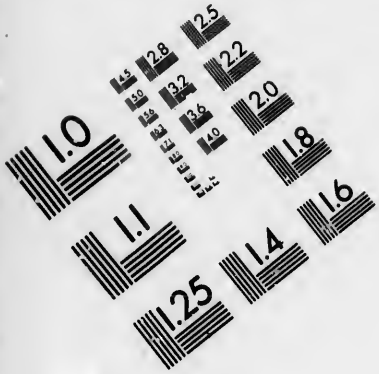

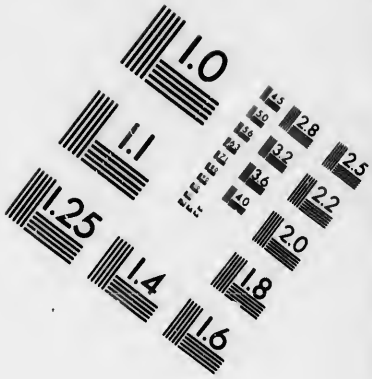

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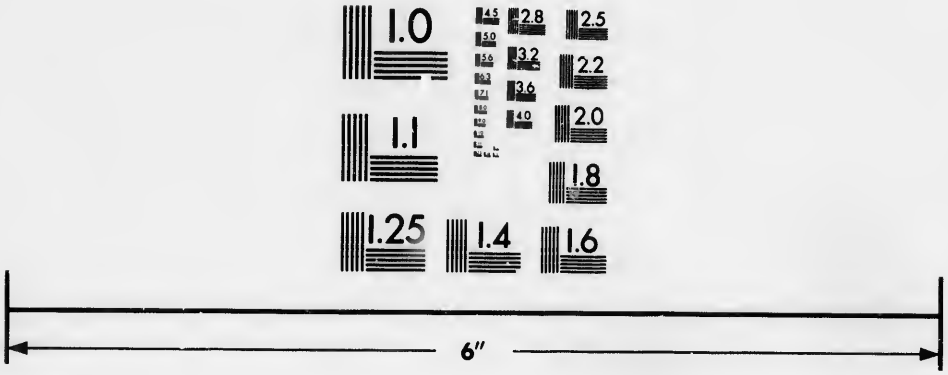

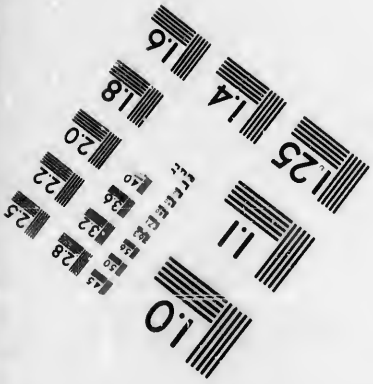

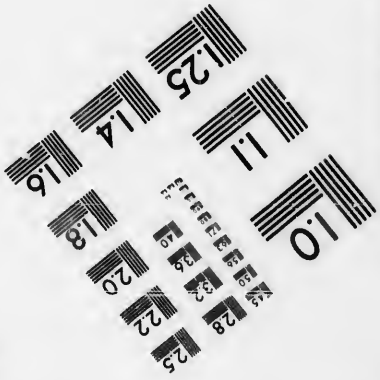

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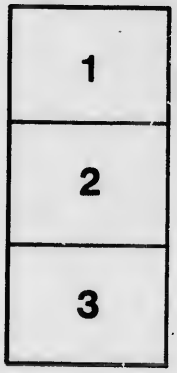

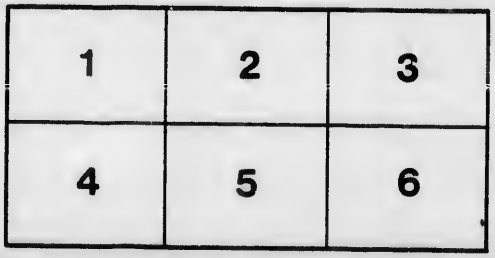

THE

JOURNALS

OF

MADAM KNIGHT,

AND

REV. MR. BUCKINGHAM.

FROM THE

Original Manuscripts,

WRITTEN IN 1704 & 1710.

NEW-YORK: WILDER & CAMPBELL.

1825.

C. S. Van Winkle, Printer
2 Thames-street, New-York.

THE PRIVATE JOURNAL

KEPT BY

MADAM KNIGHT,

ON A JOURNEY

FROM BOSTON TO NEW-YORK,

IN THE YEAR 1704.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

INTRODUCTION.

This is not a work of fiction, as the scarcity of old American manuscripts may induce some to imagine; but it is a faithful copy from a diary in the author's own hand-writing, compiled soon after her return home, as it appears, from notes recorded daily, while on the road. She was a resident of Boston, and a lady of uncommon literary attainments, as well as of great taste and strength of mind. She was called Madam Knight, out of respect to her character, according to a custom once common in New-England; but what was her family name the publishers have not been able to discover.

The object proposed in printing this little work is not only to please those who have particularly studied the progressive history of our country, but to direct the attention of others to subjects of that description, unfashionable as they still are; and also to remind the public that documents, even

as unpretending as the following, may possess a real value, if they contain facts which will be hereafter sought for to illustrate interesting periods in our history.

It is to be regretted that the brevity of the work should have allowed the author so little room for the display of the cultivated mind and the brilliant fancy which frequently betray themselves in the course of the narrative; and no one can rise from the perusal without wishing some happy chance might yet discover more full delineations of life and character from the same practised hand. Subjects so closely connected with ourselves ought to excite a degree of curiosity and interest, while we are generally so ready to open our minds and our libraries to the most minute details of foreign governments, and the modes and men of distant countries, with which we can have only a collateral connection.

In copying the following work for the press, the original orthography has been carefully preserved, in some cases, it may be, so far as to retain the errors of the pen, for fear of introducing any unwarrantable modernism. The punctuation was very hasty, and therefore has not been regarded.

Two interruptions occur in the original near the commencement, which could not be supplied; and in a few instances it has been thought proper to make short omissions, but none of them materially affect the narrative.

The reader will find frequent occasion to compare the state of things in the time of our author with that of the present period, particularly with regard to the number of the inhabitants, and the facilities and accommodations prepared for travellers. Over that tract of country where she travelled about a fortnight, on horseback, under the direction of a hired guide, with frequent risks of life and limb, and sometimes without food or shelter for many miles, we proceed at our ease, without exposure and [illegible] without fatigue, in a day and half, throug[illegible] eopled land, supplied with good stage-[illegible] public houses, or the still greater luxu[illegible]e elegant steam boats which daily traverse our waters.

THE

JOURNAL

OF

MADAM KNIGHT.

Monday, Octb'r. ye second, 1704.—About three o'clock afternoon, I begun my Journey from Boston to New-Haven; being about two Hundred Mile. My Kinsman, Capt. Robert Luist, waited on me as farr as Dedham, where I was to meet ye Western post.

I vissitted the Reverd. Mr. Belcher, ye Minister of ye town, and tarried there till evening, in hopes ye post would come along. But he not coming, I resolved to go to Billingses where he used to lodg, being 12 miles further. But being ignorant of the way, Mad^m Billings, seing no persuasions of her good spouses or hers could prevail with me to Lodg there that night, Very kindly

went wyth me to ye Tavern, where I hoped to get my guide, And desired the Hostess to inquire of her guests whether any of them would go with mee. But they being tyed by the Lipps to a pewter engine, scarcely allowed themselves time to say what clownish * * * * * *

[*Here half a page of the MS. is gone.*]

* * * Peices of eight, I told her no, I would not be accessary to such extortion.

Then John shan't go, sais shee. No, indeed, shan't hee; And held forth at that rate a long time, that I began to fear I was got among the Quaking tribe, beleeving not a Limbertong'd sister among them could out do Madm. Hostes.

Upon this, to my no small surprise, son John arrose, and gravely demanded what I would give him to go with me? Give you, sais I, are you John? Yes, says he, for want of a Better; And behold! this John look't as old as my Host, and perhaps had bin a man in the last Century. Well, Mr. John, sais I,

make your demands Why, half a pss. of eight and a dram, sais John. I agreed, and gave him a Dram (now) in hand to bind the bargain.

My hostess catechis'd John for going so cheep, saying his poor wife would break her heart * * * * *

[*Here another half page of the MS. is gone.*] His shade on his Hors resembled a Globe on a Gate post. His habitt, Hors and furniture, its looks and goings Incomparably answered the rest.

Thus Jogging on with an easy pace, my Guide telling mee it was dangero's to Ride hard in the Night, (wh^ch his horse had the sence to avoid,) Hee entertained me with the Adventurs he had passed by late Rideing, and eminent Dangers he had escaped, so that, Remembring the Hero's in Parismus and the Knight of the Oracle, I didn't know but I had mett wth a Prince disguis'd.

When we had Ridd about an how'r, wee come into a thick swamp, wch. by Reason

of a great fogg, very much startled mee, it being now very Dark. But nothing dismay'd John: Hee had encountered a thousand and a thousand such Swamps, having a Universall Knowledge in the woods; and readily Answered all my inquiries wch were not a few.

In about an how'r, or something more, after we left the Swamp, we come to Billinges, where I was to Lodg. My Guide dismounted and very Complasantly help't me down and shewd the door, signing to me wth his hand to Go in; wch I Gladly did —But had not gone many steps into the Room, ere I was Interogated by a young Lady I understood afterwards was the Eldest daughter of the family, with these, or words to this purpose, (viz.) Law for mee—what in the world brings You here at this time a night?—I never see a woman on the Rode so Dreadfull late, in all the days of my versall life. Who are You? Where are You going? I'me scar'd out of my witts—with

much now of the same Kind. I stood aghast, Prepareing to reply, when in comes my Guide—to him Madam turn'd, Roreing out: Lawfull heart, John, is it You?—how de do! Where in the world are you going with this woman? Who is she? John made no Ansr. but sat down in the corner, fumbled out his black Junk, and saluted that instead of Debb; she then turned agen to mee and fell anew into her silly questions, without asking me to sitt down.

I told her shee treated me very Rudely, and I did not think it my duty to answer her unmannerly Questions. But to get ridd of them, I told her I come there to have the post's company with me to-morrow on my Journey, &c. Miss star'd awhile, drew a chair, bid me sitt, And then run up stairs and putts on two or three Rings, (or else I had not seen them before,) and returning, sett herself just before me, showing the way to Reding, that I might see her Ornaments, perhaps to gain the more respect. But her

Granam's new Rung sow, had it appeared, would affected me as much. I paid honest John wth money and dram according to contract, and Dismist him, and pray'd Miss to shew me where I must Lodg. Shee conducted me to a parlour in a little back Lento, wch was almost fill'd wth the bedsted, wch was so high that I was forced to climb on a chair to gitt up to ye wretched bed that lay on it; on wch having Stretcht my tired Limbs, and lay'd my head on a Sad-colourd pillow, I began to think on the transactions of ye past day.

Tuesday, October ye third, about 8 in the morning, I with the Post proceeded forward without observing any thing remarkable; And about two, afternoon, Arrived at the Post's second stage, where the western Post mett him and exchanged Letters. Here, having called for something to eat, ye woman bro't in a Twisted thing like a cable, but something whiter; and laying it on the bord, tugg'd for life to bring it into a capa-

city to spread; wch having wth great pains accomplished, shee serv'd in a dish of Pork and Cabage, I suppose the remains of Dinner. The sause was of a deep Purple, wch I tho't was boil'd in her dye Kettle; the bread was Indian, and every thing on the Table service Agreeable to these. I, being hungry, gott a little down; but my stomach was soon cloy'd, and what cabbage I swallowed serv'd me for a Cudd the whole day after.

