MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IX MARCH 1883 No. 3

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN NEW ENGLAND

IN a former article I have spoken of the Scotch-Irish in America, and of the prominent part they have taken in founding, establishing, and moulding the Republic. The subject being national in extent, the treatment, necessarily, was general in its character. In the present paper it is intended to trace this people in their settlements through the New England States.

As early as 1638, a colony from Ulster projected a settlement in New England. This was about thirty years after their migration from Scotland to the north of Ireland. In September of the above year one hundred and forty passengers sailed from Loch Fergus for the Merrimack. The ship was driven back by stress of weather, and nearly three-quarters of a century elapsed before we hear of the arrival of the Scotch-Irish in the New England Colonies. It was in the year 1718 that a band of these people resolved to seek in the New World what they had failed to secure in the Old, namely, "security for their labor, freedom of religious worship, and repose from persecution." With their native caution and prudence, before launching on this hazardous undertaking, they selected the Rev. William Boyd as their agent to go out and examine the country.

He carried with him an address to Governor Shute, of Massachusetts, asking for land and the right of settlement. The address was dated March 26, 1718, and was signed by two hundred and seventeen citizens of Ulster. Mr. Boyd's report was so encouraging that, on August 4, 1718, five vessels, containing one hundred and twenty families, sailed for New England and arrived safely in Boston. The city at that time contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. Here the immigrants broke up into little companies, and separated to begin life anew in a strange land. One company went to Worcester County, another to Andover and neighborhood with Mr. McGregor at their head; while still another, with the Rev. Mr. Moorehead, established themselves in Boston. Twenty families also, among whom were

the Armstrongs, Means, McKeens, and Greggs, set out in their brigantine to explore the eastern country for a place of settlement. Late in the autumn they came to Falmouth, now Portland, where they passed a most severe winter, for which they were poorly provided, having to accept relief furnished by the General Court for "the poor immigrants." The Maine Historical Collections, to which I am chiefly indebted for many of the facts contained in this article, state that "this was the first company of that people [the Scotch-Irish] which came to Maine." Discouraged by the experience of their first winter in a climate so much colder than that to which they had been accustomed, they resolved, when spring came, to seek a milder latitude. Sixteen families, with Mr. McGregor for their pastor, selected Nutfield, now Londonderry, New Hampshire. Here Mr. McGregor preached his first sermon under the shade of a wide-spreading oak. A portion of those who wintered at Falmouth settled there, and their worthy descendants—the Armstrongs, Means, Jamesons, and others—are still well-known and esteemed names in Portland. The Rev. Mr. Moorehead became the shepherd of the "little flock" that remained at Boston, and established the first Presbyterian church in that place. "In 1729 that society united with other of their scattered brethren and established the first presbytery in New England, called the presbytery of Boston." In 1789 this presbytery reported to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States that it consisted of forty-six ministers—representing all the New England States except Maine—two thousand nine hundred and fifty-four communicants, and had expended twenty-four thousand dollars in carrying on its Church work.

The company which went to Worcester encountered such bitter prejudice and violent persecution that many of them abandoned the town, some going to Pelham, in Hampshire County, and others followed their pastor, the Rev. John McKinstry, to Sutton, in Worcester County. Some remained in the town of Worcester and tried to brave it out, but finally were obliged to remove from the narrow bigotry and prejudice, both national and religious, which there embittered their lives. The South is not the only section of our country where blind and foolish prejudice has retarded progress.

In this Worcester colony were many honored names, to whom the whole country, as well as New England, owes much of its liberty and progress. One of the children of this colony, Matthew Thornton, became a most distinguished statesman of New Hampshire, and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Many of the names of this colony sound familiar to those who have lived in Scotland and in the north of Ireland, as the writer can testify from experience.

We find among them the names of McGregor, McKinstry, Clark, Gray, Ferguson, Crawford, Graham, Blair, Barbour, Duncan, McClintock, Stark, Reid, Bell, Anderson, etc. "This little band of one hundred and twenty families contained the elements of a mighty growth and progress," many of whom "have given vigor to our institutions, and adorned various departments in our civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs." They are accredited with the introduction of the potato plant and the spinning-wheel, and the manufacture of linen. The spinning-wheel produced quite a sensation in Boston, and societies were founded and schools established for teaching the art of spinning. At the first anniversary of its introduction prizes were awarded to the most skilful. Now the daughters of these spinsters, instead of parading the Common with a spinning-wheel on their shoulder, are found in collegiate contests disputing for the Greek or mathematical prize with their brothers.

Another colony of the Scotch-Irish was introduced into New England about the same time as the former. This was effected by Robert Temple, the great-grandson of Sir John Temple, of Stanton Bury, who died in 1632. After correspondence with the Plymouth Proprietors, and a personal inspection of several sections of the country, he finally concluded to plant a colony on the east side of the Kennebec River, on land belonging to Colonel Hutchinson and the Plymouth Company. He became a partner in the Company. "The same year, 1718, he chartered two large ships, and the next year three more, to bring families from Ireland to carry on the settlement. In consequence of these arrangements there were several hundred families landed on the shores of the Kennebec River, in various locations, from the mouth of Merrymeeting Bay, in the years 1719 and 1720." Some of the immigrants settled on the Topsham shore, others near the mouth of the river Ex, a third party in the north of Bath, in Cork, or Ireland, as the place was called after the country of the settlers.

The colony had given great promise of becoming prosperous and powerful when the Indian wars interfered and scattered many of the families — some taking refuge with their brethren at Londonderry, "but the greater part removed to Pennsylvania."

Temple, in 1727, married into the English branch of his family, taking for wife a second cousin of his own, the daughter of John Nelson, of Gray's Inn, London. By her he had six children. His second son, John, married a daughter of Governor Bowdoin, of Massachusetts, whose Huguenot ancestors first settled at Falmouth as early as 1686. Their daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas L. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and thus this grand old Huguenot Bowdoin family, the Winthrop family de-

scendants of the first Governor and founder of Massachusetts, and the renowned Irish Temple family, of which Lord Palmerston was a member, were united, forming one of the towers of the nation's strength; "so that, if this adventurer, Robert (Temple), who in 1717 was seeking a farm in New England, had brought only himself, he would have conferred a great benefit on the country in the numerous, useful, and illustrious descendants who, springing from him, have adorned our annals."

After the restoration of peace with the Indians, many of the old settlers returned to occupy the deserted places. Speculators and adventurers also entered the field, and the project of separating it from the government of Massachusetts and making it an independent colony was conceived. Colonel David Dunbar, a Scotch-Irishman, was at the head of this movement. In the course of two or three years, his liberal offers of land and privileges had induced over one hundred and fifty families, mostly of his countrymen, to settle in the territory. They were, of course, Presbyterians, and had for their pastor the Rev. Robert Rutherford. To his countrymen—Montgomery, Campbell, and McCobb—Dunbar ceded the towns of Bristol, Nobleboro', and Boothbry, which he named Harrington, Walpole, and Townsend. "Throughout those towns, and scattered far beyond, over the whole State, are descendants of these colonists; and we trace in the respectable names of McCobb, Campbell, Montgomery, McClintock, Huston, McLean, McKeen, McFarland, Caldwell, Dick, Forbush, Brown, and McIntyre, the offspring of men who once trod in pride and power the land 'of brown heath and shaggy wood,' who wandered on the beautiful banks of Ayr, or reposed in the shade of Ettrick, or mustered for the fray at the pibroch's spirit-stirring sound and the shrill slogan of the McGregor."

Puritan pluck, however, had no idea of submitting to this usurpation of Dunbar, whose government was brought to a close in 1732, and the jurisdiction restored to Massachusetts by the mother country. Dunbar pursued a romantic career. Almost five years after losing control of the colony, he returned to England, where he was imprisoned for debt. Released through the liberality of his friends, in 1743 he was appointed Governor of St. Helena, the scene of Napoleon's exile.

Samuel Waldo, one of the patentees of the territory, had observed with deep interest the thrift, energy, and integrity of the immigrants from Ulster. He therefore determined to secure some of them for his own waste lands. For this purpose he crossed the ocean, and by liberal offers of land and other inducements, he received considerable accessions to his colony from the north of Ireland, together with some of their countrymen who were already in New England, some of them since 1718.

In 1735 about twenty-seven families were located on the banks of the St. George, in Warren. Each family received one hundred acres of land. General Waldo was continually affording encouragement to them in the erection of mills, and opening for them commercial advantages. The sterling qualities of this people—the Pattersons, Howards, Kilpatricks, Morrisons, Nelsons, Starretts, and others—are still perpetuated in their worthy descendants.

The next addition to the colony was in 1740, when the ship Grand Design, from the north of Ireland, was wrecked on Mount Desert. She was laden with passengers of "superior wealth and connections," bound for Pennsylvania, where they intended to establish a colony. The island was uninhabited. They were discovered by a party of Indians after many months of hardship and suffering, during which many died—notably one hundred able and vigorous young men, who were making their way to the mainland for assistance, perished in the wilderness. A portion of the rescued immigrants joined the colony at Warren. The next addition was a company of sixty adults and some children, collected by General Waldo in Scotland, and landed at George's River, September, 1753. It is said to be the last immigration of this people to the Eastern shores prior to the Revolution. They named their settlement Stirling, in honor of the ancient royal city of Scotland.

The flourishing city of Belfast, Maine, situated in the county of Waldo, at the northwest angle of Penobscot Bay, and about twenty-six miles from its entrance, was founded by the Scotch-Irish. The first settlers were a young swarm, not very numerous, from the old hive at Londonderry, New Hampshire. Among the sixteen families from the north of Ireland at the latter place—of which we shall presently speak—was a child five years old, John Mitchell by name. In early life he followed the trade of a house-carpenter, which he afterward abandoned and became a surveyor and teacher of the higher mathematics. It was in the summer of 1765 that Mitchell visited Penobscot Bay, and first looked upon the place where the city of Belfast now stands. It was then a primeval forest. Mitchell was doubtless charmed with the wild beauty of the landscape, and saw, too, the natural advantages which the place afforded for settlement. At Fort Pownall he learned that the land was for sale, and accordingly he communicated the information to his friends at Londonderry. A company was soon formed for its purchase, and on October 4, 1768, thirty-five proprietors held their first regular meeting at the above place. The land contained by estimate fifteen thousand acres. Among the first articles of agreement is the following: "That we bind ourselves that no one shall own a right amongst

us that is unable to produce a certificate of good moral character to the satisfaction of the community, and of the gentlemen of whom we purchase." The land was purchased from the heirs of General Waldo for the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, or about twenty cents an acre. In dividing it among the purchasers care was taken to set off one hundred acres for the first minister of the gospel that should settle among them, and also land for a common, a "meeting-house," a "graveyard," and a "training field."

The company was incorporated June, 1773, by the General Court of Massachusetts. The town was named Belfast after the city of this name in the north of Ireland, from which some of the original settlers at Londonderry came. It is an old city, first mentioned about A.D. 1315, being the capital of Ulster. It was granted by James I. to Sir Arthur Chichester in 1612, and erected into a corporation. It is to-day a city of industry, thrift, education, and progress, worthy of the men who have perpetuated its name in the New World. Belfast has given to New England some of her best citizens and most honored names, among whom it is sufficient to mention the author of the "Dutch Republic," the courted and courtly John Lothrop Motley, whose great-grandfather, according to Oliver Wendell Holmes, came in the earlier part of the last century from Belfast, Ireland, to Falmouth, now Portland.

Belfast was settled, according to Williamson's History—to which I am indebted for most of the facts concerning this daughter of the Ulster capital—about the year 1770. "About the middle of May, 1770, James Miller and three other proprietors, with their families, left Londonderry for their new home in the wilderness," accompanied by others, making a party of about thirty persons in all.

The Londonderry men wished to give the name of their own town to the new settlement; but Miller, who was from Belfast, Ireland, earnestly insisted on its present appellation. The dispute, tradition says, was good-naturedly ended by tossing up a penny.

Matters of more weighty importance, however, demanded the attention of these hardy, unconquered people. The clearing of the forest, erection of their log-cabins, providing protection against wild beasts and savage men, all the dangers and difficulties common to the frontier settlers of the New World, taxed to the utmost the courage and endurance of this heroic people. Said one, "If I ever felt to cry in my life it was when we first set ashore in Belfast." And again, "The roaring sea on one hand, and the howling wilderness on the other." Another writes, "But we had no time to lose. The tide was coming in, and by great effort we removed our goods above high-water mark before dark," and, "We will not stay here, for the Indians will

kill us before morning." These quotations indicate some of their experiences on landing where now stands the pleasant city of Belfast, Maine.

We find that Morrison and Steele were accidentally drowned in December, 1770. This left at the close of the year the following settlers: On the western side, Cochrane, Chambers, and Miller; on the eastern, Reid, Mitchell, Barnet, the three Pattersons, and McLaughlin; ten in all. At the beginning of the third year the entire population amounted to only fifty persons of every age and sex. In 1779 the town was abandoned for fear of the British. It then contained eighteen families, numbering one hundred and nine persons, mostly women and children. By the year 1784 some fourteen families were again in the settlement, when they petitioned the General Court for authority to reorganize themselves into a municipal government. The petition was granted, a town meeting called, officers elected, and the young colony, as may well be imagined, in greatly impoverished circumstances, began again to cut down the forest and rear the town. During the next ten years the population had increased to about four hundred persons. According to Williamson, the census of 1800 gives 674 inhabitants; 1810, 1,274; 1820, 2,026; while the following table exhibits the valuation and number of polls in Belfast during the different decades of years since Maine became a State: 1820, polls, 402; estate, $146,046. 1830, polls, 629; estate, $286,404. 1840, polls, 802; estate, $658,523. 1850, polls, 992; estate, $1,323,979. 1860, polls, 1,310; estate, $1,802,307. 1870, polls, 1,363; estate, $2,660,879.

The noble part which this city took in the late war for the preservation of the Union was worthy of its founders, whose ancestors had been led to victory by such world-renowned heroes as Bruce and Wallace. Their support of education and Christianity, their care for the promotion of temperance and social reforms, show that the spirit of the sires, who reared the kirk and the school-house in the wilderness by the side of their log-houses, still lives in the sons, the pledge of a free government and a prosperous country.

We next pass to Londonderry, New Hampshire. It has already been stated that of the immigrants who spent such a hard winter at Falmouth, succeeding their arrival in August, 1718, sixteen families removed the following spring to Nutfield, New Hampshire. Here they formed a settlement and named it Londonderry, after the city of that name in the north of Ireland, from which many, perhaps most, of the immigrants came. The parent city has been quite renowned in history and deserves here a brief notice in passing. Its ancient name was Derry. It was founded in the sixth century, and was several times pillaged by the Danes, and occupied

by the English at the invasion. It received its title of Londonderry from the London Company, who rebuilt the old sacked town, and colonized that part of the north of Ireland during the reign of James the First, when the Plantation of Ulster was established. Londonderry city is the capital of the county of Londonderry, in the province of Ulster, and is situated on the left bank of the river Foyle. The city is beautifully situated upon a hill which overlooks the river Of its ancient wall, nearly a mile still remains, and forms a pleasant promenade, but the city has extended far beyond the wall. In 1871 it had a population of 24,242. The left bank of the river is connected by an iron bridge 1,200 feet in length, with an extensive suburb called Waterside, which contains many beautiful villas and private residences.

The siege of Londonderry forms one of the most thrilling chapters of modern history, while the victorious defence displays an endurance, a courage, and a heroism unsurpassed in the annals of any people. The county of Antrim joins that of Londonderry on the east, and is distant from the west coast of Scotland only about twenty miles. Across this frith or strait flowed from the northeast a population distinguished for thrift, industry, and endurance, and which has given a peculiar and elevated character to that portion of the Emerald Island.

The McDonald clan, it is said, were first and prominent in this colonization, settling chiefly in the counties of Down, Londonderry, and Antrim, and aided largely in building up their principal cities—Newry, Bangor, Derry, and Belfast. Many of the immigrants from Scotland were from Argyleshire, some of them of the Scotch nobility, who were rewarded for distinguished military or civil service by large grants of land in Ulster from the crown; others were adventurers, while a few were hardy Highland farmers, who came to Ulster in the hope of finding more fertile lands than the heather moors and rugged hills of their native land afforded. Such were the original settlers of the three northwesterly counties—Down, Antrim, and Londonderry, in Ulster. The English occupied the western part of the province. It was these Scotch-Irish that founded Londonderry in New Hampshire. They were persecuted by the Celtic Irish, whose forfeited lands they occupied. They were taxed to support the English State Church, to whose ritual they were averse, being all "dissenters" of the Presbyterian order, and in other respects unjustly treated by a Government which owed its existence largely to the loyalty and heroism of this very people. Strong as are the ties of home and kindred in the Scottish heart, stronger still is the sense of justice and the love of liberty. In search of these they determined to emigrate to the New

World. To this undertaking they were greatly encouraged by the reports of a young man named Holmes, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, who gave glowing accounts of the civil and religious privileges enjoyed in the American colonies, which he had just visited. The settlement at Nutfield—so called on account of the quantity and variety of nuts it produced—was begun April 11, 1719, old style, when, with their pastor, the Rev. Mr. McGregor, the families came to occupy the log-huts previously erected by the men. Some of the families had passed the winter at Haverhill on the Merrimack, the Rev. Mr. McGregor teaching at Dracut. Pastor and people were now happily together again. He addressed them in affectionate terms, congratulated them on having terminated their wanderings, and on their preservation from the perils of the sea and of the wilderness. He was called to be their pastor, a relation constituted by the mutual and solemn pledges of minister and people—no presbytery being yet in existence to perform the official ceremony of installation. The names of the sixteen men who, with their families, first settled Londonderry, were: James McKeen, John Barritt, Archibald Clendenin, John Mitchell, James Sterrett, James Anderson, Randal Alexander, James Gregg, James Clark, James Nesmith, Allen Anderson, Robert Weir, John Morrison, Samuel Allison, Thomas Steele, and John Stewart. They were strong, robust men, in middle life, and most of them lived to an advanced period, the average age of thirteen of their number being seventy-nine years, six attaining to nearly ninety, and two exceeding it. John Morrison, the oldest of the company, came within three years of being a centenarian. For mutual protection against the Indians and social intercourse, the families planted themselves on either side of West-running Brook, each on a lot thirty rods wide, fronting on the brook, and extending back far enough to include a farm of sixty acres. Soon after their arrival an Indian war broke out. The settlers constructed two stone garrisons, to which the families fled at night whenever there seemed to be danger. One James Blair, a man of giant stature, and equal courage, scorning this protection, remained well armed outside and alone. The Indians once plotted to kill Blair, as he was working alone in the field; but the story goes, seeing his huge stature, they desisted, supposing him to be a god. The town, however, was never assailed, owing, it is said, to the great influence of the Rev. Mr. McGregor with the French Governor of Canada, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and also with the Roman priests, who had great control over the Indians. Perhaps the most potent reason was that the settlers secured a fair and acknowledged title to their lands from the Indians. Many of their countrymen from various parts of New England joined the colony, and

with constant additions from Ireland its increase was rapid and steady, the sixteen families in six months having increased to seventy families. Each settler secured a royal gift of one hundred and twenty acres of land. The place soon became noted for its fine manufactures of woollen and linen cloth.

We are told that during the Revolutionary war Mr. Montgomery received from Congress £40 and a diamond ring, as a premium for linen woven for Washington and the officers of the army. Parker, in his History of Londonderry, an exceedingly rare and valuable work, says that it became a perfect beehive of industry. The hum of the spinning-wheel, the clatter of the loom in the houses, and the sound of the woodman's axe in the forest, "from early morn till late at e'en," constituted the music of a thrifty, healthy, happy people. The physical strength and energy, the domestic virtues, mental vigor, and moral religious principle of the female portion of the community, the same historian says, have never been excelled: "They most happily exemplified the portrait of the good housewife drawn by the inspired pen." The colonists applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for a charter. The Court refused, on the ground that the land was within the territory of New Hampshire. Some three years after settlement, in 1722, the colonists obtained a just and valid title to their lands, and were incorporated into the township of Londonderry. Still, there were not wanting persons to annoy them by asserting prior claims. One of these was a man named Harriman, who led a large party from Haverhill, armed and prepared to contest forcibly their claims to the property. He demanded payment for the land, in default of which he threatened immediate ejectment. He arrived on a Friday afternoon, when the families were assembling, according to the Presbyterian custom, at the "preparatory service" preceding the communion to be administered on the following Sunday. The assailants agreed to refrain from all acts of violence until the services were over; but they were so impressed with the undaunted spirit of the men and the solemnity of their worship that Harriman said to his followers: "Let us return; it is in vain to attempt to disturb this people, for surely the Lord is with them." The organization of the colony into a municipal government is thus described by Mr. Parker: "Although they did not at first obtain an act of incorporation as a township, yet, receiving the protection of government and the benefits of law, they proceeded to organize themselves into a civil community, and to appoint suitable officers for the due management of its concerns, and the promotion of its interests. Their first regular meeting for the transaction of town business, was held November 9, 1719." The town voted Mr. James McKeen for Moderator.

On the said day was voted for town-clerk, John Goffe. At an adjourned meeting, November 20, 1719, the town voted that seven men should be chosen as a committee for the managing of the public affairs of the town.

Crude as everything was in the new colony, and poor as most of the people were, they at once adopted measures for the building of a "meeting-house," "church" savoring too much of Episcopacy. That term was never used by them except to designate the body of believers. Two years after the settlement a suitable building was finished and solemnly dedicated to the worship of God. The school-house soon followed, being built in 1723, on the Common close by the meeting-house. The saw-mill and the grist-mill were put up as soon as possible. We read that until the erection of these mills the inhabitants were subject to great inconvenience in obtaining their meal. Oxen and horses not being yet common among them, many were obliged to carry their grain upon their shoulders a distance of some miles to be ground. In some families the hand-mill, of which we read in Scripture, was used.

