

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>13</sup> Fred H. Crossley, *Timber Building in England* (London, 1951), pp. 12, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Kniffen and Glassie, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48.

<sup>15</sup> H. Janse, correspondence with the author, Feb. 20, 1967.

<sup>16</sup> Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown, *Early Rhode Island Houses* (Providence, 1895), pp. 13, 14.

<sup>17</sup> Abbott Lowell Cummings, "The Parson Barnard House," *OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND*, XLVII, no. 2 (1956), p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Otis, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Ernest Allen Connally, "The Cape Cod House . . .," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIX, no. 2 (May 1960), pp. 47-56.

<sup>20</sup> Otis, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 208.

<sup>22</sup> Plymouth Town Records, I, 147.

<sup>23</sup> *PCR*, I, 34.

<sup>24</sup> James, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>25</sup> Bradford, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>26</sup> James, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Norman Isham, *Early Connecticut Houses* (Providence, R. I., 1900); Kimball, *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> Henry C. Forman, "Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century" (Williamsburg, Va., 1957), pp. 3, 29, 30.

<sup>29</sup> Seth Story House now dismantled with rooms at Winterthur and the Smithsonian; also "The Ilsley House," *OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND*, II, no. 2, pp. 10-13; "The Clafin-Richards House," *OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND*, XVI, no. 4, pp. 153-156.

<sup>30</sup> Connally, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> A. F. Downing, *Early Homes of Rhode Island* (Richmond, Va., 1936), p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> J. Frederick Kelly, *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1924), p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 139.

<sup>34</sup> H. C. Forman, *The Architecture of the Old South, The Medieval Style, 1585-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 128, figs. 157, 168.

<sup>35</sup> Kniffen and Glassie, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>36</sup> Crossley, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 45.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. Newman, who is preparing "The Buildings of England" volume for Kent has kindly provided the two examples from this county; correspondence, Feb. 27, 1967.

<sup>38</sup> Prof. R. W. Brunskill, University of Manchester, has corroborated this commonly held view; correspondence, March 6, 1967.

<sup>39</sup> Several Rembrandt prints (Hind no. 179, no. 246III, and no. 240); also C. Golmaert (Holstein no. 306), B. A. Bolswert (Holstein nos. 358-361).

<sup>40</sup> Marten De Cock prints (Holstein nos. 1, 2), 1620.

<sup>41</sup> Correspondence with author, Feb. 20, 1967.

<sup>42</sup> Marvin D. Schwartz, *The Jan Martense Schenck House* (Brooklyn Museum, 1964), p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> C. Th. Kokke, correspondence with author, no. 1028, Feb. 27, 1967.

<sup>44</sup> Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22, from Isaac Joques, "Novum Belgium" (1646).

<sup>46</sup> Downing, *op. cit.*, p. 14 ff.; Isham (Rhode Island), *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>47</sup> James, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>48</sup> *PCR*, I, 34.

<sup>49</sup> *PCR*, X, 50.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 110.

<sup>51</sup> Otis, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

<sup>52</sup> H.A.B.S., Massachusetts, 2-65.

<sup>53</sup> Isham (Connecticut), *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 260.

<sup>55</sup> Isham (Rhode Island), *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Churchill House, Plymouth.

<sup>57</sup> *PCR*, X, 111, 112.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 26.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 118, 129, 130, 181, 187.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 118.

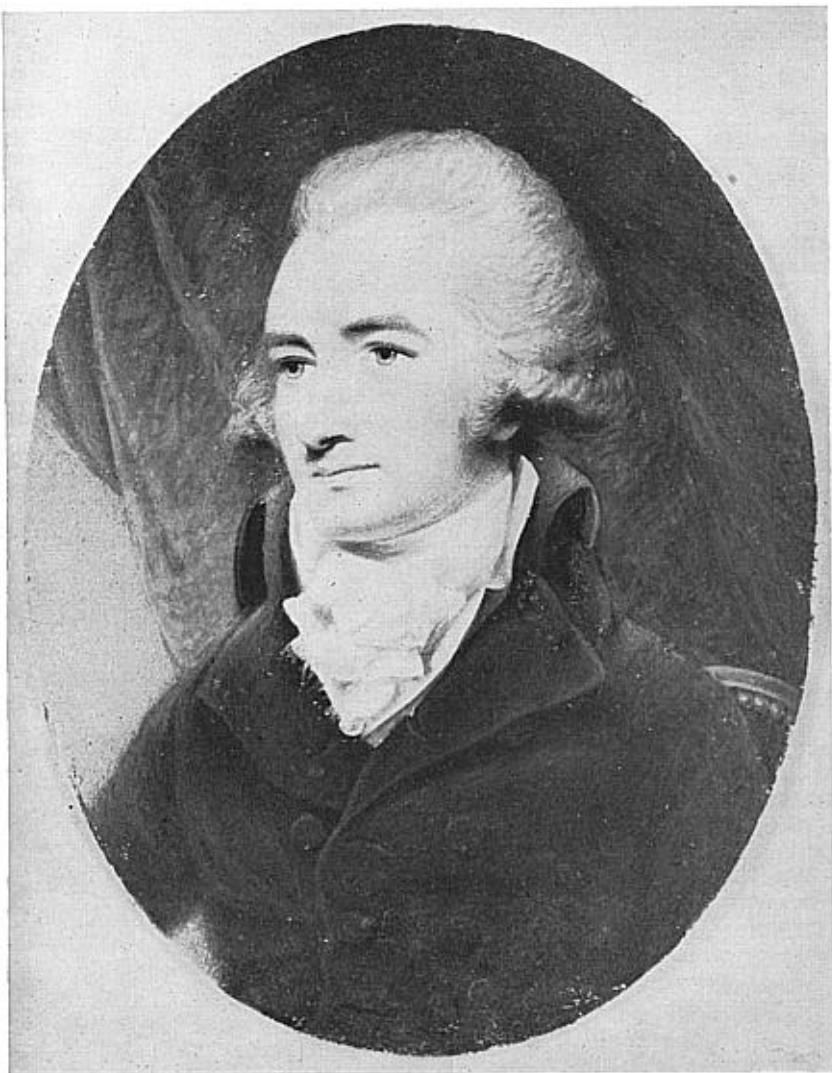
<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 86, 87.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 199.

<sup>63</sup> Barley, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-84, for identical English practices.

<sup>64</sup> *PCR*, X, 129.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 86, 87.



JOHN FRANCIS, BY EDWARD GREENE MALBONE, 1795  
Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

# In Search of Cahoonie, the 1790 Diary of John Francis

*Edited by GLENN B. SKILLIN*

JOHN FRANCIS, the writer of this diary, was born May 30, 1763, into a wealthy and prominent Philadelphia family. His father was Tench Francis, the junior member of the Philadelphia firm of Tench Francis and Son which acted as agent for the various Rhode Island firms in which members of the Brown family were involved. His mother was Anne Willing.<sup>1</sup> Whatever Francis' formal education may have been, evidence of his ability to express himself is amply represented by his writings.

Just when in his youth ill health began to plague him is uncertain, but on a visit to relatives in Virginia early in 1783 he complained of it.<sup>2</sup> Possibly this southern trip was intended as a cure. In his day Francis' disorder might have been diagnosed as inflammation of the bowel or one of several kinds of colic. Modern medicine might recognize the symptoms of appendicitis in the description which occurs in his diary entry for October 3, 1783. There he speaks of the return of his "constant and severe" complaint: "For four days past I have never been one moment at ease, and often times in the most excruciating Agony—a relief from which is only to be obtained by puking—such repeated attacks has at length dispirited me."<sup>3</sup> This theme becomes recurrent in his later diaries, and it is therefore small wonder that he goes on to say that "life at best is not worth coveting, but rob it of health and all other Blessings are but curses when you recollect how

and in what manner you are deprived of them."