Having here discharged the Ordnary for self and Guide, (as I understood was the custom,) About Three afternoon went on with my Third Guide, who Rode very hard; and having crossed Providence Ferry, we come to a River wch they Generally Ride thro'. But I dare not venture; so the Post got a Ladd and Cannoo to carry me to tother side, and hee rid thro' and Led my hors. The Cannoo was very small and shallow, so that when we were in she seem'd redy to take in water, which greatly terrified mee,

and caused me to be very circumspect, sitting with my hands fast on each side, my eyes stedy, not daring so much as to lodg my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth then tother, nor so much as think on Lott's wife, for a wry thought would have oversett our wherey: But was soon put out of this pain, by feeling the Cannoo on shore, wch I as soon almost saluted with my feet; and Rewarding my sculler, again mounted and made the best of our way forwards. The Rode here was very even and ye day pleasant, it being now near Sunsett. But the Post told mee we had neer 14 miles to Ride to the next Stage, (where we were to Lodg.) I askt him of the rest of the Rode, foreseeing wee must travail in the night. Hee told mee there was a bad River we were to Ride thro', wch was so very fierce a hors could sometimes hardly stem it: But it was but narrow, and wee should soon be over. I cannot express The concern of mind this relation sett me in: no thoughts

but those of the dang'ros River could entertain my Imagination, and they were as formidable as varios, still Tormenting me with blackest Ideas of my Approching fate —Sometimes seing my self drowning, otherwhiles drowned, and at the best like a holy Sister Just come out of a Spiritual Bath in dripping Garments.

Now was the Glorious Luminary, wth his swift Coursers arrived at his Stage, leaving poor me wth the rest of this part of the lower world in darkness, with which *wee* were soon Surrounded. The only Glimering we now had was from the spangled Skies, Whose Imperfect Reflections rendered every Object formidable. Each lifeless Trunk, with its shatter'd Limbs, appear'd an Armed Enymie; and every little stump like a Ravenous devourer. Nor could I so much as discern my Guide, when at any distance, which added to the terror.

Thus, absolutely lost in Thought, and dying with the very thoughts of drowning, I

come up wth the post, who I did not see till even with his Hors: he told mee he stopt for mee; and wee Rode on Very deliberatly a few paces, when we entred a Thickett of Trees and Shrubbs, and I perceived by the Hors's going, we were on the descent of a Hill, w^{ch}, as wee come neerer the bottom, 'twas totaly dark wth the Trees that surrounded it. But I knew by the Going of the Hors wee had entred the water, wch my Guide told mee was the hazzardos River he had told me off; and hee, Riding up close to my Side, Bid me not fear—we should be over Imediatly. I now ralyed all the Courage I was mistriss of, Knowing that I must either Venture my fate of drowning, or be left like ye Children in the wood. So, as the Post bid me, I gave Reins to my Nagg; and sitting as Stedy as Just before in the Cannoo, in a few minutes got safe to the other side, which hee told mee was the Narragansett country.

Here We found great difficulty in Travail-

ing, the way being very narrow, and on each side the Trees and bushes gave us very unpleasent welcomes wth their Branches and bow's, wch wee could not avoid, it being so exceeding dark. My Guide, as before so now, putt on harder than I, wth my weary bones, could follow ; so left mee and the way beehind him. Now Returned my distressed aprehensions of the place where I was: the dolesome woods, my Company next to none, Going I knew not whither, and encompased wth Terrifying darkness ; The least of which was enough to startle a more Masculine courage. Added to which the Reflections, as in the afternoon of ye day that my Call was very Questionable, wch till then I had not so Prudently as I ought considered. Now, coming to ye foot of a hill, I found great difficulty in ascending; But being got to the Top, was there amply recompenced with the friendly Appearance of the Kind Conductress of the night, Just then Advancing above the Horisontall Line. The Rap-

tures wch the Sight of that fair Planett produced in mee, caus'd mee, for the Moment, to forgett my present wearyness and past toils; and Inspir'd me for most of the remaining way with very divirting tho'ts, some of which, with the other Occurances of the day, I reserved to note down when I should come to my Stage. My tho'ts on the sight of the moon were to this purpose:

Fair Cynthia, all the Homage that I may
Unto a Creature, unto thee I pay;
In Lonesome woods to meet so kind a guide,
To Mee 's more worth than all the world beside.
Some Joy I felt just now, when safe got or'e
Yon Surly River to this Rugged shore,
Deeming Rough welcomes from these clownish Trees,
Better than Lodgings wth Nereidees.
Yet swelling fears surprise; all darkapp ears—
Nothing but Light can disipate those fears.
My fainting vitals can't lend strength to say,
But softly whisper, O I wish 'twere day.
The murmer hardly warm'd the Ambient air,
E're thy Bright Aspect rescues from dispair:
Makes the old Hagg her sable mantle loose,
And a Bright Joy do's through my Soul diffuse.
The Boistero's Trees now Lend a Passage Free,
And pleasent prospects thou giv'st light to see.

From hence wee kept on, with more ease y^{n} before: the way being smooth and even, the night warm and serene, and the Tall and thick Trees at a distance, especially w^{n} the moon glar'd light through the branches, fill'd my Imagination wth the pleasent delusion of a Sumpteous city, fill'd wth famous Buildings and churches, wth their spiring steeples, Balconies, Galleries and I know not what: Granduers wch I had heard of, and wch the stories of foreign countries had given me the Idea of.

Here stood a Lofty church—there is a steeple,
And there the Grand Parade—O see the people!
That Famouse Castle there, we're I but nigh,
To see the mote and Bridg and walls so high—
They'r very fine! sais my deluded eye.

Being thus agreably entertain'd without a thou't of any thing but thoughts themselves, I on a suden was Rous'd from these pleasing Imaginations, by the Post's sounding his horn, which assured mee hee was arrived at the Stage, where we were to Lodg: and that

musick was then most musickall and agreeable to mee.

Being come to mr. Havens', I was very civilly Received, and courteously entertained, in a clean comfortable House; and the Good woman was very active in helping off my Riding clothes, and then ask't what I would eat. I told her I had some Chocolett, if shee would prepare it; which with the help of some Milk, and a little clean brass Kettle, she soon effected to my satisfaction. I then betook me to my Apartment, wch was a little Room parted from the Kitchen by a single bord partition; where, after I had noted the Occurrances of the past day, I went to bed, which, tho' pretty hard, Yet neet and handsome. But I could get no sleep, because of the Clamor of some the of Town tope-ers in next Room, Who were entred into a strong debate concerning ye Signifycation of the name of their Country, (viz.) *Narraganset.* One said it was named so by ye Indians, because there grew a Brier

there, of a prodigious Highth and bigness, the like hardly ever known, called by the Indians Narragansett; And quotes an Indian of so Barberous a name for his Author, that I could not write it. His Antagonist Replyed no—It was from a Spring it had its name, wch hee well knew where it was, which was extreem cold in summer, and as Hott as could be imagined in the winter, which was much resorted too by the natives, and by them called Narragansett, (Hott and Cold,) and that was the originall of their places name—with a thousand Impertinances not worth notice, wch He utter'd with such a Roreing voice and Thundering blows with the fist of wickedness on the Table, that it peirced my very head. I heartily fretted, and wish't 'um tongue tyed; but wth as little succes as a freind of mine once, who was (as shee said) kept a whole night awake, on a Jorny, by a country Left. and a Sergent, Insigne and a Deacon, contriving how to bring a triangle into a Square. They

kept calling for tother Gill, wch while they were swallowing, was some Intermission; But presently, like Oyle to fire, encreased the flame. I set my Candle on a Chest by the bed side, and setting up, fell to my old way of composing my Resentments, in the following manner:

I ask thy Aid, O Potent Rum!
To Charm these wrangling Topers Dum.
Thou hast their Giddy Brains possest—
The man confounded wth the Beast—
And I, poor I, can get no rest.
Intoxicate them with thy fumes:
O still their Tongues till morning comes!

And I know not but my wishes took effect; for the dispute soon ended wth 'tother Dram; and so Good night!

Wedensday, Octobr 4th. About four in the morning, we set out for Kingston (for so was the Town called) with a french Docter in our company. Hee and ye Post put on very furiously, so that I could not keep up with them, only as now and then they'd stop till they see mee. This Rode was poorly

furnished wth accommodations for Travellers, so that we were forced to ride 22 miles by the post's account, but neerer thirty by mine, before wee could bait so much as our Horses, wch I exceedingly complained of. But the post encourag'd mee, by saying wee should be well accommodated anon at mr. Devills, a few miles further. But I questioned whether we ought to go to the Devil to be helpt out of affliction. However, like the rest of Deluded souls that post to ye Infernal denn, Wee made all posible speed to this Devil's Habitation; where alliting, in full assurance of good accommodation, wee were going in. But meeting his two daughters, as I suposed twins, they so neerly resembled each other, both in features and habit, and look't as old as the Divel himselfe, and quite as Ugly, We desired entertainm't, but could hardly get a word out of 'um, till with our Importunity, telling them our necesity, &c. they call'd the old Sophister, who was as sparing of his words as his daughters had bin, and

no, or none, was the reply's hee made us to our demands. Hee differed only in this from the old fellow in to'ther Country: hee let us depart. However, I thought it proper to warn poor Travailers to endeavour to Avoid falling into circumstances like ours, wch at our next Stage I sat down and did as followeth:

May all that dread the cruel feind of night
Keep on, and not at this curs't Mansion light.
'Tis Hell; 'tis Hell! and Devills here do dwell:
Here dwells the Devill—surely this's Hell.
Nothing but Wants: a drop to cool yo'r Tongue
Cant be procur'd these cruel Feinds among.
Plenty of horrid Grins and looks sevear,
Hunger and thirst, But pitty's bannish'd here—
The Right hand keep, if Hell on Earth you fear!

Thus leaving this habitation of cruelty, we went forward; and arriving at an Ordinary about two mile further, found tollerable accommodation. But our Hostes, being a pretty full mouth'd old creature, entertain'd our fellow travailer, ye french Docter, wth Inumirable complaints of her bodily infir-

mities; and whisperd to him so lou'd, that all ye House had as full a hearing as hee: which was very divirting to ye company, (of which there was a great many,) as one might see by their sneering. But poor weary I slipt out to enter my mind in my Jornal, and left my Great Landly with her Talkative Guests to themselves.

From hence we proceeded (about ten forenoon) through the Narragansett country, pretty Leisurely; and about one afternoon come to Paukataug River, wch was about two hundred paces over, and now very high, and no way over to to'ther side but this. I darid not venture to Ride thro, my courage at best in such cases but small, And now at the Lowest Ebb, by reason of my weary, very weary, hungry and uneasy Circumstances. So takeing leave of my company, tho' wth no little Reluctance, that I could not proceed wth them on my Jorny, Stop at a little cottage Just by the River, to wait the Waters falling, wch the old man that

lived there said would be in a little time, and he would conduct me safe over. This little Hutt was one of the wretchedest I ever saw a habitation for human creatures. It was suported with shores enclosed with Clapbords, laid on Lengthways, and so much asunder, that the Light come throu' every where; the doore tyed on wth a cord in ye place of hinges; The floor the bear earth; no windows but such as the thin covering afforded, nor any furniture but a Bedd wth a glass Bottle hanging at ye head on't; an earthan cupp, a small pewter Bason, A Bord wth sticks to stand on, instead of a table, and a block or two in ye corner instead of chairs. The family were the old man, his wife and two Children; all and every part being the picture of poverty. Notwithstanding both the Hutt and its Inhabitance were very clean and tydee: to the crossing the Old Proverb, that bare walls make giddy hows-wifes.