The prize of a farm of land was to be given to the first-born son of Londonderry. Jonathan, son of John and Margaret Morrison, born September 8, 1719, was the successful new-comer! The first marriage was that of John Walis and Annie Barnard, May, 1721. In October, 1729, an earthquake, "the severest ever known in New England," caused great fear and consternation. The shock occurred at ten o'clock in the evening, and extended several hundred miles. At Newbury, Massachusetts, only twenty miles distant from Londonderry, the earth opened in several places. It resulted in a general seriousness, a reformation of morals, and large additions to the churches. The first store in the town was opened about the year 1750 by John Pinkerton, who, early in life, began peddling, carrying his wares in a pack upon his back. He devoted thirty thousand dollars of his well-earned fortune to the support of religious institutions, and the endowment of an academy which still perpetuates his name in the town of Londonderry. His younger brother, James, succeeded him in business, and followed his example in benevolence.

In 1730 the settlement had so increased that a petition was presented at a town meeting for a second parish, to be formed in the western part of the township. In 1735 the petition was granted, and about sixty families constituted the West Parish of Londonderry. In 1741 the parish of Windham was formed in the south part of the town. "In 1751 the town of Derryfield was incorporated. It was composed of a part of Chester, a part of Londonderry, and of lands not before granted to any town." Londonderry seemed to be the great centre of attraction for the Scotch-Irish. Accessions from

various parts of New England and from Ireland greatly increased its numbers and added to its progress, so that it early "sent forth many colonies to form new settlements in the vicinity, and in more remote parts of the country, now open for cultivation." Londonderry furnished many of the pioneers of civilization in the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, New York, and Nova Scotia. The first swarm from the old hive came off in 1737, crossed the Merrimack River and settled in Bedford, where they were afterward joined by numbers of their brethren from Ireland and from Massachusetts. Several families from Londonderry joined an English colony from Massachusetts which had settled in Merrimack, adjoining Bedford, and there joined the Congregational Church. In 1741 the settlement of Cherry Valley, west of the Hudson, was begun by families from Londonderry. About the same time, other families, joined by some of their countrymen from Lunenburg, Massachusetts, succeeded, after some difficulties, in forming a settlement at Peterborough. Still others removed to Nova Scotia, after its evacuation by the French, and settled in the towns of Truro and Londonderry about the year 1760. Seven years after this a settlement was formed in Antrim by Londonderry emigrants. Other companies located in Herkimer and Deering. In 1766, a small party removed to Acworth, in the State of New Hampshire, and united with a few families from Connecticut in forming that township. About the year 1774 a few families removed from this town to a tract of country in Vermont, which had been purchased by a Mr. James Rogers. It was subsequently incorporated into two townships, Londonderry and Windham, as the early settlers were mostly from these towns. New Boston, another of their settlements, was composed almost exclusively of Scotch-Irish. Litchfield, Hudson, Amherst, Dunstable, and Chester received numerous accessions from the old Nutfield colony. There is, probably, not a State in the Union to-day without some of the descendants of this colony, first planted in the wilderness by sixteen families in 1718. It has been estimated by their historian, Parker, who wrote in 1850, that full one hundred thousand persons had descended from the early settlers of Londonderry. Nor has there been a post of honor, trust, responsibility, or importance in the nation that has not been nobly filled and adorned by some of these heroic people. Horace Greeley was one of their descendants and a representative of the rugged virtues of these colonists. The Rev. Joseph McKeen, D.D., the first President of Bowdoin College, Judge McKeen, of New York, Judge Grier, of Pennsylvania, and many other distinguished names, trace their origin to the same ancestry. Grier was originally McGregor, the Mc being dropped by those of the clan who migrated from Scotland to Ireland. The names Greer, Gregg, Gregory, etc., are all

derived from the same source. Thus we find that a distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, in Pennsylvania—Judge Grier—derives his origin from "the same wild tribe which, under the guidance of Rob Roy McGregor, was the terror of the high and lowlands of their native soil."

A noble race have been the McGregors. Of the Rev. James McGregor, who came with the first settlers to Londonderry as their pastor, friend, and fellow-servant, it is said: "Though at the time but a youth, he was among the brave defenders of Londonderry, in Ireland, and discharged from the tower of the cathedral the large gun which announced the approach of the vessel that brought them relief."

In the English and French-Canadian wars, Londonderry bore an honorable part, and her patriotic sons have never been wanting at the call of duty. In these wars and those of the Revolution, Stark, Reid, McClary, McNiel, Miller, etc., displayed much of the spirit and courage that swelled the brave hearts of Wallace and Bruce. "Inheriting," says Dr. Barstow, "the same great traits of character, the American heroes of Scottish descent have made the achievements of Bunker Hill, Bennington, and Bridgewater not unworthy to be associated in history with those of Flodden, Melrose, Dundalk, and Bannockburn."

Their great force of character and strong individuality bravely resisted the influences that effeminate a weaker race. Hence the Scotch, through long generations, have transmitted to their posterity many of the stern but sterling qualities of their noble ancestry, of which the late Thomas Carlyle was a good illustration. His hatred of shams, his contempt for conventionalities, his downright sincerity and earnest spirit, and withal, his genuine kindly nature beneath a rough exterior, showed him to be a true Scot and an illustrious representative of this people.

Some of the ungentle ways in society alleged of Carlyle would accord with what has been said by L. H. Morrison, one of the Londonderry colonists: "If at any time a man has hard thoughts of his neighbor, he did not whisper it about in private scandal, but the offender was the first to hear it; there was no secret underhand dealing, but their voices were always loud, their gait erect, their conduct open."

With all their sternness of character and Puritan devoutness, their ready wit and love of fun were proverbial. Old and young, gay and grave, hailed weddings, huskings, log-rollings, and raisings as fit occasions for frolic. Says Morrison, already quoted and a descendant of the colony: "Our ancestors dearly loved fun: there was a grotesque humor, and yet a seriousness, pathos, and strangeness about them which, in its way, has perhaps

never been excelled. It was the sternness of the Scotch Covenanter, softened by a century's residence abroad, amid persecution and trial, wedded there to the comic humor and pathos of the Irish, and then grown wild in the woods, among these our New England mountains."

Of this peculiar trait of character many quaint and mirth-exciting anecdotes might be given, especially of the eccentricities of some of their greatly revered clergy, of their deacons and deacons' wives. One of the innovations in religion of those times was the introducing of stoves into their cold, cheerless meeting-houses. The sermon surely must have been warm, for the devout people would sit in a freezing house for two hours listening to it. The stove in these churches, like the organ now in the mother churches in Ireland, met with great opposition. "We remember one case where Mrs. Deacon S. had fought against a stove, and Mrs. Deacon B. for one, till finally, when Mrs. Deacon B.'s party prevailed, Mrs. Deacon S. was carried out faint, and when she recovered, said that it was that *terrible hot stove* that caused it; but though the stove was there, no fire had been made in it!"

Tea was seldom used—except by some of the more wealthy, but none were wealthy according to the present estimate of wealth. Alcoholic spirits were used often, on all social and festive occasions, and even at funerals, and by minister and people, men, women, and children. The custom was not peculiar to this people, but a degeneracy of those rude times, and we doubt not a great evil, though some are wont to say, "there was less drunkenness then than now." Many, however, are the testimonies borne to the worth and excellence of these hardy immigrants in New England. "They were always a high-minded, generous people. Though poor, they were never mean in spirit. They have also been marked by a true loftiness and generosity of soul, which, in all their trials, has not forsaken them. It mingled with their courage in war, and guided their intelligence in politics." "In their influence, great or small, in high or in low stations, upon the councils of the state or nation, this people as a body have always been on the side of a liberal, generous policy, whatever might be its effect upon their private interest." They have been the promoters of free schools, education for the people, the firm supporters of law and order.

In addition to the colonies founded in New England by this people, they joined in groups, large or small, many of the colonies already planted. Separate families have located in English settlements, have readily affiliated with them, and the mingling of this English and Scotch-Irish blood has given us some of the noblest leaders, North and South, of which the nation boasts. The following is one out of many illustrations of this fact which might be

given, and it is designedly taken from one of the New England States, of which nothing has yet been said in this connection, of the Scotch-Irish immigrants and their influence in the State, of which De Tocqueville said: "All de great men in Amerique comed from dat leetel State dey call Conect-ti-coot."

The town of Lyme, Connecticut, was settled in 1666, "by an active, sensible, resolute, and blue-blooded people, who gave it a moral and intellectual character which it has never outgrown." The town is situated on the Sound, in a most picturesque and beautiful section of country. It was named after Lyme-Regis, a watering-place in the south of England, of romantic and historic traditions. There is, probably, no more classic ground in our own country than Lyme, Connecticut. It contains the homestead of the ancient, learned, and laborious Mathers, one of whom—son and namesake of Cotton Mather, of Boston—wrote three hundred and eighty-two works. Increase Mather, for sixty-two years the pastor of North Church, Boston, was in the habit of studying sixteen hours a day. Lyme is also the home of the Griswolds, Wolcotts, Waites. The present Chief-Justice belongs to the latter family, and many other distinguished names of the old English gentry. Connected with these families, and the equal of any of them, is the McCurdy family, of Scotch Irish descent, and of revolutionary memory.

Side by side with the Mather mansion stands the oldest house in Lyme, in which Lafayette was twice entertained—the last time in 1825, as the guest of Richard McCurdy—and from which issued various documents that hastened on the cause of freedom in the Colonies. The house contains many rich and rare historic relics of the family connections of the owner. It is the residence of Charles Johnson McCurdy, LL.D., an eminent jurist, United States Minister to Austria, and for a long period Judge of the Supreme Court.

It was he who, when Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, in 1848, originated and carried into effect through the Legislature that great change in the common law by which parties may become witnesses in their own case —a change which has since been adopted throughout this country and in England. This house has been in the possession of the McCurdy family since 1750. Many of the richest veins in New England life are filled with the blue blood of the Scotch Covenanters.

GEORGE H. SMYTH

INGRAM'S JOURNEY THROUGH NORTH AMERICA IN 1567-69

Among the remarkable but not generally known adventures that occurred on this continent in the sixteenth century were those of David Ingram, an English sailor, of Barking, Essex, who, in 1567, was set on shore in the Bay of Mexico by the famous Sir John Hawkins, and who made his way overland to the shore of the Bay of Fundy, sailing thence to France. This sailor and his two companions were the first Englishmen now known to have entered any portion of the present territory of New England. Let us, therefore, hear Ingram's story. It will be necessary first, however, to notice the voyage of Hawkins, the unfortunate termination of which left this rough sailor a wanderer in the forests of America.

During October, in the year 1567, Captain Hawkins, who, through piracy and the slave-trade attained great renown—the crest of his arms bearing a half-length figure of a negro child bound with cords—sailed to the coast of Guinea with five ships, where "by purchase or force" he loaded his vessels with human flesh and sailed for Spanish America. At de la Hacha he disposed of his freight, and on his way home he entered the harbor of St. John d'Ulloa, where, while at anchor, he was attacked by the Spaniards, and lost four ships. With the two remaining vessels he escaped in a disabled condition and put to sea, September 3, 1768.

October 8th, many of his men being in a suffering condition from wounds, while all were sadly straitened for the want of food, Hawkins put into the mouth of the River Tampico, on the Bay of Mexico, in latitude 23° 30′ north. Here, after some discussion, it was agreed to separate the crew into two companies, one of which should remain and subsist as it could, while the other proceeded to England; Hawkins promising to return the next year and bring them off. When it was first proposed to divide the crew, the idea struck the sailors with much favor; yet, when the moment came to carry it into execution, many changed their minds, so that in the end the occasion led to great cruelty. Miles Phillips, one of the party, writes, in Hakluyt, as follows:

"For the more contentation of all men's Mindes, and to take away all occasions of offense, to take this order: First hee made choyce of suche persons of service and account as were neede full to stay, and that being done, of those that were willing to go hee appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boate they should be set

on shoare. . . . Heere agayne it would haue caused any stony heart to have relented to hearr the pitifull mone that many did make, and how loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormey and tempes-

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.
[*Fac-simile* of an old copperplate.]

tuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding theere was no remedy, but we that were appointed to go away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set ashoare, but of them that went in the second boat, of which number I my-

self was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attayne to the shoare, and therefore we were constrained, through the cruel dealing of John Hampton, Captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, having more than a mile to shoare, and so to shift for our selves, and either to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were throwen out and compelled to leape into the Sea, there were two drowned." They were probably left on the bar in shallow water and obliged to wade to land, occasionally swimming. Job Hortop, who was one of those thus put on shore, gives an account more favorable to Hawkins. He writes (folio 9):

"Then wee set saile and sought for the iland of Panico, to take in fresh water, for we had but little left, our victualls wared scant, in so much that wee were compelled through hunger to eate hides, cats, rattes, mice, parats, monkies and dogges, besides many other things which we were not accustomed unto, all which wee esteemed as verie good meate, and greatly praised God for the same. By reason whereof our Generall was constrained to divide his companie through extremitie of hunger, and many of us desired rather to bee on the shoare among wilde beastes then to famish on shipboard through hunger, whereupon our Generall set on shoare of our companie, four score and sixteene: and gave unto every one of us, five yardes of Roan cloth, and monie to those that did demand it. Then he lovingly embraced us greatly lamenting our distressed estate and having persuaded us to serve God, and to love one another, he bad us all farewell, promising to do what he might for us hereafter, if God lent him and us life to meet again, and so he departed from us, leaving us to God's providence."[1] Hawkins soon set sail for England, where, after enduring great sufferings, he arrived, January 20, 1568.

The company passed the night where they landed, having found a supply of water and some fruit, and the next morning, it being the 8th of October, 1567, they began to travel westward along the coast. Soon these unhappy people were attacked by the Indians. Being without arms, they were obliged to yield to their savage enemies, who killed eight of them and

[1] The only copy of Hortop's work the writer has seen is that in the British Museum. The title runs as follows:

"THE RARE Trauailes of Iob Hortop, an Englishman, who was not heard of in three and twentie yeeres space. WHEREIN is declared the dangers he escaped in his voiage to Gynnie, where hee was set on shoare in a wilderness neere to Panico, hee endured much slaverie and bondage in the Spanish Galley. Wherein also he discouereth many strange and wonder-full things seene in the time of his trauaile, as well concerning wild and sauage people, as also of sundrie monstrous beasts, fishes and foules, and also Trees of wonderfull forme and qualitie. London. Printed for William Wright 1591."

robbed the entire company of their clothing, afterwards allowing the survivors to depart, at the same time directing them to the Spanish settlement of Tampico, distant about thirty miles. They, however, were not unanimous in desiring to throw themselves upon the hospitality of the Spaniards, and accordingly a motion was made to divide the company. Phillips says:

"We thought it best to divide ourselves into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of us went under the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is a man yet alive, and dwelleth at this instant in the Towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine ouer us all, and those which went under his leading, of which number I Miles Phillips was one, trauelled Westword that way which the Indians with their hands had pointed us to go. The other halfe went under the leading of one John Hooper, whome they did choose for their captaine, and with the company that went with him, David Ingraham was one, and they tooke their way and trauailed Northword, and shortly after within the space of two days, they were again incountred with sauage people, and their captaine and two more of his company were slaine: then again they diuided themselves, and some held on theyr way still Northword, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westword, sought to meet us again, as in truth there was about the number of five & twentie or six and twentie of them that mette with us in the space of three or four days againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selues, how many we were that were set on shoare, and we found the number to be an hundred & fourteen, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so there remained an hundred and foure, of which five and twentie went Westward with us, and two and fiftie to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often tolde me, there were not past three of theijr company slaine, and there were but five and twentij of them that came againe to us, so that of the company that went Northword, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twentie men." Phillips adds: "And verily I doe thinke that there arr of them yet alive, and marryed in the sayd countrey, at Sibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and the causes that make me so to think of them that were lacking, which were David Ingram, Twide, Browne and Sundry others, whose names we could not remember."[1] Hortop (folio 10) says:

"Being now left on land by the sea side in a place not inhabited, but onely

[1] See "A discourse written by one Miles Phillips Englishman one of the Company put a shoare in the VVest Indies by Mr Iohn Hawkins in the yeere 1568," in Hakluyt's "Principall Navigations." Ed. 1589, p. 562. On page 556, in the account of the Voyages of Hawkins, the matter is disposed of in five lines, it being said, "such as were willing to land I put them apart."

with horses and wild people, we lay by the sea side upon the first night, where we kept watch, fearing them that were in troops not farre from us. About sun-rise we marched three and three in a rancke into a great field under a groue where the Indian people came upon us, asking what people we were: to whome two of our companie speaking good Spannish, answered they were Englishmen that neuer came into that countrie before: then they demanded by what meanes, and for what intent, answere was made that we had lately fought with the Spaniards, and for want of victualls constrained to land. They demanded of us whither we would go, we said to Pannico, a towne inhabited by Spaniards: then the Captaine of the Indians, willed us to give them some of our cloth and shirtes, which we did. Then they commanded us to giue them all, which we denied to do: thereupon one of our company called Iohn Carnish was presently slaine with an arrow by an Indian boy: but for so doing the Indian Captaine smote the boy with his bow in the necke, that he lay for dead, and willed us to follow him, which we did; who brought us to fresh water, willing us to sit downe and drinke, and he with other company woulde goe kill fiue or sixe deare for us that we might eate thereof, but we stayed for them verie long some of our company deported into a groue, where by the Indians they were stripped of all their clothes, and one of them hurt with an arrowe in the arme and then came unto us. Afterward we divided ourselves into two companies, and went two wayes to Lake Pannico, and before we met again manie of us were spoiled of our apparaell. After our two companies had met together, we set watch and staied together till morning, where entering between two groves a huge number of Indians set vppon us, who robbed us of our clothes and left us naked as wee were borne of our mothers, they hurt many of us and killed eight of our companie. Afterwards the Indians showed us the way to Pannico."

Here we leave Hortop, who suffered incredible hardships, but finally reached England by the way of Spain, where he published his remarkable story. The other detachment, as we have already seen, travelled northward for two days, when another division took place after two more men had been killed. Then Hooper and twenty-six others went and rejoined Godard, while twenty-five for a time held on with Ingram. Only Twide and Browne continued with him to the end. Ingram does not say what became of the rest of his company, but Phillips tells, as we have seen, that he thinks they went to Sibola and "marryed."[1] Job Hortop did not reach England until

[1] Hakluyt gave a version of Ingram's narrative in the edition of 1589, but omitted it in 1599. The fact that Ingram made the overland journey was never questioned. It was the inevitable outcome of his attested departure. Many of his stories were, properly, discredited. Purchas referring to Hakluyt, says (iv. 1179), "it seemeth some incredibilities of his report caused him to leave him [Hortop] out in the next impression." Yet many of his stories are quite explicable to-day.

twenty-three years afterward,[1] though Ingram got home in twelve months, making remarkably good time.

In the year 1582 Ingram was called by the authorities to make a statement concerning the countries that he visited, this being the time when Gilbert was preparing for his expedition. The State Paper Office contains a manuscript which shows that Sir Humphrey was interested in Ingram. It is called "The report of them that have travelled the aforesaid countreys wth the note of such things as they have found there, over and above that which Ingraham upon his examinacion did confesse, whose names are: vererzanus, Jacques Cartier, John Barros, Andrewe Thevett, John Walker, of w^{ch} number S^{r} Humfrey Gylbert did conferse in person with the three last named."[2]

The reports of the first four are not found. Thevet's absence will not be regretted, but possibly that of Verrazano might have given some light respecting the map presented to Henry VIII. which then existed. The first relation of Ingram was prepared in response to definite queries,[3] and it was followed by a still larger statement.[4]

The queries referred to are entitled "Certayne questiones to be demanded of Davy Ingram sayler dwellinge at Barkinge in the Countye of Essex what he observed in his travel on the north side of the ryver May, where he remayned three months or thereabouts." The questions relate to the productions of the country, the character of the people, the style of their dwellings, of the precious metals obtainable, and the character of the animals of the country. This relation is made up from personal knowledge and reports in general circulation at the time, especially those relating to Cibola, which he employs in the sailor fashion. While some statements are perversions of facts and others almost baseless, the bulk of his narrative is true.

With respect to the route pursued, it would appear that he left the border of Texas and started for the Atlantic coast, where he hoped to find some English vessel. He appears to have reached or have heard of the Altamaha in Georgia, and kept on northeasterly, passing through the present territory of New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. He speaks of his journey

[1] Cabeza de Vaca, who came to America with Narvaez in 1528, was six years in captivity, and spent twenty months in his travels to escape. See his narrative edited by Buckingham Smith.

[2] Bib. Americana, London, 1789, p. 28, gives the title of an Italian extract from Ramusio, covering the voyage of Verrazano; and Abbé Laverdiere, Champlain's editor, mentions a MS. of Thevet's. Œuvres, ii. 131.

[3] The document is preserved in the State Paper Office, and a copy is in the possession of the writer.

[4] This larger statement forms the "Relation" of Ingram, printed in the present number of THE MAGAZINE as an original document. It is the version of the narrative which the writer found preserved in the Bodleian collections, being in substance the same as that published by Hakluyt.

as made from the Bay of Mexico "through a great part of America untill he came within 50 leagues of Cape Britton." He testifies to Secretary Walsingham that he travelled "in those countries from beyond Terra Florida extending towards Cape Britton aboute xi monethes in those countries which lye towards the North of the River Maie [May], in which time . . . he travailed by land 2,000 miles at least, and never continued in any one place above 3 or 4 daies saving only at the city of Balma." As he went on, he met with kind treatment among those Indians who knew nothing of the Spaniards. He says that he passed over "manie great rivers in those countries in canoe or boats some 4 some 8 some 10 miles over, whereof one was so large that they could scarce cross the same in 24 hours." These "rivers" were evidently bays on the Atlantic coast.

Toward the end of the manuscript we read: "After long travell the aforesaide David Ingram with his two companions Browne and Twid came to the head of a river called Gugida which is 60 leagues west from Cape Britton wher they understode by the people of that countrie of the arivall of a Christian. Wheruppon they made ther repaire to the sea side and ther found a Frenche Captaine named Monsr Champaigne who took them into his shipp and brought them unto Newhaven Anno dni 1569."

