon would take it, because he wants to make way for Wetmore, who is about marrying his daughter. Pynchon says Judge Ropes was exceedingly agitated, all the time of his last sickness, about the public affairs in general, and those of the superior court in particular; afraid his renunciation would be attributed to timidity; afraid to refuse to renounce; worried about the opinion of the bar, &c. Mr. Farnham is exceedingly mollified; is grown quite modest and polite, in comparison with what he used to be, in politics. Lowell is so, too; seems inclined to be admitted among the liberty men.

\*He came to Danvers from Boston and in 1784 was keeping a tavern in Ipswich. In 1775 he was accused of being a tory but his good character was certified by citizens of Danvers.

†Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Judge of the Superior Court, a firm loyalist, who lived in Salem. He died of small pox and while lying near to death his house was attacked by a mob and many windows were broken and the premises defaced.

## SIMEON BALDWIN IN 1784.

HILE a tutor at Yale College, Simeon Baldwin made a tour of the New England coast towns during which he kept a diary preserving some account of his observations. He was a Member of Congress in 1803-1805, the next year becoming Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. In 1826 he was Mayor of New Haven. His dairy and other papers have been published by Gov. Simeon E. Baldwin under the following title—Life and Letters of Simeon Baldwin, New Haven [1919.]

Oct. 7, 1784. . . . Waited on the President,\* gave him my Letter from Mr Clark-took some from him to Portsmouth-& tarried but a few minutes, took our leave of the Circle-& dined among the rocks & shoemaker shops of Lyn-went into one of the shops (of which there are 150) to see ye manufactory—were informed that Medford or Mystic, a pretty Town a little back was equally famous for a manufactory of brick—much of their common wall was made of them. After dinner & paying extravagantly for it we travelled thro' several little settlements tho' little good Land, till we came to Marblehead a town of about 4 or 500 houses on the sure foundation of a rock—they are famous for the curing of Cod. The people are savage in their nature & education—are very poor in general—amazingly prolific & exceed all places in the habit of begging, one can hardly ride thro' the Town without being accosted in that way by one half of the old women & children in it. We viewed the crates got what information we could & rode round to Salem-put our horses & lodged at Col Bacons, after delivering our Letters & suping with Mr [Henry] Gibbs—he is a very kind hospitable man: says not a great deal, but appears clever—Mrs Gibs answers the same description. She does not half so much resemble the Prescot family, at N Haven as her sister Goodoo,† she was present-I gave her the Letter & drank to her as Mrs Gibs, the mistake turned the

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. Joseph Willard, D. D. President of Harvard College. †The wife of Stephen Goodhue.

Laugh on me &c— Friday, Oct. 8. Took my morning walk as usual to see the place—found the streets a little irregular but the buildings many of them very good, & the number, but a little short of those in Newport—business was lively & good deal done there—took breakfast at Mr Gibs—delivered a Letter to Miss Peggy McKey a plain, good girl -& another introductory to Mr Whetmore a Lawver-promised to call on him again. Left the Town in company with Mr Law-soon pass'd the ferry to Beverly a place far exceeding my expectation: in short I never had a just idea of the population of this country every three or 4 miles a meeting-house would present itself—we dined at Mr. Dana's a very good minister of Ipswich, the Rev'd Mr Frysby came there to see us, and we must call on both on our return -our next stop was for a few minutes at Mr Bradfords & then a variety of merry chit-chat & friendly Disputes interspersed the variety of Landscips in our rapid progress to Newbury & port, where we slept after delivering a Letter to a very pretty Miss Parsons, with whom & her papa we spent most of ye Evening—Mr King to whom we had Letters was absent—we returned to the Tavern without much new acquaintance.

Saturday, Oct. 9. Breakfasted soon after rising—had an invitation soon after to breakfast with Mr [Samuel] Spring the clergyman —I went to his house but on my way was introduced to Mr Mycall the printer—went into his book store—found a very good collection of 5 or 6 hundred Vollumns—took half a second breakfast at Mr Springs. Found him & his wife both very agreeable—engaged to dine with them on Monday—took leave & rode to Almsbury—call'd on a Mr Bell, who was to be setled there the next week—could not get away 'till after diner—was entertained with great exuberance of his oddities—found fine road thro [Hampton] to our last stage at Portsmouth.

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Monday, Oct. 11, 1784. After viewing the greater part of the Town in company with young Mr Langdon—we took breakfast at Esq. Hale's & about 9 o'clock were on our horses for Salem—Portsmouth is a Town of about 700 Houses not equal to Salem—is pretty

well laid out in squares—the Harbour exceeding good—their wealth is in the lumber trade—with share in the fishery. We made but few stages, & nothing particular in the soil or prospect was inviting—till we came to Newburyport; this is a place of great Trade, particularly in fish, vessels & Lumber—the Town is pretty regular, perhaps including Newbury about 600 Houses-we dined at Mr. Springs, was exceedingly pleased in the acquisition of having him & his wife among the Circle of my acquaintance—took letters from Miss Hannah Parsons & the charge of a performance of her Papa's-in which I had a specimen of a man riding his Hobby-Mr Frysby was not at home & we excused ourselves without tarrying at Mr Dana's. Were so belated in the Hamlet of Ipswich that we put up for the nightalthough we depended on arriving at Salem-Mr Cutler\* was so busy in some unavoidable matters that we could not spend time with him till the next morning when we breakfasted with him. He gave us a variety of entertainment, particularly an account of his tour to the White Mountains. He accompanied us to Beverly and took leave with much politeness.

Tuesday, Oct. 12. Cross'd the ferry about 11 o'clock. Mr Whetmore was out of Town. Mr Hopkins to whom by his previous desire we introduced ourselves invited us to dine. We paid our respects & deliver'd our Letter to Mr Bentley & except his importunity (in which he succeeded) to make us tarry, I have not found a more agreeable acquaintance. After calling on Mr. Gibs & making my excuses for not being there the last night, I took their & Miss MacKey's Letters & mounted for Cambridge about 4 o'clock. Night overtook us & we lost our Road but were in College in about 3 & 1/2 hours.

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. Manasseh Cutler.

## LUIGI CASTIGLIONI IN 1785.

IOGRAPHICAL information in relation to this Italian visitor is lacking in all the dictionaries. He arrived at Boston in 1785 and after visiting the Province of Maine journeyed through New Hampshire, Vermont, New York and into the Southern States. He gave special attention to the botanical novelties of the country and viewed it with the keen eyes of a naturalist rather than those of a political observer. His notes upon manners and customs are varied and of unusual interest. A long chapter is devoted to the Penobscot Indians. A New England salt fish dinner, with shell barks and cider, he found most indigestible. His travels were published in two volumes under the following title: Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell America Settentrionale fatto negli 1785, 1786, e 1787, Milano, 1792. The following English translation of the portion relating to Essex County has been made by George Andrews Moriarty, Esq., of Boston. The first volume also was published in a German translation in 1793 at Mommingen.

Although, upon my return to Boston I should have left at once to make my trip in the Eastern section of Massachusetts, the agreeable society of Boston and their kindly insistance detained me some days in that city, and I finally left on June 22 [1785] for Salem. The road thither is very beautiful and in some places very wide. I passed through Medford, a charming little village near Charlestown, and through Lynn another village which, situated at the foot of a hill covered with red cedars, enjoys a view over a little bay that lies in front of it and of the sinuous course of the Lynn river which here empties into the sea. Salem, the capital of Essex County, one of the oldest towns of Massachusetts, is situated near the sea, and has a harbor into which only small ships can enter. The houses are for the most part constructed of wood and are of good appearance and there are some made of brick. The churches are chiefly Presbyterian with an Anglican church and a Quaker meeting. The town is

said to have a population of eight thousand people, which gives it the right to send four representatives to the State Legislature. Its principal trade is in dried cod, of which they export annually 20 or 30 thousand casks.\* This fish which as I have before observed is found most abundantly on the Newfoundland banks is prepared when taken in the following manner. As soon as a fish is caught it is split lengthwise and is immediately placed in different piles in the ship, after each layer of fish has been carefully covered with a layer of salt. They are left in this way until the ship arrives at Salem when they remove the fish from the piles, wash them in sea water, and then expose them for eight consecutive days to the sun upon a scaffolding made for such purpose, taking care to turn them each day so that they may be equally dried in all parts and taking them in at night. After eight days they pile them up again in the house leaving them there about one month after which they once more expose them to the sun to thoroughly dry them. When entirely cured they are placed in casks, in which they compress them with a presser, and then put them on board ship. The best fish are taken in the Autumn or Spring while those taken in the Summer are of a very inferior quality. They are then carried to the Antilles where they are used to feed the negroes.

On leaving Salem I passed over a small area of the sea that divides Salem from Beverly and arrived at Ipswich Hamlet where I passed the night with Mr. Cutler, minister of the Presbyterian church. In his leisure hours he devotes himself to the study of botany in which he has made rapid progress in a short time. I cannot express the pleasure I had in finding in America a person who occupied himself with so much intelligence in the humane study of natural history and the following morning we made a short trip on foot into the country where we gathered various curious plants that I had not previously observed.

On this occasion we saw various squirrels that are very common all over Massachusetts, and of which there are three different species. The largest is the gray squirrel which is sometimes as large as a cat.

\*In the last year (1784) they exported 28,000 casks. Each cask weighs 112 English pounds.

They do great damage to the fields of Indian corn when the ears open and they eat the sweet and tender grains. Accordingly in some places the inhabitants are obliged to hunt them every four years and to carry the head to a chosen person\* and in others they pay from the public treasury two pence for every squirrel killed. They kill these in the trees with shot guns, or take them with snares and traps and easily domesticate them keeping them in the houses bound with a light chain as pets for the children. They also eat the meat which is fat and of a delicate flavor, and the skins are sold at a low price.

Much smaller than the preceeding is the chipmunk, that is not larger than a rat. This is called in English the striped squirrel because it has two large white stripes running along its back. These are very abundant in the United States and one sees them scurrying rapidly away to the rocks that form their shelter. Their skins are much esteemed for the beautiful contrast that the two white stripes make with the dark tobacco color of the rest of their bodies and they are used to make mantles and tippets for ladies just as they use rarer furs. The flying squirrel is as common in America as in Northern Europe and is smaller than the chip-munk and has the power of sustaining itself in the air in leaping from one tree to another by means of a skin that stretches from its front to its hind legs. A female was given to me in Boston by Doctor Clarke one inch from its nose to the commencement of its tail, which was four inches long. flat with round figure, and extending about an inch in width. The skin of the back was in color a gray brown, and that of the stomach white and the skin that extended from both sides of the body, and scarcely discernable when the animal stands still, was furnished with still longer fur. This squirrel is also easily domesticated and their skins are common and of small value.

From Ipswich to Newbury-Port their are fifteen miles of very beautiful road running through pleasant country with cultivated fields. Newbury-Port is quite a large town situated in a valley of the Merrimack river three miles above the point where it empties into

\*In 1741 the General Court passed an Act to prevent damage to Indian corn and other grain. Selectmen were to allow four pence for each squirrel's head, six pence for crows and three shillings a dozen for blackbirds. They were directed to cut off the ears of the squirrels and the beaks of the birds.

the sea. This river, which is more than a mile wide, is navigable for vessels for eighteen miles from its mouth and for boats for more than fifty, wood being brought to the city by means of floats from a hundred miles away. Newbury-Port has about three thousand inhabitants and is built partly of wood and partly of brick and has the advantage of very pleasant surroundings. Its principal trade is in salt fish and timber which they export to the West Indies and they bring back in exchange molasses, that is here distilled into rum and aquavite. The 26th I remained here being obliged to delay my trip by an ancient law, which prohibits traveling on Sunday. The observance of the Sabbath being one of the precepts most strongly taught by the Protestant religion and particularly by the Presbyterians; it being forbidden on that day not only to indulge in play or music and in any kind of amusement for passing the time, but even to travel and in church time to walk about. Certain persons are chosen by the people called Wardens or Guardians who patrol the streets and arrest any one disobeying the law; and since they are greatly respected on account of their office they impose ordinarily pecunary fines on the transgressors, obliging those who wish to travel on Sunday to set forth the reason why they must do so, and obliging them to desist if their reasons for doing do not seem sufficient to them. These laws contrary to the other principles of liberty and toleration now established in the United States exist only in the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and in Rhode Island, where Puritanism, the most fanatical of all the sects established in America, has its great strength. Never the less in Boston, and even in other cities and villages, they do not elect the Guardians and strangers enjoy a perfect liberty.

The 27th I crossed the Merrimack river and continued my trip to Salisbury and passed the boundary of Massachusetts and New Hampshire at Hampton.

## REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY IN 1787-1799.

HIS Salem clergyman and diarist was a person of unusual attainments whose rare benevolence, ardent patriotism, originality and independence of character made him a marked man in his generation. In years to come he will be best know by his invaluable "Diary" which was edited by the writer of these lines, and published in four volumes in Salem, in 1905-1914. It may be compared in vital interest and historical value with the diaries of Samuel Sewall and Samuel Pepys; but it also possesses an individuality quite its own. In his not infrequent journeys about the country he minutely recorded every thing of interest that attracted his attention and these descriptions are here reprinted from his published "Diary."

Monday, April 30, 1787. I went for Newbury in a chaise with Lydia Mason & arrived at Newburyport at 12 o'clock. I put up at Capt Noyes' dined with him & spent the evening with Mr. Murray. I found him a Scholar & a Gentleman. His Lady is of a most excellent person rather corpulent, but of a fine countenance. Tuesday was the Quarterly Fast at the Presbyterian Church. The rigid doctrines of the Confession were preached by Mr Murray in the morning, but rendered tolerable by the uncommon eloquence of Mr. M. who exceeds in delivery all his contemporaries of New E. He stands low & appears to speak from memory, but really has his notes before him. In prayer he lifts the hands & sometimes applies them to the breast but uses no other gestures. In Sermon he is not in the least affected in his manner, he triumphs over his audience, & supports attention for three hours. In the afternoon the performances by a Mr Strong were contemptible. I dined on Wednesday with Mr Murray. His affability is engaging. He is agreeable in spite of his doctrines. I spent Tuesday evening with a Master Pike, who has in the press a Treatise of Arithmetic. He is the Master of the Grammar School. & of Cambridge University. I was also introduced to a Master Norton in the South Writing School. He has raised himself by his moral good qualities, & his attention to study in the public esteem. Understands french perfectly. The Printer Mr Mycall gave me some Types from his own Foundery which did him honor. Mr Cary the Congregational minister preached on Thursday at his own house. A pious and rational discourse. He is a man of wealth, & of kind manners, as a better acquaintance shews. On Friday I returned, & arrived at Salem, impressed by the hospitality of the Gentlemen, whose houses I visited.

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Feb. 21, 1789. I went for Newbury. The roads were much blocked by large drifts of Snow which fell the night before, & in other places the earth was left uncovered. After stopping at Fairfield's in Wenham, & Treadwell's in Ipswich, I arrived at 6 P. M. at Mr Jackson's. This Gentleman had a son under my instruction for several months. He owns a very large and elegant Mansion house on the road to Amesbury from N. Port, on the north side of the road. At present he occupies an house belonging to Mr N. Tracey built of brick in the great street leading to the ferry, Town House, & first Church. I was received with every mark of attention. Mrs Jackson is a second wife with a large family of very amiable children. She is of the Tracey family, & her father Patrick Tracey then lay at the point of death. On Sunday Mr J. very politely waited upon me to the Meeting House, in which the preachers are Messrs Cary & Andrews. The assembly is the best in the Port, including the best families. The weather was very bad, & therefore did not admit a general attendance. The building has nothing to recommend it. In the evening we were favored with the company of Master Pike, author of a late treatise on Arithmetic, Mr. S. Hooper, Dr Swett, &c. On Monday morning I waited upon Dr Swett in company with Mr Jackson, & breakfasted. Dr Swett is a polite scholar, & can recommend himself. I dined with Revd Cary. This Gent: has been ordained 20 years, but is taken from his public labours by a paralytic stroke, which prevents his conversation, but has not otherwise impaired his memory, than by the loss of words, which he recollects by counting the letters upon his fingers. He has strong passions which he has remarkably governed. This evening I drank Tea at Mr Pike's who teaches the Grammar School, & enjoyed afterward my classmate Kilham at Mr. Jackson's. On

Tuesday morning I breakfasted with Mr S. Hooper, a merchant of the place, and according to appointment Mr J. introduced me to Mr Carter who has an amiable daughter. As I wished for an acquaintance there was a favorable opportunity, for Miss C. & her Brother intending a journey to Boston on the upper road, it agreed with my plan of a return home to accompany them. We passed by Mr Noble's meeting house on the right, & then Mr Kimball's, & afterward, Mr Tappan's on the left, upon an high hill, near to the elegant. Seat of Hon: Mr Dalton, & the farm of Mr S. Hooper, which were on our right, & commanded a view of the Port & of the Ocean. We stopped at Bradford & delivered Letters from Dr Tucker of Newbury. one of the best characters of the age, to a celebrated Mr Balch, whose good sense distinguished him in his ministerial character in his own generation, & makes him venerable to posterity. He is above 80 years of age, & has been past his public labours for 15 years. His wife is blind, & deaf, but an uncommon share of chearfulness falls to the good man's lot. Mr Dutch his colleague was at the house, when we visited. We then went for the Upper Parish. The river was frozen & there was an excellent path from Russel ferry to Haverhill, but it being near night, & very cold we kept on Bradford side & put up at Revd Mr Allen's. He addressed the eldest daughter of Dr Eliot of Boston who died before his settlement, & is now married to a Mrs Kent, many years older than himself. They have one child & are very hospitable. Haverhill is an agreable Town on the opposite side of the river, which side being lower than on Bradford side, gave us a good view over the river. After breakfast we proceeded to Andover. There was a lecture appointed at Mr French's, but my company formed an excuse for my leaving them after I had viewed the Academy. It is an elegant building, situated upon an hill, in free air. In the front are enclosed two rooms designed for private Schools, & a Library, &c. Between there you pass into the Academy. Between 40 or 50 youth were present under the Preceptor Mr E. Pemberton. & the Sub P. a Mr Abbot. The Preceptor is an amiable man & communicative. His abilities are admirable for his profession. Above. unfinished & fitted with benches for the religious Congregation, for which an house has been rebuilding, was the Hall, & Theatre. It is

arched with great success for the exhibitions of the youth of the academy. The Meeting House is finished with great elegance. It has a tower but no steeple, & is painted in the best manner. . . .

Expenses beside horse & Slay, Essex Bridge /9d. Wenham, 1s/. Ips: 1/6. Newb: Bridge, /4d. New: Servant, 1/6. Shavg, /10d. Bradf: Horse, /10d. Boardmans sert: 1/6. Danvers, Upton, 1/6. tot: 9s/9d.

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On Tuesday, March 29, [1789] I went for Andover. I dined at the Black Horse in Middleton & while dinner was preparing I viewed the Pond lying west of the road at a 1/4 of a miles distance. The Pond measures a mile E. & W. & about 1/2 mile north & S. A road passes by it on the north, on which side the pond is viewed with great advantage from the top of an hill adjoining. After dinner I proceeded to Andover, & put up at Adams' on Haverhill's road. Then went to Dr Kitteridge's 1/4 mile from the meeting house. He has a large mansion house finished in front with great elegance with a plan of a large yard. The House is on the S. side of a Hill of considerable elevation & commands a good prospect of the Great Road. After Tea with the Dr, & his wife an Osgood, very deaf, & a sweet daughter Sukey, I went in company with the Dr to Mr Chickering's. At this house young Prat is confined. I found his delirium continued. I spent the evening at Rev. Symmes, & found him an informed & agreeable Gentleman. His health is very infirm. His wife was a sensible, & kind woman. I lodged & breakfasted at the Doctor's, visited Pratt again, took my leave of the Parson, & left the town. I dined at E. Fuller's a good farmer in Middleton. Visited Parson Smith, & drank tea & lodged at Revd Wadsworth in Danvers. He is an ingenious man & has a very amiable wife & family. On Thursday 11 o'clock A. M. I reached Salem.

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May 12th, 1789. Association met at Fuller's in Gloucester. The road is at present through Chebacco, part of Ipswich. It is tolerable till we reach the pond on our right. From thence it is two miles to the inlet, upon which the meeting house stands. The Bridge is con-

venient, but the Causeway beyond, being overflowed by the tide, consists of so many naked cross pieces, & stones, as make it very disagreable. After we are over we turn to the left in a bad road & in three miles reach the Meeting house. It is the most rocky parish I ever beheld. 12 Clergymen of the Association were present. We returned on the same day. In Chebacco are two meeting houses near to each other, which are improved alternately as the age of the houses & their size suit the season. They are monuments of religious dissentions in that place, which is still remarkable for its zeal. Mr. Cleveland, to whom they are indebted for their present character, was severely handled by Mayhew, & tho' a man of small abilities has interfered in many printed controversies & his daughter in the zeal of Night meetings was overtaken by temptation, & fell.