Francis journeyed to Portugal in August of 1783 where he wished

to accumulate a Fortune which will enable me to live free and Independant of a World only to be won by Knavery & Flattery and in a condition to support my Parents & my Friends when they stand in need.

My First Adventure is to Lisbon on Business of Importance and if at the same time that I perform it to the satisfaction of my Employers, I can obtain a little knowledge of a World I am as yet but a novice in, the recompense to be reaped will be double.<sup>4</sup>

While in Lisbon, he attended and purchased goods at the "India sales." Yet he also found opportunity to visit Caldas de Rainha, a spa located about fifty miles up the coast. Here he not only partook of the sulphurous waters—which he called "opening" in their effect on him—but also observed some local customs. He found the fandango not to his taste: "the different postures in which the [dancers] place themselves, would occasion the most obscene Ideas in the most Virtuous of Minds."<sup>5</sup> He preferred the girls back home; the Portuguese women appeared to him "to be all duggs and Buttocks."<sup>6</sup>

Upon his return to Philadelphia after successfully fulfilling his commissions, Francis went to Providence where he entered into a partnership with John Brown which continued until Francis' death a decade later. He was the traveling member of the firm. In 1788 he married his partner's daughter Abby.<sup>7</sup>

Brown & Francis were part owners in 1787 of Hope Furnace, an iron-smelting operation. It may be noted that a member of the Tench Francis & Son firm had supplied information of importance for the building of this furnace.<sup>8</sup> When Francis went to Vermont via Winchester, New Hampshire, in September, 1790, therefore, it is no surprise to find a business connection with the "New Furnace" smelting operator, Daniel Cahoon. Cahoon had emigrated to Winchester from Rhode Island, and had been connected with Hope Furnace before he left the state.<sup>9</sup>

Francis apparently made daily entries in the diary of this trip as he progressed from Providence to Boston and on to "New Furnace." Exactly where along the way thereafter the entries become retrospective is not clear; in any case, the return trip seems foreshortened, and there is a discrepancy between the date of his last entry and the date on which the ordination he mentions took place in Worcester.

The diary entries are those of a shrewd observer who had a quick eye for a good trade. Francis could discern at a glance the best spot for a mill, the arable land in an area not generally suited to cultivation. He was lured by the India and China trade and the vast profits they brought. Undoubtedly the acquisitive instinct had deep roots in him; business was his life and profit its guideline. Regrettably absent in his diaries is any observation on the cultural aspect of life; apparently there was little poetry in the man, and his philosophy was business.

A tantalizing glimpse of him occurs in a postscript to a letter of introduction written for him by David Howell to Granville Sharp, the English abolitionist. After noting that Francis comes of good

family, Howell says that Francis is "in principle against the African trade."<sup>10</sup> This principle could have caused him difficulty, since not all members of the Brown family were on record as opposing the traffic in slaves. To find this belief in a member of the prosperous merchant class arouses speculation as to its origin; was it the result of his Philadelphia upbringing with possible exposure to the writings of such ardent abolitionists as Anthony Benezet, or was it from his contacts with Moses Brown, his partner's brother, and other advocates of abolition?

On January 25, 1792, Francis arrived in England, having left his wife and young children at home. Shortly after reaching London he records an experience which has qualities of an ominous nature.

As I was shoving like the rest to get along my Eye caught a Troup of Mourners in a Side Alley. It was the Burying of a Man of Consequence. Pride and not Sorrow shone conspicuously. The Bier was on four W[h]eels, drawn by four Horses, all Black, Ornamented with 8 large nodding plumes, and Eight more on the Head of each Horse. The driver Black all Black. Afterwards follow'd the two Mourning carriages filled with Mourners, not Relations, not Friends, But Hired Mimicks of Real Woe.

Gracious God I remarked, and do the Good, The Affectionate thus permit their Wifes, their Husbands to be thus drawn to their Graves unattended. Shall mine serve me so, when the cold relentless hand of Death grasps poor Francis —No! my sorrowing Angel will kindly say, avaunt all those who dare to feign a cruel Melancholy. Thy Remains dear F. on Earth shall rest in the Silent Tomb, Thy Soul in Heaven mine will Joy to follow—<sup>11</sup>

The diaries Francis kept during this European sojourn are full of detailed observations on mechanical devices which Yankee intuition told him would be of use in the firm's ventures—a derrick for lifting heavy bales of goods, a wagon for hauling large timbers, a drydock, a machine

for heading and pointing pins. The verbal descriptions are accompanied by detailed drawings which clarify them. Francis also records his visits to Thomas Paine, then about to publish the second part of his *Rights of Man*.<sup>12</sup> Though unsuccessful in dissuading Paine, an American citizen, from publishing seditious writing in England, the attempt sheds some light on Francis' character.

One can almost sense, in reading his diaries, when he is suffering from an attack of his illness, for then his thoughts tend to turn toward his family. His affection for them is amply demonstrated, and he carefully records gifts purchased for them—a ring, a pair of gold bracelets, a gold picture case, and two turbans for his little girls. Francis' loyalty to his family is also reflected in the description of his encounters with streetwalkers. Like Gladstone in a later day, he tried to reform them by listening to their pathetic tales and finally giving them money.<sup>13</sup> This morality and benevolence are in sharp contrast to his world "only to be won by Knavery & Flattery."

For entertainment while he was abroad, Francis occasionally attended the theater, and there he was enchanted with Mrs. Siddons. Even her "fascinating Arms," however, did not hold his attention during a production of *Macbeth* in which ghosts and witches popped up through trapdoors in the stage. He objected to this hocus-pocus, remarking that "Nature and nature Only can the Stage Improve."<sup>14</sup> Nowhere does he mention being impressed by the play's text, on the other hand.

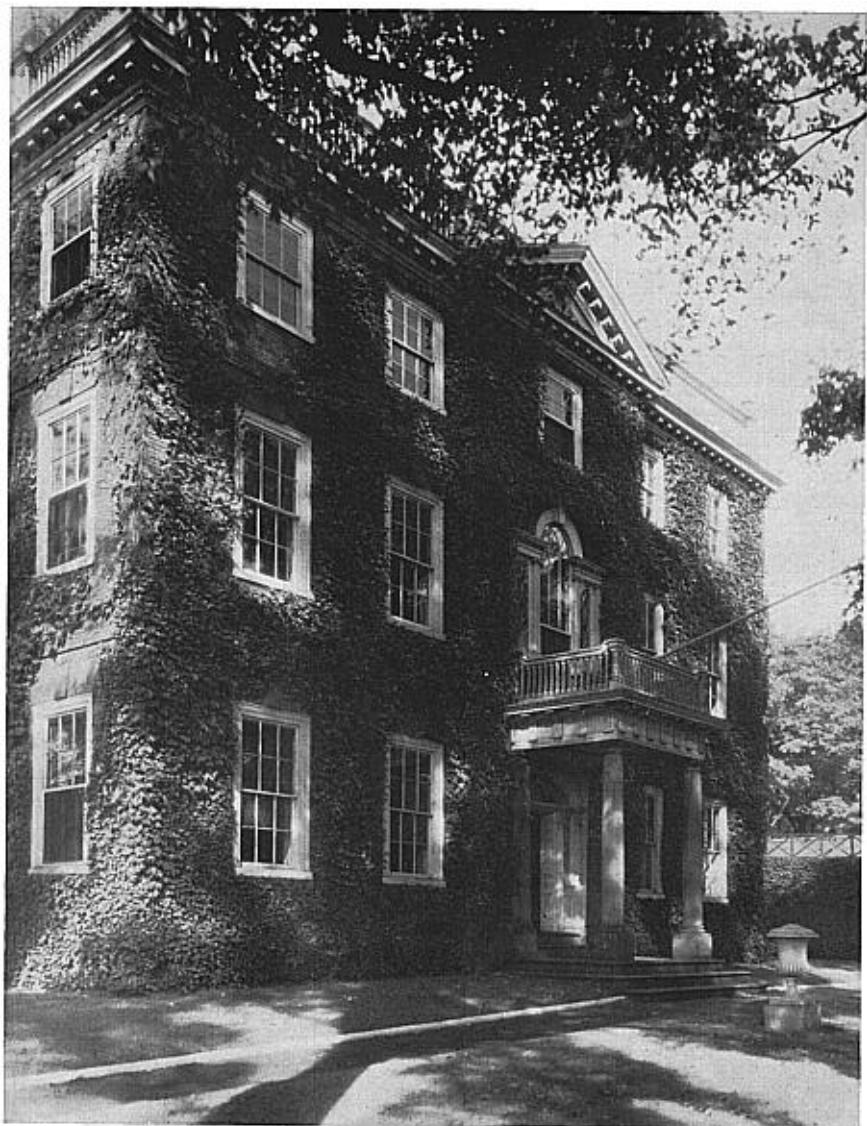
Francis left England for France on June 4, 1792, where he made Paris his headquarters. His stay on the continent was shortened, however, by the downfall of the monarchy. Apparently he was to-