I Blest myselfe that I was not one of this

misserable crew; and the Impressions their wretchedness formed in me caused mee on ye very Spott to say:

Tho' Ill at ease, A stranger and alone,
All my fatigu's shall not extort a grone.
These Indigents have hunger wth their ease;
Their best is wors behalfe then my disease.
Their Misirable hutt wch Heat and Cold
Alternately without Repulse do hold;
Their Lodgings thyn and hard, their Indian fare,
The mean Apparel which the wretches wear,
And their ter. thousand ills wch can't be told,
Makes nature er'e 'tis midle age'd look old.
When I reflect, my late fatigues do seem
Only a notion or forgotten Dreem.

I had scarce done thinking, when an Indian-like Animal come to the door, on a creature very much like himselfe, in mien and feature, as well as Ragged cloathing; and having 'litt, makes an Awkerd Scratch wth his Indian shoo, and a Nodd, sitts on ye block, fumbles out his black Junk, dipps it in ye Ashes, and presents it piping hott to his muscheeto's, and fell to sucking like a calf,

without speaking, for near a quarter of an hower. At length the old man said how do's Sarah do? who I understood was the wretches wife, and Daughter to ye old man: he Replyed—as well as can be expected, &c. So I remembred the old say, and suposed I knew Sarah's case. Butt hee being, as I understood, going over the River, as ugly as hee was, I was glad to ask him to show me ye way to Saxtons, at Stoningtown; wch he promising, I ventur'd over wth the old mans assistance; who having rewarded to content, with my Tattertailed guide, I Ridd on very slowly thro' Stoningtown, where the Rode was very Stony and uneven. I asked the fellow, as we went, divers questions of the place and way, &c. I being arrived at my country Saxtons, at Stonington, was very well accommodated both as to victuals and Lodging, the only Good of both I had found since my setting out. Here I heard there was an old man and his Daughter to come that way, bound to N. London;

and being now destitute of a Guide, gladly waited for them, being in so good a harbour, and accordingly, Thirsday, Octob^r ye 5th, about 3 in the afternoon, I sat forward with neighbour Polly and Jemima, a Girl about 18 Years old, who hee said he had been to fetch out of the Narragansetts, and said they had Rode thirty miles that day, on a sory lean Jade, wth only a Bagg under her for a pillion, which the poor Girl often complain'd was very uneasy.

Wee made Good speed along, wch made poor Jemima make many a sow'r face, the mare being a very hard trotter; and after many a hearty and bitter Oh, she at length Low'd out: Lawful Heart father! this bare mare hurts mee Dingeely, I'me direfull sore I vow; with many words to that purpose: poor Child sais Gaffer—she us't to serve your mother so. I don't care how mother us't to do, quoth Jemima, in a pasionate tone. At which the old man Laught, and kik't his Jade o' the side, which made her Jolt ten times harder.

About seven that Evening, we come to New London Ferry: here, by reason of a very high wind, we mett with great difficulty in getting over—the Boat tos't exceedingly, and our Horses capper'd at a very surprizing Rate, and set us all in a fright; especially poor Jemima, who desired her father to say so jack to the Jade, to make her stand. But the careless parent, taking no notice of her repeated desires, She Rored out in a Passionate manner: Pray suth father, Are you deaf? Say so Jack to the Jade, I tell you. The Dutiful Parent obey's; saying so Jack, so Jack, as gravely as if hee'd bin to saying Catechise after Young Miss, who with her fright look't of all coullers in ye Rain Bow.

Being safely arrived at the house of Mrs. Prentices in N. London, I treated neighbour Poliy and daughter for their divirting company, and bid them farewell; and between nine and ten at night waited on the Rev^d Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, minister of the

town, who kindly Invited me to Stay that night at his house, where I was very handsomely and plentifully treated and Lodg'd; and made good the Great Character I had before heard concerning him: viz. that hee was the most affable, courteous, Genero's and best of men.

Friday, Octo^r 6th. I got up very early, in Order to hire somebody to go with mee to New Haven, being in Great parplexity at the thoughts of proceeding alone; which my most hospitable entertainer observing, himselfe went, and soon return'd wth a young Gentleman of the town, who he could confide in to Go with mee; and about eight this morning, wth Mr. Joshua Wheeler my new Guide, takeing leave of this worthy Gentleman, Wee advanced on towards Seabrook. The Rodes all along this way are very bad, Incumbred wth Rocks and mountainos passages, wch were very disagreeable to my tired carcass; but we went on with a moderate pace wch made ye Journy more

pleasent. But after about eight miles Rideing, in going over a Bridge under wch the River Run very swift, my hors stumbled, and very narrowly 'scaped falling over into the water; wch extreemly frightened mee. But through God's Goodness I met with no harm, and mounting agen, in about half a miles Rideing, come to an ordinary, were well entertained by a woman of about seventy and vantage, but of as Sound Intellectuals as one of seventeen. Shee entertain'd Mr. Wheeler wth some passages of a Wedding awhile ago at a place hard by, the Brides-Groom being about her Age or something above, Saying his Children was dredfully against their fathers marrying, wch shee condemned them extreemly for.

From hence wee went pretty briskly forward, and arriv'd at Saybrook ferry about two of the Clock afternoon; and crossing it, wee call'd at an Inn to Bait, (foreseeing we should not have such another Opportunity till we come to Killingsworth.) Landlady

come in, with her hair about her ears, and hands at full pay scratching. Shee told us shee had some mutton wch shee would broil, wch I was glad to hear ; But I supose forgot to wash her scratchers ; in a little time shee brot it in ; but it being pickled, and my Guide said it smelt strong of head sause, we left it, and pd sixpence a piece for our Dinners, wch was only smell.

So wee putt forward with all speed, and about seven at night come to Killingsworth, and were tollerably well with Travillers fare, and Lodgd there that night.

Saturday, Oct. 7th, we sett out early in the Morning, and being something unaquainted wth the way, having ask't it of some wee mett, they told us wee must Ride a mile or two and turne down a Lane on the Right hand; and by their Direction wee Rode on. but not Yet comeing to ye turning, we mett a Young fellow and ask't him how farr it was to the Lane which turn'd down towards Guilford. Hee said wee must Ride

a little further, and turn down by the Corner of uncle Sams Lott. My Guide vented his Spleen at the Lubber; and we soon after came into the Rhode, and keeping still on, without any thing further Remarkabell, about two a clock afternoon we arrived at New Haven, where I was received with all Posible Respects and civility. Here I discharged Mr. Wheeler with a reward to his satisfaction, and took some time to rest after so long and toilsome a Journey; And Inform'd myselfe of the manners and customs of the place, and at the same time employed myselfe in the afair I went there upon.

They are Govern'd by the same Laws as wee in Boston, (or little differing,) thr'out this whole Colony of Connecticot, And much the same way of Church Government, and many of them good, Sociable people, and I hope Religious too: but a little too much Independant in their principalls, and, as I have been told, were formerly in their Zeal very Riggid in their Administrations

towards such as their Lawes made Offenders, even to a harmless Kiss or Innocent merriment among Young people. Whipping being a frequent and counted an easy Punishment, about wch as other Crimes, the Judges were absolute in their Sentances. They told mee a pleasant story about a pair of Justices in those parts, wch I may not omit the relation of.

A negro Slave belonging to a man in ye Town, stole a hogs head from his master, and gave or sold it to an Indian, native of the place. The Indian sold it in the neighbourhood, and so the theft was found out. Thereupon the Heathen was Seized, and carried to the Justices House to be Examined. But his worship (it seems) was gone into the feild, with a Brother in office, to gather in his Pompions. Whither the malefactor is hurried, And Complaint made, and satisfaction in the name of Justice demanded. Their Worships cann't proceed in form without a Bench: whereupon they Order

one to be Imediately erected, which, for want of fitter materials, they made with pompions—which being finished, down setts their Worships, and the Malefactor call'd, and by the Senior Justice Interrogated after the following manner. You Indian why did You steal from this man? You sho'dn't do so—it's a Grandy wicked thing to steal. Hol't Hol't, cryes Justice Junr. Brother, You speak negro to him. I'le ask him. You sirrah, why did You steal this man's Hoggshead? Hoggshead? (replys the Indian,) me no stomany. No? says his Worship; and pulling off his hatt, Patted his own head with his hand, sais, Tatapa—You, Tatapa—you; all one this. Hoggshead all one this. Hah! says Netop, now me stomany that. Whereupon the Company fell into a great fitt of Laughter, even to Roreing. Silence is comanded, but to no effect: for they continued perfectly Shouting. Nay, sais his worship, in an angry tone, if it be so, *take mee off the Bench.*

Their Diversions in this part of the Coun-

try are on Lecture days and Training days mostly: on the former there is Riding from town to town.

And on training dayes The Youth divert themselves by Shooting at the Target, as they call it, (but it very much resembles a pillory,) where hee that hitts neerest the white has some yards of Red Ribbin presented him, wch being tied to his hattband, the two ends streeming down his back, he is Led away in Triumph, wth great applause, as the winners of the Olympiack Games. They generally marry very young: the males oftener as I am told under twentie than above; they generally make public wedings, and have a way something singular (as they say) in some of them, viz. Just before Joyning hands the Bridegroom quitts the place, who is soon followed by the Bridesmen, and as it were, dragg'd back to duty—being the reverse to ye former practice among us, to steal ms Pride.

There are great plenty of Oysters all

along by the sea side, as farr as I Rode in the Collony, and those very good. And they Generally lived very well and comfortably in their famelies. But too Indulgent (especially ye farmers) to their slaves: sufering too great familiarity from them, permitting y^m to sit at Table and eat with them, (as they say to save time,) and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer lived nere the Town where I lodgd who had some difference wth his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctualy perform; wch caused some hard words between them; But at length they put the matter to Arbitration and Bound themselves to stand to the award of such as they named—wch done, the Arbitrators Having heard the Allegations of both parties, Order the master to pay 40^s to black face, and acknowledge his fault. And so the matter ended: the poor master very honestly standing to the award.

There are every where in the Towns as I passed, a Number of Indians the Natives of the Country, and are the most salvage of all the salvages of that kind that I had ever Seen: little or no care taken (as I heard upon enquiry) to make them otherwise. They have in some places Landes of their owne, and Govern'd by Law's of their own making;—they marry many wives and at pleasure put them away, and on the ye least dislike or fickle humour, on either side, saying *stand away* to one another is a sufficient Divorce. And indeed those uncomely *Stand aways* are too much in Vougue among the English in this (Indulgent Colony) as their Records plentifully prove, and that on very trivial matters, of which some have been told me, but are not proper to be Related by a Female pen, tho some of that foolish sex have had too large a share in the story.

If the natives committ any crime on their own precincts among themselves, ye English takes no Cognezens of. But if on the Eng-

lish ground, they are punishable by our Laws. They mourn for their Dead by blacking their faces, and cutting their hair, after an Awkerd and frightfull manner; But can't bear You should mention the names of their dead Relations to them: they trade most for Rum, for wch theyd hazzard their very lives; and the English fit them Generally as well, by seasoning it plentifully with water.

They give the title of merchant to every trader; who Rate their Goods according to the time and spetia they pay in: viz. Pay, mony, Pay as mony, and trusting. *Pay* is Grain, Pork, Beef, &c. at the prices sett by the General Court that Year; *mony* is pieces of Eight, Ryalls, or Boston or Bay shillings (as they call them,) or Good hard money, as sometimes silver coin is termed by them; also Wampom, vizt. Indian beads wch serves for change. *Pay as mony* is provisions, as aforesd one Third cheaper then as the As-

sembly or Gene^l Court sets it; and *Trust* as they and the merch^t agree for time.