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On Saturday, Aug. 1, 1789 visited Topsfield, one of the most pleasing towns in our neighborhood. After dinner Mr Porter with Mrs Orne went with me to a pond about two miles above the Meeting house on the road to Boxford. At a Mr Hood's at the upper end of the pond we were entertained with berries &c., &c., &c. The Pond runs nearly with the road in a *supposed* north & south direction 1/2 a mile, & is nearly of equal width throughout, being about a 1/4 of a mile under, in both directions the given distances. The approach to the pond upon the west side is best, but the greater part is swampy. We travelled through the swamp, by which we were prepared without ceremony to wade in for the Pond Lillies. We returned for Tea to Mr Porter's. The sides of the Pond are very shoal, which makes fishing with angling rods very difficult, & there was no boat at this time in the pond. Mr Porter caught one Pickerel.

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July 28, 1790. This afternoon I went to ride with Nancy Townsend, one of my singers. We passed Pickman's farm towards Philips Beach. We turned to the right in the road from Lynn to Marblehead, & then in a few roods crossed at the left. There are several valuable Farms on this Spot. We arrived in a bad road of one mile & 1/2 at Philips Beach so called, about 1/6 of a mile long. We then alighted & passed bars & descended upon Blaney's Beach which was of greater length.

I then passed alone over another headland & crossed King's or Needham's Beach, above 1/2 a mile long, & was upon the next headland within 1/4 of a mile of the Great Nahant Beach. I returned then & received my Companion, & stopped at Mr Reid's on Browne's Farm, now in the possession of his widow. He conducted me to a Beach at the bottom of his farm, exceeding in length either of the other Beaches excepting Nahant. We entered through land cast up by the sea. about midway of the Beach & North of a Pond formed by the beach cast up & covering about nine acres. It is drained of the greatest body of water, which is cast into it by a storm, through a ditch opened every time. At each end of the Beach the banks are high, & steep & closed with large rocks particularly at the northern end, projecting to Ram Island. Pig & Sunken rocks are directly off this Beach, & the Light House of Boston on the south view. The farm consists of 375 acres, & is this year in a very flourishing state, & is cultivated in the following manner. 20 acres of Indian corn, 20 acres of Barley, & Buck Wheat, Rye blasts, 3 acres of flax, & 4 of Potatoes. 50 head of Cattle is the principal Stock, 29 Cows are milked. A very few sheep are on the Farm. The Farmer has ten children and is a Native of Woburn. We returned, & passed off to the right & came into Lynn Road 1/2 a mile nearer to Marblehead. We then turned round into Salem Road, & came by Gardner's mills homewards. There are many little boats laving along above the Beach. These are the property of men in the neighbouring towns, who come down in the months of April, May, & June, & fish for cod, haddock, perch, &c. with considerable success. They will accomodate from 8 to 10 men on the seats, & resemble whale boats, tho' most have flat bottoms. The shore is broken from Browne's Beach towards Marblehead neck, & Tinker's Island which were in full view on the head north of Browne's Beach. There are short landing places between the projecting naked rocks. I suspect that little company visits this place, from the readiness to serve without pay, & solicitations, &c. Barn 96 by 36 feet.

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Sept. 22, 1790. At 1/2 past 6 in the morning I went from Salem for Haverhill, to attend a Review of the Regiment, & to visit Capt.

Elkins, who is superintending the building of a vessel. I arrived at Mrs Porter's Topsfield, about nine miles from Salem, & made my first stage. I then passed the meeting house on my left, & turned at the burying ground 1/4 mile beyond, keeping the most direct road, avoiding the road leading to Ipswich & Newbury on the right, & to Andover, &c. on the left. I passed Topsfield Pond on my right, & went from it at the upper end. This pond I had visited before. Within a few miles I passed a beautiful & small pond nearly round & bold banks on the left, & afterwards another on the same side, having made a mistake in turning to the left, instead of keeping on, about 7 miles from the ferry. I soon mounted a Hill, which gave me a sight of Haverhill steeple 4 miles before I reached the ferry, & this part of the road was worst, mountainous, but under repair. When I arrived at the ferry, I found that the Review was to be on Bradford side, & left my carriage, but afterwards by sending for it I was involved in several perplexities from receiving a wrong one. I carried letters to a Mrs Carleton, who was formerly a Bowes, & of the Brown family, sister of Mrs Homans. I found Capt Elkins at Herod's Tavern below the Meeting house. The Landlord was a neighbour in Boston, & has a fine family of 9 children. I put up at this house, & found the best connections in the place, & very kind treatment. I visited the ship yard. I found only the Vessel of Capt Elkins on the Stocks. She is not of great burden. The Town has many good houses. An extensive prospect, being situate upon rising ground, descending to the river; upon whose bank is the great Street. The Street extends a full mile but the group of house are at the upper end, & the dwelling Houses chiefly above the Street. At the lower end, is an elegant Seat of the Saltonstals, now the property of Mr Watson of Plimouth. It has about 30 acres of land, an ancient row of Elms, & Buttons, & most engaging Prospect of the River and adjacent country. At the upper end of the street is the Baptist Meeting House, the only respectable assembly of that denomination in the County, & that is lessening. It was found'd about 30 years ago during the ministry of Mr Bernard, by a Mr Hezekiah Smith, who is the present pastor. It is much out of repair, as are houses in general of that denomination. The assembly Room is in an unfinished building.

Below is a Shop, & the entrance into the Room is by a flight of Stairs behind the Shop. As it is upon the Street, it opens into a Gallery with a handsome painted balustrade. Over the fire place at the opposite end is a loft for the band, & the whole Room is finely arched, & convenient. The drawing Room is behind. The Congregational Church has a most excellent site. It is facing you as you ascend a street leading from the main street into the Country. The Houses round are pleasant & in a good style. It is painted white, has a steeple & small bell, which rings at one & nine in the evening. The interior part of the Church is without elegance, or any distinction. From the Street we are conducted a few rods back into the Duck Manufactory set up & carried on by a Mr Blodget, a very ingenious mechanic, of some rank, formerly in N. Hampshire. His looms are constructed so as every part by pins, & wedges may be brought to any convenient form, & his spinners use the method which has in substance been adopted from them in Salem. The wheel which turns all the spindles may be assisted by the feet & hands at discretion, & is turned below. By a small weight he causes a stand for a lamp or candle to return, & it is conducted out by a wire fastened to the Spinner, at a convenient distance. He has eight looms going. & room for eight more. He has many good specimens of his Duck, which by a small anchor he lays in the river for necessary soaking. &c. There were three distilleries, but one of them is changed into a Brewery, & with considerable success. The water of the river is pronounced very fit for the purpose. In this Town resides our Chief Justice Sergeant. Back of the Meeting House & on the side is the house of the Revd Mr Shaw. The scene was engaging while I was present. The River was alive with Boats. The opposite Shore crowded with Spectators & every diversion was pursued which rural life admits. The Regiment consisted of 800 rank & file, & the Company of Horse. The men were well dressed. The Col. named Brickett, at whose house was an entertainment for the Clergy, the Officers dining at Bradford on the opposite side of the River. He is by profession a Physician. There was a manly freedom in the higher class of people, but a strange contrast to the manners of the lower people, who being employed, instead of forming upon the rivers on rafts, & lumbering, have very much the manners of the people in the province of Maine, & have their distinguishing vices, intemperance & want of punctuality in their dealings. The soil on the road through Boxford was light, but better in Bradford. At Haverhill the river is 1/8 of a mile wide, & the tide flows commonly about 4 feet. We are carried over in Gondolas, when we have carriages. I saw only the young ladies of the place.

23. I returned as far as Newbury. I came down Haverhill side with an intention to pass at Cottle's ferry, 4 miles below the Town. There is a ferry called Russel's 3 miles, entering the road by a Brick house on the right. But as the waterman lives on the other side, & Cottle on this, they establish it as a rule to pass down by Cottle's & return by Russel's ferry. After passing these ferries there are two roads, one on the bank of the river, & the other through the country. the latter being preferable for carriages I chose it but lost the beautiful prospect of the river, with which I had hitherto been entertained. At the first turning out I was soon brought into the lower road again & found I had passed a group of houses on the banks, but about 5 1/2 miles from Amesbury I went 1/2 mile directly from the river. & lost every good prospect till I reached the Town. Upon passing on both sides I found on this the prospect most extensive but the roads are very hilly on this side. I soon entered the upper parish which has an elegant meeting house, pediment on front, & lately painted of a light colour. I passed this on my left, and a few miles below passed on the left the lower Meeting House much out of repair. This House was formerly used by Mr Hibbert a Presbyterian, who has withdrawn with his party, & built a House a little back from this spot, & has lately been rejected for intemperance. They settled a Bell, a most extravagant preacher, who is also dismissed. The Country is not the most fertile, it is much more productive on the opposite banks. They plant Indian Corn & sow flax. I saw no experiments on other grain. As we pass we see at a mile's distance on our left Salisbury meeting House, & as there is a lock of the river between Salisbury & Amesbury on the banks of the River at the entrance there is a convenient draw Bridge, which has a good effect as seen from the River. Several vessels of considerable burden were upon the Stocks, & many

under repairs in view as we passed. Having passed Amesbury ferry we ascend an hill, which was then in the hands of the Surveyors & at 2 1/2 miles distance lies Newburyport. A small Island shews itself just below the ferry, & so another at a short distance below Haverhill tho' the latter is the largest, tho' not the boldest of the two. From the ferry the road becomes more pleasant as you approach the Town. The soil at first is barren & upon a barren plain on the right stands a deserted Meeting House once improved by a curious Mr Noble. Soon we pass delightful Houses, & the Seats of Messieurs Jackson & Tracey entering the Town. The north is thinly settled & little cultivated. There are some noble buildings belonging to private Gentlemen. The Church of England has a forbidding appearance & the Steeples have no good effect. The best view of the Town is from the Powder house hill & from the water, but in no place does it group well. From the country it is too open, & from the water the best buildings are hid. They have lately erected a New School House in the High Street near the Pond, which has a belfry & is very convenient & handsome. The benches rise from the centre. No forms go against the sides of the building. The rise is one foot on each side. The day was appointed for the Military Review. The other part of the Regiment was reviewed on Monday at Salisbury & we had only the town companies. Some points of honor induced the South Company to club their firelocks & retire from the parade, tho' they submitted to an inspection in the afternoon. Three companies with the Artillery paraded in High Street in the afternoon. I drank tea with Mr Moses Hoit, & supped with Dr Swett in company with Esgr. Atkins. I visited Mr Jackson, and my more intimate friends. At Mycall's printing office I saw the best furnished office I had ever seen, tho' the preference is decidedly given in favour of Thomas of Worcester who has lately made very rich additions to his types.

Sept. 24. I breakfasted with Esqr. Atkins & at 10 set out for Salem. I dined at Treadwell's at Ipswich, returned through Wenham, conversed with Revd. Swain, & stopped in Beverley at the Manufactory & soon afterwards was joined by our member Mr Goodhue, & two Gentlemen from Connecticut, Judge Ailsbury of the Senate, & Sherman of the House. Two Jennies were at work below, which carried

about 70 spindles each. Several looms were at work, & the remarkable circumstance to us was the moving of the shuttle by Springs, which gives great velocity, & allows the greatest number of strokes. Above all the carding machine was most curious as it was different from all our observations. Two large cylinders of two feet diameter move in contact, & upon them other cylinders of different diameters, & these are covered with fine cards. These convey the wool when carded to a knife which cuts it & to a smooth cylinder whose upper service is made to assume as many projections as correspond to the operations of the knife, & bring away the carded wool. The specimens of the cloth were various & good. The carding machine cards fifteen pounds of wool in a day easily, said Mr John Cabot, who waited upon us, & recommended his Manufactory to the patronage of Government. I reached Salem before Sundown, & waited upon the Gentlemen to see Mr Symonds aet 99.

Mr Mycall is now printing the last volumes of the "Children's friend," a valuable work in Schools. Expences on the Journey, passing ferry alone a copper, carriage at Haverhill /7d. Expences at Herod's 6s/. At Amsbury ferry /7d. At Ipswich 1/8. Beverley Bridge /9d. Expense of Sulkey, 15s/.

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April 1, 1791. Set out for Andover by the way of Topsfield & Boxford. This road is judged the best for a Carriage, tho' the distance be three miles greater in this road, than through Middleton. At Topsfield we passed the Meeting house on our left. The Meeting House on our right would have carried us through the old Parish, Revd. Holyoke's, to Andover in less distance but worse road. We kept the left hand road, as the most direct, passing several Pond's, Pritchards on the right 2 miles, Wood's on the left 5 miles, &c. The roads which go out on the right turn off much. At 6 miles distance we leave the right hand path & take left at an Oak tree in the road, the right leading to Haverhill. We keep the left 6 miles to Andover in the most direct path. Four miles from Andover we see the north Parish Meeting House of Boxford on our right, at 1/2 mile's distance. Here is a Farm, & Dwelling House in good order, possessed by Gideon Tyler. We come out 1/2 mile below Andover north Meeting House.

As our visit was intended for Dr Kitteridge, whom my companion Capt. Becket intended to consult, we passed by the Dr's House, & went to the Public House 1/4 mile below formerly kept by Craig, since by Adams, & now by Bimsley Stevens, lately Goal Keeper, & Deputy Sheriff in Salem. He was a native of Andover. The road was remarkably good for the season of the year. There are several Saw Mills on the road. At two we stopped, to which roads lead on the left, going to Andover, at 1/8 mile distance. The Buildings are decent, the land not the best. In the afternoon we visited Fry's Hill, nearly south of the Meeting House in north Andover, above a mile in the road. The Hill is very high, & steep towards the road. Quite round for its height, & its greatest length N. & S. It overtops the adjacent country. It being a fair day we had an extensive prospect. Milton hills lay from us in the line of a hill 2 miles off, & were hidden. On every other quarter the eye might range without obstruction. N. W. bore the Wachuset of Princeton, distant 60 miles in the road. & N. of it the Great Menadnock near Dublin in N. Hampshire. On the N. we saw Adrimeticus in the province of Maine, & on the E. Pidgeon Hill, Cape Ann & the Ocean from which we were distant above 30 miles. In the valley we saw on the north the Merimack distant at the nearest point 3 miles, & the Shawshin which empties into it about 1 mile & 1/2 below the N. Meeting House of Andover. Methuen meeting house & houses were seen from the Public House, & from the Hill, & lays on the other side of the river Merimack. N. Parish of Haverhill appeared in full view joined to Methuen, & above the Houses of Dracut. The Academy on the S. W. appeared at 2 miles distance, & in the vale below the S. Meeting House finished with a Tower. On S. E. we saw Topsfield Meeting House & Spire, & the Road through which we had passed. We were kindly received at Mr Fry's by his wife, who was a Mackey of Salem. After tea we went down to the River, just below the entrance of the Shawshin into the Merrimack. The River Shawshin flows through Tewksbury into Andover, & enters above a mile below the N. Meeting House of Andover into the Merrimack, opposite to Methuen. The River is 40 rods wide & where it is entered by the Shawshin there is a ford of gravel which is passed in the summer season without hazard, tho the water below be of great depth. On the opposite side of the Merrimack, but a little above, enters another small river of considerable course from N. Hampshire. The Honourable Judge Phillips, Revd. Symmes & Dr. Kitteridge visited us upon our return. Our Landlord attended us with his perspective glass in our excursions. We visited the Training field on the N. of the Doctor's House.

April 2. From the Doctor's at 9 we set out for home. The stones from Andover have a uniform appearance until we reach Topsfield, especially those used in the walls of the enclosures, being of the appearance of iron mould & as if lately dug from the earth, which upon the first sight of them we imagined. Going and coming we made our Stages at Baker's, Topsfield. I visited Mrs. Porter, a sensible woman formerly an Allen. I saw my old classmate Wildes upon the road, and a Mr Gould, M. A. We reached Salem at Dinner. At Topsfield Hill may be seen the Spires of Marblehead. We saw men on their rafts passing down the Merrimack River. We observed the shifting banks, loosing on the Methuen side & gaining below on Andover side. We were informed that there were now at the Andover Academy 66 youth, & in last summer 73. That board is at Judge Phillip's 9s., Revd. French's 8s., Esgr. Abbot's 7s. 6d. and Tuition not exceeding 1s. pr week. We observed the jealousy of the Parishes. The North Parish complain that there own Grammar School is neglected. The Parson observes that Academies are too numerous, that their model is not purely republican, & that an antient institution was best for general knowledge, that there should be provision for a Grammar School in every town.

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April 21, 1791. Past 8 A. M. set out for Newbury. At Beverley saw Revd. Oliver who told me Lee, the Methodist, was preaching in his parish with some disaffected persons. This parson is much prejudiced against the Arminians; not much informed. At Wenham, Revd. Swain assures me that Mr P. of Lynn had taken freedoms with women in Beverley, while an occasional preacher & that some charges were probably just, so far as to tarrying late, kissing, &c. At Ipswich, Revd. Cutler was moving a Barn he had purchased, nearer his Mansion House. The Parish turned out with their teams on the

occasion. I visited Mr Frisbie, a pious & useful minister & dined at Treadwell's. Reached Newbury at three o'clock, & drank tea with Mrs Maley, formerly a Mason. Hon. Mr Jackson shewed me his elegant mansion House. It is situate in the upper Street above the Church towards Amesbury ferry. It has a spacious lawn behind it with a gradual descent, & is near the house of John Tracey. The banks slope from the House. The front door opens into the hall, & the flight of stairs is on the south side. The division between the chambers, is formed into a convenient apartment of the whole length of the building for favorite amusements of dancing, &c. On the north side is a wing which has a granary, chambers communicating with the nursery, &c. On the other side a piazza was intended but not built. The Cellars are in excellent order for all domestic uses, such as cooking, brewing, washing. There is a bathing room under the apartments of the nursery, &c. He intends to return to it next week. Doors without number, and conveniences beyond account present to view & we find it one of the best finished houses of wood in the Country. In the evening visited Revd Murray,\* who has several students in Divinity in his House. Langdon on the Revelation of John, was our Theological Subject. Mr Murray is engaged in correcting the press for Dr Huntington of Connecticut, upon the subject of the atonement. Mr Murray has lately published his discourses on Original sin, which with those on the Origin of Evil & on Justification, make a large volume. His health is impaired by the immoderate length of his pulpit addresses. I lodged with Capt Noves.

22. I visted Revd Cary,† & had familiar conversation on the unhappy disunion among the Clergy of the Town. They utterly refuse each other civilities, at least, a Mr Spring will not support a pall, or attend a funeral at which Mr Murray joins or officiates. With Mr J. Tracey, I went to Church it being Good Friday. Dr. Bass, the Parson, & intended Bishop. His countenance is pleasing, his reading good & his Sermon full of instruction. He is pleased with the wit

\*Rev. John Murray, the Presbyterian, popularly called "Damnation" Murray to distinguish him from "Salvation" Murray, his Universalist contemporary. †Rev. Thomas Cary, pastor of the First Church at Newburyport.

of Charles the 2d, & has the variety, but not ill nature of South. He entertained us with the character of Judas Iscariot. He observed all his faults with satyre, but of the price of his villany he observed, that it proved him a mean fellow, for as they would bid high for his friend, he ought to have made them pay dear for him at least, & not sell him in an hurry for 30 shillings, at a price below a horse, or even a dog. I dined with Mrs Maley, & spent an hour with my Classmate Kilham.\* This Gentleman, possessed with good abilities, with a disposition not apt to conform to the world, & a zealous antefederalist, is declining in his business under his own favorite passion. He informed me that our Classmate Rholf had preached, after a humble retirement & study of 15 years. We had not his performances from Judges, his popularity is greater in his prayers, than in his Sermons. He is gone to Preach at Cambridge. At Mr Mycall's the printer, I find orthodox publications multiply. Besides the works of Mr Murray, & Dr Huntington above mentioned, Mr Murray is printing a sermon on the death of Blind Prince, a Clergyman who died at Newbury, & is buried in the vault with Whitefield. His most remarkable trait is blindness. But while our best sermons commonly rise no higher than 400 at an impression, I am assured 1500 are engaged. A Mr Lyon of Machias, at the extreme part of Maine & a composer in Music, has published the first number of his daily meditations, including one month. It has Mr Murray's recommendation. A Mr Bradford of Rowley has also a Sermon in the press upon total depravity. These events of the winter may enable us to judge the state of religious opinions at least in this part of the County. Mr Mycall proposed to reprint my Sermon delivered at Boston, from this circumstance that it was preached first in Newbury Port, & was deemed not to be Gospel.

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July 14, 1791. Went to Cape Ann to attend the association. Found very few members present, it being very hot. McKeen of Beverley was ready to preach on the accasion. A large Choir of Singers were collected from the several congregations. The Preacher

<sup>\*</sup>Dr. Daniel Kilham, born at Wenham, studied medicine with Dr. Holyoke of Salem, and became an apothecary at Newburyport.

discoursed upon the doctrine of future punishment, the Subject, which since 1763 has kept the Town in confusion. He handled the subject without the least degree of ingenuity, & in a manner suited to affront one party & not gratify the other. Upon my return to the house I blamed the introduction of the subject, & the inconsistent manner in which it was located (sic). But I was alone. . . . After dinner we were introduced to drink tea at Mr Rogers', the first merchant in the place, who has a numerous family, & preserves unusual vivacity. while above sixty years of age. In the evening we were conducted to a Mr Sergeants' at whose house Music was prepared for the evening. There was a considerable number of gentlemen & Ladies & very handsome entertainment. The instrumental & vocal music were well performed. We have nothing like it in Essex. The Conviviality is remarkable. The pieces were of different classes. At eleven we retired. The hospitality of Capt Rogers secured me at his house, and the expectation of a chearful day to succeed, made a succession of very pleasurable emotions. He has a fine wife, & gay children. who contributed their full share to the entertainment, & the pleasure.