The difficulties encountered in this journey must have been very great, while the sufferings of Ingram and his companions were no doubt severe. First of all they did not have any good idea of the geography of America, the prevailing notions of which were reflected in Mercator's misshapen but popular chart of 1568; a chart that, until the opening of the seventeenth century, continued its unfortunate and mystifying work in connection with American geography. A glance at the maps of the period would enable the reader to see how easily Ingram might have misunderstood the whole situation. Then again at the south, as we have seen, he encountered the hatred of the natives, whose natural kindliness had already been destroyed by the cruelties practised upon them by the representatives of Spain. Toward the north, where the influence of the politic French had been felt, the feeling among the Indians was different, and to this circumstance Ingram, no doubt, was indebted for his escape. He must have received much hospitality at the hands of the various tribes; while at that time the continent was covered by thousands of miles of Indian trails trodden by the red man for generations, and along which Ingram travelled from the Gulf of Mexico to Cape Breton. Nevertheless it was a remarkable journey, and whatever may be said of the imaginary character of a portion of his narrative, reflecting, as it does, the former brain and heart-sickness of a distressed and superstitious sailor, it contains a solid substratum of truth. This truth is

that he actually travelled from the Gulf of Mexico to the eastern border of Maine; this was never doubted, even though Hakluyt, in his edition of 1599, left the narrative out. Abundant means were at hand at the time for verifying, not all his statements, but the fact that he travelled through the continent of North America, as alleged. Ingram, therefore, at present, must be regarded as the first Englishman now known to have entered New England. Consequently we have to regret that he did not leave a better account of his journey.

In the course of his narrative he mentions a number of Indian cities, one of which "Ochala," or Hochelaga, the present Montreal, he had heard by report. In one place he also saw water, which, in accordance with the notions of his times, he fancied to communicate with India, and says that his experience agrees with that of Coronado, who, however, referred to the Pacific. He is also repeating the stories of Cibola, in saying that certain houses had pillars of silver and crystal; that in every house were "coupes of silver and christall," and "in everie house coupes and buckets and diverse other vessels of massie silver, wherewith they do throw out the water and dust."

We have, however, something credible when he comes to the region of the Penobscot and mentions, "Bega a countrie and a towne of that name three quarters of a myle, ther are good store of oxe hides," by which he probably means the buffalo. This is probably the town referred to in connection with the series of questions that has been mentioned, where it is noted that "he hath confessed" that "he sawe a town half a myle longe," with "many streets farre broader than any street in London." He also professes that the people "between Norumbega and Bariniah have teeth like doggs," and are "Canniballs," a story repeated by one of the Popham journalists.

In attempting to fix the northern limit of Ingram's journey we do not essay a hopeless task. This was said to be about sixty leagues from Cape Breton; but, more to the point, he says that he sailed from a river called "Gugida," which in a previous passage reads "Guinda," that being the name of a small town and river, and the most northerly place visited. In the manuscript now in the State Paper Office, it appears that the name of the river as given by the recorder is "Bauda," and it is said that Ingram "ymbarked when he came home at the River called Bauda, where he met a french ship of New Haven by chance, who came within sight of the Lyzarde with in 20 dayes saylinge after they departed from the said coast." Possibly this is another name applied to the river. But it is probably a clerical error. Still it is clear that he took the French ship near the most northerly place reached; and, by turning to Lescarbot's "Nouvelle France," Ingram's river and town are recognized in Lescarbot's River and Town of

"Ouigoudi;" for these are simply different attempts to express the same sounds. Assistance is also derived from maps of the period, on which the River Seguido is found in the region of the Bay of Fundy.[1] But by referring again to Lescarbot the "Ouigoudi"[2] itself is found identified, this being the Indian name of the River and Town of St. John, so named by Champlain, who visited, not discovered, the river on St. John's Day, 1604. This writer gives the Indian name as "Ouygoudy, Ingram's Gugida."[3]

That Ingram sailed for France from this region is evident from the fact that he refers to the Bay of St. Mary, on the west coast of Nova Scotia. His first narrative says, "A mountain w^{ch} lieth to the northwordes of the sea coaste about 30 leagues from the Bay of St. Maries as he judgeth it, w^{ch} is called Banachoonan w^{ch} seemed very rich of mynes both by color therof as by the plenty of Silver amongst the inhabitants." The silver was perhaps derived from Europeans, but the Bay figures on Cabot's map of 1544. Around the Bay he saw "fire dragons which make the air very red as they fly." These are the harmless fireflies (*Mouches*) celebrated in the verses of Lescarbot.[4] From the foregoing it is sufficiently evident that Ingram and his companions reached the headwaters of the St. John, when, hearing of the arrival of a ship on the coast, they descended the stream in season to secure their passage to France.

It is also said that about a fortnight after reaching New Haven, the "said examinat and his two companions[5] came to M^{r} John Hawkins who had sett them ashore oppon the Baie of Mexico and unto each of them he gave a reward." Hawkins himself never took any pains to ascertain what became of the men he left behind; but he was alive in 1582, the date of Ingram's deposition, and probably called the attention of Secretary Walsingham to Ingram, when, in connection with Sir George Peckham and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, he was seeking information concerning the New World. Of Captain "Champaigne," who commanded the Gargarine, nothing is now known.[6]

B. F. DECOSTA

[1] In the Museum of Dinan is a beautiful map dated 1632, evidently a copy of a map of the sixteenth century. It shows "R. Segundo." Wytfliet (1603) calls the river "Sequido." This may be what the Spaniards and others called in their respective tongues the Second River.

[2] Lescarbot says that the town was inclosed, and that Chhoudan was the chief. Nouvelle France, p. 598.

[3] Œuvres, III., 22.

[4] Les Muses de la Nouvelle France, p. 34.

[5] Richard Browne was killed in 1577, in an engagement on board the Elizabeth, Captain Cockins, of London; and Twide died two years later at Red Cliff.

[6] The names being generally misspelled, the reading, possibly, is "Champlain," which would give an early introduction to the name in America.

MOUNDS OF THE MISSISSIPPI BASIN

The mounds of the Mississippi basin, apart from their history, have an interest in themselves. No one who has not previously examined these works can have any adequate idea of their magnitude and extent. Those who have seen them as they lie thickly scattered through the fertile valleys of the West and South are surprised at the evidence they present of a vast population which once inhabited this wide domain.

The mounds of the Mississippi Valley vary much in form and size. The greater number are small, being from one to four feet in height, and from eighteen to one hundred and fifty feet in diameter. There are thousands of mounds in Mississippi and Arkansas, and there are probably as many in Minnesota. My own personal surveys in the latter State now exceed one thousand, and the localities of at least as many more are known. Those in the bottom lands in the former States are generally composed of black sandy loam, and an examination proves them to be burial mounds. In addition to human remains they usually contain earthen vessels and pipes of all sizes and shapes. Occasionally flint and stone implements, stone pipes, articles of copper, and other relics, are found. In Arkansas, on the prairies and uplands, there is also a great number of these mounds. They are generally built of clay, and it is very seldom that they contain any implements or pottery. The same may be said in regard to the clay mounds on the bluffs along the Mississippi. High mounds are not very numerous. In fact, mounds of twenty feet and upward in height are to be found only occasionally.

Temple mounds are always associated with mounds of other forms and are never isolated. They have approaches or graded roadways built to their summit, and generally have aprons or terraces on their sides. Their size, and the great amount of labor and expense attached to their excavation, has probably prevented the true character of the mounds from being known. But it is a well-known fact that the smaller ones having the same forms were used for burial purposes. A few years ago some parties made an excavation in the top of a temple mound on Captain Hunt's plantation, near Greenville, Miss. They found portions of two human skeletons, several broken clay vessels, and one carved stone pipe. This mound is sixty feet high, and has one approach and one apron. Numerous as may be the mounds in Ohio, there are but three known and described as temples.

Platform mounds are but another class of temple mounds, and have from one to four approaches. Some of these are also known to contain human remains. One having four approaches is situated on the Sterling plantation, near Stoneville, Miss. I saw it when the ground was first cleared up. It was square, with the sides of equal length, and so steep that it was difficult to plow. After several years of cultivation human remains and large quantities of broken pottery were thrown out. All the other mounds in the group that were put under cultivation were also burial mounds.

There is another class known as hearth mounds. What they were built for is difficult to say. They hardly ever reach four feet in height, and the hearth is covered with earth from three inches to two feet in depth. In one class the hearth is regular and unbroken, while in others it is composed of broken pieces of burnt clay, resembling broken brick, intermixed with earth. The hearths vary in thickness from one and one-half to thirteen inches. In some mounds there are two hearths separated by eight or ten inches of earth; in which case the upper hearth is much the thicker. In only two instances have I found them to contain human remains. In one with a convex top some human remains were found directly beneath the centre of the hearth. In another the remains were upon the hearth, on the south side. They had evidently been placed there after the fleshy portions of the body had decayed. In one mound, in which the earth had a concave top, the concavity was overlaid with broken pottery. In another the cavity contained a double handful of clay beads. The largest mound of this class I have seen is on Brighton plantation, in Washington County, Miss., and is used as a burial ground. It is about seven feet high, and the hearth is thirteen inches thick. It is composed of burned clay intermixed with grass and sticks. So far as I could learn, there had never been any human bones exhumed, though occasionally a clay vessel or an implement has been found in the soil above the hearth. I also examined a mound of this class in Drew County, Ark. It was used in making a railroad dump, and although the soil to the depth of five feet below the natural surface was removed, there were no indications of human remains, and one small arrowhead was all that was found. These mounds could hardly be called altar mounds, for there are more having conical tops than there are having flat or concave tops. In some cases the hearths are burnt hard, but in every instance the ashes have all been removed, and at most only a few pieces of charcoal are found. If they had been used as dwelling places there would be quantities of rubbish found, such as naturally accumulate.

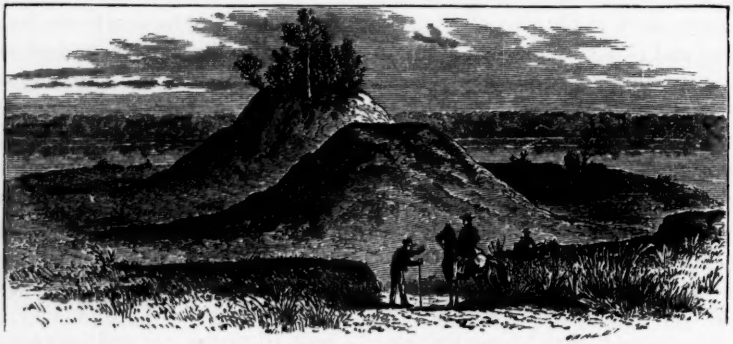
The mounds continue at intervals along the Mississippi River as far north as Little Falls, Minn., and up the Minnesota River to Big Stone

Lake, thence along that lake and Lake Traverse, and down the Red River Valley beyond Winnepeg, in Manitoba. In the northeastern portion of Minnesota, between Snake River and Rainy Lake River, there seem to be no mounds, with the exception of one on Eshquagoma Lake, observed by Mr. George R. Stuntz. About the geographical centre of the State, and in the region immediately adjacent, earthworks are often found, there being some very noticeable ones in Otter Tail County. There are many mounds around Lake Minnetonka and along Crow River; indeed, there are more or less on nearly every small stream and lake in Central and Southern Minnesota. The largest one known in the State is on the lower end of Dayton's Bluff, in St. Paul, its former height being eighteen feet. Another very handsome mound is located in the village of White Bear, near the lake shore. It is conical in form, and thirteen feet high. Several years ago two young ladies of the neighborhood were led by curiosity to make an excavation in the side of it, and were rewarded by finding some human bones and two clay pipes. Many groups in this State have one or more mounds with an approach. They are generally small. The largest I have yet seen is at the mouth of Pioneer Creek, in Wright County, and is seven feet in height, with an approach one hundred feet in length. In attempting excavation, I found it so hard and compact that it was impossible to complete it without great labor. In this regard it is built much more solidly than any that I have met with heretofore. In the same group is the only square mound that I have seen in the State. Nearly every group has one or more elliptical-shaped mounds, ranging in height from one to eight feet. Truncated cones are also occasionally found.

The mounds that I have examined—both in the upper and lower valley—seem to have been constructed for burial purposes, and the modes of burial were relatively the same. The vertebræ and other small bones are wanting. The skeletons are not in a natural position. The relics are generally found near the skulls, and are of the same forms.

On the Summers plantation, in Washington County, Miss., is a mound eight feet high, with an approach one hundred and forty feet long. In this mound the skeletons were found either by ones or sevens. Where there were seven, only a single vessel was found, and in one case there was none at all. When there was only one skeleton, there were from five to thirteen vessels surrounding the skull. The bones were piled up in heaps, and where there was more than one skull they were placed side by side, with faces turned in every direction. In another mound, examined in the same county, the bones and skulls were thrown together without regard to any system. There were several broken vessels and some partially decayed

mussel-shells mixed with the bones. This mound must have contained over fifty skeletons. Along Crowley's Ridge, in Arkansas, the general custom seems to have been to place the vessels and other relics about two feet from the top of the mound, and the skeletons two or three below these. In a mound on Griffith's plantation, near Harrisburg, there were four vessels near the surface. The central one was made of a substance resembling slate, and contained a human lower jaw, a part of which is now in the possession of Mr. William Ainsworth, of Harrisburg. But of a large number of mounds that I opened on the ridge, I found only one or two that proved exceptions to the general rule. In a mound on the Taylor plantation, near Cherry Valley, the relics were found near the skulls. One skull was in a vessel, and the other bones of the body were placed around upon the outside. The vessel and skull were broken by the pressure of the earth. The



MOUNDS NEAR LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

skull was too much decayed to save, but the vessel I retained and cemented together, and found but a small portion missing. In a clay mound near Monticello, Ark., I found the skulls all near the centre, lying on their right sides, the extremities extending outward. This is the only case in which I have found the bones in a natural position, though many of the smaller bones were missing. Excepting the skeletons, the mound contained nothing else of note. In a mound opened in Ramsey County, Minn., there was a large conical heap of stone. Under the rocks were the remains of eleven persons. The bones of each were piled up in a separate heap, and the skull placed at the end. In two or three instances the lower jaw was placed at the opposite end. Evidently the bones had first been placed in heaps and covered over with earth. Then a conical heap of limestone placed over them, and these in turn were covered with earth. Many

of the skulls and bones had been knawed by animals, probably wolves. In another mound in the same group, there was a circle of boulders about two feet from the top, with one in the centre of the circle. Under this central boulder was a very ancient skull. There were other skeletons scattered through the mound, but none were so dark and decayed. Near Herman, Grant County, I opened a mound that was five feet high and eighty feet in diameter. At a depth of three feet and nine inches, human bones were discovered.

They had been deposited in an earthen vessel, the skull being placed upon the top. The vessel was thirteen inches in diameter and about the same in depth. The bottom was rounded off, and the sides were nicely ornamented with rows of dots. It had been broken by the pressure of the earth surrounding it, and the greater portion of it was softer than the adjacent soil. The bottom of the vessel was about two inches below the natural surface. Within it, besides the human bones, were six arrow-heads, five broken arrow-heads, one broken dart-head, one broken drill, one spear-head, and two other small implements resembling scrapers, but much too small for that purpose. Surrounding the vessel, and about one inch above the bottom, was a circle of mussel-shells, about five feet three inches in diameter. The shells were placed about five inches apart.

The low flat mounds of Minnesota and Dakota are often classified as the remains of dwelling-houses of the aborigines. The theory is that poles were first set up and then sods placed upon the outside, and that after a time the dwelling was abandoned; that the poles having rotted away, the structure fell to the centre, and in the course of a few years the top became levelled by the accumulation of dust and decayed vegetation, thus forming a mound. There is no doubt that the Indians used the mode referred to, but the structure, however, having once fallen, would become an irregular mass with a concave top, with an opening upon the side where the entrance had been. It is true that after a few years the *débris* would form a solid mass, but it would still retain the concave top and would remain practically unchanged in after years, as no action of the elements would ever make its top level or convex, while the opening in its side would still be apparent. Clay and black loam, of which the mounds of Minnesota are formed, does not have an upward tendency. On the contrary, the movement is in an opposite direction. As most of the mounds are built upon ridges, it would be impossible for them to take form in this way. Another point to be taken in consideration is, that all the mounds in an undisturbed state are very symmetrical, sloping gradually from the highest point at the centre to the outer edge at the base. After being thrown up they must have been

sodded over, for unless this were done, they would not have retained their perfect shape and even surface. An illustration of this may be seen along any railroad. The sides of the road-bed are continually washing down, so that earth has to be added from time to time until vegetation has gained a foothold. Another fact not to be lost sight of is, that the mounds show no signs of ever having had a fire built in any portion of them. In nearly all the mounds, however, more or less charcoal is found, and occasionally a heap of ashes; but a careful examination of the earth shows no sign of its ever having been subjected to heat. This is evidence enough that the ashes were placed there at the time of the building of the mound. I have examined a number of old village sites used by the Indians from twenty-five to fifty years ago. Where the land has remained undisturbed, the former location of the tepees is plainly visible. Trenches from eight to twelve inches deep were made on the outside of them, extending about three-fourths of the way around, and the soil placed against the bottom of the tepee. Only a few are circular in form. The majority are square or nearly so, with the one side open, there being neither trench nor embankment. Where some of these village sites have been cultivated, numerous scraps of modern utensils, pieces of iron, beads, and other relics are discovered. On the other hand, there are no relics of any description found on the site around the mounds in Minnesota. Further south, ancient village sites are readily distinguishable by the numerous implements, flint chips, and broken pottery mixed with the soil.

Some authors claim that many of the mounds were used as a base for Pueblos. There are none in Minnesota that would have answered this purpose; and there is no evidence that the large flat mounds of the lower valley were of this character. Were they so used, there would be depressions upon the top where the posts and rows of pickets had been planted. The top would be uneven, and the places used for fires would easily be distinguished by the charcoal and ashes, the earth showing the action of the heat. The approaches, or the side in front of the opening, would be irregular. A thorough examination of these mounds shows that the top and sides are regular and even, and that no ashes are to be found thereon. The approaches are also regular and show no signs of use. A question naturally arises, why are there so many human skeletons found within these mounds? Would the builders have constructed them for burial purposes, and afterward used them as dwelling-places? So far as my examinations have extended, all the evidence goes to show that they contain many human skeletons, and are simply places of sepulchre.

T. H. LEWIS

MONUMENT TO DE KALB

Prompted by generous impulses and a becoming gratitude, the Continental Congress voted from time to time, as the events transpired, to perpetuate in some enduring form the memories both of the victories won and of the distinguished leaders who fell in the Revolutionary struggle. Lack of means and the pressure of absorbing public matters delayed the execution of these pledges, and in many cases they have failed of being redeemed until within the present decade. Of those still remaining unfulfilled is the pledge to honor the name of Major-General Baron De Kalb, whose gallantry and sacrifice at Camden, together with the soldierly conduct of the troops he led, retrieved in no small degree the disgrace of that disastrous field. What the Congress of 1780 proposed as a fitting memorial was expressed in a resolution passed on October 14th of that year, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That a monument be erected to the memory of the late Major-General the Baron De Kalb, in the city of Annapolis, in the State of Maryland, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of
The BARON DE KALB,
Knight of the Royal Order of Military Merit,
Brigadier of the armies of France,
And Major-General in the service of the United States of America:
Having served with honor and reputation for three years,
He gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind and the cause of America,
In the action near Camden, in the State of South Carolina,
On the 16th of August, 1780:
Where, leading on the troops of the Maryland and Delaware Lines against superior numbers,
And animating them by his example to deeds of valour,
He was pierced with many wounds, and
On the 19th following expired, in the 48th year of his age.
The Congress of the United States of America,
In gratitude to his zeal, services and merit,
Have erected this monument."

This resolution, it is gratifying to notice, has been taken up and so far respected by the present Congress, that a bill, introduced by Senator J. B. Groome, of Maryland, appropriating $10,000 to erect the monument in question, has passed the Senate and now awaits the action of the House of

Representatives. A qualifying clause provides that "the Secretary of State shall have the management and control of the erection of said monument."

De Kalb merits some such remembrance. Among the foreign officers who came to our assistance, few were more experienced and none more unpretending. Prior to the Revolution he held the rank, although a German by birth, of brigadier-general in the French army, and in 1776, at the instance of Silas Deane, engaged to enter the service of the American colonies. Acquainted with Lafayette, he joined him in his adventurous voyage from a Spanish port, and, after a sail of seven weeks, reached Georgetown harbor, S. C., on June 15, 1777. Landing and making their way that night to the summer residence of Major Huger, the strangers were soon put at ease by the cordial hospitality of their host. Proceeding to Charleston, and anxious to reach the army without delay, they there hired horses and carriages, took the coast route northward, passing through Williamsburg, Va., and reached Philadelphia in July. Lafayette, who had come to offer his services without pay, was speedily commissioned by Congress, and in three weeks' time found himself the bosom friend of Washington. De Kalb and other French officers at first met with disappointment. Congress felt it necessary to shut the door against the increasing number of foreign applicants for commissions, and as the army had been arranged and officered for the campaign, De Kalb was rejected—a sum of money being voted to enable him and his friends to return to France. The engagement entered into by Deane with these officers was held by Congress not to be binding, on the ground that he had no authority in the case. But before De Kalb returned, the need appeared or was created for an additional major-general, and he promptly received the appointment, September 15, 1777.

Apart from the chivalric manner in which he closed his career, De Kalb's military record is without any striking features. Opportunity failed to favor him. During the three years down to Camden he was not engaged in any battle, nor is he often mentioned in the correspondence of the day even in connection with routine matters. Lafayette, Steuben, and our own officers of equal and lesser rank fill a much larger space; but this was not De Kalb's fault, and the end showed what would have been his worth had he been placed in the gap at any time before. He first appears in camp after the battle of Germantown, when he was sent with St. Clair and Knox, in November, 1777, to report upon the advisability of holding our posts on the Delaware below Philadelphia. He is next found at Valley Forge in command of a division of Massachusetts troops—Learned's and

Glover's brigades—and when the army moved out in June, his command included these brigades with that of Paterson's added. These men were "veterans" of the Burgoyne campaign, and it would have fallen to him to be at their head at Monmouth, had not a long illness deprived him of the honor. He followed the army as soon as prudent, and joined it at White Plains in July. From that point he wrote the following letter to the President of Congress, which is of special interest as one of the very few that we have from his pen. A copy of it is contributed to THE MAGAZINE by Colonel T. Bailey Myers, of New York, who is the fortunate possessor of the original:

"Camp at Greenwich near White Plains, July 21st 1778

Sir

Give me leave to give your Excellency & Congress Joy to be once more in Philadelphia, but more particularly on the superiority america hath got over her Enemies. I hope with the assistance of your good ally, you will be able to Expel them entirely from the Continent & the american Coasts in a short time. I expect also, that what Count d'Estaing's tedious passage has made us miss in Delaware may be taken in New York Bay, and all their Shippings and troops there will fall into your hands.

