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Saugus Iron Works

A Social & Cultural History

Prepared for: Saugus Iron Works
National Park Service
Saugus, Massachusetts

By: William M. DeMarco, Ph.D.
September, 1983

The original design specifications for this project called for a detailed social/cultural history of the working community of the Saugus Iron Works from its founding in 1643 to its metamorphosis into the "Iron Works Farm" in 1682. It was also hoped that the social/cultural history of the surrounding community, as it related to the iron works, would be included.

These specifications seemed reasonable. Massachusetts has fine resource libraries; legal records are generally well preserved; geneological histories are available in several forms; the "Iron Works Collection" has been preserved; and much ancillary research has already been done.

Given this scenario, it seemed plausible that a detailed social/cultural history could be prepared within a reasonable period of time.

SOURCES

Massachusetts Historical Society

While the Massachusetts Historical Society holdings contains a significant amount of material about the Saugus Iron Works, virtually no citations are listed under "Saugus Iron Works," "Lynn Iron Works" or "Hammersmith." The methods employed to discover cross referenced material had to be somewhat creative.

Using the list of Scotchmen employed at the Iron Works (see Massachusetts Historical Society Bulletin", October, 1927), I studied the geneology lists at the New England Historic Geneological Society for additional family names. Then all names

were checked against the Historical Society catalogue. Some of the citations in the card catalogue led to further cross-references.

Another method employed was to cross-reference the extensive index found in Hartley's Iron Works on the Saugus against the historical society catalogue. This, in turn, led to further citations.

Using both of these methods led to the discovery of the citations listed in the appendix to this paper. They appear here as they can be found in the card catalogue of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A careful examination of each citation yielded an extensive amount of information about Savage-Paine and Savage-Appleton litigation (1652 - 1682), as well as some geneological information, but virtually nothing about the social/cultural history of Hammersmith/Saugus Iron Works.

The litigation in question has been carefully analyzed in several other well known sources. For information on the topic, see Hartley's Iron Works on the Saugus. The 1975 Cummings (SPNEA) report on The Iron Works Farm in Saugus, Essex County Massachusetts, contains a brief summary of this litigation.

New England Historic Geneological Society

The society is basically a geneological research center. It does maintain a collection of books and documents which are related to the geneologies housed in the collection. As was the case in the Massachusetts Historical Society catalogue, no

references to Hammersmith, Saugus Iron Works, or Lynn Iron Works were found in the catalogue. Much of the original material uncovered in the Massachusetts Historical Society records can be found as duplicates here.

The major advantage of this library is its geneological collection. A complete list of geneologies related to the Saugus Iron Works has been provided in the appendix of this paper. Most of these geneologies were checked. They generally are more than a set of lists. It is from this information that I was able to find out, for example, that Emmanuel Downing was a shareholder of the iron works and uncle of John Winthrop. This is important information to a geneologist, but to a social historian, it is but a single piece of information in a thousand piece puzzle. Weeks of research at the New England Historic Geneological Society library failed to provide any greater degree of information about hundreds of individuals, than the example given.

The Iron Works Collection

The Baker Library at the Harvard Business School contains what is described as the Iron Works Collection. This collection was probably the single greatest disappointment of the entire project. It contains two boxes of approximately 200 catalogued items -- items are not in sequence, and some numbers are not present at all. The most surprising aspect of the "collection" is that every item was a duplicate copy, mostly hand-written rather than photocopies; in most cases, the original documents

were available at the Massachusetts Historical Society Library rather than at Baker.

The collection's contents are mostly land titles, copies of deeds, and copies of some of the legal documents from the Savage-Appleton litigation. There was no material that can be placed in the social/cultural history category except plot plans which do shed some light on housing patterns -- an area already well documented.

Other Sources

The Boston Atheneum is usually a good source of information for projects of this sort. A study of its catalogue, however, only revealed occasional duplicates with documents at the Massachusetts Historical Society Library.

The catalogues at the libraries in Saugus and Lynn were likewise checked. They revealed no new substantive data.

A project that had initially began as an attainable task developed into an endless progression of blind leads after a year of research. It was most unfortunate, but an almost endless series of research tasks failed to reveal any acceptable level of detail concerning the social/cultural history of the Saugus Iron Works. No where has this been more apparent and frustrating than in the search for the Lynn gentleman farmer Obediah Turner.

OBEDIAH TURNER

James Newhall, the respected author of The History of Lynn (1890) [Saugus was part of Lynn in the 17th Century] wrote nearly a century ago about the existence of a diary written by the politically active Lynn citizen Obediah Turner, between approximately 1640 and 1670. Newhall's book devotes one chapter to the Turner diary. Turner is described as living near to the Iron Works. He was married to an attractive woman who was well known in the local community. They frequently entertained the iron-master, and other important persons. The Newhall/Turner descriptions are intriguing because they provide a level of detail generally not available elsewhere.

There seemed to be three tasks at hand:

- (1) The discovery of the actual Turner Diary
- (2) The discovery of corroborating evidence concerning the existence of the Turner Diary
- (3) The discovery of corroborating evidence concerning the existence of Obediah Turner.

While the discovery of the actual diary would provide an opportunity to personally evaluate the primary document, short of that, corroborating evidence of its existence would also be acceptable, so thorough was the Newhall analysis of the Turner Diary. For this very reason, even just the verification of the existence of an Obediah Turner of Saugus/Lynn in 1640-1670 would be a level of verification we could live with.

All three of these tasks seemed attainable. Historians are trained to be detectives of a sort, and Massachusetts is rich in historical documentation.

Legal Records

Newhall identified Turner as politically active within the Lynn community. Since politically active in 17th century Massachusetts meant the person was a land owner, a visit to the Essex County Registry of Deeds was called for. The registry would have a listing of all parcels of land, and their owners. Careful analysis of the Lynn records for the entire 17th century failed to reveal the existence of an Obediah Turner. This, of itself, did not necessarily mean an Obediah Turner did not exist. Seventeenth century records were not always assiduously maintained. The existence of a John Turner in another section of Lynn late in the 17th century brought about the question that this may have been a son or relative of Obediah Turner. The Probate Court Records would list any probated property, such as that possibly left by Obediah Turner to his widow. While the Probate Records for Essex County do extend back to the period under study, no mention of an Obediah Turner was made in these records either.

Town Meeting Records

Trying to think this through, I realized that the absence of an Obediah Turner in both the Registry of Deeds and the Probate records may have simply meant that Turner's property never went to probate, and that the property he owned is not properly recorded. What Newhall did definitely say anyway was that Turner was active in the political life of the Town of Lynn. A careful scrutiny of the minutes of the Town Meetings should reveal the

names of those in attendance; short of that, they should identify the names of people that held official town titles, and those that made public pronouncements/proposals. An analysis of the town meeting minutes (which have probably been unread for several centuries) fail to identify an Obediah Turner.

Geneology

The New England Historic Geneological Society research library is a veritable treasure chest of early New England geneologies. The fact that Obediah Turner was described by Newhall as a politically active gentleman farmer meant that there was a strong possibility that he would be listed in the society files. A careful analysis of their records, and a discussion with several veteran staff members, failed to uncover the existence of the increasingly enigmatic Obediah Turner. One septogenarian geneologist at the society library suggested that since Turner is a rather common Mormon name, that a study of the Mormon files in Salt Lake City might be called for.

At this point, I recalled I had a friend and colleague in Salt Lake. A phone call to Dr Philip Notariani, director at the Utah Historical Society, gained a commitment from him to help with the project. About 10 days later, I received a letter stating that the Mormon Geneological Records contain no reference to an Obediah Turner of Lynn, Massachusetts, from 1643 to 1682. Their files did contain information about John Turner later in the 17th century -- the same John Turner whose name appeared in the Essex County Registry of Deeds.

Local Historical Societies/Libraries

Some of the most obvious resources had not yet been checked: local historical societies and libraries. Telephone conversations and personal discussions with the research librarians and library directors of both Saugus and Lynn failed to shed any light on the location of the diary, or the existence of Obediah Turner. Discussions with members of the Saugus and Lynn Historic Commissions also proved uneventful, though people were genuinely intrigued by the task and eager to help.

Massachusetts Historical Society

The Massachusetts Historical Society staff members were very helpful. We checked through virtually every cross-referenced citation (see appendix) on the Iron Works and Lynn over a two week period, and still failed to identify an Obediah Turner, a cross-reference to his diary, or the diary itself.

"Iron Works Collection"

Newhall says that Turner spoke Hebrew and Greek. Such an educated man must certainly have at least associated regularly with the clergy, and, probably was educated at a college such as Harvard. The Harvard Libraries did not have any references to the Turner Diary, except as a cross-reference in Newhall's book. Baker Library at the Harvard Business School did, however, contain the "Iron Works Collection." A study of the collection likewise did not shed any light on the whereabouts of the diary, or the existence of Obediah Turner.

CONCLUSION

While the task of finding out about the social/cultural history of the Saugus Iron Works had remained the same, the project had begun to take on a different thrust. The question of the whereabouts of the Turner Diary and the very existence of Obediah Turner were surfacing as the preeminent issues -- both related to the task, but far afield of the goal.

While the evidence seems to suggest that Turner and his diary more than likely did not exist, there is always the possibility that the right stone had not been overturned. This has become symbolic of the entire task, in a way. There may very well be a wealth of data available somewhere on the social and cultural history of the Saugus Iron Works. All I can state for certain at this point is that more than 1,000 hours of research has failed to reveal its whereabouts.

While the historian in me finds this difficult to accept, I harken back to the comments of a sage in a similar situation: "You are now that much closer to making a definitive statement."