15. This morning it was agreed to go to Eastern Point, which makes the entrance to the Harbour, above a mile below the Town. The harbour is formed by the Fort Hill, a little peninsular on the west, which projects boldly before the Town, & Rocky Neck which runs westerly from the eastern point. The entrance is not wide, but of sufficient depth of water. From the town is a ledge called Duncan's Ledge which runs towards Rocky Neck in a southerly direction, within which is the Head of the Harbour, a bason not much used, but which opens into a Cove in Rocky Neck, called Smuggling Harbour from a particular use made of it before the War. It runs also towards Sandy Bay & there might easily in a valley be formed an inlet, through a communication which the Sea sometimes has opened. About half a mile without the Fort Hill is "Tenpound Island," not containing an acre of ground, & between which & Eastern point there is a communication at the lowest tides, & many difficult rocks. Below on eastern point is a Ledge called Black Bess, & nearer the point Dog Rocks. Without the Point about one mile, eastward is Brace's Cove. It has a Bluff head on the western side, which is a large

& lofty rock. It has a Ledge on the eastern side & Rocks without it. It has often proved fatal to mariners, & the Cove been mistaken for the entrance into Cape Ann Harbour. The Cove is clear after you are within the eastern Ledge. It enters almost half a mile. & by a narrow Beach is separated from a Pond, which extends almost across the eastern point, which is joined to the main by this Beach formed by the sea, a few rods wide, & by the road not much wider on the side towards Cape Ann Harbour. From Brace's Rock the lights at Thatcher's Islands are in full view, above a leagues distance. The Farm of Eastern point, purchased last year by Daniel Rogers. who was with us, is very rough. There is a delightful grove of Oaks, &c. within the point, to which company resorts and enjoys a fine air in the warmest weather. The Farm is very rough, affords pasture. but there was no tillage land beyond the Pond towards the Point. About 200 acres lay towards the point, & the rest, amounting to 300 acres was sold together for 320 pounds. The tenant pays an annual rent of 27£. The House is on the road by the pond, after you have passed it going to eastern Point, not a mile from the Grove. Opposite to eastern Point at the entrance is a Rocky Shore called Norman's Woe, & about a league westerly near the shore may be seen Kettle Island, a small island, & a mile beyond on the same shore Egg rock. as you go towards Manchester. Our party consisted of above 60 persons of both sexes. With Col Pearce in a skif we caught several dozen of perch, & after two we dined in a friendly manner. Another party in a Sloop larger than our own furnished us with Cod from the Bay, & after dinner till Tea parties were engaged in Walking, dancing, singing, & Quoiting, & Swinging & every amusement we could imagine. The Poets story of Twandillo was realized. There was but one instrument of Music with us, which was a fiddle brought by its owner to pick up a few coppers. To see him play with it upon his head, under his arm, &c., furnished a pleasure which the happiness of ignorance may innocently occasion.

Hark,—his tortured catgut squeals
He tickles every string, to every note
He bends his pliant neck.—
The fond yielding Maid
Is tweedled into Love.

We set out about ten in the morning, and arrived before nine in the evening safe at the same wharf. And what deserves notice, not a single accident, not an angry word, occasioned the least interruption to so large a party. The principal Gentlemen were in this party, Daniel Rogers, Esqr, his two sons John & Charles, Capts Soames, Tucker, Sargeant, Beach, Col. Pearce, Major Pearson, Master Harkin, Mr Parsons, &c. I went to Tea at Capt Beach's elegant House near the meeting House, & was conducted into the several apartments to observe the neatness which prevailed under the pretence of examining an excellent collection of pictures. On the day before I had visited his excellent & large Family Garden, & Rope walk. I lodged at Esqr Rogers, who collected his family & finished the scene by an act of devotion.

16. In the morning I arose before the family, & set off for home, & breakfasted at Manchester, & reached Salem after eleven. While we were on eastern point, another party, with whom was the Revd Mr Murray went into the Bay after Cod & continued off the point all day. The religious controversy is not so far settled as to admit a coalition between the Clergymen, tho' it is greatly promoted among the people. Passing a farm house in Manchester I observed a young girl of 14 years, & asked what the name of the rock was directly before the door, about 1/4 of a mile from the shore. She answered she had never heard, & seemed to wonder at the question. Was this ignorance, in her, or impertinence in myself?

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Aug. 8, 1791. Went with a party to Baker's Island [Salem harbor] to bring away the tools, materials, &c. which remained after the finishing of the Beacon. We were in a deep fog on our passage down but we hit the island most exactly. The Beacon is 57 feet to the top of the Ball, of two feet diameter, & the Ball is painted black, except a part on the top which was neglected & remains white. The Body is conical & upon a diameter of nineteen feet, to the altitude of 10 feet is formed a convenient room. The door is on the south, narrow, & painted red, as is the building, but the battens at the door, white, that it might more easily be found. The window with a shutter is on the east, a foot square, & there is no other provision

made for ventilating it. Of this I complained but we attempted in vain to get into the dead flat projection of the head, of one foot, into which many holes ought to have been made. The projection of the head was to have been round, but as there were objections to clapboarding, it was shingled, & so is reduced to an octagon form like the Cone of the Building, & each length of shingling into so many small projections, amounting to four. It has an awkward effect. The whole is a generous & otherwise well executed design. The foundation stones are very miserably laid. Upon the island, I traversed the whole, there are a few miserable remains of the House which was in good order since I can well remember. The Barn has left its sills, & the top entire stands upon the naked posts. From the house, northeasterly a few rods, are the remains of the well, & along the stone wall, which crosses the island, near the barn, till you reach the eastern shore & then find the spring of excellent water, which supplies the cattle. Our amusement was to form a raft of spars, boards, &c. to bring off the shingles, waste boards, ropes, &c., a full load & we enjoyed the employment tho' a wet one. We were without tinder, & to remedy the defect we rubbed a piece of pine coal, till we reached the part not entirely charred, & we had desirable success. A plenty of fish & fine appetites. We observed the channel between Eagle Island, & the Gooseberries, entering between Baker's Island & Hardy Rocks. Eagle Island is said to have contained, a few years since, 4 acres of mowing land, & three acres are said to be upon Nahant Rock. Coney Island has but one & 1/2, of little use, the grass being very coarse, & the soil stoney. The Gooseberries have a little verdure with fine effect. And the Bank of Eagle Island being covered with verdure, & of a sudden slope, has a very good effect. We returned & landed at sundown, with Mr Wards boat, at his Wharf. Our Commander was Capt B. West, & Capt W. Patterson, our Crew, Capts Elkins & Chipman, with the Carpenters & Servants, six in number. We went with pleasure, & returned pleased.

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Aug. 29, 1791. At Mr W. Gray's request I undertook to convey in Newhall's Coach three young Frenchmen to the Dummer Academy

under the care of the Reverend Isaac Smith. Their names were Barrett, Bonneville, & Morin, all of Martinico, & addressed to Mr Gray. We arrived at 11 at the Academy. Just before there had been two french youth from Newbury Port, but the disputes became so high from the turbulent temper of one of them, as to throw the whole Academy into confusion. The youth had this day retired, & the alarm was vet in all its violence from the bold threatenings of the french youth. After a fair representation I engaged a Mr Hale to receive them, & the Preceptor admitted them members of the Academy. The common price of board pr week is 6/, of Tuition one. There are above 300 acres of lands laying within the Arms of Parker River, which constitutes the foundation of Governor Dummer, & forms the principal support of the Preceptor. The Mansion House is a bold object, & is put into good repair. The rooms are divided very unequally, but from their height, & connection with a large entry, do not fail of a very good effect. The Academy is repaired, & the whole forms a good object. Tho' the Building is not equal to Andover, the Group is as pleasing. I dined with the Preceptor, and after 3 o'clock set out on my return. I found at Rowley the meeting House filled with people, & upon enquiry, I learnt that a M. Milton, a pupil of Lady Huntington, was to make the prayer and a Mr James, a noted travelling Methodist, was to preach. We should not imagine our boasted liberality was real, if we should see the country upon a particular scale. On our return towards Wenham, we saw the three fine boys which came a few years since at a birth, sporting together on the side of the road. We did not know this circumstance of their birth, till their good manners made us enquire after them of the Coachman. We reached Salem at Sundown, & was informed on the road, that the French youth Duval de Monville, who had lived with me, had died not long since. The information is said to be by a Brother at Newbury.

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Sept. 13, 1791. I went for Fuller's, Gloucester, in company with Mr MacKeen. We passed by way of upper Beverley in Monserat quarter. The road for three miles is very good, upon Taylor's turning to the left not so good, till we come to Dodge's Row, on Wenham

Neck. We then passed to the right over a bridge through the meadows, covered with some excellent Willows. We then left a Road to Little Comfort on the right, & proceeded to Chabacco. Till we reached the Pond, the road is tolerable, & at some distance beyond. Here we saw a rope-walk, but could not be informed by whom employed, & in what manner. It was a curious object at this distance from a port, tho' it might be of special use in the small cordage of the Fishery below. After entering Chebacco, the road is winding, & we arrive at a Bridge, considerably high, tho' small, & the descent is relieved by cross pieces, which give not a very pleasing motion to a carriage. We then pass a causeway over the marshes, nearly 1/4 of a mile, which being left low to be overflowed by the tide, & formed with cross pieces, many of whose ends now rise from the ground, & the stones being loose on the top, make a very uneasy passage. We turned in 1/4 of a mile to the left, & continued in that course two miles, till we reached the foot of the hill, then leaving the road to the left our course was over the hill. But for a year past the old road, has been cut by the rain which in torrents has cut it out between the rocks several feet, & a road is made through a gate on the right, through which we might pass. But separating from my Companion, I took a little boy into my Sulkey as a guide, who leaving me at the foot of the hill, took a path to the left, & as they use no chaises, directed me in the foot path in the old road. I endeavoured to mount a most frightful hill, & soon getting out of my Sulkey, was obliged to lead the trembling beast up to the summit, with no other injury than his treading upon one of my feet which gave me considerable pain. Below the hill was the place of our destination. We found the Parson with a large family in the vale of Contentment, & a most frightful country. At twelve we went to the meeting. I performed the prayers, & Brother Prince the Sermon. There was a very neat congregation. The music was very good, & a propriety of conduct became subject of general observation. After dinner, & some familiar conversation, the terrors of the road, & the hurr[v]ing night came into our minds. Three only of the company had resolution to set out. Brother Hubbard & I being in Sulkeys, & McKeen on Horseback, were directed from the

top of the Hill to the left, & by consulting each other in a mile's distance we reached Squam road, & the Road to the Harbour, entring on the right by a Mill, & were directed to enquire for Haskell's the Hatter, if we ever visited the place again. Here we found a Hatter shop on the right, & on the left a decent House of entertainment, with a sign of a "Bird in the Hand is worth two in the Bush." We continued this road till we came to the place at which we turned to the left in going & then pursued our former rout, home. We stopped at McKeen's at Tea, & there I left Mr Hubbard, & returned home alone at half past nine. Mr. McKeen judges his Meeting House to be above 40 feet elevation from high water mark, & of greater elevation than the Meeting House of the upper Parish. We remarked the deception upon plains of distance. & the account of the Huntsmen, that a fouling piece requires a greater elevation in the meadows, because the earth & water draws down the bullet. Bec's, Coy's, Round & Gravelly Ponds are not on this Road, but the great Chebacco Pond on our right going to Chebacco, is between us & them. I wished to see them, & if time would have permitted should have attempted it. The Methodists have given a very serious alarm to the Orthodox. Cleveland has abused them in the Ipswich Hamlet pulpit, upon a lecture to which he was invited by Dr Cutler. At Manchester there was a curious interview. Some of the inhabitants, wishing to hear the Methodists, proposed in town meeting, that upon the application of two freeholders the Committee should be obliged to open the meeting house to any Preachers they should chuse to introduce. It was not thought prudent to deny this request, & therefore when the vote was passed it was proposed to qualify it with the clause, provided no regularly ordained minister of the neighborhood should be in Town. It was accepted in this form. Soon after Lee & Smith, the Methodists sent word that they should be in town & preach on the ensuing Wednesday. Notice was given to Cleveland & Oliver to be present at that time, & they were ready. Cleveland preached first, & soon at a very short intermission Mr Oliver. Methodists in the intermission learnt the trick, & after some idle debates upon inability, election, itinerancy, &c., they told the people that thay should preach in the School House, & accordingly the two

services began at the same time, but a majority attended the Methodists, offering this reason that the other preaching was out of spight. The Methodists have preached at Ipswich, in the several parishes, Newbury, &c. The Orthodox who have proclaimed a work of God going on in the Southern States, having now found out that it was promoted by the Methodists, have covered in silence their mistake, having confessed that Satan may be transformed into an Angel of Light. The poor Anabaptists are now left in silence, & will probably diminish as the sentiments of the Methodists so happily blend a liberality on the five points, with as much experience as enthusiasm can beget. The doctrine of Itinerancy forms a dreadful puzzle with the orthodox, who are smarting dreadfully under the lash, & are convinced that they set the example.

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Sept. 16, 1791. This day being appointed for the review in Marblehead, I went in company with my Frenchman & John to observe the conduct of the day. We arrived at ten o'clock, & found the Companies just entering the parade. They formed, were inspected by D. A. Tracev, & afterwards reviewed by B. G. Fiske. As Marblehead is a town composed of all nations, instructed in various religious superstitions, which have left no other than the same fears, without any light to enable them to enter into controversies, with their instructions, which are rather their fears playing upon their credulity, they have so little knowledge of moral life, that they are as profane, intemperate, & ungoverned as any people on the Continent. From this general character, for there are some noble exceptions, every person expected entertainment from the folly which the day would exhibit. But the disappointment was great. The regiment under the Command of Col. Orne, junr. consisted of above 300 privates in seven companies, with officers all in a blue uniform, with a white standard, bearing in the quarter the blue stripes. The men were all decently clad. The firearms were rusty & chiefly without bayonets, but not disgustful. When dismissed there was some firing off pieces, but not such as might be expected from men who had been accustomed to this fault in an alarming excess. We were escorted by a proper guard at one o'clock to the Academy to a public dinner,

at which 110 persons were received, & sumptuously entertained. Col. Lee, whose elegant house is on the parade, gave us a Collation at 4 o'clock in a very polite & generous manner. At dinner every propriety was observed. After dinner the Toasts were drank. The Commander of the day condescended in the manner of the place to give us a song in turn, while Major Swazey, Mr Sewall, Capt Orne in turn assisted in the same entertainment. They could not desist from liberties usually taken on such occasions to flatter national prejudices at the expence of other nations. & as I had a Frenchman with me, Col. Orne asked whether a Song upon the French might not be apologised for to my friend. I told him that my friend was young, of a good family, but present upon his courtesy. However, Mr Sewall was betrayed into the error of singing a burlesque song, for which his exquisite feelings gave him adequate punishment upon discovery that a Frenchman was present & he made most humble apologies. Col. Orne senior, in his own manner said, tell the young man that when this same old English song was sung before a General Officer in public company, this generous Frenchman, with a laugh replied, "Dis was no make by de Frenchman." My young friend all this while knew little of the matter. It is however a warning against the illiberality of ballads & the humble prejudices they are designed to support, which ought to disappear when the light of good sense & friendly society appear. A Capt Homans entertained us with a most exact imitation of low life, in the most indelicate, honest, but vile language of low life, for which he deserved the shouts in the execution, but a whipping under the gallows when the story was ended. After the toasts at three o'clock, we returned in procession to the parade, & the afternoon was spent in evolutions. First with Revd Hubbard, & then in company with Col. Orne, I visited the Fish Flakes which were covered with this staple of the Town. In our view from one point were 79 vessels, of which 2 were Brigs, the rest chiefly fishing Schooners, & only 4 of them at the wharves. The ship with Jury masts was riding at the entrance of the harbour. There are but two places in this Town convenient for wharves, each of them I visited. They are about an eighth of a mile apart. No wharves have piers to afford two berths on a side, or room for two vessels on a side. The lane leading to the principal is at the lower end of the Town House, which is boarded up on the lower story, & much shattered above. The best Cove is said to be red stone cove at the upper part of the Town, & just below an head, which I visited, & whose name I forgot. The cove is named from the colour of the rock.

The success of the Fishery has been great this year, but greater in Beverley than in Marblehead in the proportion of the shipping. The difference is imputed to the effects of privateering upon the manners in Marblehead & not to the care in fitting vessels for the fishery. Beverly has fitted out 30 Vessels, and the last fare now in, is above 500 quintals to a Vessel, amounting at the lowest computation to 15,000 quintals. Marblehead has fitted out 80 Vessels, of the same burden, & the success has not been above 300 guintals to a Vessel or about 25,000 quintals, the whole fare. Beverley never went so fully into the fishery before the war, & it is believed that it never had in it the same quantity of fish at the same time. The proportion of Salem, who do not enter largely into this business, I have not ascertained, but will do it at a convenient opportunity. At Sundown I was introduced into the family of Col Lee at Tea. He has eight children & a very obliging wife. This gentleman has a very excellent person, & was highly esteemed in the Continental Army, & particularly by our illustrious Commander in chief. His want of promotion in the Militia depends on himself. After Tea. tho' solicited to tarry at a public Supper, I declined in apprehension. from the manners of the people. I reached Salem at seven o'clock. I saw at a distance the work on the neck, which forms a barrier against the Sea, but had not time to visit it. The Lottery has left. I am informed, something in stock, for future repairs.

An anecdote of the Rev: Bernard, the Bishop of the place, is, that on public trainings, he would carry his pockets loaded with Coppers, to throw to the Boys, to entertain himself with their exertions to catch, or to find them. This was the ostentatious virtue of the age, in which he lived, & passed as generosity, not diversion. It is said there is an admirable likeness of this eminent man yet remaining in his Mansion house which I had not time to see. I went into the

cupola, upon the elevated seat of Col Lee to enjoy the extensive view he has from that convenient place, but the air was not sufficiently clear for the purpose. I could see enough to believe the representation just. They have a seven foot Telescope in fine order, & they declare that they see the people pass to church in the streets of Salem on Sunday, such a command have they of the Town. I observed that the Beacon on Baker's Island looks directly up their Harbour.

17. The Head above red stone cove in Marblehead is called *Skinner's Head*, from the owner, & the head below not of so bold projection into the harbor, & not so dangerous to Mariners, or to vessels driven from their Anchors, is *Barthol's Head*, which is of much greater elevation. The land is exceedingly rough, & they use no wheels in these flakes. The wharves below the town house are called the New Wharves in distinction from those above.

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April 4, 1792. It being the day appointed for the ordination of Mr A. Parish at Manchester, upon the invitation of Mr Lee I went for Manchester in company with my french pupil Mr Igout about nine o'clock. We arrived between ten & eleven, & after twelve the Council appeared for the services. The House being both small & weak, & the day uncommonly warm & pleasant, the Services were performed in front of the Meeting House upon a scafford raised for the purpose. The solemnities were introduced by a prayer from Mr Cleaveland of Stoneham. His Father of Ipswich being Moderator. The Sermon was delivered by the Brother of the Pastor elect, Mr E. Parish of Byfield, Newbury, the ordaining prayer by Mr Cleveland of Ipswich, the Charge after ordination by Mr Forbes of Cape Ann. The prayer after the Charge by Mr Dana of Ipswich, & the Right Hand of Fellowship was given by Mr MacKeen. The Services were performed with decency, & listened to by the people with great good order. After dinner to accomodate my frenchman I went to Cape Ann, in company with the second son of Col. Pierce, who had been in France & conversed with my pupil. We were received with the hospitality of the place. We took Tea at Col. Pearce's. His wife is a plain domestic woman, out of health. Mrs Williams, a daughter whose husband is in the E. Indies, lives with them with three children. Mrs Beach, an other daughter, whose husband is in England, who is yet in the vigour of life, gave us her company, & rendered herself very agreable. After supper I went to Esqr Rogers' and lodged with him.

- 5. Breakfasted with Col. Pearce, & after breakfast went with him to see his Spermaceti works, his Distillery and the numerous artisans whom he employs. That morning arrived a shallop from the Bay, out 48 hours, which brought in several hundred fish, & were in the act of preparing them for the flakes. We then went to Mrs Beach's. They are preparing their garden which is rather too narrow but of considerable length, & which will be excellent when finished. In the middle is a fine fish pond. On the north side is the Rope walk in fine order layed in a bed of clay. In the mansion, which I have repeatedly visited, we have in the great entry & chambers elegantly in frames & glass all the representations & cuts of Cooke's Voyages. besides a full portrait of Capt Beach upon an eminence, with a painting of the death of Hector. At the Father's we have an Italian view taken from a painting in the Pamphili palace at Rome, richly coloured. Mrs Beach afterwards favoured us with her company at dinner. She is a fine woman. I visited Charles Rogers & saw his fine wife. At two we set out upon our return, after many promises of another visit, & reached Manchester. There we heard of the intentions of Mr Toppan of Newbury, son of the former minister, to preach a lecture in the evening. His fame being great, & I never having heard him. I consented to tarry, & was obliged to offer the last prayer of the service. The first time I ever spoke in a Meeting House by candle light. The sermon on Abraham's offering up Isaac was meritorious. We lodged at Mrs. Hannah Lee's.
  - 6. After Breakfast returned to Salem & arrived at 1/2 past 8.