tally unaware of the stirring events which led to the storming of the Tuileries until he awakened on the morning of August 11 to find that the city was "all in alarm." His eyewitness report of the massacre of the Swiss Guards is chilling, and his fear of the mob undoubtedly hastened his departure.<sup>15</sup>

In 1791, Francis became a member of the Trustees of Rhode Island College (now Brown University) and was the recipient of an honorary master's degree from that institution in the following year.<sup>16</sup>

The bright hopes of the young partner of John Brown were overcast in 1795 or early 1796 by an event which occurred in New York City. In representing the firm there, it was Francis' responsibility to consummate the sale of a trading ship's cargo worth more than two hundred thousand dollars. The details are obscure, but a few tentative conclusions are possible from what evidence is available. The expected vessel was apparently delayed, leaving opportunity for social activity which Francis enjoyed. This brought him into contact with several men who were interested in Adirondack lands, notably James Greenleaf, Philip Livingston, Aaron Burr and one of the Morrises. Francis received the price of the ship's cargo but instead of bringing it back to Providence exchanged it for an imperfect claim to a large tract of New York wilderness lands.<sup>17</sup>

John Brown had other plans for the profits of this voyage, and felt the loss keenly; it was not until 1798, and after a great deal of expense, that he was able to obtain clear title to the vast acreage which it is implied had been gambled for by his son-in-law. So strong was John Brown's reaction that when he wrote his will in 1802 he laid down conditions in



JOHN BROWN HOUSE, 52 POWER STREET,  
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, 1786  
Photograph by Arthur C. Haskell.

his bequest to his grandson, John Brown Francis,

that his deceased father's relations or representatives never make any demand on me as a surviving partner of the late firm of Brown and Francis . . . for they can certainly in justice have no claim for one shilling by reason of said partnership, as John Francis, my late partner and father of John Brown Francis, never put any property into the company's stock, and from his almost constant sickness and our bad fortune during the partnership, I do not think my estate was worth as much, including the whole stock, at the expiration of the partnership as at its commencement.<sup>18</sup>

In 1795, Francis had Edward Greene Malbone do his portrait in miniature. A high forehead with a sharp widow's peak draws attention to the rather long nose and the somewhat abbreviated upper lip. The chin is strong and the features regular, however, and his clear gaze appears as discerning as we find him in his diaries. A posthumous copy by the same artist done in 1797 or 1798 has also survived.<sup>19</sup>

Francis died, apparently quite suddenly and in all probability from a ruptured appendix, on Friday, November 4, 1796, at the age of thirty-three. The funeral next day was attended not by hired mourners, but by "the Students of Rhode-Island College, of the Corporation of which he was a Fellow—by the Fraternity of Free-masons, of which he was a Member—and by a large Number of mourning Relatives and Friends."<sup>20</sup> For some reason his burial was delayed until Tuesday, November 8. Four years later

his brother Thomas erected the monument to his memory in the North Burying-ground on which is also recorded the death of his two daughters. His wife survived him for many years, though doubtless joying "to follow" at last on March 5, 1821.<sup>21</sup> His son, John Brown Francis, survived to carry on the family name.

John Francis was not marked for fame. His view of life in his time, his acute descriptions of those whom he met, his keen ear for what his contemporaries had to say and the way in which they said it, all make him of considerable interest to us as an articulate recorder of the eighteenth-century events in which he participated. His frankness is a refreshing reminder of that earthy quality which was characteristic of his time and which was to fall from favor in the following century. He trod where moments before the scullery maid had thrown the slops, but his grip on reality never faltered. His horror at the violence of the French would have found considerable sympathy among those more liberally inclined than he had they witnessed the savagery and brutality to which he was exposed. One wonders if this experience did not temper his liberalism somewhat; in any case, the absence of later diaries allows only room for speculation.

The brief diary presented here<sup>22</sup> is but a sampling of the quality of John Francis' mind. It is to be hoped that its publication will encourage further exploration of his life and deeds.

#### NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup> See Abby I. B. Bulkley, *The Chad Brown Memorial* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1888), p. 53. A sketch of the senior Tench Francis appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and the

business relationship of the firm of Tench Francis and Son and the several Brown firms is discussed in James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations* (Cambridge, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> John Francis, Letterbook, April 20-July 5, 1783, Brown University manuscript F158. 44/F7.

<sup>3</sup> John Francis, Diary, August 15, 1783-April 4, 1784, Rhode Island Historical Society, Vault Collection, pp. 30, 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> *The Chad Brown Memorial* states that the marriage occurred on January 1, as does Abby Brown Francis' gravestone; cf. *Narragansett Historical Register*, 4, 1885-1886, pp. 119, 120. Published Providence vital records, however, list the marriage of Abby Brown and John F. Merchant [sic] on March 7, 1788.

<sup>8</sup> See Hedges, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> See note 22 to the diary's text for a discussion of the location of "New Furnace."

<sup>10</sup> Holograph letter, Howell to Sharp, November 12, 1791, John Carter Brown Library, MS Brown 1791 N 12.

<sup>11</sup> John Francis, English diary, John Carter Brown Library, Codex Brown 7, vol. 1, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 15-17, for example.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 4.

<sup>15</sup> John Francis, French diary, John Carter Brown Library, Codex Brown 8, II, 140.

<sup>16</sup> Brown University, *Historical Catalogue . . . 1764-1934* (Providence, 1936), pp. 7, 1127.

<sup>17</sup> Alfred L. Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks* (New York, 1921), 2 vols., II, 88 ff., citing two of John Brown's great-grandsons, is the most complete account of this transaction.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Donaldson, pp. 97, 98.

<sup>19</sup> Both are reproduced in *Antiques*, 16, January 1929, opposite p. 377. The 1795 miniature appears as an accompanying illustration to the diary.

<sup>20</sup> Obituaries appeared in at least two Providence papers, the *Gazette* of November 5, and the *United States Chronicle*, November 10, the latter being the fuller account cited here. A small broadside requesting brother Masons to attend is in Special Collections, Brown University.

<sup>21</sup> *Narragansett Historical Register*, 4, 1885-1886, pp. 119-120.

<sup>22</sup> It is a leather-bound volume eight inches high and five inches wide containing a single gathering of thirty pages. It was accessioned by the John Carter Brown Library in June, 1930, as item 15706, and its call number is Codex Brown 6. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Mr. Thomas R. Adams, for permission to publish the diary and to quote from other Francis material as well.

The earliest Francis manuscript located is a letterbook (see note 2 above) which covers his southern trip, April 20-July 5, 1783. On April 24 he notes his absence from home for two months indicating the possible existence of a previous letterbook which has not yet come to light.