APPENDIX A: Sources

List of Saugus Iron Works References,
As Found in the Massachusetts Historical Society Catalog

Joseph Armitage

1643 (June)	Photostat	Armitage, Jane (wife of Joseph) Petition to General Court for Custody of the Anchor Tavern, Lynn
1643/4 (March 12)	Photostat	Joseph Armitage - Petition to Mass. General Court
1646 (May 6)	Photostat	Armitage, Joseph - Petition to General Court for license to draw wine at Lynn
1648 (October 27)	Photostat	"In Petition of Lynn"
1652 (June 2)	Photostat	Joseph Armitage - Deposition concerning Captain Wayne
1654	Photostat	Joseph Armitage - Petition of Mass. General Court for payment of laborers at the Iron Works
1657	Photostat	"Purchase of Iron Lands"
1679	Photostat	Mary Armitage - Petition to Mass. General Court for leave to sell...
1679 (October 15)	Photostat	Godfrey Armitage - In Mary Armitage's Petition
1679/80 (March 15)	Photostat	"In Deed of Margaret Bourd"

Edward Baker

1663 (May 19)	Photostat	Signature on Northampton Petition
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Samuel Bennett (worker)

1657 (May 5)	Photostat	In John Hawthorne's Deposition
1657 (July 9)	Photostat	In order of York Court
1660 (October 26)	Photostat	Petition
1661 (May 24)	Photostat	Testimony of M. Chamberlain

1673 (September 13)	III .197	Deed to Thomas Marshall
1676 (December 8)	Misc. Bound	In John Newell's Testimony
1676 (December 13)	IV .8	M. Chamberlain - Deposition

Nicholas Bond

1645 (June 2)	Photostat	Signature to letter about Iron Works
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Dr. Robert Child

1645 (June 2)	Ph. Mass	Signature to letter about Iron Works
1646 (May 19)	Misc. Bound	Remonstrance and petition of, to the governor, deputy governor, general court, etc. of Mass Bay
1646 (October 3)	Ph. Mass. Arch.	Remonstrance on Petition
1646 (November 9)	Photostat	In a declaration of the General Court Louldin at Boston... concerning a remonstrance and petition

Thomas Clark (auditor)

1655 (November 19) Boston	Photostat	General Court on Petition
	71.9.45	
1656 (October 8)	Misc. Bound	Articles of agreement with Valentine Hill, concerning a trade in Piscataqua River
1661 (June 9)	Photostat	Signature on Petition concerning relations with England
1661 (June 24)	71.9.61	Deed to him from Richard Potts and wife
1673 (Nov. 19-25)	Photostat	In Council Proceedings on Dutch

1674 (April 14)	Photostat	Election of Magistrates
1675 (April 2)	Photostat	Order for imprisoning pirates
1677	Photostat	Executor of Thomas Lake on Iron Works
1677 (April 16)	Misc. Bound	Deed to, from Messrs. Dillingham and Wing, as associates in purchase of Indian Land
1682 (October 10)	Misc. Bound	Deed to him from John Quason, Sachem
1695/6 (February 20)	Misc, Bound	Deed to trustees of Thomas Smith's estate

Lionel Copley

1645 (June 2)	Photostat	Signature to letter about Iron Works
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Nicholas Davison

1648 (October 27)	Photostat	Petition to Mass. General Court about Mystic Bridge
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Thomas Dexter

1643/44 (March 14)	Photostat	Petition
1657 (August 24)		Reasons as plaintiff against the inhabitants of Nahant
1677 18 (February 5)	Photostat	In petition of Richard Way

Henry Dispaw (worker/listed as "of Lynn")

1676 (March 19)	Photostat	Petition to General Court
1676 (March 23)	Photostat	Action of Council on Petition
1676 (September 11)	Photostat	In petition of John Eiffard

Emmanuel Downing (shareholder and uncle of John Winthrop)

1645 (October 18)	Photostat	Accounts of
1647/48	Photostat	In petition of Rebecca Cradock

Nathaniel Duncan (auditor)

1646 (May 20)	Photostat	Committee on Laws
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John Floyd

1651 (December 20)	Misc. Bound	"Certificate of Sale to Thomas Clap"
1680 (June 15)	M. Chamberlain	John Floyd: In suit between San. Dutch and Roger Derby

Ezechial Fogge

1676 (May 23)		"In action of Council on petition of Henry Dispaw"
1676 (September 11)		"In petition of John Gifford"

Thomas Foley (shareholder)

1645 (June 2)	Photostat	"Signature to letter about Iron Works"
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Joshua Foote (shareholder... Helped Winthrop recruit in England for Hammersmith... Scotsmen assigned to him)

1645 (June 2)	Photostat	"Signature to letter about Iron Works"
c. 1650	Photostat	"Petition of creditors of Iron Works"
1653 (August 30)	Photostat	In Savage account of Iron Works

John Francis (worker)

1653 (July 12)	Photostat	"Deposition about John Gifford"
1653 (November 4)	Misc. Bound	"In appraisal of iron works at Lynn and Braintree"

John Gifford

1655/56 (February 27)	Photostat	"... iron works in letter of Br. undertakers"
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John Gifford, Sr.

1654	Photostat	Petition to General Court concerning Iron Works
1654 (November 8)	Photostat	Vote of deputies concerning case of and undertakers of Iron Works
1656 (May 22)	Photostat	Order of Mass. General Court for release of from prison
1678 (September 10)	Photostat	Deposition concerning Iron Works

Stephen Goodyear

1653 (October 17)	Misc. Bound	Agreement with Susanna Evance about payment of husband's debts
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Captain William Hawthorne (has mortgage on Hammersmith)

1661 (June 8)	Photostat	Commission for Lynn
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William Hawthorne

1652	Photostat	In order of General Court for payment
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Richard Hood

1653 (November 4)	Misc. Bound	In appraisal of Iron Works at Lynn and Braintree
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Jeremy Houchin (Boston tanner)

1662 (May 13)	Photostat	Signature on petition about corn exports
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Robert Houghton (shareholder)

1645 (June 2)	Photostat	Signature to letter about Iron Works
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Edward Hutchinson

c. 1650	Photostat	Petition of creditors of Iron Works
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1653 (July)	Photostat	Petition to General Court about Iron Works
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Eliaki Hutchinson (attorney - signed "stranger's bonds" for indentured staff)

Richard Hutchinson (paid for share in Iron Works)

c. 1650	Photostat	Petition of creditors of Iron Works
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1653 (August 30)	Photostat	In Savage account of Iron Works
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Robert Ingalls (iron craftsman)

1648 (October 14)	Photostat	Petition
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Joseph Jenks (blacksmith)

1646 (May 10)	Photostat	Petition to General Court for patent on water wheel and engine (In 1661, his name appears on 7 testimonies in MHS records.)
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1661 (May 10)	Photostat	Released from prison
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Edward Johnson

Many legal (land) references over
entire state (MHS)

Thomas Kemble

(All MHS references are after
1675 - has several stranger's
bonds assigned: See

1675 (April 2) Photostat

Bond

1681 (June 29) (p. 49)

Boston strangers - Strangers Bond
for John Fisher

Thomas Lake (auditor)

1653 (October 11) Photostat

Deed of India land to

Richard Leader (America's first engineer)

1645 (June 2) Photostat

In undertaker's letter to (the
General Court) about Iron Works

1651 (December 2) Photostat

Attachment against

Thomas Cook (Coaler)

1653 (November 4) Misc. Bound

In appraisal of iron works at
Lynn/Braintree

Senior Lynde (auditor)

MHS has 2 dozen references
scattered throughout eastern MA

Captain John Martin ("Master of Battery Works")

1664 (May 20) Photostat

Survey of his land grant

Richard Middlecott

1679 (November 3) p. 24 Boston Stranger - Strangers Bond for William Habbersfield
1680 (December 25) p. 44 Strangers Bond - Bond for John Blake
1682 (October 30) p. 65 Strangers Bond - Bond for the cook

William Osborne (Iron Works employee) [saddler]

1682 (February 6) P. 56 Boston Stranger - In Boston Strangers Bond

William Paine

1650 (January 16) Photostat Indentures between, and John Cogswell

John Paine (son of William above)

1663 (January 20) Jane Otis Sr. Mortgage to Sam Appleton of his interest in the Lynn Iron Works

Robert Parsons (freeman of Lynn)

1643 (June) Photostat Signature on petition of Jane Armitage

Francis Perry (works carpenter)

1653 (November 4) Misc. Bound In appraisal of iron works Lynn/Braintree

John Pocock (shareholder)

1645 (June 2) Photostat Signature to letter about Iron Works

George Pordage (son in law of Simon Lynde)

1685 (Spetember 28) p. 35 Boston Strangers - Strangers bond for Bartholomew Sprint

Oliver Purchase (clerk)

1658 (November 2)		Letter from Thomas Savage on Iron Works
1678 (June 24)	Photostat	Lynn Iron Works
1679 (October 17)		Testimony on Iron Works

John Ramsdell (Lynn Resident)

1643 (June)		Signature on petition of Jane Armitage
1673 (May 7)		Petition to Massachusetts General Court

Thaddeus Riddan (Leader's Clerk)

1653 (May 27)	Photostat	Petition to Massachusetts General Court
1653 (November 4)	Misc. Bound	Appraisal of the Iron Works at Lynn
1659 (October 21)		Signature - Document unclear
1663 (April 10)	Photostat	Testimony on suit over Iron Works
1775 (January 19)		Inventory of Estate

Joseph Rock (Merchant)

c. 1650	Photostat	Petition creditors of Iron Works
1653 (August 30)	Photostat	In Savage account of Iron Works
1653/4 (January 27)	Photostat	Signature on petition of Clement Gross
1659 (October 21)	Photostat	Signature

Tobias Saunders (Ironworker)

1662 (May 9)	Photostat	Fine imposed on, by Massachusetts General Court
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1662 (May 10)	Photostat	In proposed letter from Massachusetts General Court to government of Connecticut
1662 (May 13)	Photostat	Commitment of
Ephraim Savage (Son of Thomas)		
1677 (September 20)		Autograph signature
Thomas Savage (Boston Merchant)		
c. 1650	Photostat	Petition of creditors of Iron Works
1652 (May 27)	Photostat	In report on trade
1653 (July)	Photostat	Petition to General Court about Iron Works
1653 (August 30)	Photostat	Iron Works Account
1658 (November 12)	Photostat	To Oliver - Purchase on deliveries of iron to Mr. Payne
c. 1662		Signature on letter to Massachusetts Council urging sending of agents to answer charges of Royal Commissioners
c. 1662	Photostat	Inquiries and answers of Edward Hutchinson about Iron Works
1663 (April 10)	Photostat	Testimony of Thaddeus Riddan
1664 (August 4)	Photostat	On petition of William Colton
1667/8 (February 13)	Photostat	Signature on instructions to Mr. Purchase
1671 (December 28)	Photostat	Deposition
1678 (September 5)	Photostat	Dispute with Samuel Appleton, Jr. on Iron Works
1678 (September 10)	Photostat	In deposition of John Gifford
1678 (September 30)	Photostat	In testimony of Richard Waite

1678 (October)	Photostat	Vote of magistrates in case of
1679 (June 4)	Photostat	Petition on Iron Works at Lynn
1679 (October 17)	Photostat	In testimony of Oliver Purchase, Samuel Stocker, John Floyd on Iron Works
1679 (October 28)	Photostat	Dispute with Samuel Appleton, Jr. on Iron Works

David Selleck (Importer of Indentured Laborers)

c. 1645	Photostat	Petition to Massachusetts General Court
c. 1649	Photostat	On Petition on Appeals