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May 15, 1792. Rode with Miss N. B. into Danvers, where we spent an agreable day with a pleasing company of Country Lasses. We walked, we sung, we played, & time never hung heavy upon our hands. We saw the good Parson planting opposite to his house. The head of the family was taken in distress & adopted, & does not

know his parentage. The Children are of three sorts, & are intermarrying, as the present is a third wife, & the wives had children by other husbands. A Mrs W. was with us, who married a young Carpenter by occupation, who went with an associate, her present husband, to Carolina, & made an agreement that should he die first, the other should take his widow. After his death his friend sent the account with the agreement, & he is now married. He entertained us with some sentimental songs. There was a raising in the neighborhood this afternoon, which prevented us from the company of the Parson. The river running from Reading to Ipswich passes near this house. We were decently mired in looking for Cranberries. We reached Salem at nine in the evening.

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June 22, 1792. By invitation from Mr Derby the Clergy spent this afternoon at the Farm in Danvers. We were regaled at our arrival. after the best liquors at the house, with a feast in his Strawberry beds. They were in excellent order, & great abundance. He measured a berry, which was 2 inches 1/2 in circumference. We saw whole nurseries of Trees, such as Buttons, fruit trees, & the Mulberry, of the last we had from him the following account. He takes the fruit very ripe, dries it, then pulverises it, & sows it in rows, as other small seed, & it grows above an inch the first year, & in five years, is eight & ten feet high by transplanting. This garden is much improved since I was here last. We saw Potatoes called early, brought from the Nova Scotia, & upon opening the hills, they were large as eggs at the present time. The slugs & worms do injury to his fruit. Besides the garden we saw a great variety of animal life. The Swan, a stranger among us, from Virginia. The Cape of Good Hope Sheep with their remarkable tails, weighing 5 pounds, & used by the inhabitants as butter, but of very delicate fat. The Garden is on our right as we went westerly from the house, & the barns, nursery, &c. on the left. We went down to the New farm, where we saw in pleasing contentment some old domestic servants enjoying at ease the remainder of their days. As our company was mixt, we had not

much familiar conversation. The German Gardner\* is yet upon the Farm. At Coffee we had excellent radishes, bread, & butter, & cheese from the Farm. The Cheese equal to any in Europe. A pair of fine Horses carried the waggon to the Farm, & gave an unusual stateliness to the conveyance. Return at Sundown. Mr Derby received us with all that attention, & bounty, which gratify, while they distroy not the affections. We envied nothing but his liberality to us, because we wished to do the same things.

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March 5, 1793. This day being the day on which the Tyrian Lodge at Cape Ann meets, I determined to persevere tho' the weather was foul, to accomplish the business of the Grand Lodge in Essex. The roads were bad, & after the civilities of Manchester, the French Gentleman, who accompanied me, dined with me at Major Craft's, the public house. After dinner, through this horrible road we continued on to Cape Ann, where we arrived in the afternoon. I could not refrain from observing that the appearance was very different from that the Town assumes from the confluence of Strangers on public festivals & days of rejoicing. There was too much complaining for a belief of a general content. In the evening I was conducted to the Lodge convened in an upper chamber, by a Committee, & received with every civility. With the utmost coolness I waved every dispute, & proposed the object of my conference, a permanent union of interests in the present Grand Lodge. They then chose a Committee of five persons, & ordered the Secretary to report their proceedings to the Grand Lodge. This Committee is to deliberate on the subject, & report to the Lodge their opinion. We then had an elegant Collation, & after supper some choice songs, & retired.

6. This day was spent in visits to Revd Forbes, the Rogers, Pierces, &c. Mr Beach introduced me to his Brother, arrived with his family from Bristol, a Tobacconist, an intelligent man, & furnished with a very good Library, from which he spared for my perusal Martin's dict. of Natural History, ornamented with figures highly coloured.

\*George Heussler, a German who previously had been at the Tracy estate at Newburyport and was "the first man who ever lived in Salem in the character of a regularly bred gardener."

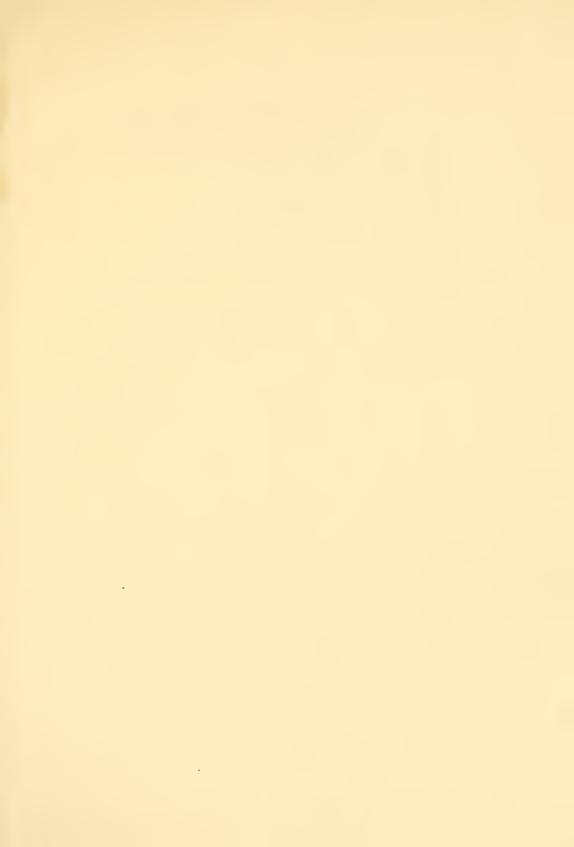
We were received in the best manner at Captain Beach's; & he deserves our gratitude. We saw here specimens of the Cornwall ores. After dinner we went with Mr Rogers to see his farm of 300 acres at eastern Point. Mr Rowe, the Attorney, & Son in Law of Mr Rogers accompanied us. The road was horrible, & my young companion after travelling across the neck to view the Thatcher's Island lights accompanied me into the Town on foot, both of us dreading to ride back through such dangerous passes. In the evening there was an assembly, at which my young companion attended. He gave me a very humorous account. They had six candles, 12 ladies, 7 gentlemen, a black fiddler for 2s. & a fifer for 1s. 6. Both sexes partook of the grog provided on the occasion.

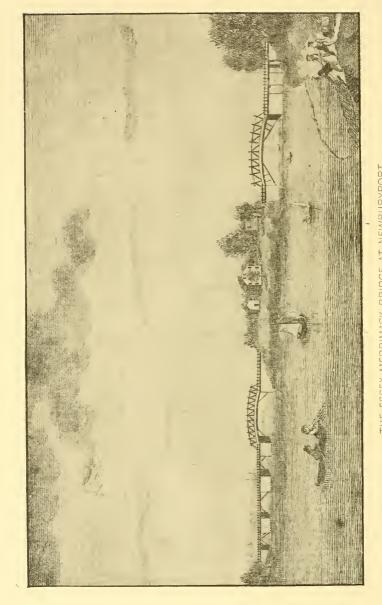
7. In the morning we breakfasted at Mr Beach's & we had the company of the two English young Ladies, Daughters of Mr Beach of Bristol. The greatest propriety distinguished this social hour. At 10, we left Cape Ann & reached Manchester, & dined, & at 2 o'clock arrived again at Salem. We were told at Cape Ann, that they could with difficulty provide hands for their bankers,\* from the general persuasion that the Bay boats were more lucrative, & from observing the success of Sandy Bay, Squam, & Chebacco. Beach's rope walk was in great good order. Sergeant's now shut up, it is said, is sold to D. Plummer. Pearce has had several good Whale voyages, & a Ship lay ready to sail for the Cape of Good Hope. He expects to set his Sperma Ceti works agoing again. His distillery has stopped, during the winter. The Meeting House is repaired.

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March 19, 1793. It having rained in the morning, I delayed setting out for Newbury Port till eleven, & upon the road was informed that the funeral of the Revd J. Murray, of Newbury Port, would be attended this evening. The roads were as bad, as they ever are, & after having dined at Ipswich I could not reach Newbury Port till after 4 o'clock. Upon my arrival I found the people in the Meeting House, & with difficulty heard the close of the last prayer, & the Singing. I was informed that the first prayer was by Dr Langdon, of Hampton, the Address by Mr Whittimore of Stratham, & the last

<sup>\*</sup>The Grand Banks fishing fleet.





From a drawing by J. Downer, engraved for the "Massachusetts Magazine," May, 1793. THE ESSEX MERRIMACK BRIDGE AT NEWBURYPORT.

prayer by Mr Morrison of Londonderry. The order of the day was read from the pulpit by Mr Tombe, now preaching in the Congregation. After service the procession formed for the Burial ground, in which Mr Murray requested to be interred, rather than in the Tomb under the Pulpit with Mr Whitefield, Parsons & Prince. The easy access to it, had rendered it exposed to indecent freedoms which disgusted him. In the procession first went the Church, Deacons, & Elders, & the Clergy present on the occasion. Then the corps supported by young men of the Congregation, & the pall supported by Dr Langdon, Dr Bass, Dr Haven, McClintock, Mr Euwer, & Mr Morrison. Then followed the relations & friends. Above 350 couple were in the procession & crowds in the street. Above 6,000 people were collected on the occasion. After the service I spent the evening agreably & lodged at Doctor Swett's. Dr Swett assured me that Mr Murray discovered firmness till the close of life, spent the time in exhorting his friends, who crowded round his dying bed, & could not be prevented by the most earnest remonstrances of his friends, & the physicians. Mr Murray gave them to sing in his house the 33 & 75 Hymns of the 2d Book, Watts.

20. After breakfast with Capt Noves I rode up to the bridge over the Merrimack, & confess myself much pleased with plan & the obiect. The execution is equal to the design. The proportions I had already seen. The Island may be rendered delightful & there is a public House already erected by the proprietors of the Bridge upon the Island. & it is nearly finished. As yet it has produced nearly double to the simple interest of the money, but how far curiosity, & the openness of the winter, by which the ice has been impassable. may come into the account, cannot yet be determined. I returned & dined in company with the Mr Traceys, & Jackson & Dr Swett. with Col. Wigglesworth. He is a hospitable man, sui generis. His little daughter gave us some pleasing specimens of her music in singing. In the evening we visited St Peter's Lodge. The reception was kind. The tables diagonally placed, the company too numerous for the tables, the room badly illuminated. The lodge was opened & closed with Prayer. The Master M. Gale. Spent evening at Dr Swetts with some french company.

- 21. Breakfasted with Mr J. Tracey, spent Morning with Mr Jackson & Dr Bass, & rode to the Academy\* & dined with the Preceptor. The road was very bad, & clavey, & a violent snow storm came on which lasted all day. The Academy is much repaired, a new white balustrade fence is before the Mansion House. The Old School built for M. Moody, & since a writing school, is neglected. It contains only the great desk provided by Mr Moody for the Academy chamber, which is now cleared for exhibitions. There are about 20 youth at the Academy, & the Preceptor is a man of great diligence. He usually preaches in the Academy on Sundays. In the evening I was received at Swasey's Tayern by a Committee from the Unity Lodge in Ipswich. The members present were the Master Col. Wade, the Secretary Major Burnham, & Major Swasey, & Capt. Dodge. They represented their Lodge as having only 12 members & seemed more retarded by the smallness of their numbers than any other cause. In the war their members exceeded forty. Capt. Dodge was with me in the Convention, & still seemed wounded with the idea of working under modern masons, an idea which had been expressed with some warmth by B. Boardman, past Master, in St Peter's Lodge. It was agreed to give me Letters A I found afterwards to pay my expenses. We supped together, & I enjoyed the Company of a very respectable Committee.
- 22. Rose early, & after breakfast returned home. The roads very bad. Newbury Port is evidently flourishing. Many new houses in high Street; & Stores opening on account of the position of the Bridge three miles above the Town. Several french families here, & a greater number of emigrants than in any other place except Boston. Great West India Trade. The Anabaptists, & Miltonians are preparing for a harvest upon the death of Mr Murray, who united the lower classes of people. Mr Bancroft has resigned the Town Grammar School, & Master Rogers has engaged to enter upon it next Monday. He engaged with the greatest prepossessions in his favour. He has taught writing & reading, & therefore he certainly can teach Latin, & Greek. The teaching by Duncan's Cicero, & Davidson's Virgil is so common, said the Preceptor of Dummer Acad-

<sup>\*</sup>Dummer Academy at Byfield Parish.

emy to me, that no other School Books are to be found. The Select Orations of Tully, without a version cannot be purchased. The new way is taught at the Andover Academy.

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April 23, 1793. Set off for Tewkesbury to visit my old Landlady. Did not easily recollect the road in Danvers, which turned off 1 1/2 mile to the left, & again about 3 miles at a house projecting at the angle. Keeping to the right directly. After stopping at the Widow Upton's found the left hand direct road, the highest, not the best, & when I came within sight of the precinct Meeting house of Reading, I turned to the right & came out by the meeting house, when 70 rods nearer, I might have kept on & come out at the public house, 1/2 a mile beyond the Meeting House. After having passed Wilmington above a mile past Esqr Ford's on turning to the right I passed between the House & Barn which were the second on the road, then kept to the left, & upon passing the Shawshin rode upon the banks of the River to the Mills & to Boardman's. After dinner I rode on to Andover through Tewkesbury woods. It is five miles from Boardman's to the South Meeting. The road direct. Some danger of turning to the right. Passed the Shawshin below the south meeting house, which was then a beautiful stream. I stopped at the meeting House lately finished & obtained entrance. The exterior appearance is the best. The house is crowded within & has no pleasing appearance from the proportions. It has a pendant canopy, & an inscription over the pulpit. Holiness becomes thy house O Lord. forever. The communion Table is in what we called the Elder's seat. So that we find the desenters begin to inclose & we are told as to the discipline they enclose in this place with a vengeance. The way to mount the Tower is not convenient. The Bell is in the Tower. & too much enclosed. It is a fine Bell, & is the gift of Samuel Abbot Esqr whose name is upon it with this Inscription. To all the people I do call, & to the grave do summon all. It is deep toned. & excellent. The lantern, as it is called, upon the dome has not so good an effect, as I should have wished for so much expence. There are a number of fine houses in the great road which have a fine effect upon the Traveller, & astonish him noticeably with the idea of ease by

affluence. The farms have great neatness, & convenience. I then went on to Mr Isaac Parker's & Col. Lovejoy's at the entrance of a Lane about 1/4 of a mile on the south side of the South Meeting House. I found in one a good farmer & in the other a very attentive Gentleman. The farmer has everything in order around him. & much of that facetiousness which makes the most laborious employment set easy. He has a wife & four very young daughters very agreeable. The family were baptised by me last fall. An aged father, trembling with the palsy in the limbs, & helpless, with a good countenance bore ample testimony by his language & appearance to the fidelity of his children. He had been an old soldier in the french wars & had a very open. & engaging look. The son had been in the American naval service in the last Civil war of America. At this house, which is furnished with a large chamber, this evening a company of 20 couple were to assemble for dancing & amusement. They visit this house for these purposes in classes, according to their ages, not with any regard to their condition, as in the Seaport Towns. They seperated at the usual hours of Assemblies. They have Violins & flutes for their music, & sometimes the drum. For the convenience of Lodging after Tea I went to Col. Loveiov's. He conducted me to the North meeting house, which was built 40 years ago. The order of the Door has not that appearance which the improvements in architecture would give it at this day. The hipped roof of the Porch I prefer to the pediment of the new House. The steeple is too small as it rises from the dome, but the ill effect has been lessened since the late repairs by diminishing the shaft above. The interior view of this house from the convenience of parts makes it look larger than the other house, & it is much better finished throughout. The swell of the pulpit is not sufficiently large but the whole has a good effect. They have a clock upon the front gallery, & a very excellent one in the Steeple with pointers. The pendulum is not hung with ease, but the clock is good. The bell of about 500 Wt is sharp & clear, a good tone. We returned to the Col's & after familiar chat we retired in good season.

24. This morning we rose & rode 3 miles towards the river. Then walked to the place intended for the New Bridge, & for which

the Banks are cut down to move the Timber, & here we saw the people on each side seining for Salmon & other fish. We saw a 1000 alewives caught in one draught. They had taken one salmon of 20 wt: pick[er]el, shad, suckers, &c. Their method was in a flat boat of about 14 feet in length, & three in breadth with a wide stern, upon which is a table for the seine, which is furnished with scuppers to void the water. With this they go up the eddy formed by a projection of rocks & logs into the river, & then row violently into the stream [and] discharge the net from the stern. On the shore two men hold the rope fastened to the seine & begin instantly to draw down. The men in the boat guicken the motion of the boat in the stream till the whole seine is drawn from the boat & then make towards the shore, the rope from the boat to the seine being about 3 times the length of the boat, as is the length of the wood, which forms the eddy. The men on the shore continue to draw down till they have come within 100 feet of the boatmen, & then draw the ends of the seine upon the shore. Then they pull up the seine, clearing it as it comes up within a few feet of the shore. Then they rest a few minutes till the fish cease their furious slapping in the water, & then they empty the seine, & begin again. The Seine is about 100 feet long. It is sunk at bottom by the leads, & floated at top by wooden buoys, 2 feet distance. The intertexture of the lines is called the Marish. The middle of this seine was of the alewife marish, of a smaller texture than the other parts. We received a dozen of the alewives from the fishermen, who sold them at 2s/pr. 100, or as caught in the brooks, by the order of the Town, at a pistareen. The vote of the Town last year was that a committee should be chosen to fish in the brooks at the Town charge, & the fish were to be delivered at a pistareen pr. 100. We left the river & then rode through the woods, which are of pine shrubs, & exhibit a melancholy contrast to the other parts of the town. The buildings, the inhabitants, & the animals, all shew the unfavourable soil upon which they are employed. After a zigzag ride of four miles, repeatedly crossing the sweet stream of the Shawshin, which here finished its course in the Merrimack, we arrived at the Paper Mills erected upon this river. & found them in great order. The vats below, the two mills above.

the conveyance of the water, the various employments of the persons at work, of both sexes, gave pleasing entertainment. The drying rooms were large, & convenient upon every account. The powder mills were a novel sight, upon the construction of Fulling mills as to the motion given to the pestles in the mortars, by levers from the axis of the wheel. We then passed the S. Meeting towards home, which we reached at noon. We dined on Salmon, & the Alewives were received & the alewives fresh made no mean entertainment at the Col's Table. We were much indebted undoubtedly to the Cook, who excelled on the occasion. After dinner I returned through Boxford & Topsfield to Salem, which tho' of a distance much greater than on the roads by Reading or Middleton, amply compensated me by the goodness of the roads, the fine farms, the beautiful landscapes, ponds & rivers. At Topsfield I spent an hour in chearful chat in a wedding house where the minister, Lawyer, squire, &c. were assembled, the men in one room, & their wives in another, the men having the best room. & all the attendance. For my amusement besides anecdotes, &c. I was furnished with several late publications of the ministers in this neighbourhood which informs us of the state of this order which has so much influence on society. Bradford of Rowley, Sermon at the Ord. of his Brother forms the clerical character upon the cant term of "experience" which will admit of many consequences, being explained only by inward light. Dutch of Bradford, at the dedication of his new Meeting House, taking as his text the gold letters over his pulpit, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," runs along in a muddy stream, till he unburdens himself with the account of the oblivion of the old house, which should teach them to put into the bottomless pit; the same; their old man, not the old minister who was already dead. Williams of Methuen has offered to the world his farewell sermons, after a most bitter dissention. He is a son of an old Presbyterian Willians, natives of Ireland & the father often deranged. The dispute began about a Wood lot of the Parsonage & a challenge from the pulpit at a weekly Lecture, which one of the parishioners accepted. The parson seems to wish them well, but is terribly inveterate against a class of illiterate ministers, & a class called Hopkintonians, tho' not here named. Neither of these performances contribute much to prove the clergy enlightened, simple in the ideas, or sweet in their tempers. The inscription upon their Houses is not in the style of sentiment of the New England settlers, & proves infallibly, that the Catholic Church is formed of materials existing in the constitution of human nature, as connected with certain states of society. The I. H. S. on the front of the S. Pulpit in Andover may well express in Humanitate Sum. In drawing comparisons nothing can be said in favour of these men, as in their office, in regard to society, we see, morals will make the worst opinions harmless.