His earliest diary deals with his Lisbon trip (see note 3 above). The present one follows, dealing with the brief period in September, 1790, when Francis made his way from Providence to Boston, and from Boston to Dummerston, Vermont. The two European diaries (John Carter Brown Library, Codex Brown 7 in four volumes, and Codex Brown 8 in two volumes) cover the period January 25-August 12, 1792. Some business correspondence exists in the Brown Papers at the John Carter Brown Library, but the bulk of the records of the Brown & Francis firm are not available.

## THE DIARY

On Sunday Evg. Sepr. 19th 1790 I set off [f] in my Horse & Sulkey for Boston to return per Mr Danl Cahoone's—<sup>1</sup>

The Weather pleasant but cool. my first Stage at Attleborough, Holmes's

Tavern where I took a Dish of Coffee with some Strangers bound to the Westward—Thence I pursued my Rout to Walpole and slep at Downes's Tavern.<sup>2</sup>

Septr. 20th. The Morng pleasant and the Weather clear. Breakfasted and then departed for Dedham in Compy with Mr Downes & a few other Country Farmers who with others meet at Gay's to determine on a Petition from the So. part that the Town may be divided and they sett off by themselves.<sup>3</sup>

After resting my Horse a few Moments I push'd for Boston and there arrived and found Mr Blagge had forwarded upwards of £3000 in Mr N B's State Notes to our House and also that he should redeem the residue of all our Notes in the Space of a Fortnight.<sup>4</sup>

Mr Patridge the Rigger says the Ship Massa. Masts were 84 in the whole Length and that he w[oul]d engage to Rig ours compleat for 600 Dollars provided the Rigging was fitted in his Loft in Boston.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Blake had sold the Standing Rigging to a Mr. Williams for a Vessel of 400 Tons now fitting at Hancock's Wharf for the Indies. he ask'd the price of Hemp, but surely did not get it.<sup>6</sup>

Boston Septr 21st.

Called on all the Dry Good Importers to make a Barter for our East India.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Deblois and Mr. Coolidge have promised to call at Mr. Blagge's Store to view the Goods and then determine.<sup>8</sup>

Townsend & Balch Block Makers<sup>9</sup> were not at home. I therefore left a Memorandum requesting their Propositions to Block our Ship.

Mr. Phillips of the Senate was not in Town or is he expected this week.<sup>10</sup>

Sep. 22d. Townsend & Balch have returned me for Answer that they cannot undertake our Work— That the Ship Massa. Bill of Block Work including Spare Work was £236— That her

Blocks were thot Small— Their Opinions were that our Ship w[oul]d cost £350—

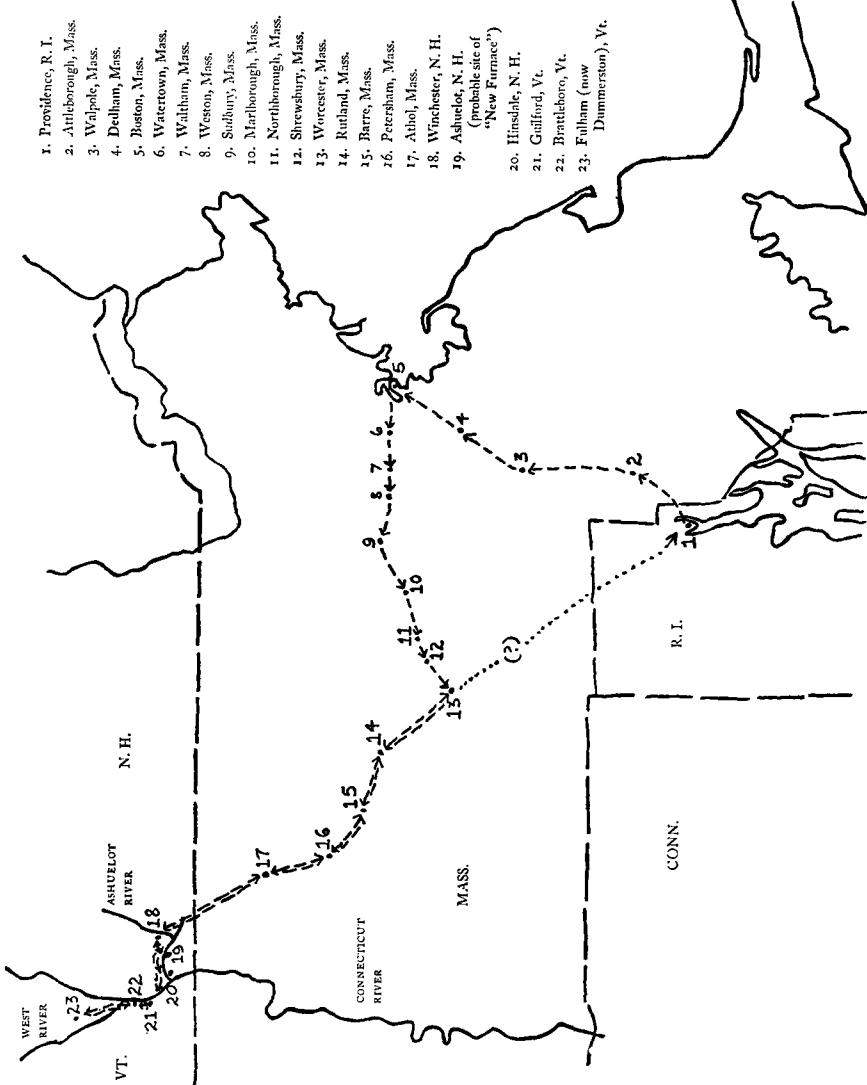
Mr. Derby's Letter I have just rec'd. he declines receiving any thing but Money down at 2/ per H. for his Bohea Tea. He is fitting out the Astrea and another Ship for the Indies— All conjecture he is Rich and not much in debt— His Son has made but a paltry hand of his Consignment in the Indies.<sup>11</sup>

Sep. 22d. Dined at Mr. Barrell's and from thence accompanied him to his Ship [Columbia] Capt. Gray ready mann'd and fitted for the NorthWest Coast of America.<sup>12</sup>

Their want of success in their first Voyage is wholly attributed to bad management on the Coast, first when they had an Opport[unit]y of amassing a Fortune & then at Canton where was sacrificed what was saved or brot from Nootka—

This Ship has 30 Hands on bo[ar]d. her Stores amo[un]t to about 5000 D[olla]rs. her Cargo as much more— 55 Barrls Pork and 120 Bbls of Beef, 70,000 W of Bread and other Stores in Proportion. She carries Two new Suits of Sails besides her Old Ones— A Whale Boat Rigg'd over her Stern to be ready on all occasions to drop into the Sea, particularly in the So. Lati[tu]d[es]. in the Southern Pacific where Turtle abound and are caught Sleeping— She carries in her the Frame of a Sloop of about 30 Tons to build on the Coast— As also a Forge to Work all sorts of Tools wanted by the Natives— Her Cargo I believe consists of Beads, Buttons, Looking Glasses, Old Iron, New Iron, Copper, Knives, Forks, Woollens Coarse—Shoes &c. [?] for Sailors.

The Article of Toes is most wanted by



ROUTE OF JOHN FRANCIS' TRAVELS THROUGH NEW ENGLAND

the Indians, wh[ich] is a piece of Iron formed into a Machine in Shape of a Wide awkward Chizzel. for one of those a Sea Otter's Skin has been generally bought— I saw one of them belonging to Mr. Barrell. the Color was superior to a black Sattin wh[ich] was exposed in the same light, and as far beyond any thing I ever saw before in Softness as the Beaver exceeds the Rabbit.<sup>18</sup>

This Ship will remain on the Coast at least three Years and will doubtless with common Fortune do Well— The Cap. is equally concern'd in Commissions with a Young Clerk of Mr. Barrells—

The Men and Officers are on pay. The Cap. 30 D[olla]rs per Mo. the Mates 20 and 15 D[olla]rs. the Smith who is an excellent Workman is allowed 14 Dollars per Mo.—

This Ship only waits the End of the expected Equinoctial Gale when she will proceed—

Her small Arms were chiefly Borrowed of Govr. Hancok,<sup>14</sup> they giving Bonds to return them or to pay 12/— each— She carried 8 six pounders, and a number of small Kegs wh[ich] are intended for Water— at the Sandwich Islands where the Indians or Natives will swim them on and off full at a time the Boats cannot go on Shore and when the Water is up some Mountain inaccessible to the Sailors—

Mr. Saml Brown is concern'd with Mr. Barrell— Mr. Pintard's share is also for Sale. he has convey'd it to his Uncle Saml Pintard on Long Island— So they cheat the Devil.