Jacob Sheafe (Attorney)

c. 1650	Photostat	Petition of Creditors or Iron Works
1653 (August 30)	Photostat	In Savage account of Iron Works
1653/4 (January 27)	Photostat	Signature on petition of Clement Gross
1657/8	Photostat	Transfer of Oliver Purchase's interests to in Iron Works to William Payne
1658 (May 20)	Photostat	In answer to John Gifford's petition
1661 (May 20)	Photostat	In deed of Margaret Sheafe

Margaret Sheafe (Daughter of Henry Webb/wife of Jacob Sheafe)

c. 1650	Photostat	Name on petition in behalf of Mrs. Tilley
1661 (May 20)	Photostat	Deed
1662 (May 10)	Photostat	Petition to Massachusetts General Court

John Smith (Worker)

1678 (April 16)	Photostat	Signature on report of committee on Boston/Lynn Boundary
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Cornelius Stenwick (Worker)

1674 (April 4)	Photostat	In information of Isaac Milyen
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Samuel Stocker (Savage's tenant)

1679 (October 17)	Photostat	Testimony on Iron Works
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Anthony Stoddard (Attorney)

c. 1650	Photostat	Petition of Creditors of Iron Works
1653 (July)	Photostat	Petition to General Court about Iron Works
1653 (August 30)	Photostat	In Savage account of Iron Works
1658 (May 20)	Photostat	In answer to John Eifford's petition
1661 (May 21)	Photostat	In deed of John Everel
c. 1662	Photostat	Inquiries and answers of Edward Hutchinson
1672/3		Narration of the occasion of what Richard Bellingham's executors have done in reference to Mrs. Bellingham
1676 (October 20)	Photostat	On account of dispersements on ship "Antonio"

George Taylor (investor)

c. 1643	Photostat	Signature on petition
1654 (June 18)	Misc. Bound	Deposition

Thomas Tower (clerk

1653 (November 4)	Misc. Bound	In appraisal of the Iron Works at Lynn
1661 (April 30)	Photostat	Testimony of

John Turner (Finer)

1665 (August 17)		In deed of James Leonard
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Henry Webb (Shareholder)

1641 (December 10)	Misc. Bound	Bill of sale to from Edward Tyng
1646 (December 9)	Misc. Bound	Deed to from Edward Tyng
1653 (August 30)	Photostat	In Savage account of Iron Works
1654 (October)	Photostat	Petition to Massachusetts General Court
1657/8 (February 4)	Photostat	Transfer of interest in Iron Works to William Payne
1658 (May 20)	Photostat	In answer to John Eifford's petition
1660 (April 5)	Misc. Bound	Extract from the will of Henry Webb
1660 (September 25)	Misc. Bound	An inventory of the estate of Henry Webb
1663 (April 10)	Photostat	In testimony of Thaddeus Riddan
1678 (August 18)	Photostat	In Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s reasons for appeal
1678 (September 30)	Photostat	In testimony of Richard Waite
1679 (October 17)	Photostat	In testimony of Oliver Purchase

William White (Ironmaker)

c. 1645	Photostat	Petition to General Court for removal of fine for selling beer without license
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1664 (October 5)	Photostat	Signature
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John Winthrop, Jr.

1645 (May 14)	Photostat	On Iron Works
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1645 (May 14)	Photostat	Resolution on Iron Works
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John Wright (Superintendent of Gifford Iron Works)

1676 (September 11)	Photostat	In petition of John Gifford
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List of Persons Related to the Saugus Iron Works
Whose Genealogical History is Recorded in the
New England Historical and Genealogical Register

William Abree (or Aubrey)
Joseph Armitage (iron works worker)
Mary Armitage (wife of Joseph)
Edward Baker (Lynn resident)
Richard Bayley (worker)
Theophilus Bayley (boatman)
Thomas Beale (worker)
John Beck (a.k.a. Beecx or Beeck) - London shareholder
William Becke (shareholder)
Samuel Bennett (worker)
Thomas Billington (forge helper)
John Blanco [a.k.a. Blaney] (Gifford's clerk)
Nicholas Bond (investor)
Joseph Boueye [a.k.a. Bovie] (worker)
Thomas Chadwell (shipright)
Dr. Robert Child (shareholder)
Thomas Clark (auditor)
George Coales [a.k.a. Cole] (boatman)
Clement Coldam [a.k.a. Coldham] (miller)
Lionel Copby (shareholder)
Nicholas Davison (auditor)
James Dewey (shareholder)
Thomas Dexter (owner of land on Saugus River)
John Dimond [a.k.a. Diamond] (worker)
Henry Dispaw [a.k.a. Dispau] (worker)

John Diven (potter)

Emmanuel Downing (shareholder and uncle of John Winthrop)

Nathaniel Duncun [a.k.a. Duncan] (auditor)

James Fairbanks (forge helper)

John Flood (forge hand)

John Floyd (attorney) [see other sheet...already done]

Peres Forbes (great grandson of James Leonard)

Ezekiel Fogg(e)

Thomas Foley (shareholder)

Joshua Foote (shareholder...helped Winthrop recruit in England for
Hammersmith...Scottsman assigned to him)

John Francis (worker)

John Gifford, Sr.

Stephen Goodyear

John Gorum [a.k.a. Gorham] (Iron Works employee)

Mark Graves (boatman)

Thomas Graves (boatman)

Captain John Greene (of ship "John and Sara")

Samuel Harte [a.k.a. Hart] (coaler)

Captain William Hathorne (has mortgage on Hammersmith)

Adam Hawkes (Mass. farmer)

William Hawthorne

Daniel Hemingway

Joshua Hewes [a.k.a. Hughs] (shareholder)

William Hiccocks [a.k.a. Hickock] (shareholder)

Cornelius Holland (administrator)

Richard Hood (sawyer)

Jeremy Houchin [a.k.a. Howkin] (Boston tanner)

Robert Houghton (shareholder)

Ephraim Howe (boatman)

John Hubbard (set up iron works in Massachusetts)

Edward Hutchinson (assistant in Iron Works)

Eliakim Hutchinson (attorney)

Richard Hutchinson (paid for share in Iron Works)

Ann Ingalls

Robert Ingalls (iron craftsman)

Joseph Jenks (blacksmith)

Edward Johnson (Wonder - working Providence) (Charlestown
merchant...Scots, servants assigned to him)

Thomas Lake (auditor)

John Lambert (boatman)

Ralph Lane

David Leader (father of Richard)

Richard Leader (America's first engineer)

James Leonard (finer)

Thomas Leonard

James Leonard II

Zepheniah Leonard

Elkanah Leonard

Eliphalet Leonard

Eliphalet Leonard II
Eliphalet Leonard III
Jonathan Leonard
Henry Leonard (worker)
Nathaniel Leonard
Samuel Leonard
Thomas Leonard
Marc Lescarbot [a.k.a. Les Escarbot]
Christopher Levett [a.k.a. Levitt]
Thomas Look (coaler)
Dimon Lynde (auditor)
John March (set up fulling mill)
Captain John Martin ("master of Battery Works")
Richard Middlecott
John Moddy
Samuel Moody (shareholder)
James Moore (Scot)
Thomas Morton
Richard Mower (Lynn resident)
Lodowick Muggleton
Thomas Newall [a.k.a. Newell]
William Osborne (Iron Works employee)
William Paine (Boston merchant)
John Paine (son of William)
John Parker (sawyer)

Anthony Parkhurst
Robert Parsons (freeman of Lynn)
Francis Perry (works carpenter)
Robert Petley (partner of David Leader)
Nicholas Pinnion (forge carpenter)
Thomas Pinnion
John Pocock (shareholder)
George Pordage (son in law of Lynde)
Richard Post (furnace specialist)
Henry Culs Powle [a.k.a. Powell]
Richard Pray (coaler)
Oliver Purchas [a.k.a. Purchase] (clerk)
Thomas Pury [a.k.a. Purrey] (shareholder)
Nathaniel Putnam
John Ramsdell (Lynn resident)
John Reeve
Thaddeus Riddan (Leader's clerk)
Joseph Rock (Salem merchant)
Ralph Russell (forge helper)
Daniel Salmon (farm operator)
Tobias Saunders (worker)
Ephraim Savage (son of Thomas)
Thomas Savage (Boston merchant)
Rowland Searchfield (shareholder)
David Selleck (importer of indentured laborers)

Jacob Sheafe
Margaret Sheafe (Webb's daughter)
George Sitwell (offered to build forge)
John Smedley (clerk)
John Smith (worker)
Richard Smith (collier)
Cornelius Steenwyck [a.k.a. Van Steenwyck]
Henry Stiche [a.k.a. Stich] (worker)
Samuel Stocker (Savage's tenant)
Anthony Stoddard
George Taylor
Thomas Tower
Henry Tucker (coaler)
John Turner (finer)
Roger Tyler (furnace specialist)
William Tyng [a.k.a. Tynge] (shareholder)
William Vaughan
Blaise Vinton (worker)
Henry Webb (shareholder)
Thomas Wenman (worker)
William White (ironmaker)
Josias Winslow (attorney)
John Winthrop
John Winthrop the Younger
John Wright (superintendent of Gifford Iron Works)

APPENDIX B: Related Documents

Know almen by this presents y^e I Samuell
doe acknowledge myselfe to be indebted to y^e Hon^{ble}
C^o. of the Treas^{re} of the Towne of Boston
and his Success^{rs} in y^e place in the summe
of ffortie pounds that Ezekell Gardner
now his Heir with I shal not be any way
satisfied during his or his Heirs in
the said Towne in w^{ch} I have been 22th
and 23th years.

Witness these presents what I Thomas
Hemble of Boston doe bind my selfe
my Heirs & Assigns to Capt^{ain} Thomas
Beathle Treasurer of the Towne of Boston
to his Success^{rs} in y^e office in the summe
some of ffortie pounds curet many of New
England that John Fisher Heir of
or any of his family shall not be charge-
able to this Towne during his or any
of them above th^{re} years And w^{ch} the
Thomas Hemble & John Fisher doe bind
our selves as above in y^e summe of
ffortie pounds that y^e said John Fisher
shall be of good behaviour while he is
maiores in this Towne witness our hands
the 29th day of June 1683

John Fisher
Thomas Hemble

Know all men by these presents that
 Richard Medlicott of Boston Merchant
 doe bind my selfe my heirs Executors &
 Assignes to Thomas Brattle Treasurer
 of Boston & his successor in that Office
 in the penall sum of ffortie pounds in
 money that John Blake John or any of
 his family shall not be chargeable to
 this towne duringe his or any of theirs
 abode there in witnesse my hand the
 25th of December 1680
 John Blake. Richard Medlicott

witnesse therof do sheweth that
 Richard Medlicott of Boston doe
 bind my selfe my heirs Executors
 & Assignes to the said Thomas Brattle
 Treasurer of the said towne & his successor
 in that Office in the sum of fforty
 pounds current monney of New England
 that William Hubberts mortgagee of
 his place and arie was chargeable
 to the said towne duringe his
 abode there in witnesse my hand
 the 3 of November 1679
 William Hubberts Richard Medlicott

Photostat of Thomas Savage Account
of the Iron Works, August 30, 1653
(Massachusetts Historical Society)

At a Generall Court held at Boston. 30. Aug. 1653. 150

Upon the motion & request of the creditors to y^e
Ironworks this Court doth grant that they may
have a speciall Court to sit at Boston upon the
fourth day the next week, to hear and determine such
case or cases as shall be brought before them
by the ^{or y^e works} creditors, provided the commissioners, for
the Undertakers, shall agree thereto. This is a true copy
of the Courts order taken out of the Courts booke
of Records as Wth. Edward Rawson Secretary.

at Speciall Court
granted 10. Sep. 53

This Court was adjourned from the 14. day to the
15. by the Generall Court then sitting as
Wth. E. Rawson Secy.