Since a few days I am recovering pretty fast from my late illness, and am actually much better & stronger, then I had reasons to expect not long ago.

Your Excellency's multiplied Businesses does not permit me to trouble you any longer with the care of my letters for Europe, as there is a King's minister residing with those States, I will apply to him for the future for that purpose. I only request you to send him the inclosed.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect

Your Excellency's
Most obedient & very
humble Servant
The Baron de Kalb.

His Excellency Henry Laurens Presidr of Congress."

To this may be added another, in the possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York, which gives us a glimpse of Continental values at that time:

"Camp at Fishkill Town Octber 9th. 1778

Sir

The Bay horse I had at Philadelphia arrived here two Days ago, cost me 690 Dollars, perhaps more than he may be thought to be worth, and is a good horse not yet five years old, if Col Cox has a mind to purchase him for the said price of 690 Dollars you may dispose of him whenever you please though I should not part with (*sic*) but to oblige a friend

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your most obedient Servant
The Baron de Kalb.

Col Charles Pettit, D. Q. M General."

Old order-books show that at White Plains De Kalb was frequently on duty as General Officer of the Day, and that he kept with the main army in

its various movements. In the early part of the year he was appointed second in command under Lafayette, to lead an expedition into Canada; but that project failed, and in 1779 we meet him again with the right wing of the army, in the Highlands, on the west side of the Hudson, in command of the division of Maryland troops, including the famous fighting Delaware regiment. This division was assigned to him first at White Plains, on September 7, 1778. In the Highlands he appears once in a Council of War (as he had been at Valley Forge), advising with Generals Putnam, Smallwood, Muhlenberg, and Gist, what positions their troops should defend in case the British ventured an attack, in force, after their humiliation at Stony Point. The severe winter of 1780 following he spent with the troops in and around Morristown, N. J., and in the month of March commanded the advance lines at Springfield, Westfield, Newark, and Elizabeth, where the two Connecticut brigades were then on duty. The following brief order he issued upon leaving this command is still another valuable reminiscence of his service:

"Springfield, April 3d, 1780.

"Major General the Baron de Kalb is relieved by Brig. General Huntington. The Baron returns his warmest thanks and acknowledgments to the Connecticut Division for their constant zeal and vigilance for the security of the Lines, their orderly Behaviour in regard to the Inhabitants & their Readiness & truly military spirit manifested in everything Concerning the service."

Two months later De Kalb started out on the ill-fated campaign which cost him his life. Its particulars are too familiar to be repeated in detail, and we simply recall the facts that in May, 1780, he was ordered to march with his Maryland division to relieve Charleston, but was superseded in North Carolina by General Gates, who pushed on with fatal haste, to be confronted suddenly and at a disadvantage by Cornwallis near Camden, S. C. In that defeat De Kalb nobly held his ground for a time, and at last fell, pierced with eleven wounds, from the effects of which he died three days later, on August 19, 1780, a prisoner in the enemy's hands.

De Kalb was born on June 29, 1721, in the German town of Huttendorf, and twenty-two years later appears as a lieutenant in a German regiment in the service of France. He seems to have earned a reputation as a subordinate in the Seven Years' War. Before our Revolution he had been in America as a secret agent of the French government. His "Life" has been written by Friedrich Kapp, which the late Professor Geo. Washington Greene epitomized in a very interesting essay published in "The German Element in the War of Independence." An episode of the Camden campaign appeared in THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY in July, 1882.

Vol. xxii. of the *Southern Quarterly Review* also contains a valuable sketch of the subject.

Personally De Kalb was a man of towering proportions, ruddy complexion, sedate and philosophic in his temperament, abstemious in his habits, and as a soldier was prudent and safe rather than brilliant. His grave at Camden, S. C., is marked by a monument, erected by the citizens in 1825, its corner-stone being laid by Lafayette, during his southern tour, on March 10th of that year. The ceremonies of the occasion were touching. Lavasseur, Lafayette's secretary, present at the time, describes the effect at the most interesting moment as follows: "The General's hand resting upon the stone followed it in its slow descent, while the crowd regarded in solemn silence the veteran French warrior as he thus rendered, after the lapse of nearly half a century, the last honors to the German warrior upon a soil which they both had reddened with their blood, and which their arms had combined to free." H. P. JOHNSTON

NOTE—Since the foregoing was in type the House of Representatives has passed the Senate bill authorizing the monument to DeKalb. The inscription proposed by the old Congress puts his age at forty-eight, but according to his biographer he was in his sixtieth year.

TOPICS IN BRIEF

I. SIR HENRY CLINTON AND THE BURNING OF NEW LONDON—The following letter, from the original in the Public Record Office, London, throws some light on the movements and intentions of the British about the time that Washington was preparing to march on Yorktown in 1781. The reference to the New London expedition is of interest as showing its original design, and tends to confirm the theory that it was not undertaken to recall Washington from his southern march, but was an independent, minor operation. As the enterprise against Rhode Island had to be abandoned, an attack upon New London seems to have been a natural suggestion. This view, it may be recalled, was adopted by General Joseph R. Hawley, in his address at the centennial celebration in September, 1880, and the letter goes to fortify it:

"New York 4th September 1781

"My Lord:

"It having been Rear Admiral Graves and my Intention to make an Attempt upon the French Fleet at Rhode Island, at a time when the Works which covered them, tho strong, were garrisoned with only a few French Troops and Rebel Militia, every thing was got in Readiness for the Expedition, and we only waited for some small Repairs to some of His Majesty's ships to proceed on the Enterprise.

"However, Sir Samuel Hood having in the Interim arrived on the 28th ultimo with a Squadron from the West Indies, the Troops were instantly embarked. But we received that evening certain Intelligence that the French Fleet had sailed from Rhode Island on the 25th.

"The Admirals in Consequence of this Information put to Sea on the 31st with their Joint Squadrons, amounting to nineteen ships of the Line; and the Troops were, of course, disembarked. But as it is my Wish to give to the Enemy every annoyance in my Power, I propose sending immediately a small Expedition under the orders of Brigadier General Arnold, to endeavour to bring off or destroy the Privateers and Naval and other Stores collected at New London. The success of which I shall probably be able to report to your Lordship before the Packet sails.

"I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect
"Your Lordship's
"Most obedient &
"Most Humble Servant
(Signed) "H. Clinton

"To the Right Honble Lord George Germaine."

Endorsed: "New York, 4th Sept. 1781.
"Sr. Henry Clinton
"No. 139
"By 3d Nov.
"Read by the King."

II. WASHINGTON'S REPRIMAND OF ARNOLD—While the proceedings of the Court-martial which tried Arnold for misconduct in Philadelphia in 1778 have been published in full, the sentence of the court as carried out by Washington appears to have escaped notice. Marbois, indeed, has given a version of Washington's words, which have been accepted by some writers as a quotation of the original, but their grandiloquent flow and the dramatic pose which the Commander-in-Chief is made to assume are so unlike his language in similar instances, and so foreign to his character, that some suspicion has attached to their genuineness. A search for Washington's original order, in which Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, has been especially interested, has lately been rewarded with the discovery of a copy of it in the Order-Book of Lieutenant Joseph Ashton, Adjutant of Colonel Lamb's Second Regiment Continental Artillery, now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

Arnold was found guilty of two offences: *First*, for giving permission to a vessel "belonging to persons then voluntarily residing" in Philadelphia with the enemy, to enter Wilmington without the knowledge or authority of the State or of the Commander-in-Chief; and, *Second*, for making improper requests for public wagons to remove his own private property from danger. For these derelictions the court sentenced Arnold to receive "a reprimand from his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief." According to Marbois this reprimand ran as follows:

"Our profession is the chasest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favor so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten, that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment towards your fellow-citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will, myself, furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your Country."

In reality the reprimand, as given in the Order-Book mentioned, was announced as follows:

"Head Quarters, Morristown, 6th April, 1780.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"The Honorable the Congress have been pleased to confirm the foregoing sentence by the following Resolution lately received—'In Congress Feby 12th, 1780—Congress resumed the consideration of the proceedings of the Court-martial on the tryal of Major Genl. Arnold, and on motion—Resolved that the sentence of the Court-martial be confirmed.'

"The Commander-in-Chief would have been much happier in an occasion of bestowing commendations on an officer who has rendered such distinguished services to his Country as Major Genl. Arnold. But in the present case a sense of duty and a regard to candour oblige him to declare that he considers his Conduct in the instance of the permitt as peculiarly reprehensible both in civil and military view, and in the affair of the waggons as imprudent and improper."

J.

III. CORPS OF RANGERS IN 1780—Was the corps mentioned in the following warrant ever raised, and what is known of Charles Grenic? Who, also, was J. Brown, the Lieutenant-Colonel?

"To Charles Grenic Gentleman

"By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given by his Excellency General Washington Commander-in-Chief of the United States within the Colonies laying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to West Florida Inclusive, &c. &c. &c. To Rais one Battalion of able bodied Rangers, to serve two years, or if required dureing the Continuance of the present War, in North America, to Receave the same Pay, and to be under the same Discipline as the Troops of the United States. I do hereby authorise You the said Charles Grenic to raise and Inlist a number of able-bodied men, to serve in the said Battalion for two years, or if Required Dureing the Continuance of the Present War in North America. On Fifty Men being Inlisted, Inspected & Approved: You will be Intitled to a Captain's Commission in the said Battalion—The Number of men to be Raised by Virtue of this Warrant are to be ready for Inspection in ——— months from the date hereof. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient Authority.

"Given under my hand at Peckskill the 29th of July 1780.

"J. BROWN, Lt. Col."

DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAVELS OF NICOLET, ALLOÜEZ, MARQUETTE HENNEPIN, AND LA SALLE IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The pioneer of French travellers to the country west of the great lakes, and the first white man who is reputed to have reached a northern tributary of the Mississippi, was Jean Nicolet, who in 1634, or thereabouts, made treaties with the Indians at Green Bay, and ascended Fox River.

The "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Novvelle France, 1640," Paris, 1641, gives the earliest indication of this voyage, and a summary description is given in the Relation of 1642–43. These reports are reprinted in the "Relation des Jésuites," vol. i., Québec, 1858. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français," vol. i., pp. 47–53, contains the portions of the above which refer to Nicolet, and a translation of the account in the Relation of 1640 is printed in Smith's "History of Wisconsin," vol. iii. Du Creux's "Historia Canadensis," Paris, 1664, gives the first connected history of the life and exploits of this explorer. A translation of Du Creux's narrative is appended to Butterfield's "History and Discovery of the Northwest, by John Nicolet," Cincinnati, 1881.

Shea states, in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," that Nicolet descended the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. This opinion was adopted by Parkman in his "Jesuits in North America," p. 166, but his later judgment is given in the "Discovery of the Great West." A more careful examination of the evidence demonstrates the improbability that his travels extended farther than the Wisconsin, and in the opinion of Butterfield, the latest writer upon this voyage, he did not reach that river, but stopped at the country of the Mascoutins upon Fox River.

Benjamin Sulté, a Canadian historical writer, in writing upon Nicolet, in his "Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature," Ottawa, 1876, shows, for the first time, that this journey was probably made in 1634, instead of 1638 or 1639, as before thought.

Sulté's article, with notes by L. C. Draper, is printed in the "Wisconsin Historical Society Collections," vol. viii., pp. 188–194; also in the "Canadian Antiquarian," vol. viii., pp. 157–164.

Butterfield, who has carefully investigated the records, agrees with Sulté in assigning 1634 as the true date, and brings out additional, if not conclusive evidence to support this theory, in his monograph cited above. Margry, in the "Journal de l'Instruction publique," 1862, under the caption, "Les Normands dans les Vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississipi," describes Nicolet's travels and Gravier's "Découvertes et établissements de La Salle;" Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de

la Nouvelle France," and Parkman's "La Salle," also give some account of the expedition.

In 1642, Jogues and Raymbault, two missionaries, penetrated as far west as Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior. See account of this mission in the Jesuit Relation of 1642. Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 45–47, contains a reprint of the narrative of this journey. See also Shea's Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 137, for notice of the undertaking.

The next recorded visit to the West is that of two French traders, who wintered upon the shores of Lake Superior in 1658. See the Jesuit Relation of 1659–60, and the extract in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 53–55, and translation in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii., p. 20. Father Ménard began a mission at St. Theresa Bay, Lake Superior, in 1661. See Lallemant's letter in the Relation of 1662–63. A translation of this letter is in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii. See also Perrot's "Mémoire sur les mœurs des sauvages," Paris, 1864; Shea's Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 49, and a note by Shea in *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 175. Ménard's letter, written just before his departure for Lake Superior, with notes by E. D. Neill, may be found in the "Minnesota Historical Society Collections," vol. i., pp. 135–138.

In 1665, Claude Alloüez, another missionary, began a mission at Chegoimegon, Lake Superior. See the journal of his travels in Le Mercier's Relation of 1666–67, a translation of which is in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii. Marquette took charge of this mission in 1669, and Alloüez went to the Baie des Puantes (Green Bay), and in 1670 made a visit to the Mascoutins on Fox River. Harrisse thinks he crossed to the Wisconsin at this time. In reporting his operations, Alloüez describes the "Messi-sipi" from information given by the Indians. See Dablon's Relation of 1669–70, p. 100. Translation in Smith's "Wisconsin," vol. iii.

Alloüez spent many years among the Indians upon Green Bay, and in the Illinois country. See the Jesuit Relations covering the years 1669–79. The full titles of these Relations are given in chronological order in Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France." Dr. Shea printed in the Cramoisy series the abridged Relations for 1672–79, and Martin's "Mission du Canada" prints them for the first time in full. Shea gives a life of Alloüez in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." See also notes upon him in Margry's Découvertes, etc., vol. i., pp. 57–72; also in Bancroft, in Shea's Charlevoix, vol. iii., and in Shea's "Catholic Missions in the United States." Gravier and Parkman also give some account of his travels.

In June, 1671, St. Lusson, in the presence of a large number of Indians, took possession of the country on the lakes in the name of France. The "Procès verbal" of the ceremony is in Margry, vol. i., pp. 96 *et seq.*

Perrot, a noted Canadian *voyageur*, in 1670–71 travelled along the shores of Green Bay. Perrot's journal, which records the daily events of his life among the Indians from 1665 to 1726, was edited for the first time at Paris, in 1864, by Father Tailhan. It is entitled "Mémoires sur les mœurs et coustumes et relligion

[sic] des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale." Tailhan's notes add value to the work. See regarding Perrot, Shea's Charlevoix, vol. iii., p. 165, and *Historical Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 205.

A description of the geography of the country as known previous to the exploration of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette is given by Dablon in the "Relation de la Nouvelle France, les années 1670 et 1671," Paris, 1672. See the Quebec reprint in "Relation des Jésuites," vol. iii. The Relation, as printed in 1672, gave a map of the great lakes; for a description of which see Parkman's "La Salle," p. 450.

In 1673 Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet navigated the Mississippi in canoes to the Arkansas. Father Marquette's narrative of the voyage, in an imperfect form, was published by Thevenot in his "Recueil de Voyages," Paris, 1681. Thevenot also published it as an independent work, with the title, "Voyage et découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique septentrionale." In this latter shape it was reproduced by Rich, at Paris, in 1845. The map accompanying this version, and which is inserted in fac-simile in Bancroft, is said not to be by Marquette. The authentic map was first published in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," where the two maps are compared. The Thevenot text appears translated in French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana," pt. 2, pp. 279–297, and Spark's "Life of Marquette," in the "Library of American Biography," vol. x., is, in a measure, a translation of it.

Marquette's complete journal, prepared for publication, in 1678, by Claude Dablon, Superior of the Canadian Missions, remained inedited until Shea published it in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," New York, 1853, giving the original text and a translation. This version, known as the *Ste. Marie* text, was reprinted in 1855, with important annotations, by Shea, under the title, "Récit des voyages et des découvertes du R. P. J. Marquette, en l'année 1673, et aux suivantes; la continuation de ses voyages par C. Alloüez, et le journal autographe, du P. Marquette en 1674 et 1675." [Albanie: Imprimerie de Weed, Parsons et Cie.] 1855 (10), 169 (2), pp. Map, 12mo. Martin's "Mission du Canada, Relations inédites (1672–1679)," vol. ii., contains a modified version of the *Ste. Marie* text. Hennepin's spurious "New Discovery," London, 1698 and 1699, has, as an appendix, a poor translation of the Thevenot production.

Joliet, while on his way to Montreal to report his discoveries, lost his memoranda and maps. He was enabled, however, to draw up a brief recital from memory, which, with a map, he presented to Frontenac in 1674.

Two versions of this narrative are printed in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 259–270. Dablon despatched to his Superior at Paris an account derived from Joliet's verbal testimony, which may be found printed in Martin's "Mission du Canada," vol. i., pp. 193–204. A translation is given in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. v., pp. 237–239. A letter sent by Joliet from Quebec, October 10, 1674, briefly recounts his late adventures. It may be found in Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.]

de la Nouvelle France," pp. 322 and 323. A narrative based upon Joliet's report is appended to Hennepin's "New Discovery," London, 1698.

Joliet made several maps, showing his discoveries, only one of which has been edited. Gravier's "Étude sur une carte inconnue, la première dressée par L. Joliet en 1674," contains a fac-simile of the map in question. A letter from the discoverer to Frontenac is inscribed upon it. Gravier considers this map, apparently with good reason, to be the earliest representation of the course of the Mississippi from personal knowledge.

Frontenac's letter announcing the successful result of Joliet's mission is printed in Margry, vol. i., p. 257, and a translation is inserted in the "New York Colonial Documents," vol. ix., p. 116. See the following for notices of Joliet: Faillon's "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada," vol. iii.; Ferland's "Notes sur les régistres de Notre-Dame;" Margry's articles in the *Revue Canadienne*, December, 1871, January, March, 1872. French's Historical Collections, second series, has a brief biography. The works hereafter cited upon the history of the discovery of the Mississippi necessarily include a history of the Marquette-Joliet expedition.

We now come to La Salle, Hennepin, and Tonty, 1669–87. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1698," Paris, 1879–81, contains the documents which the editor collected in the archives of France. This work now comprises four large octavo volumes, three of which are mainly devoted to documents upon La Salle's explorations. The contents of these three volumes are arranged under the following heads: 1re partie, "Voyages des Français sur les grands lacs et Découverte de l'Ohio et du Mississipi (1614–1684);" 2me partie, "Lettres de La Salle;" 3me partie, "Recherche des bouches du Mississipi (1669–1698)." The more important of these papers are indicated hereafter in their chronological order. The fourth volume of this collection embraces the documents relating to D'Iberville's colony, at the mouth of the Mississippi, 1698–1703.

In 1669 La Salle, accompanied by Dollier and Gallinée, set out from Montreal to discover the Mississippi. They proceeded in company to the western extremity of Lake Ontario. At this place La Salle, professing illness, parted from the missionaries, ostensibly to return to Montreal. Dollier and Gallinée continued their journey along the northern shores of Lake Erie, thus taking a course hitherto untravelled, and reached Sault Ste. Marie in May, 1670, having spent the winter on the shores of Lake Erie. Gallinée's journal, entitled "Récit de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de MM. Dollier et Gallinée," is printed in Margry, vol. i., pp. 112–166. The Abbé Faillon, who first discovered the records of this journey, gives a synopsis of Gallinée's recital, with a fac-simile of his map, in the third volume of his "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada."

O. M. Marshall's pamphlet, entitled "The First Visit of La Salle to the Senecas," Buffalo, 1874, contains a textual translation of this document. The Société historique, of Montreal, published in 1875 an edition of this journal, with notes by the Abbé

Verreau. Margry prints in his collection, vol. i., pp. 342–402, a narrative which he calls "Récital d'un ami de l'Abbé de Gallinée." This purports to be notes, taken by the writer, who Margry thinks was the Abbé Renaudot, of conversations had with La Salle at Paris in 1678, in which he recounted his adventures in Canada from 1667 to 1678. In it is stated that after leaving Dollier and Gallinée, instead of going to Montreal La Salle kept on until he reached the Ohio, and later went to the Mississippi by way of the Illinois. Parkman prints extracts from this paper in his "Discovery of the Great West," but does not credit it wholly; he, however, admits that La Salle discovered the Ohio, and most likely the Illinois. It is upon this document, that Margry bases his claim that La Salle was the first to reach the Mississippi.

The following writers take issue with Margry: Brücker, "J. Marquette et la Découverte du Mississipi," Lyon, 1880, and in the "Études religieuses," vol. v.; Harrisse, in "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1872; in an article entitled "Histoire critique de la Découverte du Mississipi," in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, vol. xxxii., pp. 642–663.

Shea, in whom Margry finds perhaps his most strenuous opponent, discusses the question in an address read on the bi-centennial of Marquette's voyage, published in the "Wisconsin Historical Society Collections," vol. vii., pp. 111–122. He has, however, published a pamphlet, in which he examines the matter more in detail, entitled "The Bursting of P. Margry's La Salle Bubble," New York, 1879. Tailhan, in notes to Perrot, and the Abbé Verreau in his edition of Gallinée's journal, also refute Margry. Colonel Whittlesey's tract, forming No. 38 of the Western Reserve Historical Society's publications, entitled "Discovery of the Ohio by La Salle, 1669–70," is an inquiry upon the subject. Margry presents his arguments in full, in articles upon "Les Normands dans les vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississippi," published in the *Journal général de l'Instruction publique*, Paris, 1862. See also a paper by him in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 555–559; his pamphlet, "La Priorité de La Salle sur le Mississipi," Paris, 1873; a letter in the *American Antiquary*, vol. i., pp. 206–209, Chicago, 1880, and in remarks in the preface to his "Découvertes et établissements des Français," vol. i.