Besides this Ship there has one Brig Cap. Ingraham saild for the same Coast — He was Mate on board the Ship on her last Voyage and has now the Entire Comm[an]d of this Vessel— She is owned by Cap. Megee, Mr. T. H. Per-

kins and two or three others—<sup>15</sup>

Mr. J. C. Jones has kindly lent me Dixon's Narrative of his Voyage to the same Coast from wh[ich] we can gain every Information we Want or is necessary—<sup>16</sup>

This day concluded an Agreemt with Mr. Coolidge to pay in the first Bandanoes @ 36/ for the Bill of Woollens Amo[un]t[in]g to £148.13.4 Also for 16 Punj[ab] Cloth 14d½ per yd. Gurrah's @ 14d½— 12 yd Bastar @ 1/3, and fine Surbitties 4 pr[?] at 7/9 per yard— to the Amo[un]t of £120.11.4 — These I had pack'd in a Box to be sent by Dexter Brown Tomorrow for Providence.<sup>17</sup>

The Owners of the Duck Manuf[ac]tor[y] require our proposals in Writing wh[ich] I have desired my Father to give.<sup>18</sup>

Sep. 23d. The Heat of yesterday & the fatigue of running backwards & forwards occasion'd a return of my pain in the side wh[ich] confined me to my Bed the Morng— In the Afternoon I departed in search of Mr. Danl. Cahoon and feeling indisposed I concluded to pass little Cambridge and Sleeping at Water-Town—

This Town is small but pleasantly situated on a small Winding River, and bids fair for rivalling any of the Surrounding Villages— A Large proportion of the Beef and Pork shipp'd from Boston is bought by the Traders here— and there is no place on the Continent better fitted for a Brewery— Hops & Barley are raised in Abundance in this & the Neighbouring Towns, also Flax Seed, Butter, Lard, &c.&c.&c.

I sleep at Cap. Coolidge's<sup>19</sup> or rather took a Bed, for Sleep was in Vain. no haunted House was ever more disturbed

— The Manners of the people are widely opposite to those of their neighbours the Bostonians— A Degree of Freedom & a Set of Cant Words compose the major part of their Conversation.

Setting at the Kitchen Fire after Tea and waiting for my Bed wh[ich] was warming— The Master of the Tavern from Home— First Enterd a long Gawky Chap who accosted the Laundress with, Where the Hell is the Captain? He had but pass'd thro, when in came a Second— Why where the devil is the Capt. aynt you feard he is dead by God? In a short Time arrived the Capt. when a howl not much unlike the Indian War hoop welcom'd him to his Hovel. His Wife soon desir'd him to Light the Gentleman to Bed who was in the Kitchen— I sat up close in one Corner and observed this Innkeeper Vociferating like a Lion— Holloa Deacon are you for Bed? Receiving no Answer he redoubled his Voice. Holloa Squire are you ready? Silence on my part, occasion'd alike on his when perceiving me, he slyly added Sir will you please to follow me I will shew you my Room.

Sep. 24th. When eating my Breakfast Mr. FitzHall and Mr. Hunt enter'd and kindly invited me to their Houses— Hunt is a Man of Note & Fitzhall I believe in good Circumstances<sup>20</sup>

The Country in General is Rough and very Rocky. The Houses are too large and almost always convey this Idea to the Traveller that the Builder had “too large Eyes for his Belly” or mor[e] justly speaking his purse w[oul]d not supply what his Wishes lead him to undertake.

Their Barns are Spacious but illy situated, their Fences are often of Wood when Stones sufficient encumber the Land—

Having passed thro the Towns of WaterTown, Waltham, Weston, E. Sudbury, West Sudbury, Ma[r]lboro, we stoppd there and partook of a most horrid Dinner and thence purs'd our Journey thro Northboro and Shrewsbury to Worcester where we Lodged at Patch's Tavern.<sup>21</sup>

On my Rout from WaterTown I overtook three Men who soon inquired w[h]ither I was bound, a question too intricate for me to Answer— I complied so far as to say in search of a Mr. Cahoon. when one of them added he was Journeying within a Few Miles of the New Furnace, we immed'y formed Acquaintance and I now know my Fellow Traveller by the name of Mr. Humphreys<sup>22</sup>

Sep. 25. We took breakfast before our Departure and were not a little amused by a desultory Conv[er]s[atio]n in the next Room between 3 or 4 old Squires who also at Breakf. beguiled their Time as we Yankees Do by Talking— The Conversation in part follows—

“ 1st. I say now, what difference makes “there between your Tarnal hard Folks “& your Dishonest Folks?

“ 2d. Why I do not know— You are “partly right & partly wrong, if one Man “tells you what he will do and does do it, “if you are fool enough to comply with “his Terms, do not blame him— Tho' I “think its a Paradox.

“ 3d. But there is your Tarnation hard “cunning Creatures. Why I was down “in Boston Town and offer'd to sell one “Quarter of as nice Lamb as ever crea-“tion formed— and there was a Woman “who are a pesky deal harder than *us* “Men offer'd me 10d.— Ay! Tenpence “for a Quarter that I vouch w[oul]d “weigh pretty middling nearly towards 8 “pound. Why says I do you think I am a

"tarnal Fool. 8 pound for 10d. Why I "say that is but little more than a penny "per pound— Well then the creature "shew'd me two Quarters of good right "down nice Lambs she bought at 10d— "There Don't you think Deacon she was "a tight hand? I was desperate Lucky, "and made a fine Trade after all— Why "I came across a whole Floor of Fish and "made one Rap with my Lamb for 40# "of Fish, a pretty Good Trade for I sold "a Shillings worth on my way home and "kept what I did not eat that day in my "chest till Winter came. Now don't you "think a Woman's tighter than us Men?"

We soon left Worcester for Rutland the Town adjoining on the NW and after passing as horrid a Road as ever Man Rid arrived in Rutland Town where I determin'd to borrow a Saddle of a Mr. Bartlett<sup>23</sup> and proceed on Horseback— This Scheme w[oul]d not answer with my Horse who jolted me Mountain high sufficient to Murder any Honest Man. A Mile on my Horse was time enough for a Man with any Sagacity to know his Breech w[oul]d not bear a Hundred & Thirty of the same Thumping—I therefore left my Horse in keeping with a Mr. Watson<sup>24</sup> a Tanner at the Bottom of the Hill and hired his small hard Trotting Horse or Jade—

We dined on the Hill at Mr. Wood's Tavern where I met Mr. John Blake— Who lives in B[r]attleboro' and has but lately married a Daughter of the late Colo. Jones of Hindsdale in the State of N Hampshire—<sup>25</sup>

He kindly gave me Letters to his Brother Frank and a Mr. Chandler of the same Town in Vermont—<sup>26</sup>

After Dinner we pursued our Journey N Westward thro the Towns of Barry to Petersham where I slep at Cap. Wards a Brother of Genl. Ward.—<sup>27</sup>

It may not be improper to remark that the Troops captur'd by Gates were some time station'd at this Montpellier of America for so it is happily called—<sup>28</sup>

Its' situation bespeaks Health & Hardiness. I mean the Center of the Town, wh[ich] is eminently distinguish'd by a large Meeting House & Barracks where the Troops were qua[r]ter'd— The Pickets are part yet Standing.