Excerpta Illustrata & Myliad Woron. 1653

At a speciall Court held at Boston. 15. 9. 1653.

Names of the Jury were	Capt. Thomas Sabag for himselfe and such as assigned their vote to him, against the undertakers of the Iron Works m ^r . Benm. Josuah foot. on Henry Webb-st. in an action of Debt; The Jury find for the p ^t . Damages
Capt. Robert Clark	To Capt. Thomas Sabag for his own Debt. — — — — — £ 1/6 = 2
Isaiah Walker.	As assigne of m ^r . Henry Webb — — — — — 0894 = 02 = 00
John Watson.	As assigne of m ^r . Anthony Stoddard — — — — — 1351 = 06 = 09
John Davis.	As assigne of m ^r . Jacob Shoaf — — — — — 0302 = 12 = 03
Thomas Jones.	As assigne of m ^r . Richard Hutchinson — — — — — 0138 = 00 = 09
Nicholas Chap.	As assigne of m ^r . George Cowin — — — — — 0296 = 12 = 00
Robert Brooks.	As assigne of m ^r . Edward Ding — — — — — 0125 = 00 = 00
John Wifwell.	As assigne of y ^e Exchequer of Cap. Ding — — — — — 0098 = 18 = 09
Richard Colliott	As the assigne of Ralph Major — — — — — 0093 = 15 = 00
Nathaniel Williams.	As assigne of m ^r . Joseph Rock — — — — — 0090 = 15 = 00
John Webb.	As assigne of George Birden — — — — — 0082 = 10 = 00

3 of 8. = 13 = 4.

3500. 15. 04.

Rolls of Court — — — — — 0012 = 03 = 03

filing fourteen papers — — — — — 0000 = 02 = 04

This is a true copy of the Court's Judgment taken
out of the Book Records, in Record Book.

G. S. Clerk: E. W. Rawson, & Clerk.

True Copy: 11th Sept. William Cowen Clerk

True Copy: 11th Sept. E. W. Rawson Clerk.

Appraisal of the Saugus Iron Works,
November 4, 1653 (MHS, Miscellaneous
Bound)

1. 100 lbs. of flour 1.50
 2. 100 lbs. of sugar 1.50
 3. 100 lbs. of rice 1.50
 4. 100 lbs. of corn 1.50
 5. 100 lbs. of wheat 1.50
 6. 100 lbs. of barley 1.50
 7. 100 lbs. of oats 1.50
 8. 100 lbs. of rye 1.50
 9. 100 lbs. of buckwheat 1.50
 10. 100 lbs. of sorghum 1.50
 11. 100 lbs. of millet 1.50
 12. 100 lbs. of amaranth 1.50
 13. 100 lbs. of quinoa 1.50
 14. 100 lbs. of speltz 1.50
 15. 100 lbs. of farro 1.50
 16. 100 lbs. of emmer 1.50
 17. 100 lbs. of durum 1.50
 18. 100 lbs. of einkorn 1.50
 19. 100 lbs. of speltz 1.50
 20. 100 lbs. of farro 1.50
 21. 100 lbs. of emmer 1.50
 22. 100 lbs. of durum 1.50
 23. 100 lbs. of einkorn 1.50
 24. 100 lbs. of speltz 1.50
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 26. 100 lbs. of emmer 1.50
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 89. 100 lbs. of speltz 1.50
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 91. 100 lbs. of emmer 1.50
 92. 100 lbs. of durum 1.50
 93. 100 lbs. of einkorn 1.50
 94. 100 lbs. of speltz 1.50
 95. 100 lbs. of farro 1.50
 96. 100 lbs. of emmer 1.50
 97. 100 lbs. of durum 1.50
 98. 100 lbs. of einkorn 1.50
 99. 100 lbs. of speltz 1.50
 100. 100 lbs. of farro 1.50

[illegible]

SCOTCH DEPORTED TO NEW ENGLAND, 1651-52

(From: Massachusetts Historical Society
Bulletin, October, 1927: 4-27.)

SCOTCH PRISONERS DEPORTED TO NEW ENGLAND BY
CROMWELL, 1651-52

Prisoners from the Battle of Dunbar.

As an aftermath of the Civil War in England we are indebted to Cromwell for between three and four hundred Scottish prisoners of war, captured at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, whom he transported to New England to be sold as slaves. This fact has been generally known, but there has never been an account in detail of the transaction, as far as I am aware, and this short relation of the proceedings which brought it about is intended to place in chronological order the salient facts in the case, both from the English background and the local stage where the final scenes were enacted.

Having defeated the Royalists in England and beheaded the King in 1649, Cromwell proceeded to the conquest of Ireland, where his fanatical "croppies" spent the following summer in turning that country into a bloody shambles. Defended or defenceless towns were laid low and his butcheries spared neither the armed nor unarmed. The pious Puritan leader, feeling that he had wiped out the hated Catholics, for a generation at least, was aroused by a new challenge in his

ruthless progress. The Scottish Parliament had proclaimed the youthful Prince Charles, then a fugitive at the Hague, as their King. The proclamation was provisional, however, requiring him to subscribe to their Covenant, and accept Parliamentary direction in civil affairs, and look to the Presbyterian Assembly for advice in ecclesiastical matters. Embarrassing as were these terms, the Prince decided to comply with them, and this situation created a new menace to the Commonwealth and to Cromwell. With his veterans from Ireland as a nucleus the eager and insatiable "Noll" gathered an army of about sixteen thousand, of which a third were mounted troops. With these he invaded the last kingdom remaining loyal to the Stuarts, and reaching Edinburgh, after some skirmishing, he marched his army to Dunbar, a town on the east coast of Scotland, just south of the Firth of Forth. By this time his new levies were rapidly decreasing in numbers through disease and the fatigues of campaigning in forced marches. Supplies could only reach him at Dunbar by sea, as General David Leslie, in command of the Covenanters, had seized the passes which furnished the only retreat from Scotland to Durham and Berwick-on-Tweed. Leslie's troops outnumbered Cromwell's army, but they were undisciplined clansmen of the Highland chieftains, unused to war in its scientific aspect, and the Scottish General decided against giving battle in the open, hoping to starve out Cromwell, who was then hemmed in on the narrow peninsula of Dunbar.

Meanwhile the young Charles had arrived from Holland, and joined this motley military organization, to the great joy of the clansmen, and made himself popular by sharing their rough camp life and engaging in some of the daily skirmishes of the outposts. These "braw laddies" showed their preference for his leadership over the capped and gowned committee of argumentative Covenanters, who were busy purging the force of "unbelievers" until they had eliminated all, or most, of the trained soldiers. Then, satisfied that they had an army of approved saints, they demanded that the King retire from the front and leave the direction of the campaign to them. Leslie, wishing to take advantage of a favorable opportunity, proposed to attack Cromwell on Sunday, Sept. 1, 1650, but the Dominies would not permit him to break the

Sabbath even for this desirable purpose. Night and day these theological crusaders had been wrestling with the Lord and finally had a "revelation" in prayer that the Lord of Hosts would deliver Agag (Cromwell) into their hands. They ordered Leslie to attack on the morrow (Tuesday). Descending from the heights of Lammermoor, which overlooked the camp of Cromwell, he reached the Plain of Dunbar. Cromwell, observing the movement, did not need any "revelation" to tell him that the Lord of Hosts was about to deliver them into his hands. He had been waiting for that hour as his only salvation. He gave the command for an immediate attack in force, and though greatly inferior in numbers his disciplined troops soon showed their superiority over the untrained, but brave clansmen. Leslie's army was routed, and the cavalry of Cromwell pursued the disorganized Covenanters for eight miles with great slaughter. The chief, if not the only, resistance to his onslaught was made by a regiment of Highlanders, who fought with great desperation, as they had learned from his conquest of Ireland that Cromwell would put prisoners to the sword and thrust hot irons through women's breasts. Three thousand Scots fell in this disaster, fighting hopelessly to the last. Ten thousand were taken prisoners. About half of the latter were so exhausted by their flight and disabled by wounds that they were released. Cromwell wrote that he had lost only twenty men in this battle, and he had every reason to believe, as Joshua had believed in his battles with the Canaanites, that the Lord of Hosts had given him the victory. The battle cry of Leslie's troops was "The Covenant," while Cromwell's "croppies" shouted "The Lord of Hosts." The people of Scotland long remembered this debacle as "The Race of Dunbar."

The following letter, written on the day of the battle, to the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England, presents a vivid sketch of it in a few words.¹

DUNBAR, Sep. 3, 1650.

SIR, — I intimated unto you before, that our drawing off from *Musselburgh* might tempt the Enemy to draw out, which accordingly they did; and the rather, for that they were informed, as some of

¹ *Parliamentary History of England*, XIX. 341-2.

their Prisoners confess, we had shipped our Train of Artillery, which was a mistake of them, for it was the 600 sick Soldiers of the Flux that I had shipp'd that Morning; So they march'd after us, with Horse, Foot, and Train, within a Mile of *Dunbar*, where both Armies stood in Battalia all Night; only in the Morning, about Two o'Clock, we gave them a hot Alarm, and so got the Wind of them; and this Morning about twilight the General advanced with the Army, and charged them both in the Valley and on the Hill. The Battle was very fierce for the Time, one Part of their Battalia stood very stily to it, but the rest was presently routed.

I never beheld a more terrible Charge of Foot than was given by our Army, our Foot alone making the *Scots* Foot give Ground for three Quarters of a Mile together. We have all their Guns, Train, Bag and Baggage, and beaten them clear out of the Field, Hills and Valleys; and our Army is now at the least eight Miles in Pursuit of their Horse, their Foot being taken wholly. It was a happy and seasonable Victory, and God appeared in Man's greatest Weakness, they came with Confidence that all was their own. They had possess the Pass at *Copperspath* to hinder our March to *Berwick*, thinking we would have run away.