Gravier in his "Découvertes de La Salle," Paris, 1870, in the "Compte rendu of the Congrès des Américanistes," 1877, pt. i., pp. 237–312, and in THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, vol. viii., p. 305, supports the Margry theory.

In August, 1679, La Salle having completed his arrangements and obtained letters patent from the king for another attempt upon the Mississippi, set sail in the Griffon, upon Lake Erie, and arrived at Michillimackinac about two weeks later. The Illinois was reached in January, 1680, but owing to adverse circumstances, La Salle being compelled, for want of supplies and other causes, to make twice the journey between the Illinois and Canada, the exploration of the Mississippi was not accomplished until April, 1682. The adventures of La Salle's party upon the great lakes and in the Illinois country, previous to the voyage down the Mississippi in

1682, are recounted with minute detail in the "Relation des Descouvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de La Salle, 1679–81," printed in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 435–594.

Margry considers this paper to be the official report drawn up by the Abbé Bernou from La Salle's letters. The account of the journey to Fort Crevecœur in 1679–80, given in this narrative, is nearly identical with the description of the same voyage in Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane." For this reason Margry charges Hennepin with plagiary, which calls out a defence of the latter by Shea, in his edition of Hennepin's "Louisiana," where the two narratives are compared. Membre's journal in Le Clercq's "Premier Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691, which is reproduced in English in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," and Tonty's Memoirs, which will be more fully described farther on, also report this stage of the explorations. Hennepin's spurious "Nouvelle Découverte" also contains an account, which does not differ materially from that given in the "Description de la Louisiane."

Mathieu Sâgean, who claimed to have been with La Salle in 1679–80, dictated from memory, in 1701, a report of his adventures in Canada. See Parkman's La Salle, p. 658, concerning Sâgean's pretensions. Shea published Sâgean's narrative in 1863, with the title, "Extrait de la Relation des avantures et voyage de M. Sâgean."

In February, 1680, Hennepin, by La Salle's orders, set out from Fort Crevecœur for the upper Mississippi. He ascended that river to the Sioux country, and discovered St. Anthony's Falls. Hennepin's first work, "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683, relates the events of this expedition, and also gives an account of La Salle's journey from Canada to the Illinois in 1679–80. Shea gives in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi" the portion of this work relating the voyage to the upper Mississippi. Hennepin's works are held in disrepute, owing to undoubted plagiarisms and falsifications which characterize some of them. Shea, however, shows in the preface to his edition of the "Description of Louisiana," New York, 1880, that this charge applies only to the "Nouvelle Découverte" and "Nouveau Voyage," and other works made up from these two last, and that they were probably published without Hennepin's sanction. Parkman agrees with Shea in considering the "Description de la Louisiane" to be an authentic work.

For criticisms upon Hennepin, see Sparks' "La Salle;" Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West;" Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," p. 145; and the preface to Margry's Découvertes, etc. Shea's early judgment upon Hennepin, which he has modified as indicated above, is given in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." E. D. Neill, in a pamphlet entitled "The Writings of L. Hennepin," lately published by the Minnesota Historical Society, dissents from Shea's exculpation of Hennepin, and declares that no evidence has been produced to clear him from the charge of plagiary.

The bi-centenary of Hennepin's discovery of St. Anthony's Falls was celebrated

by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1880, and the proceedings on the occasion will be reported in the next volume of its collections. The account of a pretended voyage by Hennepin down the Mississippi, taken from the spurious "New Discovery," London, 1698, is inserted in "French's Historical Collections," part i., pp. 195–222; also in volume one of the "Archæologia Americana," published by the American Antiquarian Society. The latter work also contains an account of La Salle's last voyage, taken from the same unreliable source.

Shea's edition of Hennepin's "Louisiana" contains a bibliography of the numerous memoirs, issued under Hennepin's name, where also may be found a translation of La Salle's letter of August, 1682, reporting the voyage on the upper Mississippi. Du L'hut, who, in 1679, visited the Sioux near Lake Superior, and later descended the St. Croix to the Mississippi and rescued Hennepin from the Sioux, gives an account of his adventures in a "Mémoire sur la Découuerte du pays des Nadouecioux dans le Canada," which is printed in Harrisse's Notes, pp. 177–181, and translated in Shea's Hennepin.

The "Procès verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, à l'embouchure de la mer ou Golphe du Mexique, 9 avril, 1682," in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 186–193, gives the principal incidents of the voyage down the Mississippi from the Illinois. This document may also be found in Gravier's "La Salle," and in English in Sparks' "Life of La Salle," also in French's "Historical Collections," part i., and with the title, "Narrative of the Expedition of La Salle to explore the (Mississippi) Colbert River, in 1682," in French's Historical Collections, second series, pp. 17–27, New York, 1875.

La Salle's letter, written at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, printed in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 164–180, a translation of which is given in THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, vol. ii., pp. 619–622, describes the journey to the Missouri.

The procès verbal of the act of taking possession at the Arkansas, March 13 and 14, 1682, in Margry, vol. ii., p. 181, reports another stage of the voyage. Membré's journal of the entire expedition, first printed in Le Clercq's "Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691, is reproduced in English in Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi." Shea has lately brought out an English translation of Le Clercq under the title, "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," New York, 1881, two vols. 8vo. He there compares Membré's narrative with Hennepin's "Nouvelle Découverte" and "Nouveau Voyage," and also points out the variations between it and the account published by Thomassy in his "Géologie pratique de la Louisiane."

Thomassy's document is entitled, "Relation de la Découverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière Mississipi." Parkman considers it to be the "official report of the discovery made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membré," and says that the Le Clercq narrative is based upon it.

To which Shea replies, that it "seems strange to assume that the fuller document given by Le Clercq must be drawn from a shorter form."

The two documents are essentially identical, and afford trustworthy data upon the voyage.

According to Boimare, a manuscript copy of Membré's journal exists in the library at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Henri de Tonty, who was with La Salle from 1678–83, reports the explorations during that time, in a memoir written at Quebec in 1684, which is published for the first time in Margry, vol. i., pp. 571–616. Another narrative by him, entitled "Mémoire envoyé en 1693 sur la Découverte du Mississipi, par de La Salle en 1678, et depuis sa mort par le sieur de Tonty," is printed in its integrity in Margry's "Relations et Mémoires inédits," pp. 1–36, Paris, 1867. A translation of it is included in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 52–83, and also in Falconer's "Mississippi," London, 1844. These two memoirs formed the basis of the work published under Tonty's name, but which he disavowed, entitled "Dernieres découvertes dans l'Amérique septentrionale de M. de La Salle," Paris, 1697.

This work was reproduced under the title of "Relation de la Louisianne" in Bernard's "Recueil de voyages au Nord," Amsterdam, 1720 and 1724.

An English translation was published at London in 1698, with the title, "An Account of La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries," and is reproduced in part in the New York Historical Society Collections, vol. ii., pp. 217–341.

Parkman says that the "Dernieres découvertes" is "a compilation full of errors."

Margry prints in vol. i., pp. 547–570, of his Collection, a memoir entitled "Récit de la descouverte que M. de La Salle a faite de la rivière de Mississipi en 1682." The author of the paper was Nicolas de La Salle, who wrote it in 1699, at the request of the French authorities, to serve as a guide to D'Iberville in his search for the Mississippi. Margry says that the writer bore no relationship to the discoverer.

La Salle's memorial of 1684, proposing an expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, printed in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 17–30, and in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 37–44, also in the second series of French's publication, and in Falconer's "Mississippi," briefly indicates his discoveries up to that time.

The French documents, collected by Brodhead in the archives of the Departments of Marine and of War, and printed in the ninth volume of the "Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York," Albany, 1855, include official correspondence which reports the movements of the explorers from time to time.

Shea promises an edition of a journal by Peñalossa, which will show the mercenary motives which inspired La Salle. Margry prints some documents concerning Peñalossa's propositions to lead a party of buccaneers from St. Domingo to unite with La Salle in an attack on the Spanish mines in New Mexico.

LA SALLE'S VOYAGE TO THE GULF OF MEXICO AND ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI—1684–87

In 1683 La Salle returned to France and presented, in two memorials to the king, propositions for an expedition to colonize the Mississippi, and take possession

of the Spanish mines in New Mexico. The first memorial, which gives a brief account of his previous achievements, is in Margry's Collection, vol. iii., pp. 17–30. A translation is in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 37–44; also in the second series, pp. 1–15, of the same publication, and in Falconer's "Mississippi." The second, which defines his schemes at greater length, is printed in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 359–369; in English, in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 25–34. The accessory official documents relating to various features and stages of the expedition are included in the second and third volumes of Margry's Collection. We have two narratives by members of this expedition, which relate its history from the time of departure from France down to and after the death of La Salle. The first to appear in print was Douay's, which was published by Le Clercq in his "Premier Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691. Shea printed a translation of it in the "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," New York, 1853. A comparison of Douay's journal with Joutel's narrative is made by Shea in his edition of Le Clercq, published at New York in 1881.

Joutel, who seems to have been next in command to La Salle, kept a journal, which is published for the first time in its integrity in Margry's Collection, vol. iii., pp. 89–534. An abridged and modified version of this narrative was published at Paris in 1713, under the title, "Journal historique du dernier Voyage que feu M. de La Salle, fit dans le Golfe du Mexique." Joutel complained that changes were made by the editor in retouching the work for publication. The text published by Margry is much fuller than the printed edition. An English translation of the Paris production, under the title, "Journal of the Last Voyage performed by M. de La Salle," etc., was published at London in 1714, and in 1719 another edition was brought out as "Joutel's Journal of his Voyage to Mexico and Canada." A reprint of the London edition is printed in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 85–193. An edition in Spanish was published at New York in 1831, with the title, "Diario histórico del último Viaje que M. de La Sale hijo para descubrir el desembocadero y curso del Mississipi." Charlevoix says that Joutel was the most reliable of La Salle's followers, and Parkman thinks that he "gives the impression of sense, intelligence, and candor throughout," while Douay, in the latter's opinion, did not always write honestly. Jean Cavelier, an older brother of La Salle's, who, after the latter's assassination, escaped to Canada in company with Joutel and Douay, is said to have drawn up a report of the expedition for M. de Seignelay, the Minister of Marine.

Parkman possesses a manuscript which he says is a portion of the first draft of this report. Dr. Shea edited Parkman's document under the title, "Relation du voyage entrepris par feu M. Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, pour découvrir dans le golfe du Mexique, l'embouchure du fleuve de Missisipy. Par son frère, M. Cavelier" À Manate [N. Y.] 1858, 54 pp. 16mo, and printed a translation in his collection of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861.

Margry gives in his Collection, vol. ii., pp. 501–509, a portion of a journal kept by Cavelier. Both these narratives from Cavelier's pen are very imperfect, the former failing for the latter part of the expedition, and the journal stops before the landing in Texas. La Salle's assassination, which took place in 1687, was witnessed by Douay, who gives an account in his journal. Joutel relates the event from the testimony of eye-witnesses, and Tonty states what he learned from the survivors of La Salle's party. See also "Relation de la mort du Sr. de La Salle, suivant le rapport d'un nommé Couture à qui M. Cavelier l'apprit en passant aux Akansas," in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 601–606.

A letter written by La Salle, March 4, 1685, erroneously dated at the mouth of the Mississippi, is in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 559–563, and a translation is appended to Shea's "Early Voyages." The "Procès verbal fait par La Salle avant de conduire son frère au Mississipi, 18. avril 1686," in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 535–549, relates La Salle's operations in Texas, including his first two journeys from the Texas colony to find the Mississippi by land.

The Spaniards, in 1689, visited the site of La Salle's colony, and made prisoners of the survivors whom they found among the Indians. Two of these captives escaped to France, and their testimony in regard to the fate of the colony is given in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 610–621.

Parkman cites the official journal of this Spanish expedition, which is inedited. It is entitled "Derrotero de la jornada que hizo el General Alonzo de Leon para el descubrimiento de la Bahia del Espíritù Santo, y poblacion de Franceses." Buckingham Smith's "Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida," pp. 25–28, contains a narrative by a member of the Spanish company, entitled "Carta en que se da noticia de un viaje hecho á la Bahia de Espíritù Santo, y de la poblacion que tenian ah los Franceses," which is also inserted in French's "Historical Collections," second series, pp. 293–295. Barcia, in his "Ensayo chronológico para la historia general de la Florida," Madrid, 1723, gives an account, from an unknown source, which is translated in Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi."

This closes the list of principal contemporary narratives of the first explorations by the French of western territory. Margry's Collection contains many documents of minor interest, but important, which have not been noted. A journal by Minet, the engineer who returned to France with Beaujeau in 1686, in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 589–601, and Tonty's "Lettres sur ce qu'il a appris de La Salle, le voyage qu'il a fait pour l'aller chercher," 1686–1689, in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 551–564, must, however, be mentioned.

The secondary authorities will be the subject of treatment in another paper.

APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE RELATION OF DAVID INGRAM

[From the original in the Bodleian Library [1]—Tanner MS. 79. fol. 172.]

The relation of David Ingram of Barking in the Countie of Essex saylor [being now about the age of fivetie yeares] of sondrie things w^ch he with otheres did see in travaling by land from the most Northerlie parte of the Baie of Mexico (where he with many others weare sett on shore by M^r Hawkins) through a great parte of America untill he came within 50 leags or thereabouts of Cape Britton [which he reported unto S^r Franncis Walsingham knight his Ma^ties principall secretarys and to S^r George Peckham knight and diverse others of good judgement and Credit in August & September Anno Dmi] 1582.

About the beginning of October A° Dmi 1568. David Ingram with the rest of his companie being 100 persons in all weare sett on land by M^r John Hawkins aboute VI leages to the West of the River Camnia or Rio de minnas [La mina or Rio de Minas], which standeth about 140 leages west and by North from the Cape of Florida. He hath travailed in those Cuntries from beyonde terra Florida extending towards Cape Britton about XI [12] monethes in the whole, and about VII monethes therof in those Cuntries which lye towards the North of the River of Maio [May] In which tyme (as the said Ingram thincketh) he travailed by land 2000 miles at the least and neuer contynewed in any one place above 3 or 4 daies saving only at the Citie of Balma [Palma?] wher he staied VI or VII daies. Ther are in those parts he saith verie manie kyngs commonly within 100 or 120 miles one from another, who are at contynewall warres together. The first king that they came before dwelt in A Cuntry called Giricka [Giricka] who caused them to be stripped naked and wondering greatly at the whitenes of ther skynnes let them depart without further harme.

Kings.

The kings in those Cuntries are clothed with painted or Couloured garments & therbie ye maie knowe them, & thei weare great precious stones which commonly are rubies being VI [4] ynches long & 2 ynches broad and yf the same be taken from them either by force or fight they are presentlie deprived of ther kingdomes.

Large precious stones.

[1] There are several MS. versions of this narrative besides the Bodleian, as that of the British Museum (Ascough, I. 354). Hakluyt, Ed. 1589, p. 557, prints it, but omits it in his next edition. Readings in Hakluyt that vary from the Bodleian version are given in brackets. Marginal readings given by Ingram but not found in Hakluyt are indicated by stars. The British Museum version was printed privately in London, 1856, by Plowden Charles Gennett Weston. See Dr. Deane's note Maine Coll., S. 2, Vol. II., p. 220, and Hakluyt himself, in the same, p. 115. Mr. Deane says in his note that "he may have traversed the country from the point in Mexico where he was put on shore to the coast of Maine, in which case he and his companions are the first Englishmen of whom we have any record who placed their feet on the soil of New England; unless, according to the conjecture of Dr. Kohl, those on board the Mary of Guilford, in Rut's expedition in 1527, are entitled to that honor." It seems impossible to doubt that he made the journey, however it may be embellished, while Dr. Kohl's conjecture has no real support.

When they meane to speake with anie personne publiquely they are allwaies caried by men in A sumpteous Chaire of Silver or Cristall garnished about with sondrie sorts of precious stones.[1] The kyngs in their Maiestie.

And yf you will speak with the kings at your first approching nere to him you must kneele downe on both your knees & then arise againe and come somewhat nearer him within your length. Then kneele downe againe as you did before, then take of the earthe or grasse betweene bothe your hands, kissing the backsides of eche of them, & putt the earthe or grasse on the crowne of your heade and so come and kysse the kings feete, which circumstannce being performed you maie then arise and stand up and talke with him. The manner of saluting their kings.*

The noble men and such as be in speciall favor with the king doo commonly weare feathers in the heare of ther heads for the most parte of a bird as bigg as a goose of Russett colour and this ys the best marke that this examinate [Ingram] can give to knowe them bye. Howe to knowe the noble men.

Ther ys in some of those Cuntries great aboundannce of perle for in every Cottage he founde perle in some howse a quarter [quart] in some a pottle in some a peck more or lesse wher he did see some as great as an acorne [beane]. And Rich Browne one of his Companions found one of the great perles in one of the Canoes or boats which perle he gave to Mons[r] Champaigne who took them aborde his shipp and brought them to Newhaven in France.[2] Perle.

All the people generallie do weare manilions or bracelets as big as a mannes fynger uppon eche of ther armes and the like on the small of eche of ther legge wherof Commonly one ys golde & two silver. And manie of the women also do weare great plate of golde covering ther bodies in manner of a paier of Curette & manie braceletts & chaines of great perle. Bracelets of golde. Curette of golde.

The people Commonly are of good favor feature & shape of bodie of grouthe above five feete hie somewhat thick with ther faces and skynnes of Colour like an Oliff and towards the Northe somewhat Tawney But some of them are painted with diverse Colours. They are verie swift of foote. The favor & shape of the people.

The heare of ther heads is shaven in sondrie spotts and the rest of ther heade is traced. In the South parts of those cuntries they goe all naked saving that the mens [Noble mens] privities are Covered with the neck of a gorde & the wemens privities with the heare or leaf of the palme tree. But in the Northe parte they are clothed with beasts skinnes the hearie side being next to ther bodies in wynter. Naked people.

They are so brutish and beastlie that they will not forbeare the use of ther wives in open presence. Brutish behaviour.

They are naturallie verie curteouse yf you do not abuse them eyther in ther persons or goods, but use them Curteouslie, the killing or taking of ther beasts, birds, People curteous.

[1] Here, and in other parts of his narrative, he is simply giving common reports about Mexico and the city of "Sibola," which abounded in fabulous wealth.

[2] As a matter of fact, pearls were formerly very abundant, especially the common sort.

fishes or fruts cannot offend them except it be of ther cattell which they kepe about ther howses as kyne Gynney hennes or such like.[1]

A suer token of freindship.

Yf anie of them do holde up bothe ther hands at lengthe together & kisse the back of them on both sides, then you maie undoutedlie trust them for it is the greatest token of freindship that maie be.

A messenger from the king.

Yf anie of them shall come unto you with an horse taile in his hande then you maie assure your self that he ys a messenger from the king and to him you maie safelie committ yourself to go to the king or anie wher els, or by him send any thing or message to the king, for those men live allwaies eyther ensigne bearers in the warres or the kings messengers who will never betraie you.

To allure the people to speache.

Yf you will have anie of the people come aboard your shipp hang out some white clothe uppon a staffe for that is a signe of amitie.

The manner of trafique & dealing with them.

If you will bargaine for ware with them leave the thing that you will sell uppon the grounde & goe from it a pretie waye of. Then will they come & take it & sett downe suche wares as they will give for it in the place and yf you thinck it not sufficient leave the wares with signes that you like it not & they will bring more untill eyther they or you be satisfied or will give no more, otherwise you may hang your wares uppon a long poles end and so put more or lesse on it untill you have agreed on the bargaine.

How they march in battell.

When they goe to the warres they marche in battaile ray two or thre in a ranck Ther trumpetts they do make of Eliphants teeth [certain beasts teeth]. They have

Ther weapons and instruments for warr.

a kinde of drum which they make of beasts skynnes. The make shields & targets of the skynnes of beasts compassed with willow twiggs and being dried they are strong and defensible.

The weapons are darts headed with iron the heads are two fingers broade & half a foot long which are fastened within a sockett. They have also shorte bowes strounge with the barck of trees being half an ynch broade, & the Arrowes are about a yarde long nocked & headed with silver or bone, ther arrowes are of small force within a stones cast of them & you maie put them by with a staffe a pretie waie of.

They have shorte broad swords[2] of black iron of the length of a yard or verie neare an ell bearing edges thicke then the backs of or knives somewhat like the piles in our skooles [Foyles in our fence schooles].

They have crookd knives of iron somewhat like an woodknife or hanger wherwith they will carve excellently both in wood and bone The ensigne ys a horse taile with a glasse or christall in some of them being dyed in sondry colours as red, yellow, greene &c.

Canniballs.

The people in those countries are expresse enemies to the Canniballs or men eaters. The Canniballs do most inhabite between Norumbege[3] and Barmiah [Bariniah] they have teeth like doggs teeth & therby you may know them. In ther

[1] Ingram gives a tolerable picture of the Red Man.

[2] Here he speaks of southern Indians who, no doubt, obtained arms of this sort from the Spaniards.

[3] See THE MAGAZINE (I. 14) on Norumbega, where evidences are now being found of Cannibalism.

warres they do pitch ther Camps as neare as they maie unto some woode of palme trees which yeldeth them meate drink & present remedye against poysoned arrowes. Ther buildings are weake and of small form the howses are made round like dove houses and they do dwell together in townes & villages and some of them have banquetting howses in the topp of them made like the of an hall [loouer of a hall] builded with pillers of massie silver and Cristall framed square whereof many of them are as bigg as a boies legg of XV yeares of age and some les.[1] Ther howses and buildings.

This examinate [Ingram] did also see diverse townes and villages as Gunda a towne a feightshott [flight shoote] in length. Townes & villages.

Ochala [Hochelaga] a greate towne a myle long Balma a riche Citie a myle & a halfe long Bega [mile long] a countrie & a towne of that name thre quarters of a myle, ther are good store of oxe hides.

Saganas [Saguanah] a towne almost a mile in length Barmiah a citie a mile and a quarter long also ther ys a river & towne of that name but lesse than the first above named.

Guinda a small towne and a river both of that name and this is the most Northerlie parte that this examinate [Ingram] was at.