On the East Side of those Qua[r]ters lies the Estate of Genl Rufus Putnam a late Officer in the Contin[ental] Army but now a Judge of the Western Territory with a Salary of 1500 Dollars per An., a Temptation sufficient for him to leave his Home & Farm and Wander an Ohio Tartar.<sup>29</sup> Reason as you will a Wilderness is little better than a Vault to the Living—Constituted only for the dead.

Sep. 26th. At Cap. Wards Door I parted with my Fellow Traveller who must as he ought, ride to ride [sic] his Wife, or ride to see his Wife Only 3 Miles off the last Evg— I could but call on him as I pass'd his Door where to add to the many Obligations conferr'd he had detained a Mr. Hooton<sup>30</sup> who was bound to B[r]attleboro' & with whom I jogg'd along.

Our Fare at Deacon Howes<sup>31</sup> for Dinner was miserable, a Religious Idea prevented their cooking Victuals on a Sunday—

In the Evg we arrived at the New Furnace wh[ich] is owned by several Gentlemen. Of the Number are Clark & Nightingale 2/8, Danl Cahoon 2/8, Mr. Hawkins 2/8, and the Residue I know not to whom.<sup>32</sup>

I rec'd from Mr. Cahoon all the papers relating to our demand against Mr. Dan Taylor of Fulham<sup>33</sup> and after mak-

ing some Arrangements with him I proceeded for Taylors.

Our Road was thro' a Rut entirely obscured from the Sun Which since the Days of Adam was intended as a puzzle Cap to all New Englanders. The more expense to make it good, the Worse it must be— 15 Bridges of 50 feet in Length on an average are Placed to convey Travellers into Mire or onto Mountains and all in the Space of solely 3 Miles.

Sep. 27th. Our Tour last Night thro' the above described was frightful. Entirely excluded from what little Light the Moon afforded thro' thick & almost impenetrable Clouds, we preserved the Road only from the impossibility of passing thro' the woods out of it wh[ich] is thickly cover'd with underbrush, Rocks, Large Trees & Old Trunks cross ways. We arrived at 10 at Night on the River opposite Evans House & cross'd the Ferry, which his Wife a good Jolly dame keeps.<sup>34</sup>

The Connecticut River is here about 200 Yards wide and in the Channell perhaps 10 to 12 feet deep— Flat Bottom'd Boats will carry 5 to 6 Tons from 50 Miles above down to Hartford wh[ich] is about 100 Miles below. Pot & Pearl Ashes are shipped in abundance by the different Traders who are scattered through this almost new State—

It continues Raining so that I must [e'er(?)] on with my Surtout and push for Taylor's in Fulham— I kept [to] the Banks of the River thro' the small Town of B[r]attleboro wh[ich] is pleasantly Situated on the River. on[e] Mile above it Forks & West River, well calculated for Mill Seats, Runs about NW. thro the NW part of B[r]attleboro—

Diagonally thro' Fulham and then pursues a more Westerly course.

The Land on the West of the River appears less Mountainous than the East side— indeed was it not a Road along it w[oul]d be impossible to make— I allude to the Country above the Ferry as far as Fulham for below the Situation is reversed—

I found Taylor in his Tavern wh[ich] he keeps adjoining his Store. he keeps a Pearlery and will no doubt make well out in any Business he may undertake, being a sharp knowing chap.

I renewed the two Notes & took a New One for £[blank]. He promises to make paymt of £150 this Fall, and has engagd to send down the last of next Week 12 Good young Horses with some Beef and Pearl Ash.

This Town of Fulham is generally good Land and well Situated on the two Rivers— I return'd back to Evans' Tavern and there shall take Bed—

Sept. 28th— The Morng. rainy & disagreeable. Cross'd the River into New Hampshire Town of Hindsdale and pursued my Journey back to the Furnace in Winchester same State, the most Southern Town.

Here I found Cahoon had prepar'd the papers but we co[ul]d not get the Deed acknowledged, no Justice being in the Town and the Recorder being also from Home. We agreed to have the Mortgage to secure £450 and a Note of hand for £184/7 Separate, the balance. He is to have the Deed finish'd and sent down by his Son early this Autumn.<sup>35</sup> He can make no Remittance or do I expect he will very Soon.

After Dinner I push'd for home, well satisfied at turning my back on a Coun-

try I look on with horror and with the prospect of soon arriving to the place where I left my carriage— Every Step the Horse now takes, I count well my Rib's ake, my Whole Body is Jelly'd— From Winchester my Road was thro Orange Town the first adjoining in the Bay State, thence to Athol & Petersham where I slep at Cap. Wards, on the Borders of Athol—

Sept. 29th. Jogg'd on thro' the Town of Barry to Rutland where I dined at Howe's Tavern, return'd my Horse and rode 1½ Miles to Mr. Bartletts where I tackled him in my Sulkey and soon trotted to Worcester, where I again found a Crowd of People who had been attending an ordination Sermon—<sup>36</sup> The Tavern being overrun with Live Stock I concluded<sup>37</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Cahoone was born in 1737, the son of Samuel and Susannah (Nichols) Cahoone of Warwick, R. I. From Warwick he moved to Providence where he spent "the vigor of his manhood" on the wharves and in the "store-houses of the importing merchant," and in the "councils of the city, and the counting room of the forge and furnace." On August 10, 1760, he married the widow Lillas Thomas, daughter of Charles Dyer of Cranston. Early the following year he is listed as a saddler when he purchased property on "Stampers Hill by the Town Street" in Providence. Ten years later his occupation is given as merchant. By 1774 his family consisted of two males over sixteen, four under sixteen, two females over sixteen, and three under. He served as a trustee of Brown University, 1776-1789. Before the end of May, 1782, he moved with his family to Winchester, N. H., where the 1790 census records his household as four males and three females over sixteen, one male under sixteen, and one other free person. Cahoone was the only original proprietor of Lyndon, Vt., to settle there, arriving from Winchester in May, 1793. Subsequently and until his death after being gored by a bull on September 13, 1811, he served in several capacities as a town official.

See "The Cahoone Family of Rhode Island," manuscript, Rhode Island Historical Society; John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Census of the Inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations [1774]* (Providence, 1858); Abby M. Hemenway, ed., *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, etc., 1867-1891), I, 340-342, 391; *Rhode Island Vital Records* (Providence, 1891-1912), II (Cranston section), 8; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University 1764-1934*

(Providence, 1936), p. 6; *Providence deeds, XVII, 139, XVIII, 444, XIX, 374.*

<sup>2</sup> Neither the exact location nor the proprietor of Holmes' Tavern has been determined, but it is likely to have been in what is now North Attleboro. The 1790 census lists three Holmes families in Attleboro: Eliphalet (134—), Joseph (213—), and Samuel (122—). Apparently Holmes' was not a regular stage stop since Massachusetts almanacs for 1790 and 1791 list only Barrows', Newell's, and Bolkum's taverns in Attleboro.

Shubael Downes, who kept tavern in Walpole, served as the town's representative to the Massachusetts General Court in 1789. See Isaac N. Lewis, *History of Walpole* (Walpole, 1905), p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Gay's tavern stood at the corner of Court and Highland Streets, and was in good repair in 1936 when Dedham's tercentenary was celebrated. A photograph of it appears in that town's *Official Commemoration and Chronicle* published in the tercentennial year, and there are notes in the same work to distinguish it from another Gay's tavern formerly in the town. See *Official Commemoration* (Dedham, 1936), pp. 129, 132, 138, 160, 161. The petition to split the town was not successful at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Blagge occupied buildings on Purchase Street above Foster's Wharf "as a Boat builder & Block Maker Shop," according to published United States direct tax records of Boston for 1798, as well as several brick and wooden structures on Foster's Wharf itself. Blagge's marriage in 1786 to Sarah Hall is on record, and he appears in the census of 1790

(2122—). See Boston *City Document*, no. 92, pp. 85, 86; and Boston marriages in *City Document*, no. 101, p. 71.