Now, when the buyer comes to ask for a comodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he sais, *is Your pay redy?* Perhaps the Chap Reply's Yes: what do You pay in? say's the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set; as suppose he wants a sixpenny knife, in pay it is 12d—in pay as money eight pence, and hard money its own price, viz. 6d. It seems a very Intricate way of trade and what Lex Mercatoria had not thought of.

Being at a merchants house, in comes a tall country fellow, wth his alfogeos full of Tobacco; for they seldom Loose their Cudd, but keep Chewing and Spitting as long as they'r eyes are open,—he advanc't to the midle of the Room, makes an Awkward Nodd, and spitting a Large deal of Aromatick Tincture, he gave a scrape with his shovel like shoo, leaving a small shovel full of dirt on the floor, made a full stop, Hugging

his own pretty Body with his hands under his arms, Stood staring rown'd him, like a Catt let out of a Baskett. At last, like the creature Balaam Rode on, he opened his mouth and said: have You any Ribinen for Hatbands to sell I pray? The Questions and Answers about the pay being past, the Ribin is bro't and opened. Bumpkin Simpers, cryes its confounded Gay I vow; and beckning to the door, in comes Jone Tawdry, dropping about 50 curtsees, and stands by him: hee shows her the Ribin. *Law, You*, sais shee, *its right Gent*, do You, take it, *tis dreadfull pretty*. Then she enquires, *have You any hood silk I pray?* wch being brought and bought, Have You any *thred silk to sew it wth* says shee, wch being accomodated wth they Departed. They Generaly stand after they come in a great while speachless, and sometimes dont say a word till they are askt what they want, which I Impute to the Awe they stand in of the merchants, who they are constantly almost

Indebted too; and must take what they bring without Liberty to choose for themselves; but they serve them as well, making the merchants stay long enough for their pay.

We may Observe here the great necessity and bennifitt both of Education and Conversation; for these people have as Large a portion of mother witt, and sometimes a Larger, than those who have bin brought up in Cities; But for want of emprovements, Render themselves almost Ridiculos, as above. I should be glad if they would leave such follies, and am sure all that Love Clean Houses (at least) would be glad on't too.

They are generaly very plain in their dress, throuout all ye Colony, as I saw, and follow one another in their modes; that You may know where they belong, especially the women, meet them where you will.

Their Cheif Red Letter day is St. Election, wch is annualy Observed according to Charter, to choose their Goven^r: a blessing they can never be thankfull enough for, as

they will find, if ever it be their hard fortune to loose it. The present Govenor in Conecticott is the Honble John Winthrop Esq. A Gentleman of an Ancient and Honourable Family, whose Father was Govenor here sometime before, and his Grand father had bin Govr of the Massachusetts. This gentleman is a very curteous and afable person, much Given to Hospitality, and has by his Good services Gain'd the affections of the people as much as any who had bin before him in that post.

Decr 6th. Being by this time well Recruited and rested after my Journy, my business lying unfinished by some concerns at New York depending thereupon, my Kinsman, Mr. Thomas Trowbridge of New Haven, must needs take a Journy there before it could be accomplished, I resolved to go there in company wth him, and a man of the town wch I engaged to wait on me there. Accordingly, Dec. 6th we set out from New Haven, and about 11 same morning came

to Stratford ferry; wch crossing, about two miles on the other side Baited our horses and would have eat a morsell ourselves, But the Pumpkin and Indian mixt Bred had such an Aspect, and the Bare-legg'd Punch so awkerd or rather Awfull a sound, that we left both, and proceeded forward, and about seven at night come to Fairfield, where we met with good entertainment and Lodg'd; and early next morning set forward to Norowalk, from its halfe Indian name *North-walk*, when about 12 at noon we arrived, and Had a Dinner of Fryed Venison, very savoury. Landlady wanting some pepper in the seasoning, bid the Girl hand her the spice in the little *Gay* cupp on ye shelfe. From hence we Hasted towards Rye, walking and Leading our Horses neer a mile together, up a prodigios high Hill; and so Riding till about nine at night, and there arrived and took up our Lodgings at an ordinary, wch a French family kept. Here being very hungry, I desired a fricasee, wch the Frenchman under-

takeing, mannaged so contrary to my notion of Cookery, that I hastned to Bed superless; And being shewd the way up a pair of stairs wch had such a narrow passage that I had almost stopt by the Bulk of my Body; But arriving at my apartment found it to be a little Lento Chamber furnisht amongst other Rubbish with a High Bedd and a Low one, a Long Table, a Bench and a Bottomless chair, —Little Miss went to scratch up my Kennell wch Russelled as if shee'd bin in the Barn amongst the Husks, and supose such was the contents of the tickin—nevertheless being exceeding weary, down I laid my poor Carkes (never more tired) and found my Covering as scanty as my Bed was hard. Annon I heard another Russelling noise in Ye Room —called to know the matter—Little miss said shee was making a bed for the men; who, when they were in Bed, complained their leggs lay out of it by reason of its shortness—my poor bones complained bitterly not being used to such Lodgings, and so did

the man who was with us; and poor I made but one Grone, which was from the time I went to bed to the time I Riss, which was about three in the morning, Setting up by the Fire till Light, and having discharged our ordinary wch was as dear as if we had had far Better fare—wee took our leave of Monsier and about seven in the morn come to New Rochell a french town, where we had a good Breakfast. And in the strength of that about an how'r before sunsett got to York. Here I applyd myself to Mr. Burroughs, a merchant to whom I was recommended by my Kinsman Capt. Prout, and received great Civilities from him and his spouse, who were now both Deaf but very agreeable in their Conversation, Diverting me with pleasant stories of their knowledge in Brittan from whence they both come, one of which was above the rest very pleasant to me viz. my Lord Darcy had a very extravagant Brother who had mortgaged what Estate hee could not sell, and in good time

dyed leaving only one son. Him his Lordship (having none of his own) took and made him Heir of his whole Estate, which he was to receive at the death of his Aunt. He and his Aunt in her widowhood held a right understanding and lived as become such Relations, shee being a discreat Gentlewoman and he an Ingenios Young man. One day Hee fell into some Company though far his inferiors, very freely told him of the Ill circumstances his fathers Estate lay under, and the many Debts he left unpaid to the wrong of poor people with whom he had dealt. The Young gentleman was put out of countenance—no way hee could think of to Redress himself—his whole dependance being on the Lady his Aunt, and how to speak to her he knew not—Hee went home, sat down to dinner and as usual sometimes with her when the Chaplain was absent, she desired him to say Grace, wch he did after this manner:

Pray God in Mercy take my Lady Darcy
Unto his Heavenly Throne,
That Little John may live like a man,
And pay every man his own.

The prudent Lady took no present notice, But finishd dinner, after wch having sat and talk't awhile (as Customary) He Riss, took his Hatt and Going out she desired him to give her leave to speak to him in her Clossett, Where being come she desired to know why hee prayed for her Death in the manner aforesaid, and what part of her deportment towards him merritted such desires. Hee Reply'd, none at all, But he was under such disadvantages that nothing but that could do him service, and told her how he had been affronted as above, and what Impressions it had made upon him. The Lady made him a gentle reprimand that he had not informed her after another manner, Bid him see what his father owed and he should have money to pay it to a penny, And always to lett her know his wants and he should have a redy

supply. The Young Gentleman charm'd with his Aunts Discrete management, Beggd her pardon and accepted her kind offer and retrieved his fathers Estate, &c. and said Hee hoped his Aunt would never dye, for shee had done better by him than hee could have done for himself.—Mr. Burroughs went with me to Vendue where I bought about 100 Rheem of paper wch was retaken in a fly-boat from Holland and sold very Reasonably here—some ten, some Eight shillings per Rheem by the Lott wch was ten Rheem in a Lott. And at the Vendue I made a great many acquaintances amongst the good women of the town, who curteosly invited me to their houses and generously entertained me.

The Cittie of New York is a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a Commodius River wch is a fine harbour for shipping. The Buildings Brick Generaly, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Coullers and laid in

Checkers, being glazed look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plasterd, and the Sumers and Gist are plained and kept very white scowr'd as so is all the partitions if made of Bords. The fire places have no Jambs (as ours have) But the Backs run flush with the walls, and the Hearth is of Tyles and is as farr out into the Room at the Ends as before the fire, wch is Generally Five foot in the Low'r rooms, and the peice over where the mantle tree should be is made as ours with Joyners work, and as I supose is fasten'd to iron rodds inside. The House where the Vendue was, had Chimney Corners like ours, and they and the hearths were laid wth the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean, and so are the walls of the Kitchen wch had a Brick floor. They were making Great preparations to Receive their Govenor, Lord Cornbury from

the Jerseys, and for that End raised the militia to Gard him on shore to the fort.

They are Generaly of the Church of England and have a New England Gentleman for their minister, and a very fine church set out with all Customary requsites. There are also a Dutch and Divers Conventicles as they call them, viz. Baptist, Quakers, &c. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had bin, But seem to deal with great exactness as farr as I see or Deall with. They are sociable to one another and Curteos and Civill to strangers and fare well in their houses. The English go very fasheonable in their dress. Dut the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in their habitt go loose, were French muches wch are like a Capp and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are sett out wth Jewells of a large size and many in number. And their fingers hoop't with Rings, some with large stones in them of many Coullers

as were their pendants in their ears, which You should see very old women wear as well as Young.

They have Vendues very frequently and make their Earnings very well by them, for they treat with good Liquor Liberally, and the Customers Drink as Liberally and Generally pay for't as well, by paying for that which they Bidd up Briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, tho' sometimes good penny worths are got there. Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleys about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends Houses who handsomely treat them. Mr. Burroughs cary'd his spouse and Daughter and myself out to one Madame Dowes, a Gentlewoman that lived at a farm House, who gave us a handsome Entertainment of five or six Dishes and choice Beer and metheglin, Cyder, &c. all which she said was the produce of her farm. I be-

lieve we mett 50 or 60 slays that day—they fly with great swiftness and some are so furious that they'le turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, they'r Tables being as free to their Naybours as to themselves.

Having here transacted the affair I went upon and some other that fell in the way, after about a fortnight's stay there I left New-York with no Little regrett, and Thursday, Dec. 21, set out for New Haven wth my Kinsman Trowbridge, and the man that waited on me about one afternoon, and about three come to half-way house about ten miles out of town, where we Baited and went forward, and about 5 come to Spiting Devil, Else Kings bridge, where they pay three pence for passing over with a horse, which the man that keeps the Gate set up at the end of the Bridge receives.

We hoped to reach the french town and Lodg there that night, but unhapily lost our way about four miles short, and being overtaken by a great storm of wind and snow which set full in our faces about dark, we were very uneasy. But meeting one Gardner who lived in a Cottage thereabout, offered us his fire to set by, having but one poor Bedd, and his wife not well, &c. or he would go to a House with us, where he thought we might be better accommodated —thither we went, But a surly old shee Creature, not worthy the name of woman, who would hardly let us go into her Door, though the weather was so stormy none but shee would have turnd out a Dogg. But her son whose name was gallop, who lived Just by Invited us to his house and shewed me two pair of stairs, viz. one up the loft and tother up the Bedd, wch was as hard as it was high, and warmed it with a hott stone at the feet. I lay very uncomfortably, insomuch that I was so very cold and sick I was

forced to call them up to give me something to warm me. They had nothing but milk in the house, wch they Boild, and to make it better sweetened wth molasses, which I not knowing or thinking oft till it was down and coming up agen wch it did in so plentifull a manner that my host was soon paid double for his portion, and that in specia. But I believe it did me service in Cleering my stomach. So after this sick and weary night at East Chester, (a very miserable poor place,) the weather being now fair, Friday the 22d Dec. we set out for New Rochell, where being come we had good Entertainment and Recruited ourselves very well. This is a very pretty place well compact, and good handsome houses, Clean, good and passable Rodes, and situated on a Navigable River, abundance of land well fined and Cleerd all along as wee passed, which caused in me a Love to the place, wch I could have been content to live in it. Here wee Ridd over a Bridge made of one

entire stone of such a Breadth that a cart might pass with safety, and to spare—it lay over a passage cutt through a Rock to convey water to a mill not farr off. Here are three fine Taverns within call of each other, very good provision for Travailers.