The situation of Andover being elevated there are fine prospects from its hills. & the view of the Town is opened in every part, & beautifully diversified. There are seven bridges over the Shawshin, which is nearly of the same width & depth through the Town of Andover. It is said to rise in Lexington. Seems as large in Tewkesbury as at its mouth, & being deep in its bed, & confined, is subject to sudden flows. It is about 20 feet wide, & from 2 to 6 deep, where it is not obstructed. The Town of Andover is much cut up by roads. The poverty of the Land towards the Merrimac prevents this from being a great evil in that quarter. The Shawshin rises & falls 10 feet in 12 hours, & the bridges are high upon that account, but too narrow, an evil from being a Town charge. There is not much fishing in this river, which is obstructed by the Mills built upon it. I saw some children with scoop nets amusing themselves. I found my friend Boardman has detached his interest from Mr Simons, renouncing all right in the house near the mills & the lands, & giving up the Mills saw & grist mills upon the Shawshin for an annual quit rent of 50 bushels of grain during Boardman's life. They have settled a Mr Barton at Tewkesbury. Madam Boardman has passed her 80th year. The land is in general poor in the Town of Tewkesbury. Salmon here at /5d a pound. As to the Cultivation of Andover, I found at Col. Lovejoy's that he had the reputation of the greatest quantity of English Hay, & that Mr Parker had preserved excellent wood upon his farm. Among the elegant houses, the one which meets us coming into the great road from Tewkesbury, belonging to one Poor, a Tanner, is not the least elegant. There are several

Physicians in the Town, among whom Kitteridge is distinguished by his elegant situation, agreeable manners, & extensive practice. The minister in the south parish asserts the rigour of his predecessor, & supports the character of the last age of American manners. The influence of example is every day increasing. He decides upon the secular concerns of his church agreably to the antient rigour. The most aged minister in this vicinity, Mr Morrill, is approaching to the end of a long life by means of a Cancer in the Mouth. He has been subjected to great mortifications for Arminianism, a charge which implies liberal enquiry, & popular prejudice, & stands for anything unhappy in a man's situation. I returned to Salem with St Cyprian's works, & a bunch of sweet Thyme for the Ladies, & so ended a short journey in which the roads were in the best order, & the weather the finest conceivable. I rode without surtout.

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April 27, 1794. Sunday. Went this morning on an exchange to Boxford, South Parish. The Rev. Holyoke is disabled by a paralytic stroke. I took the road, leaving Topsfield meeting on the right, & after 3/4 of a mile took the right hand through a road which did not seem to be much used. & which was but poorly settled from a visible cause, the poverty of the soil. The Rev. Mr. Holyoke & his family received me kindly. His wife is agreable. An only daughter at home gave us her company in modest silence. The meeting house is small, well painted, without spire or bell, & the congregation made a very decent appearance throughout. A Mr Adams from New Rowley, an adjoining vacant parish gave us his company at dinner. & told us the Anabaptist minister had also left from the circulation of some reports respecting his immodest freedoms. This is the third seperation of these amorous zealots in the County since I have lived in it, besides other uneasiness from the same cause with men of the same character.

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May 21, 1794. This day I visited Marblehead, with intention to examine the Neck which forms their harbour, but not having even my compass I was obliged to content myself with a very superficial survey. Revd Messieurs Story & Hubbard accompained me. We travelled near the shore from the high rocks before the Town called

Bartold's head, leaving below us the new wharves. Above were the old wharves called Nickes cove wharf. We then passed Waldron's cove & reached Skinner's Head, & cove, & then red stone cove, & then rotten Cove, & then Whale cove, & came to Euit's head, & came to the Sea bank called river's head. We passed on the outer side, & on the further part saw the new works erected from the late Lottery, against which the public has so much complained. We found the Stones thrown up at considerable height as we approached the Neck. The tide being up, most of the rocks which lay off towards Ram Island were hidden, & those which lay between the neck & Tinker's Island. We reached the Western point, & from the headland, had an elevation which opened Tinker's Island, so as to shew the passage the Sea has between the parts of it. We continued our walk on the outer side of the Neck, which has rocky head, & beaches between as on the Shore of the Towns tho' not of so great elevation, excepting about the middle of the neck, which is supposed to extend half a mile in a straight line, but must exceed that distance. In this dry time we found several places filled with water, & the low land in a very neglected state. It is said the whole neck includes 180 acres, the greater part of which is pasturage. Mr Andrews who has the best House on the Neck, is wealthy, possesses 27 acres, part of which lays in the rights of the Common land, tho' each man knows his special property. There are now three dwelling houses upon the Neck besides their barns, & several fish houses. It is said that there ware formerly 12 houses, but by the cellars they are judged to have been small, & not to be compared to these now standing. Mr Andrews' house was built before the war, is painted & in good repair with out houses, & excellent stone walls. The other houses are the common farm houses two stories with pitched roofs. The neck is widest about 2/3 up toward the causeway westward, & it is one mile 1/2 from Capt. Andrews' House to the New Meeting House in the Town over the Causeway, about half a mile across the harbour, which is nearly of the same width throughout. The point of the Neck outward between Marblehead Rock & Tinker's Island has rocks laying off called Tom Moore's Rocks. The point opposite to the fort, & which makes the mouth of the Harbour is called Point Black Jack, & within it is formed a Cove called Carder's Cove. The Fort was erected in the last war upon a Headland below the Town, & which is never separated at the highest tide from the mainland, & beyond it lays Orne island, which can be approached on land only on the ebb. Above the fort lays Ingoll's beach upon which Leslie landed his troops at the commencement of the War in 1775. The Harbour is not sheltered from the east wind, & between Boden's point & Skinner's head about 1/4 over is Boden's ledge of Rocks upon which there is in the common ebb 1 1/2 fathom of water, & at the lowest ebb 7 feet. They are Called Boden's Rocks, but are a real Ledge of some extent & scattered round. I did not have the pleasure of visiting Tinker's Island, which I was assured could be visited from the Neck by wading in about 3 feet of water. It has much less land than I thought as viewed from the Neck, than I judged from the Sea. There has been one melancholy shipwreck upon them since I have lived in Salem. The Sunken rocks laying eastward of Cat Island, called in Salem, Satan, are called in Marblehead, the Porpusses.

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Nov. 24, 1794. Left Salem with Mr Priestley on a Journey to see the new Bridges of this County. We visited the Beverly Manufacture, which from the fruitless attempt to manufacture cotton velvet, & unfashionable goods, is now converted to the profitable business of Bedticks, & the demand is much beyond the ability of Mr Burnham to supply. 60 hands are now employed in Beverly Manufactory. We reached Ipswich & were kindly received at Revd Dana's for whom we carried Letters. After viewing the New Court House the plan of which is to be seen, tho' yet it is unfinished, we passed after dinner to the Academy Dummer, & spent an hour with the worthy Preceptor Smith. We had not time to visit the Woolen Manufactory established three miles from the Academy, from the shortness of the Days. We spent the first part of the evening at Revd Andrews in company with Revd Carey, very agreably, & then went & supped at Mr Jackson's, & lodged at his house. They have purchased an elegant organ for the first Church, of American manufacture.

25. We spent the morning in visiting the Town. There is a new Meeting House built for a number of Seceders from the Presbyterian Church, who have at length settled a Mr Milton, & the Presbyterians

have settled a Mr Dana, to whom we had letters of address, & by whom we were kindly received. We visited the rope walks, which were now decorated in honour of Queen Catharine, on a day bearing the name of a Saint Catharine. We visited the new Charity house, which is a brick building, now erecting, & only finished on the ground floor. An entry passes through the middle leaving four rooms on each side, exclusively of the rooms assigned for the Overseer at the northern end. The upper part is to contain two large Rooms for business, & for the Overseers: till they are necessary for other purposes. We visited Mr Parson's, our eminent Lawyer, & various other characters, & dined with Dr Lovett in company with the amiable Mr Jackson, who returned the visit to Dr Swett, who had breakfasted with us in the morning. After dinner we took leave & went towards Haverhill. We were advised to go up Newbury side of the river because the road was better, tho' the Amsbury side was shorter. We passed half a mile above grasshopper plains, where stands a meeting house, to view the New Bridge, & returned, by a path which shortened our distance, to the plain near the meeting house making a Gore of Land. We were advised to pass Cottle's ferry, or at Bradford lower Meeting at Bussel's ferry but we continued up till we reached the Bridge, and it was too late to examine it. We spent an agreable evening at Herod's, & lodged that night at his house. We had a pleasing company of Ladies.

26. In the morning, Mr Bartlet, our high Sherif, & a candidate for Congress, who superintends the building of the Bridge, waited upon us to examine it. We found the piers of Stone, & three arches. We wait for a circumstantial discription to be assured of all its proportions. We then had purposes of visiting the Bodwell Bridge between Andover & Methuen, but the cold & the wind in our faces made us relinquish this object as well as the Canal at Patucket falls, & even above at Goff's Town, with the Bridges. We returned by Boxford & Topsfield to Salem, & arrived before Sundown. Haverhill Bridge is 563 feet long, with three Arches 183 feet each in length, 34 feet wide, upon stone piers, & abutments.

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April 18, 1796. I left Salem to go to Andover, to visit my friend

Gen. Fiske, who has been long in that place for the advantages of the air, the retirement, and the attention of Dr Kitteridge, who is famous for his success with deranged persons. When I arrived at Stephen's I found the fishing Time had come on, but the Fishing in the brooks was by the Town, according to Law, an exclusive privilege in the hands of a Committee. One of the particular brooks is the Quochechiuque which is the outlet from the pond one mile N. E. from the Meeting House to the Merrimac, being about two miles in its course, passing the road not a mile N. of the N. Meeting House. The pond is large, & of an irregular shape. It is several miles around it, but I only saw it from the Hills. I was upon the hill opposite Frye's which I had visited once before, & upon the hill north of it, between Fry's & the Pond. I did not go to Wyere Hill which is between the Meeting House & the Pond.

19. This morning after breakfast in company with Col. Lovejoy I left Andover to see Methuen, one of the Towns of Essex County. I had crossed the river before at Bodwell's falls, & at the upper part of the Town at Richardson's but had not been far from the banks of the River. We had to ride about three miles to Bodwell's falls where the new Bridge is erected. We crossed the Bridge on the Shawshin at Poor's in a mile & 1/2 & a Brook called Cold Spring, & had in full view a regular hill called Tower Hill in Methuen, which touches the river between Bodwell & Peter's falls, & has a ferry on the river. We turned short to the right hand and came to the Bridge. I was not able to get the dimentions of this Bridge. It was represented on the planking to reach 38 rods, above 600 feet. The water courses are four, & all supported overhead. The first floor is flat, but the other three are arches. The piers are covered with square timber & filled with rocks. & the work looks well throughout. There were seines employed on both sides of the river, but they took only Shads, Suckers & alewives. We purchased a few as they came out of the water. Having passed the Bridge, we left White's on the right, & soon passed a guide Post, telling us, that it was 17 miles to Londonderry. & so to Patucket falls, which is said to be a corruption of Pautucket. We crossed a Brook, & then came in view of the Spiquet, a beautiful Stream, which rises in New Hampshire, passes through

Methuen & empties into the Merrimack, opposite to the Shawshin. Its course was judged to be S. E., & it passes near New Salem Meeting House in N. H. near the Road. As we ascended Conant's Hill we saw the Spiquet pouring its waters along at the Foot of this Hill, which is high & steep, & now the land begins to look of a much better soil, as well as cultivation. A view of Methuen from the opposite banks of the River would give the beholder a very unfavourable opinion of the Township, & would justify the censure of Andover whose inhabitants long called it Littleworth. But the opinion is more favourable when we see their Oaklands, well cultivated spots, & the general appearance of ease & prosperity. It is said to have gained much within a few years, & the Farms are in better hands. The high lands give fine prospects, & we were relieved from the fatigue of mounting Conant's Hill, by the scenes which opened before us. As we approached the Falls, the Farm house, & the Farm of one Osgood appeared on the other side of the river in good order, & cultivation. In two miles from the Bridge we reached the Cascade at the Falls of the Spiquet, which is indeed romantic. The Road runs just above & just below the falls, & there are the best advantages for viewing them on every side. While the stream is full they are enchanting. The whole fall is fifty feet, but the descent over the rocks, which forms the cascade, is 30 feet. Above the falls the stream divides & leaves a little Island over which a road passes by two small bridges. The Island is full of large Oaks. The east branch would lead off the water, & as it passes the Island, is not interrupted. This branch is checked below the Island by the Timber, which passes over its mouth, & keeps it up several feet. The western Branch is broken by continual falls over the Rocks, till it reaches the rocks, where it mixes its waters with the other branch & pours down in the beautiful Cascade, into a bason below. On the western side there is a grist mill, & fulling mill, & on the eastern a small wheel to grind scythes. & all tools of husbandry. The water passes from the bason below with an inclination eastward, which gives a convenient stand in front of the falls to see the water precipitate itself from the rock. The cascade is several times broken, but the whole has but one interruption from the projecting sides of the rocks at 2/3s the height. The

rock is shelving, & slate rock. A Sergeant holds the mills, & keeps a public house in this neighbourhood. In one mile we reached the meeting House leaving on our right the parsonage lot of wood chiefly oak. Not far from the Meeting House is the late Mansion of the first Minister, Sargeant, who was the father of our late Judge Sargeant, so eminent on our Supreme Bench for his Law Knowledge, & lately deceased at Haverhill. The Estate is now held by a Bodwell by purchase. Rev. Sargeant was in this Town 50 years, & not long since died. He was succeeded by a Mr Williams, Son of the Revd Williams of Windham, not far from this place, for whom a Manse was built upon the glebe not far from the Meeting House. Mr Williams soon left his charge from some civil dispute, & is since settled at Meredith. Last December they ordained a Perley from Boxford. By an advertisement on the Door of the Meeting House, it is to be taken down on Wednesday April 21, which is the next day. The Pews had been taken out, & preparation made. This is their first Meeting House. It was small, & in the usual proportions of our Meeting Houses. Never painted within or without. The timber was on the spot for a new Meeting House, which they expect to raise in May. It is to be upon the plan of the New Meeting House lately finished in the lower Parish of Bradford. With a tower, & Cupola. The situation is truly delightful. The Hill on whose top it is to be placed, rises gently, & the best farms are near it. It commands a very extensive prospect. One Hildrich keeps the Publick House near the Meeting House. At a distance N. Westward, appears a handsome House belonging to one Huit. We left the Meeting House & continued our rout eastward, after having been informed that we left the Meeting House of the Seperatists, half a mile on our left to the west when we were at the Falls. We did not see it. It is now vacant, & the Congregationalists are to meet in it, while their House is building. The minister, Stephens of the Seperatists, has removed & settled in Stoneham, Middlesex Co. The Baptist meeting is at some distance on the extreme part of the Town towards Dracut, and is unfinished, & without a Teacher. In passing from the M. House eastward, we went near a Square House, belonging to one Swan, which was well constructed, & in good order, & we had a fine view of the houses

eastward, as we descended the long hill, till we reached Esqr Ingall's, to whose house we intended to visit. He is an old man, one of the Justices of the Sessions. & has been in the General Court. His house is two miles from the Meeting House. To extend our acquaintance as far as we could we did not return the same way, but took our route through Bear Meadow woods, it being four miles from Ingall's to the Bridge on this road. We passed Bear Meadow Book, & on our right a Clay Pit, which is said to afford as good Clay as in the County. There was no Kiln prepared when we passed. After we had passed the Woods, we came to Sow Brook, which near the road, meandered in the most singular manner, leaving only a few yards across to its course, after running in opposite directions several rods. It is above a mile from Ingall's. We then came to Bloody Brook, which empties into the Spiquet, & saw the Ironworks. There was a Furnace here, but it had not lately been at work. Ore had been found in this quarter, but I did not hear its quality, quantity, or its situation. Below on the Spiguet we saw another small fall, at which was a Mill Seat, & was told of another, below it towards Merrimac. We passed the road to Swan's Ferry by which our road to Andover would have been shortened two miles, but as the attendance was uncertain since the Bridge had been built, we continued our route to the Bridge passing White's on our return, which we had left on our right when we entered the Town. From the Bridge we had a view of the mouths of the Shawshin & Spiquet, 1/2 a mile below. After passing the bridge, where toll was 12 1/2 cents, we took the new road & instead of turning as when we passed before, kept a direct course for the Overshot Mills, which stand upon an artificial pond, near the Shawshin. Here a Saw, Grist & Fulling mill are supplied with their little streams. We then entered the road to Billerica & Concord, & keeping the left reached the North Parish, ascending a long Hill, from which the prospect is very extensive, & entering upon Boston Road from Haverhill. I dined with Col. Lovejoy, & in the evening through Topsfield returned to Salem. From Methuen we could see the Academy at Atkinson on a hill to the eastward, with the Meeting House, Manse, & adjacent Buildings.

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Sept. 1, 1796. Hearing much of the malignant fever, in Newbury Port, & wishing to hear with my own ears, what was said in that place, as well as the state of the Inhabitants, I listened readily to a proposal from Dr Little to take a seat in a Chaise, in which he was going to Newbury Port near which was the place of his nativity, & in which he had his medical education under Dr Swet who was a victim of the disease. We left Salem about ten o'clock & dined at Ipswich at the States Arms. Before dinner we visited Revd Mr Dana, who was at his father's house, & who belonged to Newbury Port. This Gentleman was supposed to have had the symptoms of this fever. & is now upon the recovery. Upon our arrival near the Town we stopped at the father's House of Dr L., & finding the family at Lecture in the old town we thought we would stop at the old meeting to hear what Dr More the Minister had to say about the fever. A young man Pierce, candidate in Salisbury, preached. We found the alarm was great. We rode into Newbury Port & stopped at Davenport's & there found Mr Marquan,\* so famous for his bold imagination. He had a servant sick of this fever, a negro, & in a high delirium. He had left his house, but was afraid to leave it with the negro, who had torn his bed to pieces, & such men as were sent to watch him. Marquan's account did not want colouring. We found Water street shut up by a chain & that Mr Carter, & Mr Mycall were the only persons who had courage to tarry in it. We found the Town much deserted, & there had been public religious services for several days successively. We sought the Clergy, & with Messieurs Cary & Andrews I spent an hour. They could only assure me of the facts of the deaths, & alarms, without any reasonings upon the matter. I then went in search of Captain Joseph Noves. His house was shut up, & his family had gone to Hampton. I found him at his son's, & as he was one of the Health Committee, I by his request accompanied him to the Town house where the Health Committee continued assembled all day. Capt Noyes was present with Dr Swet't when he died. Dr Swet was taken by vomiting on Saturday, & determined, upon his own fate upon the first discharge. Dr Sawyer visited him, but did not prescribe, & I have not yet heard what

\*Marguand.

†Dr. John B. Swett.

method Dr Swet observed. A coldness in the extreme parts was observed on Monday, but the Dr died on Tuesday. He rose by his own strength on the bed, spake to Capt. Noves, turned himself, & without stretching himself, sunk instantly. The body had rather a purple appearance at death, which soon changed for yellow spots on all parts of the body. He was buried decently the next day, but since that time there has been an hearse provided, & Coffins for instant burial without any ceremony. The Dr died 16 Aug. After this fact my next enquiry was into the origin of the Fever. I had visited the family, but did not think it proper to make any enquiries respecting the Doctor's opinion, or conversation. Abroad it was agreed that the Dr imputed it to putrid fish belonging to Mr Atwood, near the place in which the fever spread. It seems that on 31 May there arrived near this place a vessel from Jamaica, & on the homeward passage ceveral men died of the yellow fever. The vessel was unladed on 1 June, having only a few puncheons of rum on board. people say that all the cloaths belonging to the dead, near to them on their sickness were thrown into the sea. The reports of any deaths from visits to this vessel are denied by the Health Officers. They say that the pilot is living, the inspector living, all reports to the contrary not with standing. They say that Capt. Mulberry took all the precautions in his power. On the other hand, they say, that where this putrid fish was, & the vessel did lay at the same place, have been all the instances of mortality, & that there are no fair examples of its being conveyed to any persons who have not been actually upon the spot. They begin the effects of this malignant fever so late as at the 15 of June. The Physicians concur in these facts. No persons attending the sick have actually suffered. Since the 15 of June 26 persons had died at this time, 13 males & 13 females. At nine in the evening we left the Town of Newbury Port, for Newbury.

2. We left Newbury, & went into Byfield parish to see the Manufactory. We were introduced by Mr Perkins\* to the Apartments. We first reached the house in which this ingenious Mechanic lives, on our left. We then came to the new building intended for grist

<sup>\*</sup>Jacob Perkins. For biographical sketch, see Essex Antiquarian, Vol. II., p. 69-74.

& boulting mill, & passing the house for the workmen we reached the large manufactory, which stands on a stream emptying into Parker's river, which is above a mile from the Academy. Below we saw the house for dying their woolens on the left, & on the right we saw the house for sheering, & beyond the Great Manufactory was a blacksmith's Shop. The Manufactory is large, of three upright stories, besides a loft. On the lower floor there is a partition. The bands pass over a Cylinder moved by the water works, & communicate with the Nail machines, & pass also through the floor & move the Carding Machines above. In the nail manufactory we first came to the machine for cutting the plates, which did the work very expeditiously. There were four machines for the brads. & then a hammer for heading of the nails. The whole was done in a masterly manner. The second loft was occupied by the Carding Machines & Jennies, & the Third by the Weavers on one side & the spinners on the other. On the upper loft & on the one side of the partition below, were deposits for their wool, & yarn. In the Sheering House we saw many specimens of their Woolen Cloths, which appeared to be good. They weave 7 1/4 wide & they use altogether the Spring shuttles. In sheering they prefer the sheares moved by the right hand onward, & commanded by a spring moved by the left, the one blade rests, & the other cuts at a considerable angle.