NB (i.e., Nicholas Brown), eldest of the four brothers associated in business under the name of Nicholas Brown and Company, was born in Providence, July 28, 1729, and died at the age of 62 on May 29, 1791, survived by his second wife and but two of eleven children. See James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1952), which sets out in detail the widespread interests of the Brown family concerns.

<sup>5</sup> The 1789 Boston directory records Robert Partridge, rigger, on Barrett's Wharf, with residence on Church Street. He and William Fenno are listed as occupants of a brick store and coopershop on a passageway to Wheelwright's Wharf, westerly on Oliver's Dock, in the U. S. direct tax records for Boston for 1798.

Built by William Hackett of Amesbury and launched at Quincy in September, 1789, by Daniel Briggs, the Boston-owned ship *Massachusetts* was the largest merchant vessel built in America up to that time. Her displacement was 600 tons, her length 116 ft., and her beam 36 ft. The story of her "melancholy" voyage is related in detail in William Fairburn's *Merchant Sail* (Center Lovell, Maine, 1945-1954), I, 521-523. It is interesting to note that Francis' careful entries and delivery thereof to his partner and associates upon his return to Providence occasioned the rapid dispatch of the Providence ship *Washington*, Jonathan Donnison, master, which arrived at Macao before the *Massachusetts* and met her there. See also Fairburn, V, 2897.

<sup>6</sup> Neither Blake nor Williams has been positively identified. Blake may be the Joseph Blake taxed for property on Town Dock and Spears Wharf in 1798, or he may well be the William Blake who, under the name of Frances & Blake, was taxed in 1798 for a wharf "with one barn & shop thereon" on Fish Street.

Probably the most logical choice of the several members of the Williams family listed in the 1789 directory is Samuel the merchant who held forth at No. 12, Long Wharf. Another possibility is Robert, a shopkeeper, located on Oliver's Dock. Hancock's Wharf was second only to Long Wharf in size and capacity in 1790.

<sup>7</sup> East India goods. See note 17 below.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the William DeBlois noted in

the 1790 census (1141-) who had a store at No. 2 Long Wharf according to the 1789 directory. Other members of the family were Boston merchants, but apparently were absent at the time Francis was in town. See Arthur W. H. Eaton, "The DeBlois family," *New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, vol. 67 (1913), pp. 8-17, 186, 187.

The 1789 directory lists Joseph Coolidge, merchant, at 20 Cornhill.

<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Balch and Shippie Townsend, block makers, had their shop on Barrett's Wharf, two wharves below the drawbridge on Ann Street, according to the 1789 directory.

<sup>10</sup> The Honorable William Phillips resided on Beacon Street, according to the 1789 directory.

<sup>11</sup> Elias Hasket Derby, Sr., of Salem, said to have been the wealthiest man of his day in New England, died September 8, 1799, at the age of 60. See William Bentley, *Diary* (Salem, 1907), II, 317, 318. The ship *Astrea*, one of Derby's vessels, was entered at Salem Custom House on June 5, 1790, from Canton carrying a cargo of tea, silks, chinaware, nankeens, etc., with duties amounting to \$27,109.18. See Fairburn, V, 518-521, and James D. Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), *passim*.

Derby's son, Elias Hasket, Jr., followed family tradition in reaping enormous profits as a result of subsequent voyages, although he evidently did not do well by the standards of his contemporaries on this particular venture.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Barrell (1739-1804), prosperous and astute Boston merchant and one of the owners of the ship *Columbia* on its successful voyage to North America's northwest coast in 1787, lived on Summer Street—described as being then the most beautiful street in Boston—until 1793, when he moved to his newly constructed mansion called "Pleasant Hill" in Charlestown. See Dean A. Fales, Jr., "Joseph Barrell's Pleasant Hill," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, vol. 43 (1966), pp. 373-390.

The *Columbia*, Capt. Robert Gray, arrived back in Boston from its voyage around the world—the first by an American vessel—on August 10, 1790. Capt. John Derby (son of Elias Hasket Derby, Sr.), John Pintard, a wealthy New York merchant, and the Boston architect Charles Bulfinch were among the owners of the *Columbia* with Barrell. Samuel Brown, later named U. S. Navy agent for Boston, was also involved. See Fairburn, I, 501-

502, and Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), III, 336, 337.

<sup>18</sup> See *An Abridgment of Portlock and Dixon's Voyage Round the World, Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788* (London, 1789), p. 122, for a description of the wrought-iron adze-like tool which was so much in demand by the Northwest tribes, and which was called "toes." Sea otter pelts became the stock in trade with the Far East with the result that the species was soon hunted almost to extinction.

<sup>14</sup> This, of course, is the Revolutionary patriot John Hancock (1737-1793). The lending of what are presumed to be public arms strikes us today as a somewhat questionable practice, but perhaps is characteristic of Hancock's administration. See Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Boston, 1967), XIII, 416 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Ingraham was sent out as Captain of the 70-ton brigantine *Hope* in 1790 as a follow-up to the voyage of the *Columbia*. Ingraham had served as mate on the *Columbia*. The *Hope* was owned by Thomas Handasyd Perkins who had served as supercargo on the *Astrea* during her profitable voyage (see note 11 above). Perkins' brother-in-law, James Maggee, Jr., was master of the *Hope*. See Fairburn, I, 505, 519, 520.

<sup>16</sup> John Coffin Jones, merchant, Hanover-street, according to the 1789 directory. Francis borrowed either the full text of Dixon's *Voyage* or the *Abridgement*, both of which were published in London in 1789. See Sabin 20364 and 20365.

<sup>17</sup> These somewhat phonetically spelled names refer to several varieties of cotton goods of Indian manufacture recently imported by the Brown & Francis firm.

Dexter Brown's connection with the family of Francis' partner has not been traced. He married Amey Tyler, September 24, 1769, according to published Providence vital records, but no other data appears. The 1790 census lists him (2121-) in proximity with Phinehas, Daniel and Morris Brown; their relationship, if any, can only be conjectured. Correspondence of a business nature between a Dexter Brown and the several Brown firms dating as early as 1764 is in the Brown Papers, John Carter Brown Library.

<sup>18</sup> The Frog Lane Factory in 1792 produced about 2,000 yards of sailcloth weekly and em-

ployed 400 hands. It was established about 1789, and was the supplier of duck and cordage for the ship *Massachusetts*. See E. J. Donnell, *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton* (New York, 1872), pp. 47, 53.

Apparently Tench Francis had some interest in this venture.

<sup>19</sup> *Watertown Records* (Watertown, Mass., 1894-1939), VI, 413, 427, indicate that Mrs. Dorothy Coolidge's license as innholder was renewed on September 10, 1789, but was not renewed on the following September 10. She was the widow of Capt. Nathaniel Coolidge (d. 1773) who had long operated a tavern in the town. See also Henry Bond, *Family Memorials* (Boston, 1855), I, 174.

<sup>20</sup> Col. Fitch Hall's household is listed in the 1790 census (1232-), and the *Watertown Records*, VI, 374, 427, mention him as a retailer of liquor in 1787-1788 and 1790-1791.

William Hunt (Harvard 1768) married Mary Coolidge, daughter of innkeeper Nathaniel, is listed in the 1790 census as Esquire (3361-), and served both as Watertown's representative to the Massachusetts General Court in 1784, 1794, and 1800-1801, and in several town offices over the same period. See Bond, II, 174, 304, and *Watertown Records*, VI, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Nathan Patch, a man of means, built his hostelry in 1784 and operated it until 1793. It stood on Main Street near Summer Street, and was called the Exchange Hotel. See Worcester Society of Antiquity, *Proceedings*, vol. 16 (1890), p. 385, and vol. 18 (1892), p. 244.