Thence we travailed through Merrinak, a neet, though little place, wth a navigable River before it, one of the pleasantest I ever see—Here were good Buildings, Especialy one, a very fine seat, wch they told me was Col. Hethcoats, who I had heard was a very fine Gentleman. From hence we come to Hors Neck, where wee Baited, and they told me that one Church of England parson officiated in all these three towns once every Sunday in turns throughout the Year; and that they all could but poorly maintaine him, which they grudg'd to do, being a poor and quarelsome crew as I understand by our Host; their Quarelling about their choice of Minister, they chose to have none—But caused the Government to send this Gentle-

man to them. Here wee took leave of York Government, and Descending the Mountainos passage that almost broke my heart in ascending before, we come to Stamford, a well compact Town, but miserable meeting house, wch we passed, and thro' many and great difficulties, as Bridges which were exceeding high and very tottering and of vast Length, steep and Rocky Hills and precipices, (Buggbears to a fearful female travailer.) About nine at night we come to Norrwalk, having crept over a timber of a Broken Bridge about thirty foot long, and perhaps fifty to ye water. I was exceeding tired and cold when we come to our Inn, and could get nothing there but poor entertainment, and the Impertinant Bable of one of the worst of men, among many others of which our Host made one, who, had he bin one degree Impudenter, would have outdone his Grandfather. And this I think is the most perplexed night I have yet had. From hence, Saturday, Dec. 23, a very cold

and windy day, after an Intolerable night's Lodging, wee hasted forward only observing in our way the Town to be situated on a Navigable river wth indiferent Buildings and people more refind than in some of the Country towns wee had passed, tho' vicious enough, the Church and Tavern being next neighbours. Having Ridd thro' a difficult River wee come to Fairfield where wee Baited and were much refreshed as well with the Good things wch gratified our appetites as the time took to rest our wearied Limbs, wch Latter I employed in enquiring concerning the Town and manners of the people, &c. This is a considerable town, and filld as they say with wealthy people—have a spacious meeting house and good Buildings. But the Inhabitants are Litigious, nor do they well agree with their minister, who (they say) is a very worthy Gentleman.

They have aboundance of sheep, whose very Dung brings them great gain, with part of which they pay their Parsons sallery, And they Grudg that, prefering their Dung before their minister. They Lett out their sheep at so much as they agree upon for a night; the highest Bidder always caries them, And they will sufficiently Dung a Large quantity of Land before morning. But were once Bitt by a sharper who had them a night and sheared them all before morning—From hence we went to Stratford, the next Town, in which I observed but few houses, and those not very good ones. But the people that I conversed with were civill and good natured. Here we staid till late at night, being to cross a Dangerous River ferry, the River at that time full of Ice; but after about four hours waiting with great difficulty wee got over. My fears and fatigues prevented my here taking any parti-

cular observation. Being got to Milford, it being late in the night, I could go no further; my fellow travailer going forward, I was invited to Lodg at Mrs. ——, a very kind and civill Gentlewoman, by whom I was handsomely and kindly entertained till the next night. The people here go very plain in their apparel (more plain than I had observed in the towns I had passed) and seem to be very grave and serious. They told me there was a singing Quaker lived there, or at least had a strong inclination to be so, His Spouse not at all affected that way. Some of the singing Crew come there one day to visit him, who being then abroad, they sat down (to the woman's no small vexation) Humming and singing and groneing after their conjuring way—Says the woman are you singing quakers? Yea says They—Then take my squalling Brat of a child here and sing to it says she for I have al-

most split my throat wth singing to him and cant get the Rogue to sleep. They took this as a great Indignity, and mediately departed. Shaking the dust from their Heels left the good woman and her Child among the number of the wicked.

This is a Seaport place and accomodated with a Good Harbour, But I had not opportunity to make particular observations because it was Sabbath day—This Evening.

December 24. I set out with the Gentlewomans son who she very civilly offered to go with me when she see no parswasions would cause me to stay which she pressingly desired, and crossing a ferry having but nine miles to New Haven, in a short time arrived there and was Kindly received and well accommodated amongst my Friends and Relations.

The Government of Connecticut Collony begins westward towards York at Stanford

(as I am told) and so runs Eastward towards Boston (I mean in my range, because I dont intend to extend my description beyond my own travails) and ends that way at Stonington—And has a great many Large towns lying more northerly. It is a plentiful Country for provisions of all sorts and its Generally Healthy. No one that can and will be dilligent in this place need fear poverty nor the want of food and Rayment.

January 6th. Being now well Recruited and fitt for business I discoursed the persons I was concerned with, that we might finnish in order to my return to Boston. They delayd as they had hitherto done hoping to tire my Patience. But I was resolute to stay and see an End of the matter let it be never so much to my disadvantage—So January 9th they come again and promise the Wednesday following to go through with the distribution of the Estate which they delayed till Thursday

and then come with new amusements. But at length by the mediation of that holy good Gentleman, the Rev. Mr. James Pierpont, the minister of New Haven, and with the advice and assistance of other our Good friends we come to an accommodation and distribution, which having finished though not till February, the man that waited on me to York taking the charge of me I sit out for Boston. We went from New Haven upon the ice (the ferry being not passable thereby) and the Rev. Mr. Pierpont wth Madam Prout Cuzin Trowbridge and divers others were taking leave wee went onward without any thing Remarkabl till wee come to New London and Lodged again at Mr. Saltonstalls—and here I dismist my Guide, and my Generos entertainer provided me Mr. Samuel Rogers of that place to go home with me—I stayed a day here Longer than I intended by the Commands of the Honble Govenor Win-

throp to stay and take a supper with him whose wonderful civility I may not omitt. The next morning I Crossed ye Ferry to Groton, having had the Honor of the Company of Madam Livingston (who is the Govenors Daughter) and Mary Christophers and divers others to the boat—And that night Lodg^d at Stonington and had Rost Beef and pumpkin sause for supper. The next night at Haven's and had Rost fowle, and the next day wee come to a river which by Reason of Y^e Fresh-etts coming down was swell'^d so high wee fear^d it impassable and the rapid stream was very terryfying—However we must over and that in a small Cannoo. Mr. Rogers assuring me of his good Conduct, I after a stay of near an how'r on the shore for consultation went into the Cannoo, and Mr. Rogers paddled about 100 yards up the Creek by the shore side, turned into the swift stream and dexterously steering her in a moment wee come to

the other side as swiftly passing as an arrow shott out of the Bow by a strong arm.. I staid on ye shore till Hee returned to fetch our horses, which he caused to swim over himself bringing the furniture in the Cannoo. But it is past my skill to express the Exceeding fright all their transactions formed in me. Wee were now in the colony of the Massachusetts and taking Lodgings at the first Inn we come too had a pretty difficult passage the next day which was the second of March by reason of the sloughy ways then thawed by the Sunn. Here I mett Capt. John Richards of Boston who was going home, So being very glad of his Company we Rode something harder than hitherto, and missing my way in going up a very steep Hill, my horse dropt down under me as Dead; this new surprize no little hurt me meeting it Just at the Entrance into Dedham from whence we intended to reach home

that night. But was now obliged to gett another Hors there and leave my own, resolving for Boston that night if possible. But in going over the Causeway at Dedham the Bridge being overflowed by the high waters comming down I very narrowly escaped falling over into the river Hors and all wch twas almost a miracle I did not—now it grew late in the afternoon and the people having very much discouraged us about the sloughy way wch they said wee should find very difficult and hazardous it so wrought on mee being tired and dispirited and disapointed of my desires of going home that I agreed to Lodg there that night wch wee did at the house of one Draper, and the next day being March 3d wee got safe home to Boston, where I found my aged and tender mother and my Dear and only Child in good health with open arms redy to receive me, and my Kind relations and friends flocking in to wel-

come mee and hear the story of my transactions and travails I having this day bin five months from home and now I cannot fully express my Joy and Satisfaction. But desire sincearly to adore my Great Benefactor for thus graciously carying forth and returning in safety his unworthy handmaid.

THE

Private Journals

KEPT BY

REV. JOHN BUCKINGHAM

OF THE

EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA,

IN

THE YEARS 1710 & 1711.

From the Original Manuscripts.

NEW-YORK: WILDER & CAMPBELL.

1825.

INTRODUCTION.

The Diaries from which the following extracts are made, were written by Mr. Buckingham, Minister of the second presbyterian church in Hartford, Connecticut, during the expeditions against Canada, in 1711 and 1711, undertaken by the Colonies at the order of Queen Anne. The orthography in the following pages is generally modernized.

An expedition had been formed in the year 1709 against Montreal and Quebec, for which nearly 3000 men were furnished in quotas by the Colonies, but it had entirely failed, because the English fleet and troops which were intended to co-operate, were unexpectedly despatched to Portugal. The troops suffered much by sickness, but never came into action.

On account of the frontiers being continually harassed by parties of French and Indians, the Colonies were extremely urgent that another attempt should be made to conquer Canada; and General Nicholson and Colonel Schuyler went to England in the latter part of the year 1709, to solicit the permission and assistance of the government. These were granted; although the government really meditated nothing further than the capture of Port Royal and Nova Scotia, and actually accomplished only the former. It is hardly necessary to mention, that it is not the importance of the facts, but the hints of the situation of the country, which have induced the publication of these diaries.

In July, 1710, news was received that Lord Shannon was under sailing orders for America, and on the 18th of September, a fleet of 36 ships of war and transports, part of which had been sent over from England,

sailed from Nantasket for Port Royal. In these were embarked all the regular troops which had arrived, together with the soldiers furnished by several of the Colonies. Fourteen transports were furnished by Massachusetts, 5 by Connecticut, 2 by New Hampshire, and 3 by Rhode Island; and General Nicholson was invested with the chief command.

Our author accompanied the expedition as chaplain to the Connecticut troops. On the 24th of September, they arrived at Port Royal, and on the 21st of the following month they began a fire upon the fort, from three batteries of two mortars and twenty-four cohorns. The Star bomb-ship at the same time threw shells among the enemy.

The circumstances attending the expedition up to this period, appear to be detailed with minuteness in the diary before us; but as the first part of it is written in a cypher

difficult to understand, it will be sufficient for the present to publish only that which is legible, and which begins with the capitulation of the fort.

A DIARY OF THE NAVAL

Expedition against Port Royal,

IN THE YEAR 1710.

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DIARY, &c.

An account of what I brought from Hartford.

A great coat, a new black broad-cloth coat, a serge coat, a drugget jacket, a white waistcoat, a new pair of serge breeches, a pair of leather ones, 2 shirts, 3 bands, 5 handkerchiefs, (three white ones and two Rumals,) Stockens, two pair of grey ones, and one of black, a new pair of shoes, 2 pair of gloves, a hat new in May last, a Bible borrowed of brother Samuel Woodbridge, a psalm book, an ink-horn, knife and fork, tobacco box, between twenty and thirty shillings in silver, silver shoe buckles, small tobacco tongs, a pen-knife, two napkins.