Ther are besides these townes afore named manie other great townes which this examinate [Ingram] passed being comonly distant 60 or 80 miles [sixe or eight miles] one from another which have diverse small villags within VIII or tenne miles from them.

They have in everie howse scowpes, buckets and diverse other vessells of massie sylver wherwith they do throw out water and dust otherwise do employ them to ther necessarie uses in ther howses. All which this examinate [Ingram] did se commonly and usuall in some of those cuntries especiallie where he found the greater perle.[2] Vessells of massie silver for common use.

Ther are also great Rivers at the head wherof this examinate and his companions did fynde sondrie peces of golde some as bigg as a mans fist, the earth being washed away with the water.[3] Gold in the head of Rivers.

And in other places they did see great rocks of cristall which grew at the heads of great & many rivers being in quantitie sufficient to loade shipps.[4] Rocks of Cristall.

Ther are also in those parts great plentie of fine furres unknowen to this examinate [Ingram] dressed after the manner of the countrye. Fine furres.

The people ther do burne a kinde of white turfe or earth which they digg out of the marshes a fathom deepe in the grounde it burneth verie cleare and smelleth as sweete as muske. And that earthe ys as wholsome sweete and compfortable to be smell unto as any pomannder, they do make ther fyer of this earth for the sweetenes therof having great aboundance of wood. Sweet turfe to burne.

[1] The old sailor recurs to Sibola again.

[2] Here, of course, he distinctly draws on his imagination.

[3] Pyrites, or "fool's gold."

[4] A common story. Mount Washington was known in early times as the Crystal Mountain.

Ther manner of kyndeling & making fier. When they want fyer they take bryars and rubbe them verie hard together betweene ther fists, and so with hard and often rubbing they kindle and make a fyer.

Iron and mynerall salt. They have great plenty of iron and there ys also great plentie of minerall salte in the marshe grounds which looketh reddish a thing necessarie for the great shipping neare the sea shore which are ther abundannt and the fishe verie large and huge.

The fertility of the soile. The ground and Countrie is most excellent fertile & plesant and speciallie towards the River of Morge [May], for the grasse of the rest ys not so great as it is in these parts for the other is burnt awaie with the heate of the sonne and as all the

Playnes. Countrey is good & most delicate having great plaines as large and as faire in manie places as maie be seene being as plaine as a boorde. And then greate & huge

Great woods. woods of sondrie kinds of trees as Cedar, Date trees Lignum Vitæ Bombasse plaine and bushes and also great aboundannce of those trees which carry a thick barke that eateth like peper[1] of which kind young M[r] Wynter brought home part from the streight of Magellan, with the fruteful palme trees and greate plentie of other sweete

Playnes. trees to this examinate [Ingram] unknowen. And after that plaines againe and in

Closes. other places great closes of pasture environed with most delicate trees in steade of hedge they being as it weare sett by the hands of men yet the best grasse for the most part is in the hie Countries somewhat far from the sea side & greate Rivers and

Pastures. by reason that the lowe grounds ther be so ranck that the grasse groweth faster than it can be eaten, wherbie the olde grasse lieth withered thick and the new grasse growing through it wheras in the upper parts of the grass and ground is most excellent and grene the grounde not being overcharged with any olde withered gras as ys before specified.

The palme tre. The palme tre aforesaid carreth heares on the leaves therof which reache to the grounde wherof the Indians do make Ropes and Cords for ther rotten [cotton] beddes and use the same to many other purposes.

The which tre yf you prick with your knife about two foote from the roote yt will

Wyne of the Palme. yelde a wyne in colour like whea but in tast strong & somewhat like Bastard. It is most excellent drinke, but will distemper bothe your heade and body yf you drinke to much thereof as our strong wynes will doe in these parts.

Meate of the Palme. The braunches of the topp of the tre are most excellent meat rawe after you have pared away the barck.

Oyle against poysoned wounds. Also ther is a red oyle that commeth out of the roote of the tree which is most excellent against poysoned arrowes & weapons, for by it they do recover themselves of ther poysoned wounds.

The planten with its frute. There ys a tre called a planten with a frute growing on it like a pudding which is most excellent meate rawe.

Guyathos a wholesome frute. They have also a red berrie like a pescodd called Guyathos two or thre ynches long which groweth on shorte bushes full of pricks like the sloe or thorne tree and

[1] Probably sassafras. Here we have a good description of the Gulf regions contrasted with the north.

the frute eateth like a greene reysn but sharpe somewhat they stampe this berrye & make wyne therof which they kepe in vessells made of woode.

They have also in manie places vines which beare grapes as bigg as a mannes thumbe. Vynes with great grapes.

Ther ys also great plentie of herbes and of all kind of flowers as roses and Gillie-flowers like ours in England and many others which he knew not. Herbes & flowers.

Also they have a kind of graine [Graine] the eare wherof is bigg as a mannes wrest of his arms the graine ys like a flatt pease yt maketh very good breade and white.[1] Maize.

They do also make breade of the roote of a Cassava tree which they do dry and beate it as small as they can and temper it with water & so bake it in cakes on a stone. Bread of the Cassava tree.

There ys also greate plentie of Buffs beares, horses, kine wolves foxes deare, goats, shepe hares and Connyes also other cattle like ours and verie many unlike ours to this examinate unknowen the most parte being wylde, the hides and skynnes of them are good merchandize. Beastes of sundry kinds.

Ther is very great store of those Buffs which are beasts as bigg as two oxen, in length almost XX^{tie} foote having long eares like a bloud hounde with long heares about ther eares ther hornes be crooked like Rames hornes ther eyes black ther heares long black roughe and shagged as a goate the hides of these beasts are solde verie deare this beast dothe kepe company only by copells male & female do allwayes fight with others of the same kynde when they do meete.[3] Valla [2] gibbosa supposed a Buffe.

Ther is also great plentie of deare both red white and speckeled which last sorte this examinat knoweth not. Deere.

Ther ys also greate plentie of another kynd of shepe [4] which carrie a kind of course woole this shepe is verie good meate althoughe the fleshe be verie red they are exceading fatt and of nature lothe to rise when they are layed which ys from five a clock at night untill five in the morning betweene which time you may easily kill them but after they be on foote they are verie wylde and rest not in one place but live together in herds in some 500 as it happeneth more or les. And theis redd shepe are most aboute the baie of St Marie as this examinat gesseth Shepe bearing wool & flesh redd.

Ther are beares both black and white.

Ther are wolves

The foxes have ther skinnes more grisselie than ours in England.

Ther are connies bothe white red and gray in everie place great plentie.

This examinat did also see in those Countries a monstrous beast twice as bigg as an horse & in every proportion like unto a horse [5] bothe in mane, hoofe, heare, and neighing saving it was small towards the hinde parts like a grey hound theis Beas A Strainge Beast.

[1] Here is the Indian corn.

[2] For "Valla" Hakluyt reads "Vacca," a cow.

[3] The buffalo.

[4] Evidently not sheep.

[5] He saw the horse introduced by the Spaniards at the South.

have two teeth or hornes of a foote long growing straight bothe by ther nostrills they are naturall enymies to the horse.

Elephants & Ounces. He did also see in that Country bothe Elephants [1] and Ounces.

A straunge shapen beast. He did also see another straunge beast bigger than a beare it had neither hed nor neck his eyes and mouth weare in his breast. This beast is verie ougly to beholde and Cowardly of kind. It beareth a very fine skynne like a ratt full of silver heares.[2]

Russett Parrotts. Ther are in those countryes aboundannce of Russets parrotts but very few greene.

Birdes like oures. Ther are also birds of all sorts as we have and many straunge birds to this examinat unknowen.

Gynney hennes. Ther ys great plenty of Gynney hennes which are tame birds and prog to the inhabitannts as bigg as geese very black of Colour having fethers like downe.

A redd byrde. Ther is also a birde called a fflamingo whose feathers are verie red and is bigger then a goose billed like a Shovelle and is very good meate.

Ther is also another kind of fowle in that countrey which haunteth the rivers neare unto the Ilands they are of shape and bignes of a goose but ther wyngs are covered with small callowe feathers and cannot flie you maie drive them before you like shepe they are exceading fatt and verie delicate meat they have white heads and

Penguyns. therefore the Countrymen call them penguyns (which seemeth to be a welsh name and they have also in use diverse other welsh [3] words a matter worthie the noting.

A greate straunge Byrde. Ther ys also a verie straunge byrde ther as bigg as an Eagle verie bewtifull to beholde his feathers are more orient than a peacocks feathers, his eyes as glistering as any hawks eyes but as great as a mans eyes his heade and thighe as bigg as a mans heade and thighe. It hathe a crest or tufte of feathers of sondrie Colours on the top of the heade like a lapwing hanging backwards his beake and talents in proportion like an Eagle but verie huge and large.

Tempests. Touching tempests and other straunge monstrous things in those parts this examinat saith that he hathe seene it lighten and thunder in summer season by the space of 24 howers together the cause wherof he judgeth to be heat of that Climate.

Furicanos. He further saith that ther ys a cloude sometymes of the yeare sene in the ayre which commonly turneth to great tempests.

Ternados. And that sometymes of the yeare ther are great wynds like whirlewynds.

The manner of religion. Touching ther Relligion he saith that they do honour for ther God a divell which they call Collochio who speaketh unto them sometymes in the likenes of a black dogg & sometymes in the likenes of a black Calfe. And some do honour the sonne the moone and the stars he saith that the people in those Cuntries are allwae many

Adulterie punished with death. wives some five some tenne and a king sometyme an hundred and that adulterie is verie severely punished in manner following that is to say the woman taken in adulterie must with her owne hands cutt the throte of the adulterer and the next of his

[1] He probably imagined that he saw them, if he is reported correctly.

[2] He appears to describe the seal.

[3] See Bowen's inconsequent book on "America Discovered by the Welsh."

kindred dothe likewise cut the throte of the adulteres. And being asked in what manner they take ther executions he saith that they are brought to execution by certeine magistrates who deliver unto the woman the knife wherwith she cutteth the throte of the adulterer.

Then apeareth ther Collochio or divell in the likenes aforesaide and speaketh unto them and to that divell the parties brought to execution do great reverence and with many prayers to yt do take ther deathe.

The manner of burialle.

He saith that suche as are put to deathe in suche sorte have not any of ther freinds buried with them but such as dye naturally have allwayes buried quick with them one of ther dearest freinds to kepe them company & to provide necessaries and victualls for them who do willingly consent being therunto perswaded by ther Collochio or divell whom they do worship.

The Divell fled at the name of the Holy Trinity.

He saith further that he and his two fellowes namely Rich. Browne and Rich. Twide went into a poore mans howse and ther they did see the said Collochio or divell with very great eyes like a black calfe uppon the sight therof Browne said ther ys the divell and theruppon blessed himself in the name of the father the sonne and the holy ghost. And Twide said very vehemently I defie the and all thy works and presently the Collochio shank away in a stealing manner forthe of the dores and was sene no more unto them.

Great Rivers.

Also ther passe over manie great rivers in those Cuntries in Canoe or boats some 4 some 8 some 10 myles over, wherof one was so large that they cold scarse cross the same in 24 howers.[1]

Musicall Instruments.

Also he saithe that in the same Cuntry the people have instruments of musick made of a piece of a Cane almost a foote long being open at bothe ends which sitting downe they smite uppon ther thighes and one of ther hands making a pleasant kind of sound.

And they do also use another kind of instrument [Musicall instruments] like a Taber covered with a white skynne somewhat like parchment.

This examinate can very well describe ther gestures dancing and songs.

After long travell the aforesaide David Ingram with his two companions Browne and Twid came to the head of a River called Gugida [Garinda] which is 60 leagues west from Cape Britton wher they understode by the people of that Cuntrie of the arivall of a christian wheruppon they made ther repaire to the sea side and then found a Frenche Captaine named Mons^r Champaigne who tooke them into his shipp and brought them unto Newhaven and from thence they weare transported into England, Anno dni 1569. Thro Mons^r Champaigne with diverse of his Companions weare brought into the village of Barimah [Bariniah] about 20 miles up into the Cuntrey by the said examinate and his 2 companions by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of diverse sorts of fine furres and of great red leaves of trees almost a yarde long and about a foote broad which he thinck are good for dyeing.

[1] Bays on the Atlantic coast, perhaps Penobscot Bay.

Siluer in exchange of trifles.

Also the said Mons[r] Champaigne had ther for exchange of trifeling wares a good quantitie of rude and unwrought [wrought] sylver.

He saith further that diverse of the said Fenchmen which weare in the said ship called the Gargarine are yet lyving in Hountflue uppon the Cost of Fraunce as he thinketh for he did speake with some of them within 3 yeares.

About a fortnight after ther Comming from Newhaven into England this said examinate and his two companions came to M[r] John Hawkins who had sett them on shore uppon the baie of Mexico and unto eache of them he gave a rewarde

Richard Browne his companion was slaine about five yeares past in the Elizabeth of M[r] Cockins of London and Richard Twid his other companion died at Ratcliff in John Sherewoods howse ther about three yeares past.

Language of some of the countryes.

Gwando is a worde of salutation as among us good morow good even, God save you or such like

Garicona [Caricona], a king.

Garrucona [Caraccona], a lord.

Tona, Bread

Carmugnaz [Carmugnar], the privities

Kerucca, the Sun

Also the said David Ingram travailing towards the North found the maine sea uppon the North side of America & travailed in the sight therof the space of 2 whole daies wher the people signified unto him that they had seene shipps on that cost and did drawe uppon the grounde the shape and figure of shippes and of ther sailes and flags which thing especiallie proveth the passage of the Northwest and is agreable to the experience of the spanish Captaine Vasques de Coromado [Coronado] who found a shipp of China or Cataia uppon the Northwest of America.[1]

Also the said examinate saith that ther is an Iland called Cowasan [Corrasau] and ther are in it five or 6 thousand Indians at the least and all these are governed by one only Negro who ys but a slave to a Spaniard.

And moreover the Spaniards will send but one of ther slaves with 100 or 200 of the Indians when they goe to gather gold in the Rivers descending from the mountaynes and when they shalle absent by the space of 20 or 30 daies at the least every one of the Indians will neverthelesse obey all your slaves commandments with as great reverence as yf he weare the naturall king althoughe ther be never a christian neare them by the space of 100 or two hundreth miles which argueth the great obedience of theis people & how easily they may be governed when they be once conquered.

[1] Hakluyt, III., 381, contains the narrative. In criticizing this account by Ingram, the reader should bear in mind that the peculiarities of the North and South are mingled.

NOTES

PENN A PAPIST—In the English *Notes and Queries* of November 6th is a communication from a correspondent, R. H. Busk, in which he calls "attention to a curious tradition as to his [Penn] having been secretly a Catholic." He refers to an allusion, in Sir John Hawkins' life of Dr. Blow, the composer, to William Penn being regularly in correspondence with Rome; that "Tillotson was at great pains to examine him on the subject of whether he were a Papist in disguise;" and that Dr. Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, with whom Penn frequently dined, being applied to to sift the truth of the matter, Penn "evaded an appointment, and from that time forbore his visits to Dr. Sherlock."

Having had my attention called to the above statement, I would say that I do not perceive it to be intended as a revival of the old and groundless rumor which grew out of Penn's intimacy with James II.; but that it is simply brought forward at this time when so much is said about Penn, as a matter of "curious tradition." It will suffice, therefore, briefly to say, (1) that the whole tenor of Penn's religious writings and the whole course of his straightforward Christian life refute so unworthy a charge; and particularly so—as bearing directly upon the point—does his "Seasonable Caveat against Popery," which appeared in 1670,[1] and his letter to a Roman Catholic, written five years later.[2] (2) That in the correspondence with Dr. Tillotson (afterward Archbishop of Canterbury), in 1685–86, the latter, in acknowledging his serious error as to Penn, declared, "I am fully satisfied there was no just ground for that suspicion, and therefore I do heartily beg your pardon for it." Relative to the asserted Roman correspondence, Penn had explicitly declared, "I have not only no such thing with any Jesuit at Rome (though Protestants may have without offence), but I hold none with any Jesuit, priest, or regular in the world, of that communion. And that the doctor may see what a novice I am in that business, I know not one anywhere."[1] And, lastly, (3) as to Penn evading an appointment with, and discontinuing his visits to, the Dean of St. Paul's: I judge that, to intimate to a sterling character like Penn, that notwithstanding all he had said and written in opposition to the tenets and practices of the papacy, there could still rest such a suspicion upon him as, if true, would convict him of the rankest hypocrisy, this consideration alone would suffice to withdraw him from the table of the suspecter, even though he were so eminent a church dignitary as the Dean of St. Paul's.

JOSIAH W. LEEDS

[1] Penn's Works, folio edition, 1726, Vol. I., p. 467.

[2] Ibid., p. 49.

THE OLDEST—The 333d anniversary of the founding of the city of Santa Fé, New Mexico, is to be celebrated in July next. The two chief features of the exhibition will be the display of the historical treasures of the Territory and of the material resources, the Territory being rich in both. The exhibition will last during the entire month of July. Cabeca

[1] Passages from the Life of William Penn, p. 310. Philadelphia, 1882.

de Vaca, who served with Narvaez in Florida, went westward, and, after thrilling adventures, was the first European to set foot in New Mexico. This was in 1531. Ten years later an expedition under Coronado explored the country in search of treasure, and nine years afterward the town of Santa Fé was founded. This was only twenty-nine years after the conquest of Mexico by Cortez. Jamestown, Va., formerly had the honor of being the most ancient town in the United States. After Florida was annexed, St. Augustine held that distinction, but since the acquisition of New Mexico, St. Augustine has given place to the city of Santa Fé.

The above is abridged from the Baltimore *Sun*. M. W. H.

NEWS FROM EUROPE—The editor of the *True American* announced the arrival on Monday, October 30, 1809, at Philadelphia, of the ship Suwarrow, Captain Englee, forty-five days from Liverpool, "who, had he been as attentive as most of his countrymen, might have furnished us with a day or two's later news; but as he brought none, either in his head or his pocket, we must wait for the next arrival." The New York papers of November 2, 1809, state that the ship Commodore Rogers, Captain Gage, arrived from Liverpool "in the unprecedented passage of twenty-two days," bringing the latest news of the unexpected change in the British ministry. PETERSFIELD

In one of his recent lectures on the "Mounds of the Ohio Valley," Professor Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, says of what is known as Fort Ancient: "Fort Ancient, Ohio, is built upon a hill running like a peninsula out from the plateau into the lowlands bordering the Little Miami River. This irregular-shaped hill was well chosen for a place of defence, for it is nearly isolated by streams tributary to the Little Miami. The top of the hill is 230 feet above the high-water mark of the river, which it completely commands. At the nearest point to the river the slope is terraced. The embankment is formed of earth, not thrown up from a ditch, as there is no ditch here, but from excavations, now pond holes, here and there inside the fort. Where the embankment has been carried over gullies, a foundation of stones was made. The length of the embankment is nearly five miles. In height it varies at different points, ranging from fourteen to twenty feet, with a base often sixty feet wide. The frequent changes in the direction of the embankment, as it follows the outline of the hill, give an additional means of defence against an attacking force. The two larger ends of the fort are connected by a narrow neck of land, along both sides of which the embankment runs, while across it is carried an embankment as if to hold one end in case the other end of the fort should be taken."

ST. PATRICK'S DAY IN THE REVOLUTION—Washington's orders for March 16, 1780, read: "The Adjutants are desired not to detail for duty to-morrow any of the Sons of *St. Patrick*," and on the 17th the parole is "Saints" and the countersigns "Patrick" and "Shelah." This must have tickled the Pennsylvania Line, which contained many representatives of Erin. J.

THE PRING MONUMENT—The monument to Martin Pring, who made his celebrated voyage to New England in 1603, spending some time in Plymouth Harbor [VIII. 807], still exists in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, England, and possesses considerable interest, though it was "beautified" in 1733. The following is the inscription:

TO THE PIOUS
MEMORIE OF MARTIN PRINGE,
MERCHANT, SOMETYME GENERALL TO THE
EAST INDIES, AND ONE OF THE
FRATERNITY OF THE
TRINITIE HOUSE.

The liuing worth of this dead man was such,
That this fay'r Touch can give you but A Touch
Of his admired guifts; theise quarter'd Arts,
Enrich'd his Knowledge and y^e^ spheare imparts;
His heart's true embleme where pure thoughts did moue;
By A most sacred Influence from aboue.
Prudence and fortitude ore topp this toombe,
Which in braue Pringe tooke up y^e^ chiefest roome;
Hope—Time supporters showe that he did clyme,
The highest pitch of hope though not of Tyme.
His painefull, skillfull trauayles reacht as farre,
As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre;
Hee made himselfe A Shipp Religion
His onely compass, and the truth alone
His guiding Cynosure, faith was his sailes,
His anchour hope, A hope that never failes;
His freighte was charitie, and his returne
A fruitfull practise. In this fatal vrne
His shipp's fayr Bulck is lodg'd but y^e^ ritch ladinge
Is hous'd in heauen, In heauen never fadinge.

Obit Anno { Salutatis { 1626
{ Ætates { 46

This Monument was Beautified by Mrs Hannah Oliver, Widdow, 1733.

LOTTERY TICKETS—I beg to call the attention of collectors to the following list of lottery tickets in my possession, and to ask that they will mention specimens:

County of York, February, 1758, Daniel Moulton.

U. S., Class 4th, Philadelphia, November, 1776, J. Bullock.

U. S., Class 4th, Philadelphia, November, 1776, C. Delany.

Harvard College, 7th Class, 1806, J. Mellen.

Massachusetts Semi-Annual State Lottery, Class 2d, 1790, J. Kneeland.

Massachusetts Semi-Annual State Lottery, Class 2d, 1790, George R. Minot.

Massachusetts Semi-Annual State Lottery, Class 2d, 1790, David Cobb.

Massachusetts State, Class 1st, 1778, Oliver Wendell.

Washington City Canal Lottery, n. d., Notley Young.

Paterson Lottery, N. J., n. d., J. Rhea.

Middletown Lottery, January, 1784, Elijah Hubbard.

Dixville Road Lottery, n. d., Boston.

South Hadley Canal Lottery, Jno. West.

Amoskeag Canal Lottery, Jno. West.

Lottery for the Encouragement of Useful Arts, Philadelphia, 1806, John Biddis.