3. The probability of the infection from the fish was confirmed at Newburyport in their minds, by similar facts at Portsmouth, & lately at Sandy bay, as well as by the testimony of Dr J. Pringle upon the Jail fever. In my absence I was chosen one of the Health Committee of Salem, & last evening I was with the Committee. We have 20 members including the Selectmen, & are subdivided into 5 Committees with our days for attendance respectively.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

Sept. 21, 1796. After dinner took my compass & pencil, & went for a walk by the new Mills to Beverly, to return by Essex Bridge. The North Field Bridge has been lately repaired by a Mr Woodkins. The Draw no longer rises by Levers & ropes over head, but by balances, & a crank below. It appears strong enough. The leaves rest against each other & depend on the strength of the work

behind them. North-fields do not appear in a very flourishing condition. The fields belong chiefly to non residents, & the houses are occupied not by the most industrious citizens. After we pass the cross roads the Negro houses appeared very decent, especially compared with them in Town. At Mr Gardiner's, in Danvers, we find a decent building. The present owner, since his purchase from Bradish, has much changed the appearance of the house & Land. Below at the Bridge, which is handsomely repaired, the mill works go on well. On the southern shore all the frames, & sluices are prepared for the water works, & on the north side, the foundations are nearly complete. Much of the waterworks are finished, such as the water wheels, trundles, &c. From this spot I walked to Mr Reed's\* house. which fronts south, but is quite north of the top of the hill, & upon the descent, & so looses much of the front prospect, & gains nothing behind. It was built for a farm house upon 30 acres of Gov. Endicott's farm sold by his heirs. Another part of the farm which included the whole neck between Duck & Crane river, is alienated with its farm house to Col. Sprague of Salem. A third division on the S. W. is yet retained by the heirs of Endicott. We visited this man who was of the seventh generation from the Gov. At the door we found the Gov.'s dial,† which was in copper, a very fair impression, & in the highest order. It was marked "William Bowyer, London, Clockmaker, fecit. I. 1630. E." (the initials of the Gov.'s name). On the gnomon on one side Lat. 42, & on the other Salem. We entered the house which had nothing to recommend it, & saw the old family picture of G. Endicott. Copies have been taken. One I have seen in the Senate Chamber & another at Col. Pickman's, Salem. It is hardly to be discovered. The face is the only part, which is not entirely gone. The canvas is chiefly bare. We then passed into the Cornfield to find the Site of the old Mansion. We found that this honse, gone before the memory of any persons living, was upon the descent of the hill facing southward. The place of the Cellar, which is to be seen is distinguished by an apple Tree growing on it. Behind was a building for the family servants, & domestic laborers, the place of which is now to be seen. There is a

<sup>\*</sup>Nathan Read, M. C. Now in the museum of the Essex Institute, Salem.

fine prospect in front, & a gentle descent to a little creek, in which the Gov. kept his Shallop. Tradition says there was a walk to this place with damson trees & grape vines so thick that a person might walk unobserved. These have all been gone for many years. This place was called the Gov. Orchard as he planted early Trees around his house. There is only one Tree left, which bears the Sugar Pear, & by tradition was planted in 1630. It is in front of the site of the House, it rises in three trunks from the ground, & is considerably high. It is much decayed at bottom, but the branches at top are sound. I brought away some of the pears & engaged such as remain, to be brought to my house to send to the Governour of the Commonwealth. There is a beautiful spring near Crane river, just before we came to the gate on the road.

I then took leave of Mr Reed, after observing the fine shag bark which grew upon his land & which formerly abounded on this farm, & passed the New Mills upon the Bridge beyond the Meeting House over Porter River the main Branch. At the Bridge I passed into a path at the head of a Creek, & soon reached another Creek not far from a north Course from the river. At the head of the second Creek I passed through some woods on an east course, & found a third Creek running nearly up to Rial Side road. Just beyond a small brook descends from the southern part of Brown's Hill. On the right of the road was a small burying ground, belonging to the Leaches whose farm house had a very decent appearance. Passing on & seeing mean houses, some with the old shattered diamond glass, I reached the top of the rising ground opposite to Crane neck, having all the country open on this side of the river, land poor & only 5 Trees in the whole view of the river. 50 years since this parish could vie with the southern parish, & the most independant Farmers lived on these grounds so celebrated in the early history. After a few civilities in Beverly, I returned to Salem & reached it before the clock struck 6.

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July 25, 1797. Left Salem early for Boxford, in company with Mrs. Porter. We reached Topsfield early enough for Breakfast, &

were with Dr. Cleaveland. We then stopped at Revd Huntington's\* where we were kindly received. We then passed to Parson Holyoke's & found his Son & family well. The infirmities of the Parson take him entirely from his services. We passed into the great road at Spafford's Tavern & crossed to Mr. Perley's. There are seven ponds in this Town. One, back of Perley's lays nearly east & west, widest toward the western end, terminating in a meadow at the east end. It must contain 200 acres. I walked on the southern side as far as the meadow. The ground is high & uneven, with some fine trees, but of poor pasturage. We tarried for the night & our Host was very sick while we were with him.

26. We returned after Breakfast by the great Haverhill road, it being both nigher & better. At the burying ground we found a new monument erected by the Town in honour of Capt. Wood, who has lately deceased & has left 2000 dollars to the Town to assist the Grammar School. The stone is a parallelogram at the bottom on which is erected a slate stone, in the form of an obelisk, tho' flat as a grave stone. It is ornamented above with marble. There is a tomb erecting near it for the same family. The arch is first raised in brick & lime & then covered with stone laid in lime of double the thickness of the first arch. The Tomb very narrow.

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May 13, 1799. Capt. John Gibaut invited me to go with him upon a visit to his Farm & mills in *Cape Ann Island*. We found the road through Cape Ann woods much assisted by the *new road* but there remains 1 & 1/2 mile yet unfinished to remind the traveller what that road once was & has lately been. We were told that 300 dollars had been appropriated by the Town to finish the work, as the three Classes of the Lottery were incompetent. We reached the Harbour or Town, at one o'clock & passed, after a few compliments, to Old Town, where was the Farm we were to visit. The river which empties into *Squam* River, on the west side of that river, meets about 1/2 mile below the mills from whence it has a southerly course beautifully meandering, when the tide is full, through open

<sup>\*</sup>Rev. Asahel Huntington, father of Mayor Huntington of Salem.

ground, & sloping hills, which are a strange contrast to the broken ground, and towering rock around. There is a good view from the rising ground opposite to the Farm House at the Mills but a better view 1/2 mile upward from the bald rock of *Poole's Hill* which gives a view of Boston & Ipswich Bay & of the adjacent country. The Mill pond communicates with Cape Ann pond about three miles distant & the tide flows as far as the Fresh Water mills, one mile upwards or S. where the fresh streams turn eastward. The mills have been thoroughly repaired & a large store is finished upon the west side upon a Cobb wharf joining to the Mill Dam. As the river runs toward the Town there is a beautiful view up the river of the Spires & houses as we approach the Town. After dinner with Capt. Smith's lovely family, who is upon the farm, & in company with Gibaut, we prepared for sailing down Squam river. As the tide was low we walked down to the point below the mills where Squam river meets the Mill river. At this point we found the remains of Col. Low's wharf which, at an early period, was a place of considerable business. & there is an unusual depth of water. Round the point at Gee's wharf in Squam river, 6 fathoms may be found at low water. There is a road from the Town to this point but from the change of the place of business from the Upper Town, as it is called, to the Harbour, so called, it is neglected. In Squam river lay four islands. The largest are furthest up the River. They are small. Pierce's & Rhust's are well known. In Squam Harbour a Cape runs inland at the head of which stands the Meeting House. Not in very good repair but better than at Sandy Bay. It is of two stories, not high, small & finished in the plainest manner. We saw the wharf at the Point built by Capt. Haraden, now of Salem. Baker's Orchard, west of the Town, was said to be as large as any upon the Island, & it made a good appearance in this singular situation. Opposite to Squam was the well known Sand Beach, which supplies all the shore with sand for the use of families from Boston to Portsmouth. It is best nearest the rocks, or upon the most easterly part or N. E. We then having passed Lobster & Goose coves, to Squam Cove, came in view of the Bar Rocks which lay near to Squam Bar & which trends towards Wigwam Point, on which we found a Beacon, upon which is hoisted in foul weather a

Lantern to aid the Fishermen in passing the Bar. The Lobster Rocks go to the Channel and they enter by bringing the Bald Rock between the bar and two sharp rocks on the shore & so pass clear of the Lobster Rocks. As we opened the coves we had an opportunity of seeing the fashion of mooring Boats commonly called Jebacco\* Boats because built first in that part of Ipswich. They perforate a large stone & raise a tree with its roots & stripped of its branches, & then slide the stone over the stock of the tree upon the root. The root prevents the stone from a seperation & this is carried & sunk in a convenient place the top remaining like a post above water. The fish houses are at the head of these coves, & from the number of sunken trees we may nearly ascertain the number of boats in the Cove. About 300 is the number for the whole Island, half of which belong to the part called Sandy Bay. From Wigwam point we passed to Neck point, which affords two coves, that on the west side being called Neck Cove & that on the east side, Hodgkin's Cove & is considerable. We then opened Plum Cove & afterward Lane's Cove & after having passed an Head called Gallop's folly, we opened Gallop's folly Cove. The next point is the extreme of the Cape called Halibut point. We then put out into the bay among the wherries which are small flat bottom boats & are as numerous as the Jebacco Boats, & which in good weather make two fares a day & sometimes take as many as five hundred Cod & Haddock. They are rowed cross hand. led by one man & even by boys of 10 & 12 years. We succeeded in fishing & for the first time I caught several haddock, but the wind breezing, I was soon too sick to persevere. We returned at Sun down to the Mills & after Tea had more sport at the Mill tail. The eels came down in abundance, & the alewives striving to ascend being tossed back by the water, great numbers were easily taken in a scoop net without any labour but of dipping it into the stream. It is but lately the alewives have been led into this course, & very few of them pass the freshwater mills above the mill tide Pond. There has been a vexing Lawsuit upon the subject a few years since upon account of the refusal of the privilege & the Claims of the Mills being supported, the Town has hitherto neglected to purchase the

<sup>\*</sup>Chebacco, now the town of Essex.

privilege. The grant of the mills was made to a former minister, one Emerson, & all the inhabitants, except a few on Jebacco side, bound themselves to send their grain to this grist mill. The exempts were better accommodated at a nearer place. From the conversation we might expect that the Town would soon see their true interest & purchase the right of a passage to these fish so important in our fishery. These alewives not only draw in the large fish, but 2000 dollars are supposed actually to be expended in Cape Ann for Alewives as bait from Jebaco & other Towns.

14. In the morning we prepared to take the Tour of the Cape. Capt. Smith took a Mr. Phelps, an Apothecary, in a Chaise, & Capt. Gibaut & I rode together in another. We stopped in the Harbour to be shaved by a woman named Becky who in due form exercises all the functions of a Barber. She has her shop decorated with all the pictures which belong to such places of resort, from the meanest Black print to the best engraving, with all the songs which are in the taste of the varied multitude of her customers. It was a solitary example of a woman in this employment. She shaves well but has few attractions of her sex. As soon as we left the Town we had a view on the right of Salt Island so memorable by the fate of our mariners. It lies at a Small distance from the shore, has a sand beach within it & is almost a bald rock of considerable elevation. The roughness of the road is much less than formerly & at present not to be compared with Squam side. We passed Col. Foster & his Son at work in the field about 2 miles from Sandy Bay. Their farm is a welcome object amongst the greatest rudeness of nature. Opposite to the pond we stopped in the Road & passed to the right to view it. We ascended a bald rock on the western side not far from the northern end of the pond, about 40 feet elevation, & here we saw the form of it. It rather exceeds half a mile in length. It lies about a mile in line from Streightsmouth, & not so much from the Eastern Shore of the Island. We could see no places to take bearings on the Eastern shore as the Islands were hidden. It lies in length nearly north & south. Its form is not very winding upon the eastern side except a little at the south end, at which it is narrowest. It then trends S. W. unequally till it goes westerly to the outlet which is about 1/3 of its length from the S. end on the western side. It then remains of its greatest width for some distance till it becomes more narrow at the northern end. Its greatest depth is said to be on the N. E. side opposite to the high rock on its W. side from where we viewed it, reckoned at 30 feet. It has the Pickerel & perch in great abundance & is a pleasant body of water. The land about it is high excepting a meadow at the north end, & down this the vallies open as far as Streightmouth which is seen in this opening. We passed from the pond to Sandy Bay, which, tho' it has a scattered appearance while in the Settlement, has from several heights a very pleasing form from the neighbouring heights. We stopped in the upper part of the settlement at Mr. Rollins, a Trader, who was absent upon business. But from his wife we had every attention and a most excellent fish dinner. We here saw neatness & simplicity. Her husband is a carpenter & has built many houses in the place & is in flourishing circumstances. From this house we passed to view the settlement stretched along upon several coves & this place has half the number of Boats upon the whole Island. It had no houses which expressed the wealth of Cape Ann Town, but it had none of the marks of poverty which many houses in that place display. The Houses are small & of two stories & generally painted. The Doors are commonly on the side so as to afford a good front room & back kitchen, with a bed room back of the front entry. Some are double. School house was neat. The Door was at the Eastern end but there was a partition between the Doors in the same frame to keep the stairs leading above seperated from the room below. There are two windows on a side. The roof hipped with a Belfry. The House painted green & roof red. The Meeting House is small & the body filled with seats, much neglected, roof rotten & open, standing near the shore below the School House. Formerly there were ministers in all the parishes but at present there is but one in the Island, the Revd. E. W. Forbes, in the Harbour or Town, so called. Mr. Rogers was formerly in the Upper Town & the meeting house is decorated with an handsome steeple but it is going rapidly to decay, having been long neglected. A Mr. Wythe & Parsons were at Squam, but a separation ensued from their imprudence. They are both living. At Sandy Bay was a Mr. Cleveland, still living, who has repeatedly preached among them. Some from these parishes, visit the small house for the Universalists in the harbour, but this Society has no stated minister since Mr. Murray removed to Boston. As we pass in Sandy Bay down towards Streightsmouth, the Light Houses on Thacher's Island open on the road before us. & as we went towards Streightsmouth were in full view. The longest side of Streightsmouth Island is open towards Sandy Bay, the E. part running outwards from shore. The Streight is narrow & has not much water at low tide & is winding. A Bluff head terminates the N. end of the Island near the shore under which is a little soil to be seen. There is a beach upon the shore within the streight & on the shore a Bluff opposite to the bluff on the Island. Upon our return we observed the very decent appearance of the women & children, which have good forms & most florid countenances united with an uncommon cleanliness in their dress. At Rollins' are found some infant specimens of Taste. Some monumental drawings in memory of some deceased Children, done by one Saville, a Schoolmaster, with such inscriptions as are adapted to the heart of a parent, & are the best tribute to the memory of the good we love. After dinner we took our departure for Squam. We nowhere saw Halibut point from Sandy Bay, as it was covered by Anderson's point. As we proceeded along Pigeon Cove we had a miserable road, but before we reached it we had a pleasing view of Pidgeon Hill. A few Trees on the top yet remain, but the gentle rising & the central figure of the Hill, as well as the verdure everywhere on its sides, was a contrast to the rude forms of rocks & declivities which everywhere else appear. The Salvages lav off before us & the three white rocks on the eastern group which lay before us are coloured by their daily visitants, the Birds, to warn the Mariners of their danger. The Mariners speak of applying to the Marine Societies of the neighbourhood to assist them in raising a Monument upon Pidgeon hill, as the Trees are decaving continually. Upon this road we saw several neat Houses, & two neat School Houses of one Story, well painted. Halibut Point nowhere presented to the eye as we passed in the road. We found it a pile of rocks, split into flat stones of all dimentions. They seem

to invite for every use. But they can seldom be taken from the shore on account of the swell, & the roads are too rough to admit their removal. Gallop's Folly point beyond has the same kind of stones but not in the same preparation for use & split so regulary. At Gallop's Folly we found much loose sand in the hills which we had opportunity to examine as we stopped just beyond Mr. Gott's who has a good Farm which has profited from this sand, which has been strewed upon his meadows. This Man is an Outre. He was formerly employed in a Coasting Vessel but at present is seperated from his wife & only Child. He discovered to us the most hospitable temper, but there is a derangement of mind, rather than a corruption of heart. He shewed us his farm. He has helped his Sandy plains & hills, by the Locust. He has planted the Sassifras & has a good Orchard. He showed us his woods in which he has the best oak timber on the Island, some of which he is cutting for Ship Timber. He has several nurseries of trees. He talks of a Ship yard & he has many conveniences on the shore. In a mile from Gott's we reached Squam. This has a scattered & poor appearance. It once was much more prosperous than Sandy Bay but is now far surpassed by the Inhabitants of Sandy Bay, yet, should the fisheries again revive. we may hope will again enter into competition with its neighbours. The road from Squam to Upper Town mills, over the two Squam hills, was in a very neglected State & by far the worst of any we found upon the Island. It is so easy to pass up the river & the distance is so much less that men always in their boats never think of stretching 3 miles over the worst roads, when they can sail pleasantly only one mile. Before Sundown we reached our home at the Mills having completed what is called the Tour of the Cape in the distance of 15 miles as it is reckoned. At leisure examined the Tide Mill, & found few improvements in the construction. The water wheel is upon the new plan of side boards & flats instead of the old floats tunnelled upon shafts. The rounds in the Lantern were short & not large enough. The Lantern was large enough. The Shoot was open & the clack was by iron claps on wood instead of open iron, & the spout was short & trough narrow. At the mills they have frequently caught a fish which they have not preserved but

which the Sailors thought like the Skip jack tho' smaller. I have asked to see one when taken in Autumn.

15. This day we agreed to visit in the Town & to dine with our Companion Mr. Phelps. We reached the Harbour at 11 o'clock. Our first visit was to the New Ship Yard. They have never yet built ships of great Burden. The first attempt by Col. Pierce engaged much of the public attention. On every road we heard of the enterprise & every man knew how much timber he could spare. The first ship heads 76 feet, 27 feet beam & 12 feet hold within the timbers, to be about three hundred Tons. She is up in her frames already. As much talk has been made of Dock Yards. Cape Ann think they can afford a convenient one in a Cove at the head of their Harbour, within 5 pound island. Their claims are not the meanest which will be advanced. 20 feet of water can easily be had. The Cove is large enough and the entrance small & the position of the Cape is the best in our Bay, to be ready for Sea. Near the Cove is a perpetual spring which is conveyed in a wooden spout so as readily to afford any quantity of the purest water. A constant stream fills the spout & wastes into the Sea. There are two Rope walks in the Town. One in Middle street, not far eastward of the Meeting House. belonging to Beach, & another in the lower part of the Town, formerly Seargeant's now Plummer's. From the Ships we went to the Bank. It is a building in Front Street, of one Story. We descended into the vault which is formed of the largest stone which can be easily transported & it is formed in the cavity of a rock. It is small but more secure everywhere than at the door. The back room of the Bank is a Lawyer's office and it is kept by Mr. John Rowe, their present Representative. Towards the entrance of the Town is the New School house, of two apartments, one on each story, with a Cupola. And behind the Meeting House is the Proprietor's School which has two fronts & has also a Cupola & two Doors under the same frame. A Mr. Black, now in Gloucester, proposes to open an Academy & to unite his labours with two young gentlemen who are to teach writing & arithmetic, Messieurs. Saville & Woods. It is said that Mr. Black has engaged the School, but that the plan of an Academy will not probably succeed. As we passed along we found

the Minister directing the plowing of a spot of land adjoining to an house left him by an antiquated Irish midwife, who died in the Town. We visited Mr. D. Rogers, who has long been a man of influence in the Town, & paid our respects to his Son John Gorham Rogers, a worthy gentleman. At Table, at Mr. Phelps', we found his Wife's Sister. They are g. daughters of Mr. Coffin, whose farm is so well known opposite to the entrance of Jebacco, & who had lately deceased. Mrs. Phelps is a worthy and agreable woman & soon formed a party for us to go to Eastern point. Mr. Smith, Mr. Phelps, & their wives, Mr. Fulger's wife, Capt. Gibaut & Mrs. Coffin & myself & Clementina Beach, made the party. Mrs. Fulger is sister of Miss Beach, both fine women. Clementina is a young lady of accomplishments. We enjoyed ourselves and returned to tea at Mr. Phelps'. In Cape Ann they tell us that Hog Island in Jebacco, offers the best Veal in the Country, & that their own Springy tho' Rocky Hills afford the best mutton in America.