An account of my expenses and preparations in the expedition against Port Royal, especially in things taken up at Boston :

Imprimis.	In my Journey to Boston,	*l*00. 04. 10
2.	To a pair of stockings, - .	4. 6
3.	Five yards black Russells, at 9s. 6d. - - -	1. 12. 6
4.	Two yards Garlick, at 2s. -	4. 0
5.	One yard 3-4 Saloone, at 4s. -	7. 0
6.	To two doz. 1-2 buttons, at 8d.	1. 8
7.	To three bands, - . -	6. 9
8.	To a silk handkerchief.	
9.	To the Taylor for mowhair, silk and making my jacket, -	12. 5
10.	To a Knit waistcoat, - -	10. 1
11.	To a pair of black milled stockins,	7. 0
12.	A loose gown, at Major Walter's,	
13.	A grey drugget coat, - -	
14.	And three silk handkerchiefs,	9. 7

15. A pair of gloves, &c. Knit cap, both given me by Mr. Wadsworth.

16. For a great, and one small tooth Comb.

The Colony of Connecticut debt.

To our expenses for my journey to Boston, - - . . *l*0. 14. 00

To 20s. delivered to Sergt. Worthington, to pay his board at Boston, and for his horse and journey back, - - - - - -	1. 0. 0

The Colony of Connecticut Credit.

To four pounds in bills of credit delivered to me by Mr. N. Stanley, - - - - *l*4. 00. 00

To particulars taken up at Maj. Walleys:

Imprimis. To 20 yds. Damask, at 2s. 8d. per yd. - - - -	2. 13. 4
To six yrds. shagg, - - -	12. 0
To a silk handkerchief, - - -	
7 yrds. 3-4 holland, at 3s. 10d. -	1. 9. 8
To thread, 6d, - - -	6
To making to shirts, - - -	5. 0
To making a gown, - -	3. 0
8 yrds. drugget, at 4s. per yrd. -	1. 12. 0
5 yrds. shalloon, at 3s. 6d. -	17. 6
3 doz. buttons at 16d. - -	4. 0
To Buckram tape, silk, mowhair, and making the coat, - -	1. 4. 0
	9. 5. 6

October 2. Monday, Hostages exchanged between the camp and fort. Those on our part were Colonel Reading and Capt. Mat-

thews; on the French side were the Deputy Governor and Commissary.

One of the Falmouth's men unfortunately killed by his fellow, as they were shooting at swine. Capt. Fatherly, commander of one of our transports, who had been out on a cruize, brought in hither thirteen men taken by a French privateer, and set on shore at the mouth of this harbor.

5. Thursday. The garrison marched out with the usual marks of honor: drums beating, colours flying, &c. about four o'clock afternoon, at what time a detachment from the several regiments marched into the fort, and took possession of it. The rest of the army returned to their camp. The union flag being hoisted, the cannon of the fort and men of war were discharged.

9. Monday. Our troops, excepting those that are to keep garrison here this winter, were enbarked in order to their being transported into their own country.

The Summons sent into the Fort.

Francis Nicholson, Esq. General and Commander in Chief of all her Majesty's of Great Britain's forces now before Port Royal,

To

Monsieur Subercase, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, &c. Governor for the French King of L'Acadie and Port Royal.

You are hereby required and commanded to deliver up to me for the Queen of Great Britain the Fort now in your possession, as what of right belongs to her now said Majesty, together with all the territories under your command, by virtue of an undoubted right of her Royal predecessor; and that together with all cannon, mortars, magazines of war, and troops under your command; otherwise I shall endeavour to reduce forthwith the same by force of her majesty's arms. Given under my hand and seal this first day of

October, in the ninth year of the reign of our Sovereign Queen Anne, by the Grace of God Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. Anno Domini 1710.

NICHOLSON.

The Answer, done in English, &c.

Sir: I have just now received by one of your Colonels and another officer of your army, a summons to surrender unto you the fort which my King hath left under my care, and [illegible] upon a pretence which I believe is not [illegible]l grounded; nevertheless, to avoid the effusion of blood, and expecting the decision of your pretended right, (which without doubt shall have its place in its time,) I will hear the proposal of an honorable and advantageous capitulation, which I know how to make good by a vigorous defence, which all my officers desire: for that purpose, Sir, you may choose two of your officers, and I shall

give as many of mine, whom I shall send into the camp, if you send me a good passport and some hostages, so that I may treat with surety, and to whom I shall give a project of my pretences. Sir, this is all I can say to you at present; and I finish in assuring you that I am your most humble and obedient servant:

SUBERCASE.

At Port Royal, 12 *Oct. N. S.* 1710.

Articles of capitulation agreed for the reduction of Port Royal Fort in L'Acadie, between Mr. Daniel Auger De Subercase, Esqr. of the military order of St. Louis, Governor under his most Sacred, most Christian Majesty, &c. and Mrs. Francis Nicholson, General and Commander in Chief of the troops belonging to her sacred majesty Anne, Queen of Great Britain.

1. That the Garrison shall go out with

arms and baggage, beating the drum, and colours flying.

2. That we shall have good vessels, with sufficient provision to carry us to Rochel or to Rochfort by the nearest way, where the said vessels shall receive a good passport for their returning home.

3. That I shall have liberty to take six pieces of cannon, to my choice, with two mortars, to my choice also.

4. That the officers shall carry away all their effects, of what nature they may be; or they shall have liberty to sell them to the best advantage; the payment thereof shall be made faithfully.

5. That the inhabitants within cannon shot of the fort may stay upon their estates, and enjoy their grain, vessels and immoveables, for the space of two years, if they do not choose to go before that time; and that those that shall be willing to stay, shall have

liberty so to do, provided, that they shall take the oath of fidelity to her sacred majesty of Great Britain.

6. That the privateers belonging to the West Indies shall have one vessel to carry them home.

7. That those that shall be willing to retire themselves to Placentia in Newfoundland, shall have the liberty by the nearest way.

8. That the Canadians and others that have a mind to go to Canada, may go in the space of one year.

9. That the effects, ornaments and utensils belonging to the Chapel shall be returned to the Chaplain, with the rest belonging to the hospital.

10. I promise to deliver the fort of Port Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholson, for the Queen of Great Britain, three days after the ratification of these presents and agreement, with all the effects belonging to

the king, viz : cannons mortars, bombs, bullets, powder and small arms.

11. I shall faithfully discover all the mines and underground works.

All the articles of the present agreement shall be faithful, fulfilled, and without difficulty, and signed on both sides.

Given at Port Royal, this 13th of October, 1710, N. S.

NICHOLSON. SUBERCASE.

General Nicholson's Instructions to Major Livingston.

Sir: If, upon your arrival at Canada, you find it consistent with her Majesty's immediate service, make all possible despatch back again to New England to me; and if I am embarked for Great Britain, take the first passage, and come over land to give an account of your errand, and what may be for the public service. However, write to me

by all possible conveyances of all things relating to the affair you go upon.

Given under my hand at Annapolis Royal, this 16th October, in the 9th year of her majesty's reign, 1710,

FR. NICHOLSON.

October 19, Thursday 1710. This morning at four o'clock the signal was given to unmoor; about six we weighed and towed out of the harbour. We were here awhile becalmed till about noon, when an easy gale sprung up, and gently wafted us across the bay to ———, over against which lay the Wolves, being per Ettinalern fourteen leagues from the entrance of Annapolis Royal harbor. The weather was fair and pleasant and the sea unusually smooth. Our pilot, who had often sailed, told us he never knew it so before. A great smile of Providence We made the opening between Grand ———

and the place called the Wolves in good season, and stood under our course at night, steering West-south-west, and the wind being East and by South, blowing very fresh; the night rainy and the sea unquiet and much agitated.

20. Friday. This morning we were abreast of long island, which lieth about 8 leagues west of Mount Desert; having run, as is concluded, thirty leagues last night. We spied five sail ahead of us; one of which is our briganteen, Moses Mansfield master. The rest, part of our fleet (open sloops). Before sunset two others came up with us. We all put into the South-west harbour, at the Isle of Holt, which is westward twenty-five leagues from Granmenen, said to be half way by the shortest passage between Annapolis Royal and Nantuchet.

21. Saturday. Early this morning we left the Isle of Holt, under a fresh gale.

We soon came up with Malinisns, an island distant four leagu es from thence. Soon after we made Mouhegan, to which from Malinisns is reckoned ten leagues. At night came to an anchor in Pemmaquid harbour, a little below the ruins of the fort built here by the English. This is said to be five leagues from Mouhegan; so that we have run 20 leagues this day. The air thick and wet. We found the briganteen and sloops that came with us from the Isle of Holt, with fourteen or fifteen fishermen.

22. Sabbath. At anchor in Pemmaquid Harbour; the wind against us and very strong—the weather dark and very rainy, till about an hour by sun at night, when the wind began to shift, and the sky to open.

29. Monday. Continued at anchor as above. We went on shore and viewed the country on both sides the river. On the south side stood the fort, the ruins whereof

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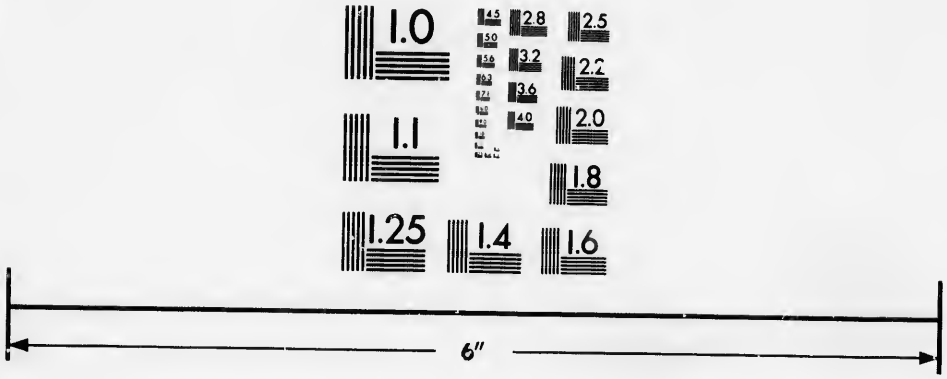

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still remain. The land is well cloathed with English grass, among, of which there grows great quantities of wormwood and parsnips, with some apple trees, but without fruit. North-east from the fort, we met with several grave-stones, with some letters engraven on them, particularly on one H. M. 1695; near to which are three trenches of the Indians, made when they landed. We crossed the river to the opposite side for water. On both sides were plain paths, made, as we judged by the Indians that inhabit or frequent this place, with other evident tokens of their having been very lately here.

24. Tuesday. Windbound at Pemmaquid.

25. Wednesday. This morning, or ratner late last night, the open sloops and shallops, in all twenty-one, sailed out of this harbour. About ten the ships and briganteen bound for New London weighed; but for

want of wind were obliged to anchor again about noon. The wind freshened then, and we came to sail; the wind proving scanty, and the weather looking doubtful and lowering, we tacked twice and stood in for Pemmaquid harbour again; but about sun-down, the wind being more large, it was resolved to put to sea. We had a fresh gale and run per estimation, about 25 leagues.

26. Thursday. This morning, early, we made Agomenticus Hills, on our starboard bow, which is accounted 25 leagues to the west of Pemmaquid. The night was clear and the sea smooth.

About 12 or 10 o'clock, we made Cape Ann; by night were almost up with it: but not being able to fetch it, resolve to —— it to windward. About 12 at night we parted from the briganteen.

27. Friday in the morning put into Cape Ann. In the evening Lieutenant Cyp. Ni-

cholls, with about fifty soldiers belonging t our regiment, came on shore, in order t march home by land. They went out o town a little after sun-se.