I shall not descend to Particulars, till we have a particular Account of the Prisoners and Slain. Indeed, when our Hearts began to fail, then did the Lord begin to appear. Fourteen hundred sick Men have I in all sent to *Berwick* and *Newcastle*, and many hundreds are wonderful sick in the Army. Considering those who have died and otherwise left the Army, and the *Scots* doubling the Number, the more the Lord was seen in the Victory. They came full of Revenge in their Hearts to cut us off without Mercy; they having in the Evening before taken 40 of Colonel *Pride's* Men, that went to possess a House, they cut them and mangled them in a most barbarous Manner after they had given them Quarter. You shall hear suddenly further from Your most humble Servant,

JO. RUSHWORTH.

The able-bodied prisoners, five thousand in number, were marched down to Durham and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The Cathedral at Durham was converted into a prison and there these unfortunate Highlanders were destined to spend an indefinite period as captives of war. Their disposition was a problem both from a sanitary and political standpoint. This noble edifice was not constructed to house thousands of men

day and night and a decision had to be reached rapidly. The Council of War in London was discussing what disposition could be made of such prisoners as could be released without military disadvantage to the Commonwealth. Transportation of convicts beyond the sea was an accepted policy of long standing and the Colonies, especially Virginia and the West India islands had been used for this purpose in the past. Representations were made that the American Colonies were in need of laborers, and this seemed to be an excellent way of disposing of as many as these new plantations could assimilate, and it was seized on without much hesitation. On September 19, 1650, the Council sent an order to Sir Arthur Haselrigge, in charge of the prisoners, to deliver to Samuel Clarke, for transportation to Virginia, nine hundred of the Scotchmen and one hundred and fifty more for New England, the latter under the charge of Joshua Foote and John Becx of London, who were interested as managers of the iron works at Lynn. A month later Haselrigge was ordered to send twenty-three hundred of these men, Highlanders excepted, to the southern and western parts of Ireland for like disposition.²

Acknowledging these orders; Sir Arthur communicated to the Parliament a long account of the condition of the unfortunates: ³

NEWCASTLE, Oct. 31, 1650.

Gentlemen, — I received your Letter, dated the 26th of *October*. In that you desire me that 2300 of the *Scots* Prisoners, now at *Durham* or elsewhere, able and fit for Foot Service, be selected and marched thence to *Chester* and *Liverpool*, to be shipp'd for the South and West of *Ireland*; and that I should take special Care not to send any Highlanders: I am necessitated, upon the Receipt of this, to give you a full Account concerning the Prisoners.

After the Battle at *Dunbar*, in *Scotland*, my Lord-General wrote to me, that there were about 9000 Prisoners, and that of them he had set at Liberty all those that were wounded, and, as he thought, disabled for future Service; and their Number was, as Mr. *Downing* wrote, 5100. The rest the General sent to *Newcastle*,

² *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, 1650; Orders in Council, 346. It was thought that the Highlanders, being ethnologically Gaelic, would not fight against their kin in Ireland.

³ *Parliamentary History*, XIX. 417-21. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXVI. 292, gives Hesilrige or Haselrig as proper forms of the name, but Haselrigge was the usual manner of spelling at the time.

conducted to *Berwick* by Major *Hopson*, and from *Berwick* to *Newcastle* by some Foot out of that Garrison, and a Troop of Horse.

When they came to *Morpeth*, the Prisoners being put into a large wall'd Garden, they eat up raw Cabbages, Leaves and Roots, so many, as the very Seed and Labour, at 4 *d* a day, was valued at 9 *l*, which Cabbage (they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight Days) poison'd their Bodies; for as they were coming from thence to *Newcastle*, some died by the Way-Side; when they came to *Newcastle*, I put them into the greatest Church in the Town; and the next Morning when I sent them to *Durham*, about 140 were sick, and not able to march; three died that Night, and some fell down in their March from *Newcastle* to *Durham*, and died. I having sent my Lieutenant-Colonel and my Major with a strong Guard both of Horse and Foot, they being there told into the great Cathedral Church, were counted to no more than 3000; although Col. *Fenwick* wrote me, that there were about 3500: But I believe they were not told at *Berwick*, and as to most of those that were lost, it was in *Scotland*; for I heard that the Officers who march'd with them to *Berwick*, were necessitated to kill about 30, fearing the Loss of them all, for they fell down in great Numbers, and said they were not able to march, and they brought them far in the Night, so that doubtless many ran away.

When I sent them first to *Durham*, I wrote to the Mayor, and desired him to take Care that they wanted for nothing that was fit for Prisoners; and what he should disburse for them I would repay it. I also sent them a daily Supply of Bread from *Newcastle*, and an Allowance equal to what had been given to former Prisoners; but their Bodies being infected, the Flux increased among them. I sent many Officers to look to them, and ordered those who were sick to be removed out of the Cathedral Church into the Bishop's Castle, which belongs to Mrs. *Blackiston*. Cooks were provided, and they had Pottage made with Oatmeal, Beef and Cabbage, a full Quart at a Meal for every Prisoner: They had also Coals daily brought them, as many as made about 100 Fires both Night and Day, and Straw to lie upon. I appointed the Marshall to see all these Things orderly done, and he was allowed eight Men to help him to divide the Coals, Meat, Bread, and Pottage equally: They were so unruly, sluttish, and nasty, that it is not to be believed; they acted rather like beasts than Men; so that the Marshall was allowed 40 Men of the lustiest Prisoners to cleanse and sweep them every Day, who had some small Thing given them extraordinary. The above Provisions were for

those who were in Health; as to those that were sick, and in the Castle, they had very good Mutton Broth, and sometimes Veal Broth, and Beef and Mutton boiled together; and old Women appointed to look to them in the several Rooms: There were also a Physician to let them Blood, and dress such as were wounded, and give the Sick Physic; and I dare confidently say, there was never the like Care taken for any such Number of Prisoners in *England*.

Notwithstanding all this many of them died, and few of any other Disease than the Flux; some were kill'd by themselves, for they were exceedingly cruel one towards another. If any Man was perceived to have any Money, it was two to one but he was kill'd before Morning, and robb'd; and if any had good Cloaths, he that wanted, if he was able, would strangle the other and put on his Cloaths.

The Disease of the Flux still increasing among them, I was then forced, for their Preservation, if possible it might be, to send to all the next Towns in *Durham*, within four or five Miles, to command them to bring in their Milk, for that was conceived to be the best Remedy for stopping of their Flux; and I promised them what Rates they usually sold it for at the Markets, which was accordingly performed by about 60 Towns and Places. Twenty of the next towns to *Durham* continue to send daily in their Milk which is boiled, some with Water, some with Bean Flower, the Physicians holding it exceeding good for the Recovery of their Health.

Gentlemen, you cannot but think strange of this long Preamble; and wonder what the Matter will be. In short it is this; out of the 3000 Prisoners that my Officers told into the Cathedral Church at *Durham*, 300 of them, and 50 from *Newcastle* of the 140 left behind, were delivered to Major *Clarke*, by Order of the Council; there are about 500 Sick in the Castle, and about 600 yet in Health in the Cathedral, the most of which are, in all probability, Highlanders, they being hardier than the rest; and we have no other Means to distinguish them. About 1600 are dead and buried, and about 60 Officers are at the Marshal's in *Newcastle*.

My Lord-General having released the rest of the Officers, and the Council having given me Power to take what Men I thought fit, I have granted to several well-affected Persons that have Salt-Works at *Shields*, and want servants, 40; they have engaged to keep them at Work at their Salt-Pans, and I have taken out about 12 more, Weavers, to begin a trade of Linen Cloth, like the *Scots* Cloth, and about 40 Labourers.

I can not give you, on a sudden, a more exact Account of the

Prisoners, neither can any Account hold true long, because they still die daily, and doubtless so they will, so long as any remain in Prison. And for those that are well, if Major *Clarke* could have believed that they had been able to have marched on Foot, he would have marched them by Land; but we perceive that divers that are seemingly healthy, and have not at all been sick, suddenly die; and we cannot give any Reason for it, only we apprehend they are all infected; and that the strength of some holds out till it reaches their very Hearts.

Now you fully understand the Condition and Number of the Prisoners. What you please to direct I shall observe, and intend not to proceed further upon this Letter, until I have your Answer upon what I have now written. I am, Your most Affectionate Servant,

AR. HASELRIGGE.

Comment on this letter seems superfluous, except to note the death of sixteen hundred men, taken prisoners in a fanatical religious war, within a period of fifty-eight days, nearly thirty a day. These were men picked by Cromwell as sound and able to travel. In order to relieve this terrible situation it became necessary to send out on parole as many as were able and useful to work in the local industries and on the farms. It is a revolting picture of savage cruelty, supplemented by ignorance of elementary hygiene. For the latter the authorities of the Commonwealth can plead an excuse, as sanitary rules were unknown at that time, or if known were not applied.

Three days after the receipt of this letter the Council ordered Sir Arthur Haselrigge "to deliver 150 Scotch prisoners to Augustine Walker, master of the *Unity* to be transported to New England." This vessel was probably built in Boston by Benjamin Gillam the shipwright, as in 1646 he sold a quarter of the ship of that name to John Leverett. Her master at that time was resident of Charlestown, Mass., having settled there about 1640, coming to New England from Berwick-on-Tweed. He was admitted to the church in Charlestown in October of that year.⁴ His appearance in the Thames when these events were occurring was merely accidental, as he made frequent voyages to England.

⁴ Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, II. 990.

The prisoners destined for transportation to the overseas possessions were sent by water to London, and Becx in behalf of the iron works specified that those assigned to him should be "well and sound and free from wounds." After the decision to transport these prisoners, the Council began to doubt the advisability of it from a military standpoint, fearing their influence might react in a hostile manner upon the residents of the Colonies, and passed an order in Council, October 23, 1650: "The Admiralty Committee to examine whether the Scotch prisoners now come and coming into the river are carried to places where they may be made use of against the commonwealth, and stay to be made of all, until assurance be given of their not being carried where they may be dangerous; the proportion for New England to be shipped away forthwith as their ship is ready and the place is without danger.⁵ Haselrigge had been cautioned in his orders for transportation to arrange with "any who will carry them to plantations not in enmity with the commonwealth." There was no reason to doubt that New England was more than friendly to it.