Providence Episcopal Church Lottery, 1797, W. Larned.

Washington City Canal Lottery, D. Carroll, of Dist. of C.

Pavement Lottery, 4th Class, S. Frubody.

State of Maine, Cumberland and Oxford Canal, 1832, Barbour.

Amoskeag Canal Lottery, 6th Class, 1799, E. Robinson.

Conestogoe Bridge Lottery, 1761, Joseph Simon.

Schuylkill, Susquehanna and Delaware Canals, 1795, F. Matlack, W. M. Smith.

South Hadley Canal Lottery, Class 5th, 1802, Justin Ely.

Washington Hotel Lottery, January 1, 1793, Samuel Blodget, Agent.

H. W. BRYANT,
Librarian Maine Historical Society.

QUERIES

CONCERNING HANGING—In the new volume by Mr. Muzzey, on the "Men of the Revolution," at page 92, I read that "When the signers of the Declaration of Independence met for that momentous service, John Hancock said, as he affixed to it, the first in order, his own name: 'We must be unanimous; we must hang together.' 'Yes,' said Franklin, 'or hang separately.'" Now, who really was the author of the *mot?* I always supposed that it was Charles Carroll.

INQUIRER

CLEVE AND WINTER — Where was George Cleve, or Cleeves, born, who came from Plymouth, England, about 1630, and settled near Portland, Maine? What vessel did he come on? Whom did he marry? Is anything known of him prior to his advent in New England? Also can any one give any information about John Winter, prior to his arrival in Maine?

J. P. BAXTER

A BOSTON MAGAZINE—"*Boston, Nov.* 7, 1809. 'Tis Something — Nothing.' On Saturday Nov. 18 1809, will be published, the first number of *Something*. To be continued weekly if *Nothing* prevents. Edited by *Oudoit Nemo Nobody*, Esq. PROSPECTUS. The editor of 'Something' promises *Nothing*. Subscribers it is hoped may be found who will encourage '*Something*' of a literary nature, at the price of three dollars a year, one half paid in advance; for *Something* will come to *Nothing* if *Nothing* comes to *Something*. Subscriptions are received by John West & Co. 73 Cornhill."—*Mercantile Advertiser*, November 18, 1809. What is the history of this first attempt to establish a literary magazine in Boston? It appears to have survived until May, 1810, issuing twenty-six numbers.

PETERSFIELD

REPLIES

"JOIN OR DIE" [VIII. 768, 855]—In Thomas' History of Printing, ed. 1810, Vol. II., p. 329, he says: "On the 9th of May, 1754, the device of a snake, divided into parts, with the motto—'Join or Die,' I believe, first appeared in this paper (*The Pennsylvania Gazette*, published by B. Franklin, Postmaster, and D. Hall, at Philadelphia). It accompanied an account of the French and Indians having killed and scalped many of the inhabitants in the frontier counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The account was published with this device, with a view to arouse the British Colonies, and cause them to unite in effectual measures for their defence and security against the common enemy. The snake was divided into eight parts, to represent, first, New England; second, New York; third, New Jersey; fourth, Pennsylvania; fifth, Maryland; sixth, Virginia; seventh, North Carolina; and, eighth, South Carolina.

The account and the figures appeared in several other papers, and had a good effect." Parton refers to the circumstance, evidently on the authority of Thomas, in his "Life of Franklin" (Vol. I., p. 337).

Did this sentiment appear anywhere before Franklin published it as above? It seems to have been freely adopted thereafter in American journalism, particularly with reference to the necessity of presenting a united front to resist the aggressions of the mother country upon her colonies. Thomas further says (Vol. II., p. 322) that "after the American stamp act was passed by the British Parliament, and near the time it was to be put in operation, a political paper was privately printed at Burlington [N. J.], which attracted much notice. It was entitled '*The Constitutional Gazette*, containing Matters interesting to Liberty—but no wise repugnant to Loyalty.' Imprint—'Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the Sign of the Bribe Refused, on Constitution-Hill, North-America.' In the centre of the title was a device of a snake, cut into parts, to represent the colonies. Motto—'Join or Die.' After the title followed an address to the public from the fictitious printer and publisher, Andrew Marvel. This paper was without date, but was printed in September, 1765. . . . . A large edition was printed, secretly forwarded to New York, and there sold by hawkers selected for the purpose. It had a rapid sale, and was, I believe, reprinted there, and at Boston. It excited some commotion in New York, and was taken notice of by government. A council was called, and holden at the fort in that city, but as no discovery was made of the author or printer, nothing was done. One of the council demanded of a hawker named Samuel Sweeny, 'Where that incendiary paper was printed?' Sweeny, as he had been instructed, answered, 'At Peter Hassenclever's iron works, please your honor.' Peter Hassenclever was a wealthy German, well known as the owner of extensive iron works in New Jersey.[1] Afterward, other publications of a like kind frequently appeared with an imprint—'Printed at Peter Hassenclever's Iron-works.' Only one number of *The Constitutional Gazette* was published; a continuance of it was never intended. It was printed by William Goddard,[2] at Parker's printing house at Burlington—Goddard having previously obtained Parker's permission occasionally to use his press."

The Constitutional Courant, the title of which is reproduced in THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY [VIII. 768], was evidently an imitation of the New Jersey paper, though not an exact reproduction, for the latter contained an "address" of "Andrew Marvel" to the public, which does not appear to have been published in the former. It is not unlikely that Goddard, while he was printing his paper at Burlington, may have issued two or more numbers, with different titles, during September, 1765, with the same

[1] At Ringwood, Passaic County; also in Morris County.

[2] Goddard printed the first newspaper at Providence, R. I., 1762–5; was afterward of New York, 1765; Philadelphia, 1766–73; and Baltimore, 1773–92. He was a legatee of General Charles Lee, whose Memoirs he designed publishing, but his partner, Edward Langworthy, sent the work to London and had it printed there for his sole benefit (in 1792).—*Thomas*, I., 427–9; II., 134–9, 271–2, 331–2, 352–9.

device and motto, and substantially the same contents. Thomas seems so positive about the title mentioned by him that he is doubtless correct; and that the title of the paper in Yale College Library is correct as given is manifest from the facsimile in THE MAGAZINE.

In 1774, the device and motto referred to appeared in several of the American papers of the day, among others in *The Massachusetts Spy*, *The New York Journal*, and *The Pennsylvania Journal*.—*Thomas*, II., 252, 307, 331.

WM. NELSON

Paterson, N. J.

THE CARDINAL OF BOURBON—This person, as already stated [VIII. 437], sent one Stephen Bellinger, of Rouen, France, into the region of Massachusetts Bay, in 1583. The cardinal so much interested at that period in New England trade was Charles de Bourbon, Prince of France, born December 23, 1520, dying May 9, 1590. He was the son of Charles de Bourbon, fourth Count of Vendome. The Cardinal de Bourbon was Archbishop of Rouen. This is the same person that the Court of Parliament, March 3, 1590, recommended as the legitimate King of France. He thus played the *rôle* of king during the League. He would have done better if he had continued his protection to the sailors who frequented the coasts of America. GABRIEL GRAVIER

Rouen, France.

OLD BIBLES [IX. 68]—The small quarto black-letter Bible, in English, of the Genevan version (being about the 150th edition of the Bible nicknamed the "breeches"), printed in London by Robert Barker, in 1606, with Herrey's Concordance attached, of same date, described and inquired about by Mr. Clark Jillson, is not of very rare occurrence in this latitude. A copy, in fair condition and perfect, brings generally, at sales here, about one pound sterling.

HENRY STEVENS, GMB

4 *Trafalgar Square, London, Jan.* 15, 1883.

There were a good many editions of the Geneva Bible published by Robert Barker between A.D. 1600 and 1615. The version can hardly be said to be celebrated, although it had a temporary popularity among people of a Calvinistic way of thinking. Nor are the books either very rare or very costly. The quartos have been sold in New York for five dollars, which appears to be about what they are worth.

BEVERLEY R. BETTS

RHODE ISLAND AND THE SPECTACLES—In your magazine for this month [IX. 69], after quoting a passage from "Kalm's Travels" respecting the purchase of Rhode Island from an Indian for a pair of spectacles, referring to Franklin as his authority for the statement, "Minto" asks, "Can it be possible that Benjamin Franklin imposed on the credulity of the innocent traveller?" Let Franklin himself answer the "innocent" Swedish traveller. In "Stevens' Franklin Collection," shipped last week to the Department of State, is a volume lettered "*Franklin's Craven Street Letter Book*, 1772–73," containing drafts of letters for nearly two years. Under date of March 3, 1773, Franklin wrote a letter to David Colden, from which this is an extract: "Kalm's

account of what he learnt in America is full of idle stories, which he pick'd up among ignorant people, and either forgetting of whom he had them, or willing to give them some authority, he has ascribed them to persons of reputation who never heard of them till they were found in his book. And when he really had stories from such persons, he has varied the circumstances unaccountably, so that I have been ashamed to meet with some mentioned as from me. It is dangerous conversing with these strangers that keep journals."

HENRY STEVENS, of Vermont

4 *Trafalgar Square, London, Jan.* 15, 1883.

THE ELEPHANT BETTY—The first elephant imported into the United States, which was referred to in your magazine [VIII. 358, 513], was exhibited in a small village in Windsor Co., Vt., in the summer of 1815. The writer was present at the exhibition, and, with the other children present, was greatly delighted with her performances, she being very docile and intelligent, implicitly obeying her negro keeper, who called her Betty. After the performance in the barn was concluded, Betty was let out on the common and given a whip by her keeper, and directed to make a ring, which service she performed by driving the crowd back so that all could see, when another set of performances commenced, which was witnessed with great delight by all present. Some years afterward the writer learned that Betty was killed by the breaking down of a bridge while crossing a stream in one of the New England States. Since the above was written, the writer has been informed by a graduate of Williams College that an accident similar to the one above referred to, resulting in the killing of an elephant, occurred at North Adams, Mass., and that some time afterward the students of that institution procured the bones and placed them in the museum of the college, where they now remain. Who knows whether or not they are the bones of Betty, the first elephant imported into the United States?

A. M.

Bay City, February 3, 1883.

ARMS OF OFFICERS [IX. 69, 144]—On this point I copy the following note to page cxxiii of General de Peyster's rather remarkable contribution to Mr. W. L. Stone's "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson." Speaking of the ambuscade on the Oriskany, the doughty champion of Sir John and a lost cause says: "There is a great deal of talk about fighting with spears in this battle. 'Captain Gardenier slew them with spears, one after the other.' Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell, 'each armed with a spear,' crept out of the fort to seek relief, etc. That the Indians used spears is very likely, because a weapon of this sort is primitive and in ordinary use among savages. Storming parties of troops, destined to assault a breech, it is true, were furnished with something resembling 'boarding pikes,' peculiar to the navy. That the English and American troops and militia employed such a weapon is ridiculous. These spears were espontons, which were badges of military rank. 'To trail a half pike' was a term once recognized as equivalent to holding a commission. As late as 1811 'the Militia Law of the

United States required that commissioned officers shall severally be armed with a sword or hanger, and esponton.' The latter was a short pike, about eight feet in length. Colonels carried them, just as in the previous century. Sergeants bore halberts. 'To bring a man to the halberts' expressed the ideas of the infliction of corporal punishment. This explains how Colonel Willett and Captain Gardenier and Lieutenant Stockwell came to be furnished, not with spears, but with half pikes or espontons. The last were symbols of authority and command, and in an old print St. Leger is represented with an esponton in his hand. Over a hundred years ago there was a great question whether light double-barrel muskets — something like those furnished to the French military police in Corsica—should not constitute a part of the armament of officers in the British service." HALF PIKE

CAPITOL [IX. 70]—The origin of the word "capitol" may be found in the "First Book of Livy," ch. 55, the word or designation having originated at the commencement of building the Temple to Jupiter on the Tarpeian Mount, under the Tarquins—a human head with all the appearance of life having presented itself to those commencing to break ground for the foundations. The soothsayers determined the appearance to indicate the metropolis of the empire and *head* of the world. Other authors represent the finding a perfect unmutilated head when excavations were commenced.

J. G. KENNEDY

Washington, D. C.

SOCIETIES

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY —At the last stated meeting, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., read an account of Sir Christopher Gardiner and Mary Grove, his mysterious companion, who have figured frequently in poetry and romance, as well as in the early history of the colony. Mr. Adams carefully collated all the accounts which we have of them, and corrected many errors made not only by writers of fiction, but by historians in respect of them. The last trace that can be found of Gardiner shows him to have been in London in 1634, when he disappears from the scene. Mary Grove married Thomas Purchase, from the Kennebec County in Maine, and seems to have died in Boston in 1656.

Mr. T. C. Amory read a paper to show that the design of the expedition into western New York, in 1779, was not principally to punish the Iroquois for the massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, or to retaliate the barbarities practised on women and children at Fairfield, Norwalk, and New Haven by British troops, though such atrocities demanded retribution. Its more important object was to explore the country, and to pave the way to an invasion of Canada by Niagara, if D'Estaing came back in season with his fleet and army. He had left Boston in December, 1778, after the siege of Newport, for the West Indies, and had intended to co-operate with the Americans at the North in the summer of 1779, but being delayed by winds, he landed in Georgia and laid siege to Savannah. Repulsed with great loss, he sailed for France.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the meeting held January 23d, at Providence, President Gamwell in the chair, a paper was read by Mr. William E. Foster, of the Providence Public Library, who traced the connection of Governor Stephen Hopkins with the growth of a national sentiment in Rhode Island in a thorough and scholarly manner, indicating careful research and an ingenious and instructive method of arrangement, departing from the ordinary historic collation of events and comments, and thus adding to its interest and entertainment.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting was held on January 18, 1883, at Trenton, where the Society was organized thirty-eight years ago. Mr. William A. Whitehead, who has ever since been the Corresponding Secretary, and who is one of very few among the survivors of the original incorporators of the Society, presented, as usual, a large and very interesting body of correspondence relating to the history of New Jersey and the genealogy of many of the early families. It was announced that six volumes of "New Jersey Archives," comprising documents relating to the colonial history down to 1747, had been printed by the State, under the auspices of the Society, and that a seventh volume was well under way. Mr. R. Wayne Parker, of Newark, read a valuable paper on "Money and Taxes in Early New Jersey," in which it was remarked, incidentally, that the silver dollar was at one time the standard currency of the commercial world, and that Great Britain might just as easily have adopted the dollar as the unit of currency as the pound sterling in Queen Anne's reign. Mr. Samuel Allinson, who two or three years ago read a paper on the early Indians in New Jersey, presented a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, giving from the records of the Department an account of the migrations of the Delaware Indians subsequent to their removal from New Jersey, from which it appears that they have lost their tribal relation, and that their traceable descendants now number probably less than one hundred persons, and are probably located in Kansas or the Indian Territory. The Society elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President—Samuel M. Hamill, D.D., of Lawrenceville; Vice-Presidents—John T. Nixon, of Trenton; John Clement, of Haddonfield, and Samuel H. Pennington, M.D., of Newark; Corresponding Secretary — William A. Whitehead, of Newark; Recording Secretary—William Nelson, of Paterson; Treasurer and Librarian—Frederick W. Ricord, of Newark; Executive Committee—Marcus L. Ward, of Newark; the Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., of Flemington; Samuel Allinson, of Yardville; N. Norris Halstead, of Kearny; Joel Parker, of Freehold; Joseph N. Tuttle, of Newark; John F. Hageman, of Princeton; David A. Depue, of Newark; Nathaniel Niles, of Madison. The next meeting of the Society will be held at Newark, on the third Thursday in May.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting, February 6th, President Schell in the chair, Mr. Berthold Fernow, of Albany, N. Y., read a paper on "The Life and Times of Cornelius Steenwyck, Burgomaster of New

Amsterdam, and Mayor of New York." Mr. Fernow's paper proved very interesting and instructive, as Steenwyck was a representative man, a kind of Colossus, one of whose feet was planted on the Dutch side and the other on the English, feeding at public crib under both administrations, yet so unfortunate as to be mulcted thirty thousand dollars on a single occasion, for too open an offence against the English; though he was a man of fair character and abilities, cultivated taste, and a liberal disposition; dying at last respected by all, and leaving a fortune which in his day was considered large. The Hon. James W. Gerard moved a vote of thanks, and made some complimentary remarks, being followed by Mr. Samuel B. Haines, Mr. Frederic J. de Peyster, and Mr. John MacMullen, who spoke in laudatory terms of Old New York. An original portrait of Steenwyck has recently been secured for the Society. It was in the possession of the Evans family, New Jersey, for several generations. The canvas contains a view of New Amsterdam, painted about the year 1656. It also bears the Steenwyck Arms.

The Librarian, Mr. Jacob B. Moore, made a brief but very appropriate address in recognition of the late Professor Greene, who died at East Greenwich, R. I., February 2, 1883, in the seventy-second year of his age, and offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the New York Historical Society, with profound regret, enters upon the roll of its deceased members the name of George Washington Greene, LL.D.

Resolved, That the Society desires to record its appreciation of the many personal virtues which adorned the sterling life and character of its late honored associate, and its grateful testimony to the numerous and invaluable services rendered by him to his country and its history, in works which will remain as enduring legacies to the historical student, and as conspicuous memorials of the disinterested labor, the unwearied research, and great literary talent which were the characteristics of his scholarly life.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Society be tendered to the family of our deceased associate, and that they be furnished with a copy of these proceedings.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This Society held a session some time ago on the subject of the settlement of the town, and the Weymouth *Gazette* devotes an immense broadside to the paper by Mr. Gilbert Nash, to which reference has already been made in THE MAGAZINE. He agrees with Mr. Charles Francis Adams that, previous to the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Hull, in 1635, there were colonists on the ground. Both of these writers have accomplished much in their essays, but the case of Mr. Hull still needs to be cleared up.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—By a united move of the members of this Society, a sum was lately raised sufficient to erect the new building they have long needed. The Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, has already done so well in this direction that we hope the movement will prove contagious everywhere. New life in our Historical Societies is a great desideratum, and a good promoter of it is a new building.

LITERARY NOTICES

ORDERLY BOOK OF SIR JOHN JOHNSON DURING THE ORISKANY CAMPAIGN, 1776–1777. Annotated by WILLIAM L. STONE, Author of the Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.; Burgoyne's Campaign; Life and Journals of General and Mrs. Riedesel, &c.; with an Historical Introduction illustrating the Life of Sir John Johnson, Bart.; by J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, LL.D., M.A. * Anchor * Author of the Life of [Swedish Field-Marshall] Leonard Torstensen [Generalissimo], 1855; Carausius, 1858; Winter Campaigns, &c., 1864; The Personal and Military History of Maj.-Gen. Phil. Kearney, 1869; La Royale, the Grand Hunt of the Army of the Potomac, 3d–7th April, 1872–74; Mary, Queen of Scots, 1882; &c., &c. And Some Tracings from the Footprints of the Tories or Loyalists in America. Contributed by THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS. Albany: JOEL MUNSELL'S SONS. MDCCCLXXXII. 4to, pp. 6—clxviii—269.

The "Orderly Book" was originally printed in 1881, in the March and April issues of THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. It has again made its appearance, in a limited edition, as No. XI. of Munsell's Historical Series, edited by William L. Stone, to whom its original publication was due; with copious annotations, historical and topographical details, and information respecting Colonel Willett and others in whose memory New York has a special interest. In its present form it is accompanied by two very distinct brochures, supplied at the request of Mr. Stone, in furtherance of his undertaking, each inspired by a taste for historical research. These are illustrated and written from opposing viewpoints, without comparison of views or attempts at concert; often differing and then at times uniting in independent conclusions.

The first, "An Historical Introduction illustrating the Life of Sir John Johnson, Bart.," is from the incisive pen of his kinsman, General J. Watts de Peyster. After entering into the details of the prosperous private life of his subject, up to the time of the opening of the contest for freedom, he follows him when accepting the later alternative, and, with a free lance better known in the conflicts of a century ago, Rupert-like he "thunders on the flank" of those who, in tradition or contemporary history, failed to view Johnson's action as inevitable on the part of one who was apparently born a favorite of fortune. The heir to an estate claimed to be larger than that of Fairfax, and only second to that of the Penns, honored with knighthood when a boy by his sovereign, recently inheriting that estate by the death of his father, an approved soldier, he conceives him beyond the influence of the exasperated public sentiment of others less fortunate, when they proposed to remove the flag, under which he had been born and prospered, from the soil in which he enjoyed so large an ownership.

This writer, while claiming the choice as inevitable, proceeds with his attempt to vindicate his great-uncle's memory from the charge of violating a parole extracted by compulsion by a *de facto* government in authority in parts of his native State, and only formulated into sections of a nationality in the subsequent July. He claims that Johnson considered it an uprising which might soon be suppressed by the forces of the still-existing government, not realizing the extent of the dissatisfaction of a people who had petitioned for relief and were now seeking redress. He argues that Sir John, as an isolated but powerful adherent of the government they had renounced, was an obstacle to progress, and that, although he had committed no overt act in its support, he had refused to associate for its overthrow; and that when he was aware of the recall of his parole and the order for his arrest and confinement, he fled from the authority of the rapidly organizing government to which he was obnoxious. He justifies his vindictive hostilities, and their attendant ravages, as incidental to any exile fired by a sense of injury, and suggests that he only turned against them the methods of warfare used by his father and by his then opponents for their mutual defence against the French and their allies. He argues that Sir John's sometime claimed flight from Klock's Field in advance of his command, even though wounded, is inconsistent with his known character for personal courage sustained by the military authorities in Canada after his escape.

If the writer had confined his efforts to the vindication of his kinsman, he would perhaps have given greater weight to his conclusions. His apparent object is not advanced by his attacks on principles and men long since approved, nor by reopening questions of motive inducing those who entertained opposite convictions in producing results now universally accepted and enjoyed in common by the posterity of both of the then conflicting elements. With a stalwart assertion of his own convictions sustained by traditional teachings, he expresses an utter indifference for popular opinion.