28. Saturday. Wind-bound in Cape Ann harbour.

29. Sabbath. At Cape Ann. I lodged at Mr. White's. Preached 1st John, 3, 8 latter.

30. Monday. Mr. Christophers and myself, having provided horses and a pilot, set out for Boston. We passed through Manchester, (commonly called Jeffrey's Creek, reckoned seven or eight miles from, Gloucester, or Cape Ann,) and Beverly, seven miles from thence, Mr. Blower minister,) we crossed the ferry to Salem for sixpence a-piece. Dined at Pratt's, paid for ourselves, five in all, and our horse-meat, 7s. 1d. From hence we travelled 15 miles for Boston. A stone set up at the end of each mile, with figures

marked on both sides, signifying the distance to and from those extremes between Salem and Boston. In this road lie the following towns: Lynn, Rumle, Marsh. We arrived at Winnesimit about an hour after sun-set, (calling by the way at Lewis's,) here we paid our pilot, (his father refusing to agree with us, and referring the matter to his son,) for his journey and the two horses we rode upon, the sum of thirty shillings, which he demanded—an unconscionable and extravagant price. Quickly after we came hither, we look about, [*probably some omission,*] and the wind being fair and blowing fresh, had a quick and easy passage to Boston.

31. Tuesday. Lodged at Mr. Gosse's.

November 1. Went over to Roxbury.

2. Thursday. Lodged last night at Mr. Waller's. This day arrived here, one Lathrop, from the westward, bringing the sad tidings of a ship driven ashore on the back

side of Cape Cod, all her masts gone. They saw some men on shore—a sailor on board, said Lathrop, concludes it to be the Mary, galley, the biggest of Connecticut transports, belonging to Mr. Tryland, Capt. Clark Commander. We left about thirty people in her at Cape Ann.

3. Friday. * * * * This morning our General, of all men one of the most Generous, sent me per Mr. Bertrand, Junior, the sum of fifty shillings, to bear my expences home. A liberal man studies liberal things.

6. Monday. Bought of Mr Philips a bible, which cost me 12 shillings. Paid to Mr. Campbell, post master, seven shillings, being the arrearage due for the year 1710.

7. Tuesday. * * * I look my journey from Boston about 8 in the morning. We came to Mr. Devotion's at night. The way thus: we travelled from Boston to Dedham, 10 miles; from thence to Whites, 6; from

thence to Billings's, 6; from Billings's to Devotions, 10. I paid for horse-meat at Fishers, fourpence; at White's, a groat apiece; and at Billings's, for our dinner and oats, 1s. which Mr. Deming paid. Weather and ways dirty. Paid to Bennet, for keeping my horse, from thursday to this morning, four shillings.

8. Wednesday. For myself and horse 16 at Devotions. We mounted about sunrise, and travelled this day to Irish's, about —— miles according to the following estimation: From Devotions to Freeman's, five; from thence to Whipples, where it cost me for horse-meat and ferriage six pence; from thence to Providence, five; from thence to Tanner's (where for horse-meat 3d more,) five; from thence to Abbot's, two and half; from thence to Cooper's, eleven—here I paid a shilling for oats and a dram, whereof six-pence

belonged to Mr. Denning; from Cooper's to White's, 3 miles.

9. Thursday. We travelled this day from Smiths to Windham. The distances between those places, thus reckoned: from Smith's to Whitney's, at Planefield four and an half; from thence to Cleaveland's, four; from Cleaveland's to the river, four; from the river to the town, six—in all about nineteen miles. We paid at Smith's for ourselves and horses 3s. 3d. the half of it mine excepting a small matter for oats, that Mr. D. * * * *. At Whitney's, our breakfast and horse-meat, 19d. a very reasonable lay. At Cleavelands, for ferriage, oats and a quart of cyder, 12d. The two last sums I paid, and so discounted with my companion.

10. Friday. I left two shillings at Mr. Webb's of Windham, for the man (one Hybert,) that brought my horse from Hartford; being what he demanded for that service. I

paid also to the same person two French groats for piloting us over the river, about five miles from hence. Left Mr. Williams his horse in the hands of the constable, to be conveyed to Mansfield. Got a pair of old shoes set on my horse, one of which I had of Mr. Webb, for which he demanded six-pence; which with half a pint of rum I had of him, he charged the country with.

Returned to my own house about eight o'clock at night, when I had the satisfaction of seeing my family in good health, (blessed be God,) after a long absence from them.

A DIARY OF THE

LAND EXPEDITION

AGAINST

CROWN POIN

IN THE YEAR 1711.

INTRODUCTION.

General Nicholson made another voyage to England after the capitulation of Port Royal, to ask leave for another expedition against Canada. The ministry unexpectedly consented; and in June, 1711, a fleet of twelve men of war arrived at Boston, but without either pilots or provisions. The northern colonies, however, raised large supplies of provisions and men with great promptitude; and on the 20 of July, the fleet, under Admiral Walker, sailed for the St. Lawrence, being encreased by the addition of three En-

glish ships before on the coast, forty transports, six store ships, and a heavy train of artillery and ammunition.

General Nicholson had the command of the army which was assembled at Albany, and consisted of about four thousand men furnished from the colonies. Colonel Whiting commanded the Connecticut troops, Colonel Schuyler those of New York, and Colonel Ingoldsby those of New Jersey.

DIARY, &c.

August 8, 1711. An account of what I brought from home, and carry with me in the present expedition against Canada ;

1. A black broad-cloth coat,
2. A grey coloured coat,
3. A jacket Russells,
4. A black drugget jacket,
5. A little white jacket
6. A pair of black serge breeches,
7. A pair of black drugget breeches, new,
8. Two Holland shirts, very good,
9. Two speckled shirts, one taken up on the Country account at Capt. Whiting's, the other at Mr. Doly's.
10. Four pair of stockings, one black worsted, another mixed worsted taken up at Capt. Whiting's, on the Country account, the other two home-spun grey.
11. Two pair of shoes, one new of —— King, with a pair of silver buckles.

12. Five coloured handkerchiefs; two silk, one cotton, and if I mistake not, taken up at Jonathan Arnold's, two rumals, one * * * at Capt Whiting's.
13. Three bands, and two pair of gloves,
14. A Portmantle with lock and key,
15. One bottle of mint-water, and another of rum and clove-water mixed together.
16. Two galley-pots, with essence of roses,
17. A mail pillion, Snapsack, a razor, a ball of coquolate, sope, a quire and half of paper, a knife and fork in a case Jack, a steel tobacco box.
18. A cartouch box, a gun boot and powder horn with the union flag cut out upon it, and Indian string to hang it on.
19. Two white handkercheifs.
20. A silver seal with about five and twenty shillings in silver.
21. An ink-horn and tobacco stopper, with two little brass pipes upon it.
22. A bible, Psalm book, Milton on Comus, and many notes.
23. A knit wastecoat and little penknife.

The prices of several things.

Four yards of Garlick Holland, att
3s 4d. - - - - *l*0. 13. 4

Fan, - - - - -	1. 4
Pins of sorts, one 22d, the other 19,	1. 8
A baby, - - - - -	3
A silk musling handkerchief, -	4. 6
A pair of sizers, - - - -	8
Three thirds alimole, at 5s pr. yd.	1. 4. 0
A London Baby, - - -	4. 6
A pound of Coquolate, - -	2. 4
Three quarters a yard calico, -	3. 2
	2. 15. 9

These sent to Hartford to my wife, by Sergt. Worthington, Sept. 8. 1710.

I sent home my silver seal, tobacco stopper, and cartouch box, by Samuel Cole of Hartford.

Aug. 8. Wednesday. At New Haven.

9. Thursday. Three companies, viz: L. Colo. Livingston's, Major Burr's and Capt. Crane's, marched out of New Haven, with whom went Mr. Edwards.

10. The rest of our troops marched out of this town.

13. Monday. We halted at Woodbury.

14. Tuesday. We went from thence to Sackets farm. From Woodbury to this place may be reckoned 74 miles: 12 to ——— 12 to Swift river, 14 to the fort. About a mile of the dwelling house is a river very difficult to pass, by reason of the steepness of the banks; and about a mile short of this is a very miry place, which is avoided by winding round to the left. My horse fell under me, and rolled on my left leg, but without hurt.

15. Wednesday. We lodged at Dyckman's on the manor. From Sacket's farm to this place is counted 32 miles.

16. Thursday. Lodged at Kenderhook, 29 distant from the Bush ———, viz: 12 from thence to Claverack, 12 more to this place.

17. Friday. We arrived at Greenbush about three in the afternoon. From Ken-

derhook to this place they count 29 miles. We passed a small river about midway. Our course from Dickerman's hither is northerly, through pine plains, for the most part a very good road.

* * * * *Cypher.* * * * *

19. Sabbath. Preached from Psalm 20, 3.—The rest of Colonel Schuyler's regiment embarqued in the evening upon battoes and stood for the flats.

21. Tuesday. Four companies of Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment embarqued for the flats. The chaplains were ordered a regimental suit, fusee, and accoutrements. Accordingly Mr. Edwards and myself went to the commissary and took them up. * *

28. Thursday. The remainder of the regular troops, encamped on the south river of Albany, struck their tents, in order to their embarquing; but finding their battoes very leaky, were obliged to pitch them again.

[Transcribed out of the London Gazette.]

"Our advices from Poland import that Prince Galizzyn had defeated a considerable body of Tartars, and taken from them five thousand horses; that the Palatine of S——via was missing, and according to the report in the Muscovite army, among the slain; that the Tartars are retired to their own habitations, dissatisfied with their expedition.

According to advices from Belgrade and ——— all the Cossacks have declared for the Muscovites, and most of the Tartars volunteered to go to their own habitations—that the Muscovites had defeated the Turks near Bender and pillaged the place. Her majesty has been pleased to constitute and appoint Col. Wm. Tayler, Adjutant General of the Massachusetts province."

24. Friday. This day three of our companies, viz: Capt Crane's, Capt. Wood's and Capt. Dimond's, embarqued for Half Moon,

including those who were appointed to drive and goad the cattle that go for their subsistence. Col. Whiting came in to the camp. About four hundred of the ——— nations of Indians came into Albany.

25. Saturday. Yesterday I paid to my Tayler, Sergt. Wallis, eight shillings in silver towards making my blew coat, laid out above four in coquolate, gingerbread and pipes. A pound of coquolate cost me 2s. 6d. 18d. of gingerbread, 5d. pipes: in all 4s. 6d.—Yesterday received letters from home.

26. Sabbath. Preached at Albany from Isaiah 3, 10 & 11.

Tuesday. I left Albany about two afternoon, in company of Col. Livingstone and five more, and came in the evening into the camp at Stillwater, (wrote home by Lieutenant Treat,) where is at present general health, and none dangerously sick.

29. Wednesday. Lieut. General Schuy-

ler came into the camp, as also Col. Ingoldsby, Col. ———; a party of Indians, consisting of a captain and ten under him passed by this camp, as it is suspected, in order to get a prisoner at Canada.

30. Thursday. At Stillwater, waiting for the repairing our battoes. The Indians designed for Canada are staid in this camp, and not gone. * * * *

31. Friday. General Nicholson came into the camp at Stillwater, and was received with a tripple huzza from the several regiments as he passed through them. The Ouondagous and Caiyujoes, about 200 or 250, arrived in our camp.

September 1, 1711. Sundry parties of Indians came into the camp. It is said in all they make about 600. Twelve men from our regiment, and proportionally from the rest, were detained to drive cattle to Surro-

togo. Also eight men out of Connecticut regiment, and so in proportion of the rest were detached to clear the wayes to Surrotogo.

A private sentinel belonging to Col. Ingoldsby's regiment, was wounded in the shoulder by a ball shot from the other side of the river, at what time the Indians there with a running fire were receiving the general. Yesterday a Bullet from the same quarter struck the water within a few yards of Captain Mason, as he was standing on the shore, and glanced by him.

2. Sabbath. We had orders to strike our tents, and embark for Surrotogo, or the first carrying place; but were prevented by rain, and continued in the camp. I preached from Proverbs, 14, 9.