Even then the misfortunes of the prisoners followed them relentlessly. On November 7 Council ordered Major Clarke to "Have a copy of the information given in concerning the ill-usage of the Scotch prisoners now on board a ship, on his own and others account, and to give in their answers tomorrow."⁶ This undoubtedly related to those embarked on the *Unity* waiting sailing orders which came in a few days, probably precipitated by this investigation. His order to sail was dated November 11, and it is presumed that he weighed anchor immediately.⁷ With this human cargo numbering one hundred and fifty souls, sixty of whom were destined for the Saugus iron bogs, the *Unity* buffeted the tempest-

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, 1650, 397.

⁶ *Ib.*, 421.

⁷ The chronology of these orders raises an interesting question. On September 19, Haselrigge was ordered to deliver one hundred and fifty prisoners to Samuel Clarke for New England; on October 23, a month later, a contingent "for New England" was in the Thames waiting orders for sailing thither; on November 11, Captain Walker received his orders to sail with his lot. The question is whether those to be delivered to Clarke were to be sent in the *Unity* with Walker? If the latter took a second lot it is possible to place other Scotchmen in New England not otherwise identified.

tuous, wintry seas of the Atlantic, and as it usually took six weeks to cross in favorable seasons she could not have made Boston harbor before the end of December. No list of these prisoners exists, but it is possible to give them a tentative identification, from the earlier termination of their terms of servitude, and the absence of their names from the known list of those who came the following year, to which reference will be made shortly. They suffered from scurvy on the voyage, but how many died is not known. The prisoners remaining, after the sixty sent to Lynn, were sold to purchasers, willing to pay the price, and were then distributed to numerous towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine. The prevailing quotation was between twenty and thirty pounds for each man, which was received as payment for their transportation. As the cost of an Atlantic passage at that time was about five pounds it will be seen that the *Unity* cleared about £1500 on this transaction for her owners. An example of this bargain and sale of these prisoners is furnished in the experience of one of the Dunbar captives. In a petition to Governor Andros, dated September 19, 1688, John Stewart makes the following statement: ⁸

. . . your poor petitioner was in service in five battles under the noble Marquis of Montrose, in Scotland, for His Majesty, King Charles the First, and thereby suffered and received many dangerous wounds, having escaped with his life through mercy . . . Was afterwards taken by Lord Cromwell in the fight at Dunbar, and after sent into this land where I was sold for eight years service to purchase my future freedom. . . .

He worked for a while in the Lynn iron works and there he was purchased by John Pynchon, leader in the settlement of Springfield. Pynchon made the following agreement with him:

I agree with John Stewart to allow me yearly 12 shillings in Smithery work for 3 years, which is for my staying so long for that 30 pounds which is due to me from him for releasing him from my service. And he the said John Stewart consented and promised to allow me for three years twelve shillings per year in mending or making of Iron work.

⁸ Burt, *First Century of Springfield*, 1, 64.

This John Stewart died April 21, 1691, leaving no family, so far as is known.

Legal evidence of a like character is available to show that one Thomas Holme or Hume was sold to Henry Sayward of York for thirty Pounds.⁹ The story of those consigned to the Lynn iron works may be read in the Essex Court Records in connection with the long litigation attendant upon the financial troubles of the company. Its managers and principal owners were London merchants, and Joshua Foote, an ironmonger of that city, was prominent in its management here, as he came to Boston in that capacity. It is quite possible that being in London at the time he was instrumental in getting these prisoners for his works.

As far as known this was the first experience of New England people in this kind of human traffic, and it is apparent that Rev. John Cotton felt the need of making some explanation, a sort of plea in abeyance, for the share in the affair which some of his friends promoted. In a letter to Cromwell dated July 28, 1651, he describes this camouflaged peonage, though why he should suppose that Oliver had any qualms about it is a puzzle. He wrote: ¹⁰

The Scots, whom God delivered into your hand at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, assoone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty.

John Gifford succeeded Foote in the management of the iron works, and in 1653 he was required to account for the property received by him, and among the items is this reference to these prisoners: ¹¹

⁹ York County Court Records, July 2, 1672.

¹⁰ Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, Boston, 1769, 235.

¹¹ Suffolk Court Files, No. 225.

For 62 Scotts dd and 35 only left on the works, 17 to Awbrey, 3 to commissioners; 2 sold and rest we desire to whom disposed of, which is 5 at 20 pounds £100:0:0.

Further documents in the litigation show that "a house had been built for the Scots" at Lynn and that "old Tingle" (perhaps William Tingley), the collier, had hired four of the prisoners for three years' service, while Thomas Look, Thomas Wiggins and Richard Hood had each bought the time of a Scotchman for three years. John Stewart, who had been sold to Pyncheon was in Gifford's own personal service in his house. Evidence in the litigation shows that these servants did farm work and lived at the "Scotchmen's House," while others did a variety of general labor. The seventeen prisoners turned over to William Aubrey were for service in the Boston warehouse of the Company, of which he had charge. In the progress of various suits five of the prisoners testified concerning the management of the Company's business, viz: John Clarke, John Toish, James Danielson, George Thompson and Robert MacIntire.¹²

Names of the Scotchmen remaining at the works in Lynn have been preserved and are here listed alphabetically for convenience of reference: ¹³

ADAMS, JAMES	GOURDAN, JAMES	MACCALLUM, MICAM
ARCHBELL, JOHN	GRANT, PETER	MEEME, RICHARD
BANKE, JOHN	GUALTER, THOMAS	MOODY, ENGRAM
BRABAND, ALEXANDER	GRIMES, ALEXANDER	PARDEE, JOHN
BURGESS, ALEXANDER	JEMPSON, ANDREW	RUPTON, JOHN
CLARKE, JOHN	JOURDAN, WILLIAM	STEWART, JOHN
DANIELSON, JAMES	KELTON, THOMAS	THOMSON, GEORGE
DARLING, GEORGE	LUDDLE, JAMES	THOMSON, JAMES
DOWNING, MICAM	MASON, JOHN	TAYLOR, JAMES
DUGLE, ALEXANDER	MACKALL, JAMES	TOISH, JOHN
DUNSMORE, JAMES	MACMALLEN, JOHN	TOWER, THOMAS
EATON, ALEXANDER	MACKSHANE, JOHN	
ENNIS, ALEXANDER	MACKWATER, WILLIAM	

It is necessary to caution the reader as to the spelling of these names for reasons which will be explained later.

¹² *Essex Antiquarian*, XII. 69, 70.

¹³ Suffolk Court Files, No. 1226. Mass. Archives, LXIX. 49, has thirty-five names, without Eaton and MacMallen.

An interesting fact in connection with the deportation of these Scots is found in Berwick, formerly a part of Kittery, Maine, where a parish was called Unity Parish, doubtless from the prisoners, who were sent there to work in the saw-mills at that place, having come to New England in the ship of that name. These mills were under the management of Richard Leader, who had been employed in a similar capacity at the Lynn iron works. He left there in 1652 to take charge of the mills on the Asbenbedick, now Great Works, River in which Becx and Co. of London had an interest. As a consequence it is now possible to account for about fifteen Scotchmen who appeared there about that time. Leader left there in 1656 for Barbadoes, having become involved in the political warfare of that era between Massachusetts and Maine authorities relating to the usurpation of the Gorges government by the Massachusetts officials. Whether his departure released these men is not clear, but it is of record that grants of land were made to some of them in 1656, indicating that they had been released. Among those believed to be part of the Dunbar prisoners, settling in the upper part of Kittery, now Berwick, are the following: —

AGNEW, NIVEN	GRAY, GEORGE	NEAL, JOHN
BARRY, JAMES	GOWEN, WILLIAM	ROSS, JOHN
COOPER, ALEXANDER	HAMILTON, DAVID	TAYLOR, JOHN
FURBUSH, WILLIAM	HOLME, THOMAS	THOMSON, WILLIAM
FERGUSON, DANIEL	KEY, JOHN	WARREN, JAMES
GRANT, PETER	MAXWELL, ALEXANDER	

Thus far it is reasonably sure that these men were from the Battle of Dunbar. A few years later another lot appeared in the adjoining town of York, the first of whom was Alexander Maxwell, above named, who had been in service to George Leader, brother of Richard. The place where they settled and were given house-lots was called "Scotland," a name it retains to this day. In this number were, John Carmichael, James Grant called "the Scot," and perhaps one of the same name called "the Drummer," James Jackson, Robert Junkins, Micum MacIntire, Alexander MacNair and Andrew Rankin. Most of these had been bought by their masters in Dover and Exeter, New Hampshire, and came to York when their time had expired.

Prisoners from the Battle of Worcester.

After the Battle of Dunbar there was a year of military jockeying for position, with Charles II avoiding a battle, and gradually marching southward towards London, hoping to find sympathizers and to reinforce his army. The Earl of Derby raised a regiment in Lancashire which tried to stem the tide, but it met defeat at Wigan in that County, and with a handful left he joined his Sovereign's forces just before the next disaster.

A year to a day after the "Race of Dunbar," the young King and his partisans decided to try conclusions once more with their Nemesis and elected to cross swords with Cromwell at Worcester. The same result ensued. Cromwell described it as "the crowning mercy of the Lord," as nightfall found the enemy in flight and Charles a fugitive, in disguise, and later forced to hide in an oak tree to escape capture. In his retreat through Gloucestershire, in the disguise of a cook, in peasant's clothing, he was afforded shelter by John Tomes, a brother-in-law of Governor Thomas Welles of Hartford, Connecticut.

More prisoners were at hand for Cromwell to transport to the Colonies. Within two days of the battle the Council at London ordered that all the officers taken with the Earl of Derby and every tenth private soldier should be put on trial for rebellion. This naturally meant that every officer and every tenth soldier would pay the supreme penalty. There is a tradition among the descendants of one of these prisoners that when drawn in line for picking out every tenth soldier he counted down the rows and found that he would probably be one of those selected for the sacrifice. Breaking rank he took the desperate chance of escape or being shot. A mounted officer pursued and wounded him and his life was thus spared. Further consideration was given to the disposition of these captives and they were finally brought to London under convoy and herded at the Artillery Grounds, Tothill Field, about half a mile west of Parliament House. On September 16 it was proposed that a thousand of these prisoners be sent to Bristol for shipment to New England, but there is

no record that this was done. Such Scotch ministers as were prisoners were to be exported, one to every two hundred men, but these clergymen were to be free from compulsory service. As a result of various proposals, an unknown number, perhaps three hundred of the Scotch prisoners captured at the Battle of Worcester then encamped at Tothill Field, were selected for transportation to New England. Becx of the iron works was again interested in this transaction and the ship *John and Sarah* was chartered to bring them to Boston.¹⁴ The master of this ship was John Green of Charlestown and they were consigned to Thomas Kemble, also of Charlestown, a merchant who owned lands in Maine, was a dealer in lumber and interested in sawmills at Durham and Newmarket, New Hampshire. The identity of this ship, probably a New England vessel, is not certain. A ship of this name, of the burthen of thirty-nine tons, was sold here in 1648 to Robert Allen of Norwich, co. Norfolk, and Nicholas Davison of London, but it is impossible to think of this small craft as the one which brought the prisoners over, although Davison was a resident of Charlestown at one time and had intimate business connections with New England.¹⁵

All arrangements having been made, the consignors, Becx, Rich and Greene gave the following instructions to the master of the transport.