The other contribution, "Some Tracings from the Footprints of Sir John Johnson and his Cotemporaries," by Colonel Theodorus Bailey Myers, was, as he states, suggested in accordance with the request of Mr. Stone, and by the fact that his collection of manuscripts contained some papers of special value in connection with the period. His view-point is rather technical; and

although with antecedents and sympathies opposed to those of the former writer, he warmly vindicates the sympathy won by any honest loyalty, however mistaken, as an evidence of an underlying integrity and courage, and its misuse as more attributable to an error of the head than of the heart. He expresses a doubt as to the reliability of much cotemporary narrative, of the measure of credit divided by the victor to the vanquished; he treats of the value of continued efforts to perfect history, especially by the publication of diaries and letters. In reference to the parole of Sir John Johnson and the details of Klock's Field, he agrees in the conclusions of his friend, failing to discover any evidence which would be considered conclusive against a man who had died enjoying the popular favor.

Then, when the "footprints" of Johnson leave the American territory for a life of exile, he returns to follow those of his "cotemporaries" of opposing convictions; considering the unprecedented and then little anticipated results they achieved by their conquests, the extent of our continuous appreciation, its necessity, and the duty of impressing it on all new associates by birth or colonization; the advantage of the teaching of our national traditions in schools; the value concealed in the appreciation of the little sought-for intention of the founders; and the effects of the lack of appreciation for the holders of public honors in the present lessening the veneration for those of the past, and the danger of allowing their "footprints" to become obscured under the impressions of heavier, if not worthier, feet. While the tone of this paper is temperate, its impressions are clearly expressed and it strongly favors a hereditary national policy, in which the views of the founders are never forgotten, while the changes necessary to growth and progress are necessarily engrafted. It urges the importance of jealous vigilance on the part of every citizen, less attention to financial management as an element and branch than to national policy as the trunk, if we would give the most practical evidence of the error of the Tories and Loyalists as to the concentration of power and the impossibility of a government of a people by itself.

For his own part of the work Mr. Stone offers no apology, but literary copartnership sometimes makes strange bedfellows. Still Mr. Stone must be regarded as standing by himself, and responsible, under the circumstances, only for his own words. His work is well done, and will have due recognition. On the other hand, General de Peyster speaks of his engagement to contribute to the work as "the result of a promise made in haste and repented at leisure," though it is difficult to discover the repentance. In fact, he ends in a more pugnacious spirit than that in which he began, and in his *Envoi*, with his accustomed bravery, he runs a muck with all America, not forgetting to deal a thrust at General Sullivan. The General ought to feel relieved and satisfied.

Colonel Myers says that his own essay, written at a distance from his library, "suggests some resemblance to a trunk hastily packed for a journey, with an opportunity for a selection from a sufficient wardrobe, which, when resorted to, is found to contain some articles better fitted for the seclusion of a private apartment than for public use, and to lack many others more adaptable, but improvidently left at home."

This volume, upon the whole, with its irrepressible opinions and frequent historical errors, is a very curious production. It may strengthen the belief of General de Peyster, but it may not help the case of Sir John Johnson, nor modify public opinion with respect to the men and the principles of the Revolution, the history of which, however, will some day be written.

HISTORY OF BILLERICA, MASSACHUSETTS, WITH A GENEALOGICAL REGISTER. By the Rev. HENRY A. HAZEN, A.M., Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co. 1883. 8vo, pp. x, 510.

A map of ancient Billerica shows the town as it was prior to the separation of Tewksbury, large parts of Bedford and Carlisle, and portions of Wilmington and Lowell. This map gives the location of the large early farms or grants, and of more than eighty families, or nearly all who were in the town before 1700, including the garrisons of 1676. The Genealogical Register embodies all the births, marriages, and deaths found in the town records prior to 1800 (in fact, to 1840), with additions and connecting links, gleaned from gravestones, probate records, and many other sources, and early lines are brought down to date. All families bearing the names Farley, Farmer, Jefts, Kidder, Kittredge, Pollard, Shed, and Toothaker, whose lines in this country go back to 1700, will find their American progenitor in Billerica. Extensive branches were also here of the families of Crosby, Danforth, French, Frost, Hill, Manning, Parker, Patten, Richardson, Rogers, Stearns, and Whiting. Others less numerous, but important and significant, are traced of more than sixty families. Lists of the soldiers in the early Indian wars, as well as the Revolution and the late war, will be found. The religious history is carefully followed, and some very interesting early records are recovered, illustrating the organization of the church and fixing its date. An interesting chapter, by the Rev. E. G. Porter, of Lexington, is devoted to Billericay, England.

Billerica, "the ancient Shawshin," is one of the typical New England towns, whose foundations were laid in 1638. The place retains some

of its ancient characteristics still, and old things are mingled with the new. The author spent four years upon the work, and has labored with diligence and care, producing a handsome and valuable volume that will take rank with the best town histories. It is illustrated with portraits, including that of Governor Talbot, and a number of views of houses and churches, ancient and modern.

MEMOIR OF JOHN A. DAHLGREN, REAR-ADMIRAL U. S. NAVY. By his Widow, MEDELAINE VINTON DAHLGREN. With portraits and illustrations. Boston: JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO. 1882. 8vo, pp. 660.

The name of Dahlgren does not stand in the same category as those of Farragut and Porter, yet his services were of a high character. Admiral Dahlgren was born in Philadelphia in 1809, being of Swedish descent, and at an early age he showed a marked predilection for the Navy, which he soon entered, commencing at once the long and toilsome struggle to gain the eminence finally achieved. His genius was scientific and inventive, mathematics and artillery gaining a large degree of attention. He made his mark in connection with the Coast Survey, while his skill in construction will long cause his name to be associated with improvements in gunnery. In fact, he revolutionized the system of ordnance, passing a large portion of his career in connection with this department. In offensive operations he had comparatively little experience, since his chief command was that of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, being the successor of Admiral Dupont. The work was hard, perilous, irksome, and of the highest importance; but it consisted largely of dull routine, giving him few opportunities for making one of those brilliant records upon which it is so agreeable to dwell. Yet no opportunity was lost, and, in connection with the siege of Charleston and the reduction of Fort Wagner, he rendered eminent service and displayed rare courage, of which particular mention is made on page 425, in a note from Judge Advocate Cowley's "Afloat and Ashore." Admiral Dahlgren was a systematic man, and from early years kept a copious journal. As the result, his story, in no small degree, is told in his own language, while official reports are freely drawn upon. This plan was deliberately adopted by his biographer, and, as may be imagined, the result is not exactly a finished literary performance. As a historical work, however, it will be valued, as it forms a repository of indispensable facts that will one day be of use in connection with the Navy. The volume is not only valuable, but very interesting.

A WAR DIARY OF EVENTS IN THE WAR OF THE GREAT REBELLION. 1863–1865. By GEORGE H. GORDON, Late Colonel Second Massachusetts Infantry, etc., etc. Boston: JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO. 1882. 8vo, pp. 437.

This volume forms a continuation of the author's work on "The Army of Virginia," and was written from notes made at the time. He describes those events which transpired under his eye, and the story is told in a frank, manly, outspoken, and chivalrous style, though with due regard to the feelings of the defeated. The work is one of deep, absorbing, and peculiar interest, and affords some inside views of things not found in a formal history. The style is graphic and admirable, and the entire composition, in fact, is what one might expect of a brave and cultured Massachusetts officer.

REMINISCENCES AND MEMORIALS OF MEN OF THE REVOLUTION AND THEIR FAMILIES. By A. B. MUZZEY. Fully illustrated. Boston: ESTES & LAURIAT. 1883. 8vo, pp. 424.

This is a very pleasant and instructive volume, which does ample justice to various families, including the names of Otis, Adams, Quincey, Lincoln, Parker, Munroe, Brown, Kirkland, Ellery, Channing, Perry, and others; with those of individuals like Lafayette, Jackson, and Bontelle. A special chapter is devoted to "Men of the Southern and Middle States in the Revolution," while "The Anti-Slavery Movement" is included in another, with one more to the "Society of the Cincinnati." The author is a very genial and discriminating writer, and has put on record a large number of valuable examples, of which the nation may feel justly proud. The book is well printed and illustrated, and contains an excellent portrait of the author, who writes, to a considerable extent, from personal recollection.

A HISTORY OF WOOD-ENGRAVING. By GEORGE E. WOODBURY. Illustrated. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, Franklin Square. 1883. 8vo, pp. 209.

In this work the author has endeavored to bring together, in an orderly form, the principal facts that are of interest in connection with the art of engraving on wood, which, from the rudest beginnings, has attained to a degree of excellence in some cases closely approaching the results achieved on copper and steel. In the main, the author has devoted his studies to the exhibition of wood-engraving as a reflection of human life

and the progress of civilization. Little attention, therefore, has been bestowed upon the bibliography of the subject, any treatment of which would have swelled the work into dimensions that would have interfered with its popularity. The illustrations include ninety numbers, the subjects ranging from an initial letter from the "Epistols di San Hieronimo Volgare," to a portrait of the late Dean Stanley by Kruell, which is a clever work, though it by no means shows the possibilities nor even the actual achievements of engraving on wood. The initial letter, however, comes quite near to the present excellence attained in that special department. There are many beautiful specimens in this volume, which shows the capacity of the great and enterprising house sending the volume out, and which has done so much in this country to encourage wood-engraving and bring it to its present high state of excellence. The reader will find this a very charming volume.

HISTORY OF THE TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAR FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION. 1861–1865. With Statistics of the War and Rebel Prisons. By CHARLES F. WALCOTT, Brevet Brig.-General and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Illustrated with portraits and maps. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. 1882. 8vo, pp. 502.

This is the history of a "fighting regiment." It is based upon the best material accessible to the writer, who devoted much time to the undertaking, being obliged to correct and revise official documents in order to carry on his work to completion. His regiment was organized at Worcester, during July and August, 1861, and placed under the command of Colonel Augustus Morse, previously major-general of militia. It was engaged in twenty-two battles, and after being reduced to a battalion was united with the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, and subsequently transferred to the Fifty-sixth. General Walcott served as a captain in the Twenty-first, and afterward as Colonel of the Sixty-first Massachusetts. The work is of a most careful and painstaking character, and gives many brilliant and accurate pictures of scenes through which the regiment passed with the greatest credit to itself and to the old Bay State. The volume contains twelve illustrations, including steel portraits of Generals Reno and Burnside. The work is one of a kind to be expected from a member of a guild so eminent as the Massachusetts Historical Society, and forms a lasting monument to the courage, the patience, the endurance and patriotism of one of the noblest military organizations of Massachusetts.

AN ILLUSTRATED DICTIONARY OF WORDS USED IN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY. Explaining Terms frequently used in Works on Architecture, Arms, Bronzes, Christian Art, Color, Costume Decoration, Devices, Emblems, Heraldry, Lace, Personal Ornaments, Pottery, Painting, Sculpture, etc., with their Derivations. By J. W. MOLLETT, B.A., *Officier de l'Instruction Publique* (*France*). Author of the Lives of "Rembrandt" and "Wilkie" in the "Great Artists" series. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. 1883. 12mo, pp. 350.

The general character of this work is indicated by its title, and it only remains for us to point out its value, which is very great, inasmuch as it fills an empty place and supplies, very admirably, a real want. Few persons have the leisure to examine those expensive volumes in which information like that contained in this work is usually found. Hence a volume of the nature of a full hand-book is particularly desired, especially at the present time, when certain tastes are so largely indulged. We find no less than seven hundred and seven well-engraved illustrations, covering objects that range from the practical to the luxurious, the whole forming a compilation that might properly be found in every household; though the author is too brief sometimes, as, for example, in defining the "*Cinque Cento*" style.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. BY THOS. R. LOUNSBURY, Professor of English in the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale College. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. 1883. 12mo, pp. 30.

This is the fifth in the series of "American Men of Letters," and it comes as near to being a life of Cooper as possible under the circumstances, for upon his deathbed he enjoined his family to take care that no authorized account of his history be prepared. Fenimore Cooper—for such was his legal name—was born in 1789. At an early period he found his way in, and very soon out of, Yale College. Thence he went to the forecastle of a merchant ship, and afterward into the Navy, which he exchanged for life on a farm. When thirty years old he stumbled into literature, and became so famous that the English claimed him as an Englishman. Everybody knows the rest, though a very large number of the readers of his novels will take a peculiar delight in going over the details of his literary career, which are presented in a most agreeable style.

PAMPHLETS

SALEM COMMONS AND COMMONERS; OR, THE ECONOMIC BEGINNING OF MASSACHUSETTS. By HERBERT B. ADAMS. Part I. The Fisher Plantation of Cape Ann. Part II. Origin of Salem Plantation. Part III. House Lots, Ten-acre Lots, Widows' Lots, Maids' Lots. Salem: Printed for the Essex Institute. 1882. 8vo, pp. xii, 35.

CONSTABLES: Reprinted from the N. E. Historic Genealogical Register. 8vo, pp. 38.

It is quite refreshing to find an author who can commence writing about the beginnings of New England without indulging in those dolorous stories that stand connected with the religious, or rather the irreligious, squabbles of the early times. Prof. Adams is of the opinion that something more than theological bias is required for the founding of a State, in which idea he seems to confess the leadership of the men who suspended that poor counterfeit presentment of a codfish over the desk of the Speaker of the Massachusetts Chamber of Representatives. Hence, with evident relish, he goes into the subject of the "Fisher Plantation," and he tells us, in brief, that "the first foundation of Massachusetts was for the same end as the first occupation of the islands of Venice." The "Cape Ann Plantation" failed, but in dying gave birth to Salem, where, in the matter of land, as in other things, the people fashioned their policy in accordance with Old World ideas. They were not so peaceable, however, as to require no Constables, and, therefore, they reproduced that functionary everywhere in all his glory. The genesis of much that is peculiar to Massachusetts is declared in these three unique and valuable pamphlets, which indicate a new departure in the study of New England history. Unquestionably we shall see no more volumes composed exactly after the pattern of Palfrey. Prof. Adams is infusing a healthy scientific spirit into his discussions that will have to be taken into account by writers who follow him.

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST CHURCH, CHARLESTOWN, MASS., November 12, 1882. 8vo, pp. 60.

A MEMORIAL OF ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, SCITUATE, MASS. A.D. 1730–1810. 8vo, pp. 42.

Here we have a Congregational and an Episcopal preacher telling of the respective misfortunes and sufferings of their jarring denominations in the olden times, each thinking himself quite right and his neighbor wrong. It is clear enough, however, to the looker on, that both were tolerably wrong. It is simply the old story that crops out at so many New England anniversaries. Both sides suffered a great deal, if we may believe them, for the sake of conscience. The Mercurius of Charlestown is the Rev. Dr. McKenzie, whose Sermon is followed by the Historical Sketch of Mr. James F. Hunnewell, to whom Charlestown owes so much for his painstaking and costly labors in connection with the evolution of the history of his native town. The Rev. Dr. Brooks tells the story of a century and a half of Episcopacy in Scituate; and we may safely say that if the religious bodies they represent had exhibited in the early times a little of the amiable spirit shown in these pamphlets, there would not have been much trouble in those parts, where unrighteous Episcopalians refused to pay their quota toward the salary of virtuous Congregational parsons, thereby rendering it necessary to take them off to jail. The story of these two ancient guilds is very interesting, and that of Charlestown is quite fully told, though the mine is a rich one, that may yet be worked to advantage.

HISTORICAL REGISTER: NOTES AND QUERIES, HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL, RELATING TO INTERIOR PENNSYLVANIA. Harrisburg, Pa.: LANE S. HART. 1883. 8vo, pp. 80.

This new publication appears under the editorial auspices of Dr. William H. Egle, of Harrisburg, Pa., whose labors in the field of Pennsylvania Americana are well known. It will be published quarterly, and will, as the title indicates, be devoted mainly to the interesting ground of the central and western parts of the State. Among the articles in the first number are "The Butlers of the Cumberland Valley," by the Rev. Dr. J. A. Murray, who gives many new particulars respecting this quite famous family, which furnished four officers to the Revolutionary army, including the gallant Colonels Richard and William Butler. Mr. M. S. Montgomery treats of the "First Families of Berks County;" Mr. H. S. Dotterer of "Frederick Marsteller;" Mr. J. Fatzinger of the "Irish Settlement;" Prof. A. L. Guss of "Indian History of the Susquehanna;" the Rev. H. E. Hayden of the "Pollock Family of Pennsylvania;" B. M. Nead edits a "Journal of the Whiskey Insurrection, 1794," and the closing article is about the "Hubleys of Lancaster County." The proportion of "Notes and Queries," confined in this number to four pages, will doubtless increase as the "Register" becomes better known. Such publications are to be welcomed, provided they do not overlap fields already occupied, and we know of no other which fills the gap that this one does.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ROGER MINOTT SHERMAN, THE EMINENT CONNECTICUT JURIST, 1773–1845. By WILLIAM A. BEERS. Delivered before the Fairfield County Historical Society, Bridgeport, Conn., November 28, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882. 8vo, pp. 48.

We have here an appreciative sketch of one of Connecticut's most distinguished sons. "Mr. Sherman," says the writer, "has celebrity as scholar, jurist, and statesman." He has this celebrity with the passing generation in that State, but the present jurist or statesman who would emulate him must have recourse to pamphlets like this of Mr. Beers'. It is an excellent life picture, and after reading it one feels that he knew Sherman in the flesh. The subject of the sketch was nephew of the more famous but less cultured Roger Sherman, and was born in Woburn, Mass., May 22, 1773. His father removing to Connecticut, he studied at Yale College, and in 1796 was admitted to the bar in New Haven. Later he removed to Fairfield, and there slowly but surely built up a practice and reputation which made his name known far beyond the limit of his own State. He rose to be the leader of the Connecticut bar, figured in the Legislature, and was conspicuous in politics. As a member of the "Hartford Convention" he may have lost caste in the national arena, but he always defended its proceedings. The sketch is full of personal anecdotes, quotations from letters and papers, and criticisms and views, which enable the reader to appreciate Mr. Sherman no less than the writer does.

THE DUTCH AND THE IROQUOIS. SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR FRIENDSHIP IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FOR THE POSSESSION OF THIS CONTINENT. Paper read before the Long Island Historical Society by the Rev. Charles H. Hall, D.D., February 21, 1882. 8vo, pp. 55.

In this very interesting pamphlet Dr. Hall asserts and elaborates the claim that there was a manifest providence in the fact that the Dutch, rather than the English, first occupied the Hudson and the Mohawk, whereby they came into connection with the Iroquois nation and kept them in friendly alliance against the encroachments of France. Had the English dealt first with these Indians they undoubtedly would have thrown their power upon the side of the French, and postponed, if not changed, the end. The French scheme for the conquest of New York had failed. "The perpetual barrier to its success for a hundred and fifty years, which no religious zeal nor diplomacy, nor greed, nor threats, nor actual wars could ever abate or remove, was the friendship of the Iroquois for the Dutch."

HISTORY AND CAUSES OF THE INCORRECT LATITUDES, AS RECORDED IN THE JOURNALS OF THE EARLY WRITERS, NAVIGATORS, AND EXPLORERS, RELATING TO THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, 1535–1740. By the Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, A.M., Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, etc., etc. Privately printed. Boston, 1882. 8vo, pp. 20.

This monograph gives much useful and interesting information, but, possibly, the painstaking author lays too much stress upon the inadequate character of the instruments employed, and, notably, that of the astrolabe; while too little stress is laid upon accidental causes of error. Surprisingly accurate results were obtained by the astrolabe in some cases, especially at Oxford, England; and, on the other hand, the instruments certainly could not be at fault to the extent of seven and nine degrees, as was the case with calculations made a few years before the date at which the author's essay begins, and who lays it down that the early latitudes were generally trustworthy to within a single degree. This is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. HERBERT B. ADAMS, Editor. Parts I. and II. Baltimore, 1882.

The first of these two issues of the University is "An Introduction to American Institutional History," by Edward A. Freeman; while the second, "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," is by the editor, Prof. Adams. These two issues give us a foretaste of the series to come, and which will include monographs on Historical and Political Science, made up into volumes of from three to four hundred pages, and furnished to subscribers for the sum of three dollars; though single copies of these monographs may also be had on application to the publication agency of the University. Of the worth of the specimens before us we need hardly speak, as all must recognize the value of studies conducted in a scientific manner apart from the provincial and partisan spirit. This enterprise, therefore, deserves the support of all students of American history, who will be conducted out of the beaten track and enjoy the pleasure that is to be derived from fresh and independent investigation.

Henry Burbeck
Colonel 2d Artillery

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IX APRIL, 1885 No. 4

MONTAUK AND THE COMMON LANDS OF EASTHAMPTON

IF not in the earliest, still in very early times, the system of village communities was that which prevailed among all the branches of the Aryan race. The essential characteristics of the village community, as an agricultural system, were common ownership of the soil and common cultivation. Many varieties occur, some of which seem to have been successive, or at least from their nature may easily have been. That among the Hindus, who have more exactly preserved the customs of the common Aryan ancestors, is found what seems the most primitive form of the institution. Here the community is a household consisting of persons generally of common descent, who own and cultivate their land in common and live together as one family, subsisting upon the jointly owned products. Among the multi-couraing Servians and Bosnians the family community (there may be several such communities in a village) owns and cultivates the land without partition, while the produce is commonly divided among the related families composing the community. Still another form is that found among the Russians. Here the land is owned by the village as a whole, but each family cultivates and enjoys a separate portion of it, the whole being redivided equally, and redistributed, after a certain term of years. In such a system, it is easy to conceive of the periodical partitions as gradually becoming more infrequent and finally ceasing. This would soon result in private property in land.

It is not possible to say that the transition from particular community of goods to individual ownership of land has been made by all peoples through stages such as these; but an examination of such phases [illegible] will [illegible] easier to see

[1] Acknowledgments are due to C. L. Rives, Esq., solicitor, New York, to whom legal documents in Montauk cases were sent; to Mr. F. S. Benton, of Amesbury, son of the present proprietor, and to Mr. Stratton, the lawyer, by whose kindness access was obtained to the admirably arranged deeds and other documents at Montauk; to Mr. Jas. S. Osborn, town-clerk of Easthampton; to the local gazetteer, though these contain almost nothing that is not to be found in the records; and especially to Mr. David R. Hunting, whose antiquarian knowledge of Montauk and Easthampton is equalled only by the kindness with which he assists the researches of another.