<sup>22</sup> Although the locale in Winchester, N. H., called New Furnace has not been pinpointed, the town was the scene of iron mining, smelting, and casting as late as 1839, when two furnaces were in operation at or near Ashuelot village. See George W. Pierce, "Winchester," *Granite Monthly*, vol. 21 (1896), p. 280, and the article on Winchester in John Hayward's *New England Gazetteer* (Boston, 1839). I am indebted to Mrs. Russell B. Tobey, librarian, and Mrs. Laurence B. Morrill of the New Hampshire Historical Society for calling the Pierce article to my attention.

It is tempting to rationalize New Furnace as being newer than the Old Furnace on the Ware River in Hardwick, Mass., but nothing has been found to document this bit of armchair etymology.

A William Humphrey is listed in the 1790 census as a resident of Winchester.

<sup>23</sup> Three Bartlett families were enumerated in Massachusetts in 1790 as Rutland residents —Daniel (5-4—) of whom a sketch appears in Jonas Reed's *History of Rutland* (Worcester, 1879), pp. 108, 109; Josiah (113—); and Adenijah (113—).

<sup>24</sup> Three Watson households are also listed: John (113—), John Jr. (2-2—), and Samuel Smith (4-2—) though none is identifiable through published material as being a tanner.

<sup>25</sup> According to the 1790 census, there were two Wood households in Rutland: Thomas (2121—), and Joseph (124—). Reed's *History of Rutland* notes that both lived on Birch Hill.

John Welland Blake, a lawyer, moved to Brattleboro from Bellows Falls some time before his marriage to Abigail, daughter of Daniel Jones, Esq. of Hinsdale, N. H., on May 24, 1790. Born in 1759, Blake died October 27, 1818, at the age of 59. See Hemenway, V, 20, 36, 57, 156, 180; and *Record of the Blakes of Somersetshire* (Boston, 1881), pp. 34-37.

Judge Daniel Jones was born July 24, 1740, and graduated from Harvard College in 1759. In the early 1760's he became the first lawyer to settle in Pittsfield, and married Lydia, daughter of Col. Elijah Williams of Deerfield in 1763. Early in the same year he moved to Hinsdale, N. H., where he was immediately elected town clerk and selectman, and later was appointed justice of the peace. In 1771 he became the first chief justice of Cheshire County. Mildly Tory in politics, he represented the town of Hinsdale in the Walpole convention of 1780 and in the Vermont Assembly of 1781, later assisting in the revision of the Vermont laws. He died at Hinsdale on February 14, 1786, and his widow survived until June, 1797. See Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, XIV, 445-447.

<sup>26</sup> Frank is Francis Blake (1774-1817), John Welland Blake's younger brother, and undoubtedly it is Gardner Chandler to whom Francis refers. Chandler represented Brattleboro in the Vermont legislature, 1790-1791, and at the convention which ratified the United States Constitution prior to Vermont's admission as a state. He also served as justice of the peace in 1794. See Hemenway, V, 57; Vermont, *Records of the Governor and Council*, vol. 3 (1875), pp. 210, 466, 480; and Vermont, *State Papers*, vol. 10 (1958), p. 109.

<sup>27</sup> Elisha Ward, brother of the Revolutionary general, Artemas Ward, was born in Shrewsbury in 1733 and died in Petersham in

1802. He married Mary Baldwin about 1763. His tavern was located in the north end of Petersham near the Athol line. See Charles Martyn, *William Ward Genealogy* (New York, 1925), pp. 87, 88, 111; and Edmund B. Willson, *Address . . . in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Incorporation . . .* (Boston, 1855), p. 188.

<sup>28</sup> This is not Petersham but Rutland where the British troops surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga were quartered on Barrack Hill during the summer of 1778.

<sup>29</sup> The comparison of Ohio to Tartary will possibly amuse but not surprise those who live west of the East. A similar insularity exists in the minds of many New Englanders even today.

<sup>30</sup> Probably the John Houghton (1727-1826) called Tertius, who moved from Lancaster, Mass., to Brattleboro in 1770, and later to Guilford, where he died. He was a loyalist, but escaped confiscation of his goods. See John W. Houghton, *Houghton Genealogy* (New York, 1912), pp. 97, 98, 104, 105.

<sup>31</sup> This must be the Silvanus How (1727-1802) of Petersham, written up in Daniel Wait Howe, *Howe Genealogies* (Boston, 1929), II, 294, and in Willson's *Address . . .*, pp. 38-41.

<sup>32</sup> John Innes Clark and Joseph Nightingale were Providence shipping partners. The latter's house still stands at 357 Benefit Street. See John Hutchins Cady, *The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence, 1636-1950* (Providence, 1957), pp. 63, 65.

One of Winchester's pioneers was Stephen Hawkins, an Englishman, who farmed near what is now Ashuelot village. A Daniel Hawkins, presumably of Winchester, witnessed a transfer of property from Cahoon to Jonathan Arnold in December, 1791. See Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer of Cheshire County, N. H., 1736-1885* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1885), p. 536; and Providence deeds, vol. 22, part 2, p. 374.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor was in Newfane, Vt., as early as 1782, and served as justice of the peace there in 1783 when he is also recorded as selling lots in the west part of Dummerston. He represented Newfane in the Vermont legislature in 1781. Evidently he removed to Fulham, now called Dummerston, before May 17, 1784, when he sold land there, and was the town's representative from 1794 to 1797 and again in 1801. See Hemenway, vol. 5, part 2, pp. 74, 76, 205, 461; Vermont, *State Papers*, X, 106, 107, and

XI, 133; and Vermont, *Governor and Council*, III, 9, 22, and IV, 152, 323.

<sup>34</sup> This is the wife of Henry Evans, a reformed Tory, listed in the 1790 census (116—). See Hemenway, vol. 5, part 3, pp. 6, 25, 27; Vermont, *State Papers*, vol. 5 (1939), p. 348; and Vermont, *Governor and Council*, III, *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> This deed is not recorded in Providence.

<sup>36</sup> Probably it is Deacon Jonas How to whom Francis refers. See Reed, *History of Rutland*, p. 93.

The minister being ordained in Worcester as Francis rode through was Rev. Samuel Austin, and the date was September 30 rather than the 29th. Pastor of Worcester's First Church ("Old South"), 1790-1816, Austin later went to the Vermont on which Francis looked with

such horror to become president of the state university. Old South Church stood in 1790 at the head of Worcester's common on a site now occupied by City Hall. See Caleb A. Wall, *Reminiscences of Worcester* (Worcester, 1877), p. 120.

<sup>37</sup> Francis' diary breaks off abruptly here. A final and puzzling paragraph was added later in the hand of Abby Brown Francis, and the text is included here for the record. Just who Mr. and Mrs. Harrison were, their importance, and the occasion for their visit, have not been determined.

"Mr. & Mrs. Harrison visited Providence on their way to Boston September the 6. 1806. they staid in Town Two days only & dined at my grandmothers on the first day. the next day proving unpleasant they were compell'd to remain in the House. A B F."

---

## Notice to Members and Subscribing Institutions

After consideration of the increasing costs of publication and other services to the Society's membership the Board of Trustees has felt it necessary for the first time since 1927 to make an advance in membership dues and the rate of subscription to OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND for libraries, colleges and related organizations.

Therefore, on March 1, 1970, the following annual schedule becomes effective:

Associate membership and institutional subscriptions to	
OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND	\$5.00
Active membership	10.00
Life membership	200.00

The Trustees have also voted to create a new class of membership designated as Family which will extend all privileges of active membership (except receipt of the quarterly bulletin) to a second related person in the same household.

\$15.00

---

## First International Tour

Early in November the final notice of the Society's proposed tour, *Timber-framed Houses and Buildings of England*, was mailed to those persons who indicated interest in joining by returning the coupon attached to the first announcement mailed to the entire membership.

Should any members wish to receive further information concerning the itinerary and reservation forms, they should apply at once to the Society's headquarters, 141 Cambridge Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02114.