LONDON, this 11th: of Nouember 1651

Capt. JNO. GREENE — Wee whose names are vnder written freighters of your shipe the John & Sara doe Order you forthwith as winde & weather shall permit to sett saile for Boston in New: Eng: land & there deliver our Orders and Servants to Tho: Kemble of charles Towne to be disposed of by him according to orders wee have sent him in that behalfe & wee desire yow to advise with the sajd Kemble about all that may conserne that whole Intended vojage using your Indeavors with the sajd Kemble for the speediest lading your shipp from New: Eng: to the barbadoes with provisions and such other things as are in N. E. fitt for the west Indies where yow are to deliver them to mr. Charles Rich to be disposed of by him for the Joint acct of the freighters & so to be Retourned home in a stocke undivided thus desiring your care &

¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 410, 417, 418, 421, 431, 447.

¹⁵ *Boston Records*, xxxii. *Aspinwall Notarial Record*, 142.

industrje in dispatch and speed of the vojage wishing yow a happy
& safe Retourne wee Remajne your loving friends.

Signatum et Recognitum

in pncia: Jo: NOTTOCK notar Publ:

13 May, 1652

JOHN BECK

ROBT RICH

WILL GREENE.

Captain Greene probably left the Downes December 8 and with the usual lapse of time necessary to make the voyage in the months of November and December arrived in Boston, certainly before February 24 of that year. He landed two hundred and seventy-two of those taken on board at London, and it cannot be supposed that there were no deaths on the voyage. The usual toll of scurvy must have taken at least ten per cent of the total number.

For some reason not apparent all the documents in this transaction, together with a list of names of these prisoners, were recorded in the Suffolk Deeds, possibly for permanent record in case of litigation. While this is fortunate for historical purposes, yet this list is not to be accepted as a true record of their correct names. It offers to the student in philology many puzzles left by the scribe in his attempts to spell out clan names of Gaelic origin, spoken in a dialect that defied reproduction in English. Most of these Scotchmen were unable to write, knew little English and as a result their names have undergone curious transformations. The prefix "Mac" was frequently dropped and the remaining part of a name was Anglicized in a convenient phonetic substitute. MacLothlan became Claflin; Maggafasset is Fassett; MacGowen is Magoon; Saint Clair is Sinkler; Farrabas is Forbes; Graham is Grimes; Montrose is Munroe, and other like decapitations and alterations illustrate the manhandling which these historic names of Highland clansmen suffered in the offices of town clerks. Few would suspect that a family bearing the cognomen of Tosh living on Block Island were once possessors of the fine old Highland name of MacIntosh. The typical Highland prenominal — Angus — was written Anguish, which might be considered a true description of the mental state of the clerk after struggling with the rolling b-r-r-r of

these clansmen. Here follows the official statement of the names of these Scotchmen.¹⁸

A list of the passengers aboard the John and Sarah of London John Greene m[aste]r bound for new England.

ANDERSON, ALESTER	DELL, WILLIAM
ANDERSON, DAVID	DULEN, EDWARD
ANDERSON, JOHN	
ANDERSON, WILLIAM	EDMINSHEIRE, JOHN
	ENGLISH, JAMES
BANES [<i>Bayne</i>], WILLIAM	ENGLISH, PATRICK
BEAMES, WILLIAM	
BENNE [<i>Bene</i> or <i>Benny</i>], JAMES	FARFARSON, JAMES
BENNE, JOHN	FOSSEM, MICHAEL
BEREERE, THOMAS	FRESSELL, EDWARD
BLACKE, DANIEL	FRESSELL, WILLIAM
BOYE, JOHN	
BOYE, JOHN	GORDEN, DANIEL
BOYE, ROBERT	GORDEN, JAMES
BROUN, JOHN	GURDEN, JOHN
BROUNELL, HENRY	GORDON, LAUGHLETH
BUKANON, DAVID	GRAUNT, ALESTER
BUKANON [<i>Buchanan</i>], JOHN	GRAUNT, ALEXANDER
	GRAUNT, DANIEL
	GRAUNT, JAMES
CAMELL [<i>Campbell</i>], JAMES	GRAUNT, JAMES
CAMELL, JOHN	GRAUNT, JAMES
CAMELL, NEILE	GRAUNT, JOHN
CARMUCKHELL [<i>Carmichael</i>], JOHN	GRAUNT, JOHN
CURMUCKHELL, WILLIAM	GRAUNT, JOHN
CARTER, NEILE	GRAUNT, PATRICK
CLEWSTON, WILLIAM	GRAUNT, THOMAS
COEHON [<i>Colquhoun</i>], JOHN	GRAUNT, WILLIAM
COWE, ALESTER	GUNN, DANIEL
CRAIG [<i>Craig</i>], JOHN	GURNER, JAMES
CRAIGON [<i>Craigen</i>], JOHN	
CROCKFORD, JAMES	HAGOMAN, JOHN
CROOME, JOHN	HAMILTON, DAVID
CROSSHONE, PATRICK	HAMILTON, JAMES
	HAMILTON, RORY
	HEDRICKE, JAMES
DEUGLE [<i>Dougell</i>], EDWARD	HIDRECKE, WILLIAM
DEUGELL, WILLIAM	HERRON, PATRICK

¹⁸ *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, i. 378; *Suffolk Deeds*, i. 5-6. The names are here arranged in alphabetical order for greater convenience, as near as can be accomplished with the crude attempts of the clerk to spell the Scotch surnames.

HIGHEN, ROBERT
 HOGG, JOHN
 HOGG, JOHN
 HOGG, JOHN
 HOGG, DANIEL
 HOGG, NEILE
 HOW, DANIEL
 HUDSON, DANIEL
 HUDSON, JOHN
 HUME [*Home*], ALESTER
 HUME, DAVID
 HUME, DAVID

JACKSON, JAMES
 JACKSON, PATRICK
 JACKSON, RICHARD
 JACKSON, WALTER
 JAMESON, DAVID
 JAMESON, NEILE
 JIMSON, PATRICK
 JOHNSON, NEILE
 JONES, PATRICK

KALLENDRA [*Callender*], ALESTER
 KALLENDER, DAVID
 KALLENDER, JAMES
 KEMPER, DANIEL

LESTEN, CHARLES

MACK, HENRY
 MACKURNELL [*MacConnell*],
 CANA
 MACKANNELL, DANIEL
 MACKENNELL, DANIEL
 MACKUNNELL, SANDER
 MACKANNELL, WILLIAM
 MACKUNNELL, (*torn*)
 MACKALINSTEN [*MacAllister*],
 ALINSTER
 MAKALESTER, DANIEL
 MACKALESTER, JOHN
 MACKAINE [*MacKean*], DANIEL
 MACKHAN, DANIEL
 MACKAINE, DANIEL
 MACKHENE, ALESTER
 MACKANE, JOHN
 MACKANE, JOHN

MACKAINE, NEILE
 MACKANE, NEILE
 MACKANE, PATRICK
 MACHAME, ROBERT
 MACKAINE, ROBERT
 MACKAINE, SAMUEL
 MACKAINE, WILLIAM
 MACKAINE, WILLIAM
 MACKANDRA [*MacAndrew*], WIL-
 LIAM
 MACKALLY [*MacCullar*], JAMES
 MACKCRETH, PATRICK
 MACKREITH, JAMES
 MACKDOELL [*MacDowell*], SAN-
 DER
 MACKEY [*MacKay*], HUGH
 MACKEY, HILL [*Neile*]
 MACKEY, JOHN
 MACHY, RORY
 MACKEY, SANDER
 MACKEN, WILLIAM
 MACKENTHROW, JOHN
 MACKENDOCKE [*MacIntosh*],
 DANIEL
 MACKONTOSS, WILLIAM
 MACKETH, DAVID
 MACKETH, NEILE
 MACKFORSON [*MacPherson*],
 JOHN
 MACKFARSON, ORIGLAIS (?)
 MACKFARSON, (*torn*)
 MACKFARSON, ROBERT
 MACKHATHERNE, PATRICK
 MACKHELLIN, DANIEL
 MACKHELLIN, JOHN
 MACKHELE, ALESTER
 MACKHELL, JAMES
 MICKELL, JAMES
 MACKHOE [*MacKee?*], DANIEL
 MACKHOME, DAVID
 MACKHOLME, JOHN
 MACKONE, NEILE
 MACKLUDE, [*MacLeod*], JOHN
 MACKILUDE, MURTL
 MACKLYNE, (*torn*)
 MACKNESTER, ALLESTER
 MACKNITH, DANIEL
 MACKNITH, DANIEL

MACKNITH, PATRICK	ROBINSON, ALESTER
MACKRORE [<i>MacCreary?</i>],	ROBINSON, CHARLES
ALESTER	ROBINSON, DANIEL
MACKTENTHA, CANA	ROBINSON, JAMES
MACKTENNETH, SENNEL	ROBINSON, JOHN
MACKTOMAS, GLESTER [<i>Alester</i>]	ROBINSON, JOHN
MACKWILLIAM, GELLUST	ROBERTSON, PATRICK
MAN, DANIEL	ROSS, ALESTER
MANN, JOHN	ROSS, DANIEL
MANN, PATRICK	ROSS, DAVID
MARTIN, DANIEL	ROSS, JAMES
MICHELL, JAMES	ROSS, JAMES
MICKNAB [<i>MacNabb</i>], JAMES	ROSSE, JOHN
MILLER, SANDER	ROSSE, JOHN
MILLESON, SANDER	ROSSE, JOHN
MILWARD, DAVID	ROSS, JONAS
MILWARD, JAMES	ROW, JAMES
MONLOW [<i>Monroe?</i>], DANIEL	ROYE, DONALD
MONROW, HUGH	RUSSELL, SIMON
MONROW, (<i>torn</i>)	
MUNROW, JOHN	SCOTT, JOHN
MONTROSE, LAUGHLELL	SESSOR, DANIEL
MONWILLIAM, DANIEL	SHERON, ANSELL
MONWILLIAM, DAVID	SHURRON, DANIEL
MORCOT, SANNDER	SHIVA (<i>torn</i>), SAMUEL
MORE, (<i>torn</i>)	SHONE, JAMES
MOORE, JAMES	SHUME [<i>Hume?</i>], JOHN
MORRE, JOHN	SIMSON, ALESTER
MORRE, JOHN	SIMSON, DANIEL
MORTON, PATRICK	SIMSON, DANIEL
MUNCKRELL, WILLIAM	SIMSON, DAVID
MURROW, JAMES	SIMSON, PATRICK
MURROW, JOHN	SIMSON, SANDER
MURROW, JOHN	SINCLARE, SALAMAN
MURROW, JONAS	SMITH, HENRY
MURROW, NEILE	SOTHERLAND, ANSELL
MUCKSTORE, NEILE	SOTHERLAND, PATRICK
	STERLING, DAVID
ONEALE, DANIEL	STERLING, JOHN
	STEWART, AUSTIN
PATTERSON, DAVID	STEWART, CHARLES
PATTISON, JAMES	STEWART, NEILE
PERRY, GEORGE	STEWART, ROBERT
PUNN, EDWARD, (?)	STEWART, WILLIAM
QUERNE [<i>Queen, MacQueen</i>],	TANNIELL, JOHN
AMOS	TELLER, DAVID
QUENNE, GEORGE	TELLER, WILLIAM