3. Monday. Col. Schuyler's regiment and some Indians embarked for the first carrying place; ours about 9, in the morning fol-

lowed them. We got to Surrotogo in good time and pitched our tents a little above it on the left side, at the upper end of it, about a mile from the first carrying place.

4. Tuesday. Mr. Edwards, being under such indisposition of body as forbid his proceeding with us took his leave of us, and embarked, for Stillwater, in order to his return home. Our regiment decamped, and went some by water and some by land, to the first carrying place, and there pitched our tents. Quickly after our arrival in this place, Col. Schuyler's regiment struck their tents, and part of Col. Ingoldsby's came hither, viz: five companies.

5. Wednesday. We decamped from the first carrying place, and encamped at the second, having secured our provisions and ammunition where we landed, viz: at the falls. We took the ground to the right of Col. Schuyler's regiment, pitched our tents, and

transported our battoes, some on carriages and some on men's shoulders.

6. Thursday. We fetched over our stores, and put our battoes into the water. Fair weather after a wet night.

7. Friday. Col Schuyler's and our regiment decamped from the second carrying place, and encamped by Fort Nicholson. A Jersey man belonging to Col. Schuyler's regiment, died last night. Col. Whiting came into our camp at the second carrying place, and went with us by water to this encampment.

8. Saturday. Four out of a company were detached to clear the way to Wood Creek; then two men out of a company were detached, to go with the five nations to Wood Creek, upon advice of our scouts sent thither yesterday, had made some discovery of the enemy being there. It is said that one of them going back to fetch his hatchet and

knife, which he had left where they halted, at Fort Ann, missed the same and saw the tracks of Indians there.—Our scout returned from Wood Creek, without making any discovery of the enemy.

9. Sabbath. A detachment was sent out to clear the waye. I preached in the forenoon from Exodus, 23: 25 and 26; and in the afternoon on Deuteronomy 5: 32 and 33.

About 20 of tne Synackes offered themselves to fetch a prisoner from Canada; but, the General being absent, were not permitted to go. In the evening several companies of the regular troops came into the camp in this place, and pitched their tents by the river.—Cloudy weather, with some sprinkling of rain.

10. Monday. Lieutenant Gen. Schuyler marched, with several companies of his regiment and many of the five nations. There went also between 30 and 40 wagons, some

carrying battoes—about 20; the rest loaden with stores. These guarded by a detachment from the Dutch and New England troops. General Nicholson came into the camp, as also the rest of the irregular forces from the last carrying place. By order from the General the drum beat to arms, &c. A post from New England with letters to the General and some other arrived here this day—Cloudy, moist and rainy weather.

11. Tuesday. More wagons and trucks, with men to guard them, and mend the roads, went for Wood Creek. The General forbad all communication between the Indians and our camp.—Four Indians belonging to Capt. Shaw's company committed to our guard, and laid neck-and-heels, by their General's order, for trading with the Five Nations. I wrote home a journal of our march and encampments to this day. In the middle of the day fair and warm weather.

12. Wednesday. This day morning the camp laws were again read to our people; and oh! that they were duly and impartially executed. A scout sent out by Col. Schuyler returned into the camp at Wood Creek, excepting one, who is supposed to desert to the French. We came from Canada in company with those Frenchmen who were detained at Albany. He left them at the Lake Succuman. This day, as the preceeding, spent in carrying over Colonel Schuyler's battoes and stores. Several of Col. Ingoldsby's regiment tied neck-and-heels, for going into the Indians camp, contrary to the orders published on the 11th instant. Moderate weather; sometimes cloudy and foggy, with sprinkling of small rain.

13. Thursday. A clear and warm morning. Col. Livingston was sent to take care about clearing Wood Creek. Capt. Mason, with a detachment of our regiment, to carry

the Queen's and General's stores to the camp above; for which purpose about 40 of our troops were employed.—Fair and warm weather.

14. Friday. I wrote home by the post. Our troops employed in carrying over Capt. ——— Stores. Our Indians were sent with G. Woodcock, fourscore Indians and six Dutchmen, sent out from the camp at Wood-Creek in quest of a party of the enemy, supposed to be about twenty, whose tracks were discovered about ten miles distant from the camp.—Clear and moderate weather.

15. Saturday. This morning three companies of Connecticut regiment, viz: L. C. Livingston's, Crane's and Mason's, marched for Wood Creek.

16. Sabbath. Three companies of Col. Ingoldsby's regiment marched out of this camp for Wood Creek. An Indian wounded one of our regiment in the upper camp, with

a knife; and supposing, as it is thought, that he had mortally wounded him, came down to the General for a pardon.—I preached on Proverbs 18. 10.

A party of our Indians, who were sent out some days ago in quest of another of the enemy, happened to light upon the track of some, which they followed; and in a place where they made an halt, one of them espied a piece of leather lying under a bush. This proved an Indian shoe, or part of one, in which he found a leaded ink-case, and a piece of paper giving an account of several parties, in all amounting to the number of an hundred and fourscore, nine French and the rest Indians, said to be detachments from nine nations, under the conduct of two French Officers. The paper relates the number of each party, and the names of those that make them, as also the place to which they are assigned.—Clear and warm weather.

17. Monday. This morning three companies of Col. Ingoldsby's regiment, and two of Connecticut, viz: Major Burr's and Capt. Ward's marched towards upper camp.

Item.—Sergt. Hall of Wallingford died this morning about nine o'clock. He was an old man, and had been long sick, and hopefully a good man.—The General went for Wood Creek. In the evening Sergt. Hall was buried; his corpse attended to the grave by several files of musketeers, and honored with a triple discharge of their pieces.—Fair and warm weather.

18. Tuesday. This morning one Bridgman (and Lyman) of Northampton came express from Boston, and with several Dutchman from Albany, by whom we are advised that yestesday, about eight o'clock in the morning, a Dutchman as he was threshing at ——— about twelve miles from Albany, was taken captive by six Indians, and carried away.

They pssed by two girls, who were surprised by that actiou and told them they would do their father no hurt, and he should come to them again by and by.

An hundred Indians and ten christians were sent from the upper camp to Crown Point, where some think the French have taken the ground before us. Several Indians were seen to pass by our camp through the woods, with their arms and packs, supposed to be on their return home; and yesterday 20 or more were met on the road, going towards Albany. A party sent out, if possible, to intercept the enemy that took the Dutchman yesterday.

Another parcel of our battoes carried over to the head of the creek our horses, came, and returned thither with stores.

9. Wednesday. Mr. Sharp, Chaplain to the regular troops, as it is reported this morning, went off privately last night in a bark canoe, attended by an Indian, in order to return

home. This report proves too true: he is really gone. * * * * *

This day I wrote home to my wife and Mr. Woodbridge, and also received letters from them, by which I was informed of the death of Ensign Bunce, and my Indian girl, and of the sickness among our people at home. At the same time an express arrived in this camp, with the very melancholy news of the misfortune befallen our fleet and forces generally ——— to Canada. The report goes, that they lost eight transports by a storm in the river, and eight hundred and fourscore men; and the rest so broken and shattered, as it is concluded they can't proceed in the expedition. An awful frown on New England in particular, and the poor captives in the hand of our anti-christian and pagan enemies. Oh, what will those say; how will they triumph and blaspheme, reproach and deride! But God governs.

20. Thursday. This sad tidings was confirmed by another express from Boston, who came into the camp last night. Our general officers, by orders from the General, are gone for Wood Creek, I suppose, to hold a council upon it. Orders came down this morning to stop those that were marching thither; and doubtless our expedition is at an end for this time.

Capt. Shaw, missing two of his Indians that came from the upper camp yesterday, fears that they are lost or taken: the last more probable. Upon the receipt of my wife's letter, I wrote another this morning, which goes with the rest from hence, viz. by Bridgman of Northampton. Two red coats that were left at the second carrying-place, to guard some stores left there by the wagoners, were missing this morning by those that went to fetch up the stores. The drink-beer and rum was most of it gone, and no sign of the men. It is to be feared they are killed or captived.

21. Friday. Orders came down this morning from the upper camp, to put our battoes into the water again, and send up the troops with all haste; which, with the horsemen last from Albany, are going with all speed. A melancholy thing thus to be turned back—but God is righteous in all his ways.

22. Lieutenant Bancroft, with 20 men of our regiment, in ten of our battoes, fell away from hence to the great carrying place; as also did a Captain and company of the regular troops

About forty of our battoes were brought back from the head of Wood Creek.—A post came in from Albany with letters from York, advising that two ships were arrived at that place from Great Britain; although that Commodore Little, in a cruise off Carthagena, took a galoon and Vice Admiral of the fleet they were convoying, who carried 50 brass guns, and had on board, besides its own, the loading,

of a galoon condemned as unfit to put to sea.
* * * * *

25. Sabbath. I preached on Leviticus 1. 9, 17.—More battoes and stores brought down from above.

24. Monday. Lieut. Mills, with 20 men, went down in ten loaden boats to the second carrying place, as did also a captain's company of the other regiment. More battoes from the head of Wood Creek. The General and Colonel Schuyler, with the remainder of the troops, battoes and stores, came in from the upper camp, excepting Lieut. Colonel Livingstone, Major Burr, Capt. Ward and Capt. Mason, and their companies, &c.

25. Tuesday. Col. Livingstone, Major Burr, and Captains Ward and Mason, with the rest of their troops, battoes and stores, came down from the upper camp. Col. Whiting, Col Livingstone's company and Capt. Crane's decamped from Fort Nicholson, and came to

the second carrying place. Col. Whiting's company encamped where they landed, [26th] ——— but decamped for the second carrying place; as did also Capt. Dimon, Capt. Crane, and Lieut. Col. Livingstone's company. Part of our own Colonel's Company got to Stillwater [27th] in the night; the rest came in this morning, where we found the three companies above named, and several companies of the other regiments. Last night died one of our militia-men belonging to Farmingtown.

28. Friday. Lieut. Col. Livingston, Captain Crane, Capt. Mason, with the most of their companies, decamped from Stillwater, and went down in their battoes to Van Schaick's ground, where they encamped, as did also some companies of the other regiments.

29. Saturday. The rest of our troops, excepting a detachment under the command of Capt. Schuyler, were left to guard the remainder of our stores. We marched down to

Van Schaick's, from whence Lieut. Col. Livingstone and the rest that came thither before us, were moved a little before our arrival, for Albany.

30. Sabbath. Last night Leander, an Indian that lived with Col. Whiting, died. In the morning eight battoes were sent down to Albany. I came in one of them to Green Bush. In the evening Col. Whiting and the rest of his company came down to Albany.

October 1. Monday. The rest of our regiment came into the camp below Albany.

2. Tuesday. This and the preceding day taken up chiefly in carrying up our battoes into the pasture below the fort.

4. Wednesday. In the old camp. Little business.

4. Thursday. A general muster and review in the morning; the afternoon spent in shooting, running, wrestling for a guinea, the General gave to each regiment. In shoot

ing and running Capt. Cranes men bore away the prize.—Governor Saltonshall came to Albany. * * *

5. In the old camp at Albany.

6. Saturday. Major Burr, with the troops belonging to New Haven and Fairfield county marched from Green Bush on their return home.

7. Sabbath. The rest of our regiments, under the conduct of Capt. Mason, with whom I march, decamped from Green Bush and went to Kenderhook—29 miles.

8. Monday. We marched about 22 miles, and encamped about 4 or 6 from Housetonsack river.

9. Tuesday. We proceeded about 16 miles east of that river; 23 miles.

10. Wednesday. We got into Westfield at one or two.

11. Thursday. We halted at Westfield.

12. Friday. I returned to my family.