16. We had engaged this day to dine with Mr. Fulger. In our visit to the Town we had an opportunity to be informed of the great increase of new houses. As Squam & Upper Town have decayed. the Harbour has been enriched. The military Character of Cape Ann is established. On a point of land, they can afford to employ the greatest hospitality towards all who visit them, and forming all their pleasures among themselves, they must be fond of all social institutions. They excell in their parties, in their clubs, & also in their Military parades. A late proof has been given. Their Artillery House is beyond example in the Country. It is of two Stories. In the lower there is all the Arrangement of an Arsenal or a Laboratory. Their own Two Brass field pieces, & Two Iron 9 pound, with all the apparatus are disposed in the best order. In front is a piazza & the building has folding doors which open under it & form a full communication with it. Over the Piazza is a balustrade & place to accommodate a large company & the apartment of the second story is provided for an hall of entertainment. In front is suspended a Bell given to call them to dinner. It has this inscription: Ansottes segen ist alles gelocheben. It is friendship which gave the bell independently of its being cast in Denmark, or so inscribed. At

Dinner we had the Company of Mr. Black who is a Scotchman of great pretentions, as was said, but nothing could be ascertained except that he had the education of many travelling Scotchmen. After dinner Mr. Fulger permitted me to examine a Collection of shells & was kind enough to present some of them to me. We left his amiable family at five o'clock & reached Salem at eight in the evening, abundantly gratified with our company & amply paid for our visit to Cape Ann. How unhappy it is that an air of dissipation should appear in so lovely a place in which they could give to themselves any manners they please without any danger of contamination from foreign influence & fashions. I gave at Table, being requested, "The hospitality of Cape Ann, may it be preserved in our National Character." In no place which I have ever visited can they so easily combine for any social pleasure, in no place can they pursue pleasure with so little interruption and yet they have all the jealousies, competitions & even enmities, belonging to little Towns & to human Nature.

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June 5, 1799. Rode to Phillips' Beach with S. C. Found Mr. Phillips, aet. 83, living. The House was built for his Grandfather in 1660. An ash frame now firm. This part called Quamskutt.\* His g. g. father was among the first settlers. Everything wears the appearance of neglect. A beautiful Ash before the house was planted from a walking stick with which he drove homewards his team. They still complain of Foxes, Martins, etc. in their woods, tho' they are not so common as the skunks. At Phillips' I saw an old Cradle much resembling that at Boston, in which John Massey the first Male Child was rocked.

6. Went with a party of friends upon invitation to dine with the Widow Grafton at *Wenham*. We amused ourselves with the Alewives, Lamprey eels & small fish of Wenham pond & after an elegant social dinner we went to *Pleasant pond* about 1/2 mile northwestward from the meeting house. There is a beautiful prospect from the ridge eastward of the pond. The pond is of about 40 acres & the approach is beautiful upon the western & especially on the

<sup>\*</sup> Swampscott.

eastern side. On the north & South are communications with Swamps. I went round the pond. After Tea we returned to Salem. Having no boats we could not enjoy the fishing which is so good in these ponds. The lands near Pleasant pond are like the dungeons, are in great hollows, but too much cleared of wood. In the graveyard we found the monument of Revd. Joseph Gerrish who succeeded to Revd. John Fisk. It has been repaired by the Inhabitants but a small part was legible. There are also the monuments of Revd. Ward, Warren, & Swain, who have been successively ministers in this Town. We found also two of the name of Fisk. One, a Deacon aet. 85, who must have been born in 1644, & a William Fisk, later. By this it appears that all Wenham did not probably remove to Chelmsford with Revd. John Fisk, & probably he might leave some Children upon his Lands in Wenham. Mr. Gerrish's Latin inscription expressed that he was born in Newbury & as the word Parker appeared, probably educated under Rev. Parker of that place.

### JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT DE WARVILLE IN 1788.

THIS French writer was the son of an innkeeper. He studied law in Paris and early gained a wide reputation by his published works. In 1788 he founded a society friendly to the negro slaves and the same year came to the United States to inquire into their condition. Returning to France the next year, he at once took an active part in the Revolution. After a time he incurred the hostility of Robespierre, was arrested, and after a long imprisonment was guillotined on Oct. 31, 1793. While in America he adopted the habits of the Quakers and on his return to France he introduced the fashion of wearing the hair without powder. His record of American travels was published under the following title: Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats Unis fait en 1788, 2 vols. Paris, 1791. An English translation was published in London the next year and an American edition was issued in 1797 at Boston.

I left Boston the 2d of October [1788], after dinner with my worthy friend Mr. Barrett; to whom I cannot pay too sincere a tribute of praise for his amiable qualities, or of gratitude for the readiness he has manifested on all occasions in procuring me information on the objects of my research. We slept at Salem, fifteen miles from Boston; an excellent gravelly road, bordered with woods and meadows. This road pases the fine bridge of Malden, which I mentioned before, and the town of Lynn remarkable for the manufacture of women's shoes. It is calculated that more than an hundred thousand pairs are annually exported from this town. At Reading, not far from Lynn, is a similar manufacture of men's shoes.

Salem, like all other towns in America, has a printing press and a gazette. I read in this gazette the discourse pronounced by M. D'Epremenil, when he was arrested in full parliament in Paris. What an admirable invention is the press! it brings all nations acquainted with each other, and electerizes all men by the recital of good actions, which thus become common to all. This discourse transported the daughters of my hostess: D'Epremenil appeared to them a Brutus.

It was cold and we had a fire in a Franklin stove. These are common here, and those chimneys which have them not, are built as described by M. de Crevecoeur: they rarely smoke.

The mistress of the tavern (Robinson\*) was taking tea with her daughters; they invited us to partake with them. I repeat it, we have nothing like this in France. It is a general remark thro' all the United States: a tavern-keeper must be a respectable man, his daughters are well drest, and have an air of decency and civility. We had good provisions, good beds, attentive servants; neither the servants nor the coachman ask any money. It is an excellent practice; for this tax with us not only becomes insupportable on account of the persecutions which it occasions, but it gives men an air of baseness, and accustoms to the servility of avarice. Salem has a considerable commerce to the islands, and a great activity of business by the cod fishery.

In passing to Beverly, we crossed another excellent wooden bridge. The construction of this bridge, and the celerity with which it was built, gives a lively idea of the activity and industry of Massachusetts. It cost but three thousand pounds; the toll for an horse and carriage is eight pence; the opening in the middle for the passage of vessels, is of a simpler mechanism than that of Charlestown. On the road to Beverly I saw a flourishing manufacture of cotton. At Londonderry a town chiefly inhabited by Irish, is a considerable manufacture of linen. We dined at Newbury with Mr. Tracy, who formerly enjoyed a great fortune, and has since been reduced by the failure of different enterprises, particularly by a contract to furnish masts for the marine of France. The miscarriage of this undertaking, was owing to his having employed agents in procuring the first cargo who deceived him, and sent a parcel of refuse masts that were fit only for fire-wood. Though the manner in which Mr. Tracy had been deceived was sufficiently proved; yet, for the clerks of the marine at Versailles, whose interest it was to decry the American timber, this fact was sufficient to enable them to cause it ever after to be rejected. And Mr. Tracy's first cargo was condemned and sold at Havre for

<sup>\*</sup> The wife of Samuel Robnison who kept the "Sun Tavern," previously kept by William Goodhue.

250 l. He lives retired; and with the consolation of his respectable wife, supports his misfortunes with dignity and firmness.

Newbury would be one of the best ports in the United States, were it not for a dangerous bar at the entrance. The business of ship-building has much declined here. In the year 1772 ninety vessels were built here, in 1788 only three. This town stands at the mouth of the fine river Merrimack, abounding in fish of different kinds. Twenty-four miles of fine road brings you from Newbury to Portsmouth, the capital of New-Hampshire. . . .

We left Portsmouth on Sunday, and came to dine at Mr. Dalton's, five miles from Newbury, on the Merrimack: this is one of the fineest situations that can be imagined. It presents an agreeable prospect of seven leagues. This farm is extremely well arranged; I saw on it thirty cows, numbers of sheep, &c. and a well furnished garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himself much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples, and pears; but he complains that children steal them; an offence readily pardoned in a free country.

The Americans are not accustomed to what we call grand feasts; they treat strangers as they treat themselves every day, and they live well. They say they are not anxious to starve themselves the week, in order to gormandize on Sunday. This trait will paint to you a people at their ease, who wish not to torment themselves for show.

Mr. Dalton's house presented me with the image of a true patriarchial family, and of great domestic felicity; it is composed of four or five handsome young women, drest with decent simplicity, his amiable wife, and his venerable father of eighty years. This respectable old man preserves a good memory, a good appetite, and takes habitual exercise. He has no wrinkles in his face, which seems to be a characteristic of American old age; at least I have observed it.

From Mr. Dalton's we came to Andover, where my companion presented me to the respectable pastor of the parish, Dr. Symmes, in whom I saw a true model of a minister of religion, purity of morals, simplicity in his manner of life, and gentleness of character. He cheers his solitude with a respectable wife, by whom he has had many children.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON IN 1789.

IN THE summer following his inauguration Washington had a severe sickness and was confined to his bed for about six weeks. With the idea of regaining his health and also of seeing something of the New England States he set off on a tour that extended as far as Portsmouth, N. H. He did not pass through Rhode Island as that State had not yet come into the Union and technically was foreign territory. At Boston, Governor Hancock from a mistaken notion of precedent tried to compel Washington to make the first formal call and finally, when forced by public sentiment to pay his respects to the President he went wrapped in flannels and pleading an attack of the gout. With this solitary exception he was received every where with demonstrations of veneration and affection. His journal of this tour was published under the following title: Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791; embracing the opening of the first Congress, and his tours through New England . . . Edited by Benson I. Lossing, New York, 1860.

[Oct. 29, 1789] From Boston, besides the number of citizens which accompanied me to Cambridge, and many of them from thence to Lynn—the Boston Corps of Horse escorted me to the line between Middlesex and Essex County, where a party of Horse, with Genl. Titcomb, met me, and conducted me through Marblehead (which is 4 miles out of the way, but I wanted to see it,) to Salem.

The chief employment of the People of Marblehead (males) is fishing; about 110 vessels, and 800 men and boys are engaged in this business. Their chief export is fish. About 5000 souls are said to be in this place, which has the appearance of antiquity; the Houses are old; the streets dirty; and the common people not very clean. Before we entered the Town we were met and attended by a Com'e till we were handed over to the Select men, who conducted us, saluted by artillery, into the Town, to the House of a Mrs. Lee, where there was a cold collation prepared; after partaking of which we visited the Harbour, their fish flakes for curing fish, &c., and then proceeded (first receiving an Address from the Inhabitants) to Salem.

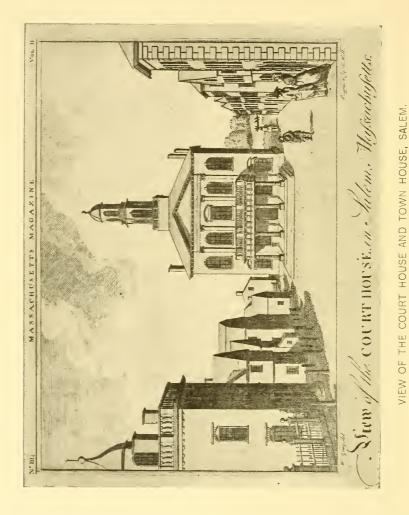
At the Bridge, 2 miles from this Town, we were also met by a Committee, who conducted us by a Brigade of the militia and one or two handsome Corps in Uniform, through several of the Streets to the Town or Court House, where an Ode in honor of the President was sung—an Address presented to him amidst the acclamations of the People; after which he was conducted to his Lodgings. Rec'd the Compliments of many differt. classes of People, and in the evening, between 7 and 8 o'clock, went to an Assembly, where there was at least an hundred handsome and well dressed Ladies. Abt. nine I returned to my Lodgings.

The Road from Boston to this place is here and there Stoney, tho' level; it is very pleasant: from most parts you are in sight of the Sea. Meads, arable Land, and Rocky hills are much intermixed—the latter chiefly on the left. The Country seems to be in a manner entirely stripped of wood. The grazing is good—the Houses stand thick.

After leaving Cambridge, at the distance of 4 miles, we passed through Mystick—then Malden—next Lynn, where it is said 175,000 pairs of shoes (women's, chiefly) have been made in a year by abt. 400 workmen. This is only a row of houses, and not very thick, on each side of the Road. After passing Lynn you enter Marblehead, w'ch is 4 miles from Salem. This latter is a neat Town, and said to contain 8 or 9000 Inhabitants. Its exports are chiefly Fish, Lumber, and Provisions. They have in the East India Trade at this time 13 Sail of Vessels.

Friday [Oct.], 30th. A little after 8 o'clock I set out for Newbury-Port; and in less than 2 miles crossed the Bridge between Salem and Beverly, which makes a handsome appearance, and is upon the same plan of those over Charles and Mistick Rivers; excepting that it has not foot ways as that of the former has. The length of this bridge is 1530 feet, and was built for about £4500, lawful money—a price inconceivably low in my estimation, as there is 18 feet water in the deepest parts of the River over which it is erected. This Bridge is larger than that at Charlestown, but shorter by feet than the other over Mistick. All of them have draw bridges, by which vessels pass. After passing Beverley, 2 miles, we come to the Cotton





From the engraving by S. Hill, published in the "Massachusetts Magazine, March, 1790.

Manufactory, which seems to be carrying on with spirit by the Mr. Cabbots (principally).

In this Manufactory they have the new Invented Carding and Spinning Machines; one of the first supplies the work, and four of the latter; one of which spins 84 threads at a time by one person. The Cotton is prepared for these Machines by being first (lightly) drawn to a thr'd, on the common wheel; there is also another machine for doubling and twisting the threads for particular cloths; this also does many at a time. For winding the Cotton from the Spindles, and preparing it for the warp, there is a Reel which expedites the work greatly. A number of Looms (15 or 16) were at work with spring shuttles, which do more than d'ble work. In short, the whole seemed perfect, and the Cotton stuffs w'ch they turn out, excellent of their kind; warp and filling both are now of Cotton. From this place, with escorts of Horse, I passed on to Ipswich, about 10 miles; at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the Select men, and received by a Regm't of Militia.

At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other Gentlemen from Newbury-port; partook of a cold collation, and proceeded on to the last mentioned place, where I was received with much respect and parade, about 4 o'clock.

In the evening there were rockets and some other fireworks—and every other demonstration to welcome me to the Town. This place is pleasantly situated on Merrimack River, and appears to have carried on (here and above) the shipbuilding business to a grt. extent. The number of souls is estimated at 5000.

Saturday [Oct.] 31st. Left Newbury-port a little after 8 o'clock (first breakfasting with Mr. Dalton) and to avoid a wider ferry, more inconvenient boats, and a piece of heavy sand, we crossed the River at Salisbury, two miles above, and near that further about—and in three miles came to the line wch. divides the State of Massschusetts from that of New Hampshire. Here I took leave of Mr. Dalton and many other private Gentlemen who accompanied me; also of Gen'l Titcomb, who met me on the line between Middlesex and Losex Counties—Corps of light Horse, and many officers of Militia—and was rec'd by the President of the State of New Hampshire—the Vice-

President; some of the Council—Messrs. Langdon and Wingate of the Senate—Col<sup>o</sup>. Parker, Marshall of the State, and many other respectable characters; besides several Troops of well cloathed Horse in handsome Uniforms, and many officers of the Militia also in handsome (white and red) uniforms of the Manufacture of the State. . . .

[Wednesday, Nov. 4th]. From hence, passing through Kingstown, (6 miles from Exeter) I arrived at Haverhill about half-past two, and stayed all night. Walked through the town, which stands at the head of the tide of Merrimack River, and in a beautiful part of the country. The lands over which I travelled to day, are pretty much mixed in places with stone—and the growth with pines—till I came near to Haverhill, where they disappeared, and the land had a more fertile appearance. The whole were pretty well cultivated, but used (principally) for grass and Indian corn.

In Haverhill is a Duck manufactory, upon a small but ingenious scale, under the conduct of Col<sup>o</sup>. [Blodgett].

At this manufactory one small person turns a wheel which employs eight spinners, each acting independently of each other, so as to occasion no interruption of the rest if any one of them is stopped—whereas at the Boston manufactory of this article, each spinner has a small girl to turn the wheel. The looms are also somewhat differently constructed from those of the common kind, and upon an improved plan. The inhabit'ts of this small village were well disposed to welcome me to it by every demonstration which could evince their joy.

Thursday, [Nov.] 5th. About sunrise I set out, crossing the Merrimack River at the town, over to the township of Bradford, and in nine miles came to Abbot's tavern, in Andover, where we breakfasted, and met with much attention from Mr. Phillips, President of the Senate of Massachusetts, who accompained us through Bellariki to Lexington, where I dined, and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with Great Britain, on the 19th of April, 1775.

# JOHN DRAYTON IN 1794.

JOHN Drayton was born in South Carolina in 1766 and educated at Princeton and in England. He became Governor of South Carolina in 1800 and afterwards was a United States Judge for that State serving for ten years. He was the author of several works including the following: Letters written during a tour through the Northern and Eastern States . . . Charleston, 1794.

The whole way from Boston to Portsmouth, is a thickly populated, and well cultivated country: the road is perhaps one of the finest in the United States. You pass from farm to farm, from village to village, and from town to town, in quick succession. Some few miles from Boston is a small village called Lynn; celebrated for the vast quantities of shoes made there for exportation. The shoe-maker's shops, are almost equal to the number of dwelling houses in the town. The road leads through the towns of Salem, Beverly, and Newburyport: which, for riches and commerce, have a right to be considered as some of the most respectable towns in America.

Two or three miles beyond Newbury-port, is a beautiful wooden bridge of one arch, thrown across the Merrimack river: whose length is one hundred and sixty feet; and whose height is forty feet above the level of high water. For beauty and strength, it has certainly no equal in America: and I doubt whether as a wooden bridge, there be any to compare with it elsewhere. The strength of the bridge is much increased above the common mode in use, by pieces of timber placed upon it, and shouldered into each other. They run upon the bridge, in three lines; parrallel with the length of the bridge, and with each other; so as to make two distinct passage-ways for carriages. These braces, are some feet in height, and are connected on the top by cross pieces, affording sufficient room for carriages to pass underneath, without inconvenience. It is said, that the upper work has as great a tendency to support the weight of the bridge; as the sleepers, upon which it is built. I had not time to stay there longer than five minutes; so must be excused in a sketch which I have taken of it: and that was not done upon the spot, but only by recollection.

### DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT-LIANCOURT IN 1796.

THE following account of the principal towns in Essex County was written by a trained observer-a man of varied experience. A Peer of France, he was deeply interested in agriculture and the mechanical arts and while in America bought a farm in Pennsylvania and spent some time in agricultural experiments. He was in public life at the outbreak of the French Revolution and maintained a moderate attitude until 1792 when he was dismissed and wisely removed to England from whence, two years later, he came to America. In 1798 he returned to France. He established in Paris the first savings bank and also was influential in introducing vaccination into France. His travels in the United States are of particular interest for the extended comments on the commerce and development of the country. They were published in French, in eight small volumes, in New York in 1797, and translated and published in London with the following title: Travels through the United States of North America . . . in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797 . . . London, 1800.

On the first project I had formed to descend the river St. Lawrence, to visit Halifax, and to return into the United States through the district of Maine, I intended to visit General Knox, who, with exquisite politeness, had given me in Philadelphia an invitation to that effect, and whose mansion was situated on my way. On my arrival I entertained the same idea, although at that time the district of Maine lay rather out of my way; and the repeated proofs of friendship I received from the General confirmed me in my resolution. I accordingly embarked with him for St. George's River, whither he returned after a four months absence.

The house of the General is situated about two hundred miles from Boston, both by land and water. At this time of the year the passage is generally made in twenty-four hours; but peculiar circumstances prevented us for three or four days from availing ourselves of the favourable wind; and after these impediments had been removed, our captain wished, as soon as possible, to improve the first appear-

ance of fine weather. This was very trifling indeed, when he set sail, for which reason we were scarcely able the first evening to clear the mouth of the harbour. On the second day we were forced by a thick fog, and strong indication of a heavy storm, to make the bay of Cape Ann. These measures of precaution, adopted by our captain, of which we could not but approve, removed us forty miles out of the straight road. As soon as the fog and indication of a storm had disappeared, we got again under way; but meeting with a dead calm, we were obliged to come once more to an anchor, within four hundred yards of our first anchoring place. The wind generally died away early in the morning as well as the afternoon, for which reason we reached not the General's mansion till after a passage of seventy-two hours, and after having sailed fifteen miles up St. George's River.

The circumstance of our being compelled to put into the bay of Cape Ann afforded me an opportunity of seeing the drying of cod fish. The whole coast of Massachusetts, and especially of the district of Maine, is inhabited by fishermen, engaged in the fishery on the great sand-bank; they bring all the fish on shore, where they receive the last dressing. The fish are washed as soon as they are taken out of the water, and laid first in heaps, that the water may run off. Then they remain for two or three days exposed to the air, after which they are placed on hurdles, about four or five feet in breadth, three or four feet above the ground, and as long as the field on which they are erected, generally about a hundred or a hundred and twenty yards. The fish are laid on these hurdles, first three or four, one upon another, and, after they have lost most of the water, every fish separately; they are frequently turned that they may get thoroughly dry, which generally takes five or six days; at last they are packed in cases, pressed down, and exported either to the West India Islands, or Europe.

The best fish, that is, those which, caught in the first fishing months, are superiour to the rest from their being dried more slowly, are sent to Spain. They are sold at double the price of those, which are caught later in the year, when the heat is more intense, and which are exported either to the West Indies, or some part of the continent. But from among the fish of the better sort, which are destined for

Spain, the best are picked out for those inhabitants of Massachusetts, who are peculiarly fond of salt stock fish; and there are in that county few families, who have not, every Saturday, a good dish of stock fish on their table. As to the usual partition of the proceeds of the fishery, it is as follows, viz.