TENLER, DAVID	WILSON, JOHN
TENLER, JOHN	WILSON, JOHN
TENLER, ROBERT	WOODALL, JOHN
TERRIS, ANDREW	WOODELL, JOHN
TILER, EVAN	(<i>torn</i>) DANIEL
THOMPSON, ALEXANDER	(<i>torn</i>) PATRICK
TOOTH [<i>Touch?</i>], ALESTER	(<i>torn</i>) PATRICK
TOWER, PATRICK	(<i>torn</i>) . . .
	(<i>torn</i>) . . .
WALLIS, NICHOLAS	(<i>torn</i>) ALESTER
WILSON, ANDREW	(<i>torn</i>) . . .
WILSON, CHRISTOPHER	

The persons afore named past from hence in the ship afore mentioned and are according to order Registered heare. dat. Search office, Gravesend 8th November 1651.

GILES BARROW	} <i>Searchers</i>
EDWARD PELLING	
JOHN MORRIS	

This list contains 261 names, but Becx in a subsequent letter said that Capt. Greene "had with him 240 Scotts." The additional number may have been embarked at the last moment before sailing.¹⁷

Evidently the prisoners were marched from Boston to Lynn and the trip took two days. William Edmonds was paid for "dyett for the Scotts by the waye from Boston to the workes." Apparently a physician accompanied the caravan who attended the sick. That his ministrations were unsuccessful in one case is shown by a charge for "a windeing sheet for Davison the Scott," who dropped by the wayside.

Items of human interest in their disposal after arrival include a charge of £35 for "Framing the Scotts house," the purchase of 65 pair of shoes @ 5 s a pair, 92 pairs of stockings, 72 shirts, 92 "skines for makeing the cloathes, Hatts and Bands," while William Emmory and James Mackall got "two Stuffle Suites." Goody Burt of Lynn was paid for "phisicke" for these who were ill. Two hundred pounds of tobacco were bought for them, costing £13: 17: 04, and we may credit this "good deed in a naughty world" to the managers of the works.

¹⁷ Accounts of Lynn Iron Works, fol. 39. Baker Library, Harvard University.

Various items under the head of diet show that in changing numbers, from sixty-one men to twenty-eight, the charge for the larger quota per week was £18: 06: 00. The diet of twenty-eight men from December 16, 1651, to August 3, 1652, being thirty-two weeks, was £268: 16: 00. In the inventory of 1653 the manager reported thirty-seven "Scotts at 20 pound per man" and that they must have slept three in a bed, as they had only "11 beds and bolsters with 22 Coverletts and blanckets among the Scotts."

The London proprietors were watchful of the costs of the commissary for these prisoners. In a letter of Becx to the manager he said on this point:

We wrott you that we desired the Scotts should be dietted by some ther in the Country by those that would have (supplied the) best and cheapest and not to have it done by you at such a high Rate the Company not being willing to allow above 3 s 6 d per week and you being 5 s.¹⁸

And again Becx showed his anxiety for the sale of these "Scotts" so that the Company might realize on the venture:

moreover we sent you after yor 4 Monethes Arivall thes 82 Scotts which if they had beene sold for the Companys use one halfe of them would have procured you above [£]600 for 30 of them and then you should have as yett 30 more Remaineing at the Works to have don your business compleat that you would not have wants comen [coming], hands nor stocke.¹⁹

This second consignment of human freight found a wider distribution among the towns of Massachusetts and the adjacent provinces, as the story of the first consignment had whetted the envy of those who had failed to procure cheap labor from this new kind of auction block. It had the sanction of John Cotton and that was enough to deaden the New England conscience. They were sold, as before, to planters and mill-owners throughout the Colonies in this section. The usual terms prevailed as to price and length of service. Based on the experience of the *Unity*, these two hundred and seventy-two prisoners must have netted the owners of the *John and Sarah* about £4,000, a tidy sum in those days and representing about \$30,000 in present values. More of these pris-

¹⁸ *Ib.*, fol. 42.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, fol. 43.

oners were sent to the southern Colonies and to the West India Islands than to New England, but the morality of the transaction is not changed by a disparity in numbers.

It is not to be supposed that those who engaged in this traffic, euphemistically hidden with the label of "apprenticeships," should hesitate to drive their helpless servants to the point of ill treatment, although it is not believed that this was a general situation. However, on May 23, 1655, a number of them complained of this inevitable outgrowth of bondage and petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for freedom, but their request was refused in the following terms: ²⁰

In answer to the petition of seuerall Scotchmen [who desire to be freed from their masters, the Court, seeing] no prooffe nor probabilitye appearing of what the petitioners affirme, the Court sees no cause to graunt their request.

Samuel Stratton of Watertown bought one of these Scotchmen and the documents in the case are here shown. It is, of course, an open question whether these men, unable to sign their names, could read the indentures by which they were bound and in this particular case it is clear that Alexander Gordon, the party of the second part, was a victim of ill treatment. His original indenture was as follows: ²¹

This indenture witnesseth that I, Allexander Gorthing Scotchman, Lately being arrived the coasts of New England, do covenant agree and promise to Serve Goodman Stratton, Planter of Watertowne the full space of six years, wherein I do promise to do him true and faithfull service not to absent myselfe day or night out of his family dureing the time of Apprentiship aforesaid without his Licence or consent, that I will not entangle or engage myselfe in any way of Contracts or mariage dureing the aforesaid time, all his Lawfull demands and injunctions I do promise to fulfill to my uttermost power and abilities, all this I the aforesaid Allexander do likewise promise, bynd and ingage myself to serve my full time to some of his sonnes untill it be fully expired if providence should take away my present master by death, witnes my hand

ALLEXANDER GORTHING
his marke & a seale.

²⁰ *Mass. Col. Rec.*, IV. Pt. 1, 232. The same entry, differently worded, is in *Ib.*, III. Pt. 11, 381, from which the words in brackets are taken.

²¹ *Middlesex Deeds*, I. 61.

Oct. 15, 1652

Witness, GOODMAN BLOIS
RICHARD BLOIS
RICHARD NORCRAS.

Delivered by Alexander as his act and deed in the presence of us
underwritten to his master Goodman Stratton.

RICHARD NORCROSS, JOHN CLOYS.

Wee consent to the turning over of this Servant to Samuel Stratton
the 19th of the 8 mo: 1652

INCREASE NOWELL
WILLIAM HIBBINS

Recorded 25:4:1653 By me THO: DANFORTH *Recorder*.

This may be regarded as a typical case of the less fortunate bondservants. It would seem that after he had finished his service with his first master, or possibly before he was redeemed through the benevolence of a resident of Cambridge, even in his freedom Stratton became the victim of mistreatment at the hands of a subsequent employer. The following is a statement of his subsequent difficulties addressed to the County Court at Charlestown, as well as a confirmation of the story of his travels after the Battle of Worcester:²²

To the honored the Deputy Governor with the rest of the magistrates assembled in the County Court now held at Charlestowne this 3d of the 11th mo. 1663. The Petition of Alexander Gorden Scotchman.

Humbly Showeth Whereas by the wise providence of the Almighty God your poare petitioner (with many others of his countrymen) was taken a prisoner in the late English wars with Scotland, and with many more prisoners brought into Tottell fields, where and from whence your poare petitioner was redeemed by monies payd by Mr. Daniel Stone of Cambridge, who hath, as appears by his bill given under his hand, freely given your poare petitioner the same, and also whereas Jno. Cloise of Watertowne at the same time moved your petitioner to go along with him by sea to this place without any agreement for time or wages, only his promise to be as a father in all love and kindness to your poare petitioner, and also whereas your poare petitioner obtained his pas-

²² Middlesex Court Files. Gordon became the ancestor of a well-known family in Exeter.

sage by his labour without any charge to the said Cloise as Mr. Jno Allen the m[aste]r of the said Ship hath under his hand given, manifesting also his willingness your poare petitioner should have the benefit of the same, also whereas the said Jno. Cloise hath (after faythfull service for about a years space performed by your petitioner and hard usage by the wife of the said Cloise) now sould your poare petitioner for seventeen poundes without any recompense or consideration of his promise made to your petitioner, or the petitioners labor in the ship or on shoare whereby your poare petitioner apprehendeth himself to be much wronged, yet being a poare exile and friendless hath been willing to suffer, your petitioner do therefore now humbly Comend the Consideration of the premises to this Honored Court haveing no other reffuge; and your petitioner shal be ready to prove the perticulars above named, and doe Humbly intreate this Honored Court to vouseafe the Consideration thereof that so far as justice and equity, according to the laws of God and this Cominwealth, will tend to the releiff of your petitioner, your poare petitioner may receive some help therefrom, And your petitioner shall set down well payd with the determination of this Honored Court and shall continue humbly to pray etc.

ALLEXANDER GORDEN.

Valentine Hill of Dover, formerly of Boston, where he had been a Deacon of the First Church, was one of the large dealers in these contract prisoners. He was interested with Kemble, to whom the prisoners had been consigned, in the mills at Dover, and thus came his connection with these Worcester captives. But he had also bought some of the previous lot of Dunbar men, as appears from the town records: ²³

5:1000:1652: Given and granted unto Mr. Valentine Hill, his heires, Executors, administrators or assigns foure acres of land adjoining to Goodman Hudsons Lott for his Scots.

Also the following confirms his extensive dealings in this kind of labor: ²⁴

Layd out and Bounded to henrey Brown and James Ore fower ackers which were given and granted unto Mr. Vallentine Hills seven Scotcs in the yeir 1652: Said land lyeth on the northern side of the land that was granted to Hudson and now in the hands of Edward Patterson.

²³ Dover Town Records, I. 59.

²⁴ *Ib.*