The ships employed in the fishery, which are generally of seventy tuns burthen, are navigated by a master, seven seamen, and a boy. The owner of the ship has a fourth of the profit; the dryer on the coast an eighth, and the rest is divided among the master and seamen, in proportion to the fish they have caught. The expence for candles, wood, bait, and salt is deducted, previously to the partition; every seaman takes care of the fish he has caught. A vessel of sixty tons burthen takes upon an average twelve hundred cod fish, which are generally worth two dollars and a half per hundred weight, but cost at present from five to six dollars.

The town of Gloucester, which is situated near Cape Ann, employs in the fishery, at the great bank, about forty or fifty yachts and brigs. These vessels are of the burthen of one hundred or one hundred and ten tons; make in general three voyages in a year, if they commence fishing in March, and continue until November, when the fishery terminates. Before the war, the town of Gloucester, though less considerable than at present, employed more vessels in the fishery than at this time. This decrease, which seems extraordinary, since the number of ships built in this port is much greater now than at that time, originates from the comparatively greater advantages, which the ship-owners derive from trade. But the number of towns, which share in the fishery on the great banks, is also more considerable than formerly; so that although the share of single places in the fishery may have decreased within these last fifteen years, yet the number of those that share in it has greatly encreased.

Besides the fishery on the great bank, the coasts of Massachusetts, and the district of Maine, furnish also large quantities of stock fish. They are neither so large, nor so plentiful, as at the great bank; yet this fishery affords useful employment to a considerable number of ships, which proceed only five or six miles from the coast, return home every week, and are not exposed to the same danger as ships

engaged in the other fishery, which mix their fish with those that are caught near Newfoundland.

The road of Cape Ann lies south-west from the Cape. It is capacious and safe. On a commanding eminence on the coast, a fort is now constructing, which will most effectually protect both the road and its entrance. Within the fort a block-house is built, the lower part of which serves for a powder-magazine; and that part, which is destined to be inhabited by the garrison, is built with so much care that in all probability it will be bomb-proof.

The town of Gloucester, situated at the bottom of the bay, is pleasant, though not regular. It contains a number of stores or shops, and a considerable proportion of good houses. Like all the other small towns around, it has an air of brisk and thriving industry.

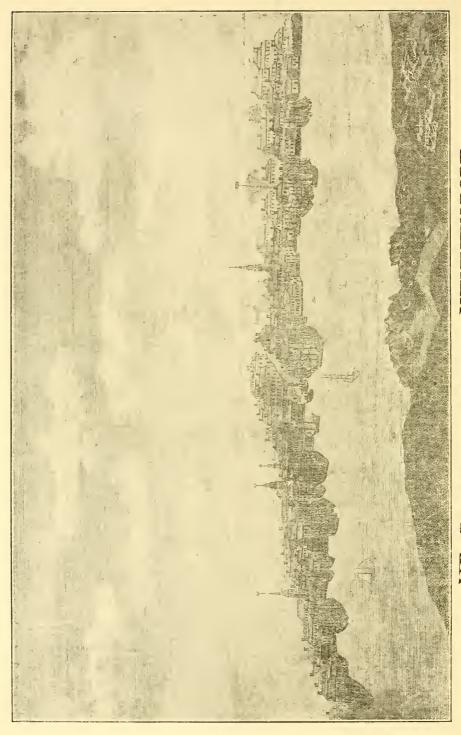
In 1794, commodities to the value of two hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars were exported out of Gloucester; but its exports for the present year will scarcely amount to one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. Its chief trading intercourse is with the West Indies.

We have obtained little new information in the course of our voyage thither. We came on board a vessel belonging to St. George's River, which usually takes in its lading there. The principal commercial business of the province of Maine consists in the exportation of timber to Boston. It is conveyed in small yachts from eighty to a hundred and twenty tons burthen; sometimes brigs and schooners are employed. The yachts are, however, preferred, because they are lighter than the others, and can be navigated by fewer hands. At times these yachts will proceed as far as New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Baltimore, or Charlestown. From these places they are always freighted back with a new cargo, by which the profits of the voyage are increased. From Boston they must return empty, and therefore less readily undertake that voyage. The clear profits of a single voyage were estimated at sixty-six dollars. One of these vessels made, last year, sixteen or seventeen voyages; and the owner's neat gains for that length of time amounted to between one thousand and fifty-six and one thousand one hundred and twelve dollars; while the cost of the vessel was from three thousand to three thousand three hundred and fifty dollars. When the timber is uncommonly excellent in its quality, the profits are greater. The returns are also unusually good from cargoes of lime, of which there begins to be abundance found in the province of Maine. When the population of this province shall have adequately increased, and its quarries shall be wrought in a due proportion, it will then find a very ample source of wealth in the exportation of its lime stone.

The vessel in which we sailed was dirty and incommodious. Like the rest of this craft, it was fitted for the reception of goods, not for the accommodation of a few casual passengers. But the attentions of the captain made everything as agreeable as possible to us. It is to be observed, that these vessels very often go without a lading, and many times return even without ballast; a condition of the ship, which makes prudence and vigilence in the captain peculiarly necessary. Our food, during the short voyage, consisted chiefly of fish, which we caught ourselves. Of these there is on the coast such plenty, that before your line has been cast two minutes, you are sure to have a fish on your hook, which will weigh, at the least, two pounds, often not less thon twelve pounds. They are of the species of the cod fish and the halibut; the cod fish are larger, and worse in their flavour than those of many other places. . . .

Before you arrive at Newbury Port, you have to cross the river Merrimack, by means of a bridge, which, prior to the building of that thrown over the Piscataqua, was considered as the most elegant in all New England. It is at least shorter by one third than the latter, and the arch, which measures only one hundred and thirty feet in width, is supported by a crooked piece of timber, measuring twenty feet, which gives the bridge, at first sight, a heavy appearance. Along the banks of the river, before you come to this bridge, lies Newbury new town, a pretty extensive village, where a number of ships are built, which are afterwards equipped, and freighted in Newbury Port. Mr. Langdon had furnished me with a letter of recommendation to his friend JACKSON, from whom I flattered myself with the hopes of receiving some information relative to the town and its trade. But this gentleman being absent in Boston, I was obliged to content myself with the intelligence I could procure from some inhabitants,





NE PROSPECT OF THE TOWN OF NEWBURY PORT

whom I found in the inn. I learnt that the trade of this town, which, as well as that of Portsmouth, had decayed very much since the conclusion of the war, was, for the last years, considerably on the advance; that it was of the same nature with that carried on at Portsmouth, and other parts of Massachusetts; that the quantity of tonnage now employed by this town, amounted to sixteen thousand tons: that the exports were valued, in 1791, at two hundred and fifty thousand one hundred and ninety-three dollars; in 1792, at two hundred and seventy-three thousand five hundred and forty-three dollars: in 1794, at four hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred and five dollars; in 1795, at four hundred and ten thousand five hundred and eighty-six dollars; that it has very few fishermen; that the harbour and moorings are good, safe, and deep, the guays commodious and very extensive. The town is almost as large as Portsmouth. Unfortunately there is a shoal of quicksands at the entrance of the haven, which obstructs the navigation two or three times in the course of the year. To guard against the mischief, which otherwise might befall vessels, that have made long voyages, two lighthouses have been erected on the coast, one of which is moveable, and capable of being always stationed behind the other, according to the actual situation of the pass. By steering their course direct against that point, at which the second light-house is concealed behind the first, vessels are enabled to sail day and night into the harbour, without running the risk of driving on the sand banks.

Newbury Port is built on the river Merrimack. It has ten public schools. A society of inhabitants of the town, known by the name of the Sea Company, have established a very benevolent institution, consisting of several small houses on Plumb Island, which lies in the mouth of the river, where persons, who have suffered ship-wreck, find some provisions, fire-wood, and other articles of immediate necessity.

Newbury Port carries on a considerable trade with the Antilles, and receives molasses in return, which keeps from eight to ten boiling-houses in employ. There are likewise some breweries in the town, and a very large nail manufactory, which appeared to me to be very skilfully conducted. Newbury Port contains about four thousand inhabitants.

The road from Portsmouth to Boston is one continued series of houses, shop-booths, small manufactories and villages. It is an uninterrupted garden. The road is in every part better than any I have ever seen in America. It would be considered a delightful road, even in the most beautiful districts of France and England.

Ipswich, one of the most considerable villages on this road, is situated on a river, to which it gives name, and on which some ships are built. This small harbour participates in the large trade carried on with Massachusetts, but not so extensively at present, as in former years. Flax is pretty abundantly cultivated in all districts of the province, and seems to thrive well. But it is said to be in greater abundance at a greater distance from the coast, at least every where more so than hemp.

Beverley is another small neat village, through which the road passes to Boston. Its harbour lies on the South River. It is situated on a peninsula formed by that and the North River. The trade of this village is confined entirely to stock-fish, in which branch forty vessels are employed. The fish are cured in the village itself, which renders it very unpleasant to pass through. The number of vessels, which sail from this port to Europe or the colonies, is not considerable. Salem engrosses almost the whole trade.

Salem is one of the handsomest small towns in the United States, and is separated from Beverley only by a bridge, fifteen hundred feet in length. The number of its inhabitants, which increases yearly, amounts to ten thousand. The town, in reference to its trade, ranks with those of the sixth rank in America, and with those of the second rank in Massachusetts. The uncommonly active and enterprising spirit of its inhabitants is the sole reason which can be ascribed for the great extent and rapid progress of its trade. This town has no cultivated land behind it to supply its exports, which in America is with justice considered as one of the most essential articles of commerce. Its haven is but small, at ebb the quays are dry, and vessels of a larger size must even, at high water, unload a part of their cargo, in order to be able to reach these quays. Yet, notwithstanding these inconveniences, the annual freightage from this port exceeds twenty thousand tons. The vessels employed in this service sail to all parts of

the globe; twelve of them, for instance, are engaged in the East India trade, one of which arrived from Calcutta the day prior to my entering the town, after an absence of nine months and twelve days, of which thirty-two days were passed at Calcutta. The number of vessels, constituting the above mentioned rate of twenty thousand tons, amounts to one hundred and fifty, one hundred of which are in the foreign trade, twenty are coasters, and thirty follow the employment of fishing. The exports amounted, in 1791, to six hundred and ten thousand and five dollars; in 1792, to six hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and three dollars; in 1793, to eight hundred and twelve thousand and sixty-six dollars; in 1794, to one million four hundred and fifty-two thousand four hundred and eleven dollars; in 1795, to one million five hundred and four thousand five hundred and eleven dollars. As Salem and Beverley have only one customhouse in common for both places, the exports from the latter form a proportion in this calculation, but it is very inconsiderable.

With the exception of two or three large fortunes of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, the opulence of the merchants is not very great; but all the inhabitants find themselves in a flourishing condition, which is the less subject to a reverse, as the mode of living is very frugal, and as luxury is hitherto little known amongst them. Hence all the profits acquired by trade, are reimbarked in trade; and this accumulation of interest upon interest insures them a large capital. by which they are enabled to bear up against any casual losses. major part of the shipping from Salem is freighted from Virginia or South Carolina. In these provinces of America, the land yields a greater abundance of produce, than the vessels employed in their ports will suffice to export. The industry of the northern ports, therefore, is here very valuable, the produce being in an inverse ratio to the shipping, compared with the southern states. Salem exports. however, annually from seven to eight thousand pounds of salt beef, and eighteen thousand barrels of fish. This latter article has, for some years past, been greatly on the decline, the inhabitants of Salem. and the other ports, preferring the wholesale trade as more lucrative. The commodities imported from the East and West Indies, form likewise a branch of the export trade of this port. Hemp, iron, Russia leather, are emplyed in the coasting trade. Few foreign vessels put in here. The inhabitants of Salem say, that their own industry leaves no room for the speculations of strangers.

An European, who fancies that a man cannot be qualified to act as a captain of a ship, till he has made a number of voyages, and passed through a regular course of study, is not a little surprized, when he is informed, that the merchants of Salem entrust their ships to young persons, who have frequently been only one year at sea. As they have grown up in the business of the compting-house, they are perfectly acquainted with the price, the quality, and the sale of each different commodity. The first year they are associated with a skilful steersmate, and act at once in the capacity of captain and supercargo. Their vessels, whatever may be the cause, do not suffer ship-wreck more frequently than other ships, which are more cautiously navigated. In the course of a few years these young people become merchants themselves, the captain's profits being very considerable. As they generally are appointed from the families of merchants, they receive assistance from their employers.

The inconveniences which Salem experiences from the shallowness of its harbour, secure them against all hostile attacks. The entrance to the haven is not in the slightest degree defended, nor is it, indeed, capable of defence.

I was upon terms of great intimacy with Mr. Goodhue, a member of the Congress, whom I had seen at Philadelphia. The friendly reception that gentleman gave me, and the patience with which he resolved my questions, entitled him to the same praise, as indeed all the persons are entitled to, whom I met with in the course of my long journey. Mr. Goodhue is a man of strong intellect, of very plain manners, and is very well informed. In his political principles he is a federalist, and of course an advocate for the treaty with England. The town of Salem entertains the same opinion as he does, in this respect, chiefly on account of their dread of a war, which they consider as the inevitable consequence of the non-ratification of the treaty.

Before I take my leave of Salem, I must remark, that the day previous to my departure, a vessel arrived in this port from Bordeaux,

which brought a great quantity of silver dishes and plates, in payment for flour, which had been sold to France. The plate was valued by weight, and constituted a part of the confiscated property of the emigrants.

Salem is the capital of the county of Essex, and contains, upon an average, about nine thousand inhabitants. It is a handsome town, the houses are good, small, and neat, and perfectly accord with the manner of the inhabitants. The Senate House is a spacious, and even elegant building.

Salem has a sail-cloth manufactory, which employs a great number of skilful hands.

This town is the second settlement erected by the Europeans, in the Massachusetts. It was begun in 1628, and was the principal scene of the cruelties, which ignorance, superstition, and the persecuting spirit of the priests, and their deluded votaries, inflicted, in 1692, on the pretended sorcerers.

On the same bay with Salem lies another small port, which, in respect to its shipping, is of greater consequence than Beverley. Marblehead, which is situated in the midst of rocks, trades only in stock fish. All the men are so entirely occupied in fishing, that the town, to a stranger, who passes through the streets, appears to be solely inhabited by women and children, all of whom have a most miserable and wretched appearance. Marblehead has a custom-house, and the exports from this place consist in a variety of articles, the value of which, in 1794, amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars.

Lynn, which is dependent upon the former place, is another small haven, lying nine miles nearer to Boston. It is famous for its shoe manufactory. There is scarcely a house, which is not inhabited by a shoe-maker; four hundred thousand pairs, most of the women's shoes, are made here every year. This port carries on no other trade than the exportation of shoes to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, from which places a great number are sent over to England. A quantity are even exported directly to Europe from Lynn itself.

## ROBERT GILMOR IN 1797.

Robert Gilmor was a gentleman of large fortune who lived in Baltimore, Maryland, where he possessed a gallery of paintings and sculpture and a cabinet of minerals and coins. His father was a prosperous merchant and the son travelled widely for those days. He was only twenty-three years old when he made his tour through New England which he illustrated with pen and ink sketches. He was famous for his hospitality and during his life kept voluminous journals which are still preserved by his descendants. He died in 1848. His account of travels in Massachusetts was published by the Boston Public Library in its Bulletin for April, 1892 under the following title: Memorandums made in a tour to the Eastern States in the year 1797, by Robert Gilmor.

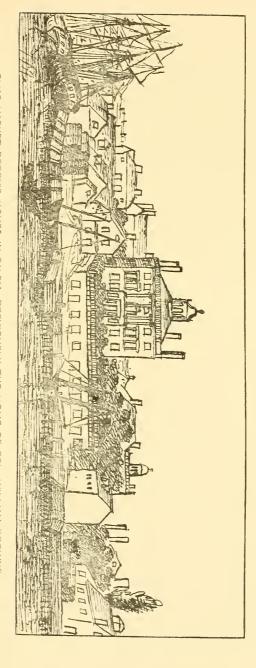
On Thursday afternoon, Mr. Hay, (a fellow boarder) & I took our seats in the Salem Stage and at Dark arrived at Salem. We had time to visit several places in this town, particularly the wharves, where we saw a number of fine vessels.

This place carries on an extensive commerce & had lately (sent) out more East Indiamen than all the rest of the United States together. The principal merchant here, Mr Derby, has just built a most superb house, more like a palace then the dwelling of an American merchant.

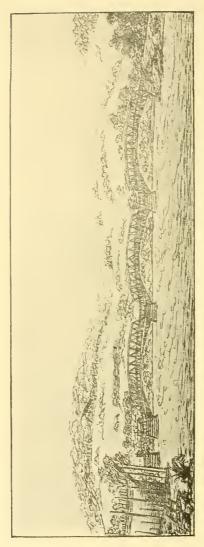
In our way to Salem we passed through a number of pretty little villages one of which, Lynn, is scarcely inhabited by any but shoemakers. This little town supplies even the Southern States with women shoes for exportation. The women work also and we scarcely passed a house where the trade was not carried on. A woman can make four pair a day & a man has been mentioned to me who could make double that quantity.

We left Salem about 7 the next morning in the Portsmouth Stage which left Philada (?) \* that day. As there was not room for us all, and I did not choose to be left behind, I agreed with Mr. Hay to ride on the coachman's box with him alternately for 25 miles, when one

<sup>\*</sup>Probably means Boston.



ELIAS HASKET DERBY'S HOUSE IN SALEM, PREVIOUSLY THE HOME OF COL. WILLIAM BROWNE. From a drawing made in 1797 by Robert Gilmor



VIEW OF THE BRIDGE AT HAVERHILL, OVER THE MERRIMACK RIVER From a drawing made in 1797 by Robert Gilmor

of the passengers left us. I did not expect to find the seat so agreable but after a little I preferred it to an inside one. After riding 45 miles through one of the pleasantest countries in the State, we got to Portsmouth in the evening and met with 2 gentlemen who had boarded with us at Mrs Archibald's waiting at the inn the stage stopped at, to shew us lodgings in the house they put up at.

As I had omitted bringing any letters to some respectable person in Portsmouth, I felt rather awkward when I found from the arrangement of the stages, I should be obliged to remain here two days. The gentlemen who came with me had several letters, by means of which they were always in company. A Mr Boyd however hearing I had come along with M Hay politely invited me to dine with him on Sunday & to join a party on Saturday evening that were going to Piscataqua bridge, which is the only one of the kind in America and a surprizing work. It's length is about 2200 feet, including a small island which it rests upon in the middle of the river. From a small rock to this island a single arch of 240 feet is thrown over the deepest and most rapid part of the river. It is handsomely executed and painted white. The arch is not supported by the abutments but by braces which are opposed and support it from above. While the company were viewing the work I ran about half a mile to the only place where I could get a tolerable view for a picture. Then seated on a rock I made the sketch at the end of this book, which part I allotted for designs of such objects as struck me during my tour and which could be comprehended in a slight sketch.

About dusk it began to rain, and we were obliged to wait till it was over, when we rode back in our chaises to Portsmouth in a very dark night. This bridge is distant from Ports. 6 1/2 miles.

On Sunday I dined with Mr Boyd; in the evening drank tea with Mrs Bowman (a lady lately married & very beautiful who was so polite as to ask me to visit her while I staid here. She was very agreable and kept up the spirits of the company with a great deal of gaiety.)

At 4 o'clock on Monday afternoon I got into the Stage and returned to Boston by the way of Exeter & Haverhill. Both of which are very pretty little villages, particularly the latter which is situated very pleasantly on the Banks of the Merrimack. Across this river is thrown

one of the new constructed bridges like that of Piscataqua, only this has 3 arches instead of one, and the work which supports the whole is above instead of being just below the bridge. I had time enough before dinner to step to the water's edge and take a sketch of it. While I stood there, with my drawing book laid upon a pile of plank which happened to be convenient, and intent on my work, I did not observe the tide which rose very fast and on looking down perceived myself up to my ancles in the river. The water rose so gradually that I did not feel it and never suspected that it could have (been) the case.

The next day after leaving Portsmouth I got to Boston in the evening and took up my former lodgings at Mrs Archibald's.

During this little excursion I had passed thro' a number of pretty villages, and in most places a delightful country. The road by which I went lay through all the principal trading towns to the Eastward of Boston, and in a great part in sight of the sea. The one by which I returned was made for the convenience of a number of principal country towns; of course I had a tolerable opportunity of judging of the country.

It is something remarkable that the people of New England in general have adopted a number of words in common conversation & which they interlard their discourse continually, that are not used in the same sense by the other part of America. At Portsmouth in New Hampshire particularly I remembered the following. If I observed such a thing was handsome, they would answer quite handsome. If I asked the way or an opinion, the answer always was preceded by I guess, so & so. A handsome man they call a nice man & I am frequently asked how long I mean to tarry in such a place, or if I made a tarry there. These and some other expressions are common to a fault, and are used even by the best informed among some of us travellers, and sometimes in company we would fall into the same fault from a satirical disposition.

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