INTRODUCTION: THE CUMBERLAND LETTERS.

In 1909 Clementina Black visited the British Museum and there she opened up and perused the several large leather bound volumes comprising the Cumberland Letters – a remarkable correspondence sent to and from George Cumberland (1754-1848), as well as his brother Richard Denison Cumberland. (George’s mother was Elizabeth Balchen (1719-1796) whose sister Mary (1721-1798) married John Man (1718-1783)). Choosing only from the first of the sixteen volumes and covering just thirteen years – 1771-1784, Clementina produced a book that she felt reflected the typical concerns of a large family living during the latter half of 18th century. Considering that George Cumberland went on to live another sixty years after 1784, one can only wonder at how much more material, not least from a genealogical point of view, remains unmined among the fifteen remaining unopened volumes.

What follows is a series of letters or parts thereof extracted from Clementina Black’s ‘Cumberland Letters’, along with comments on them by Ms. Black, that were written by or about the American families of Weaver, Gooch, and Marriott. These form a small subset of the letters Clementina chose but they raise the question of who these Americans were who corresponded with George Cumberland? How do they relate to the Cumberland-Balchen family and what were their backgrounds?

To help the reader distinguish between Clementina Black’s comments and the original letters, two different type faces are used. Those comments by Clementina are in Italics and those that are the actual letters or parts thereof are in a typeface called Candara.

In her introduction to ‘The Cumberland Letters’ Clementina refers to a ‘pedigree’ that she consults in order to help her establish family relations. First mentioned is Martha Cumberland the aunt of George and from which Clementina deduces the following:

…. the statements of the pedigree are puzzling; she [Martha] is set down as having married a Mr. Weaver and as
being the mother of one daughter, Mary, married to "Gouch of Boston." Now, the lady who married John Gooch, of Boston, U.S.A., was, unquestionably, Miss Sally Weaver. There was, however, a Mrs. Marriott, who was a relative or connection of Richard and George, and was in America with the Gooches; she may have been Mrs. Gooch's sister, and originally Mary Weaver.

Clementina Black is right in pointing out the confusion. As far as we can tell no Mary figures among the American cousins of George and Richard Denison Cumberland and a Sarah Weaver did indeed marry a John Gooch. However Clementina Black is wrong about Mrs. Marriott. She was not "Mrs. Gooch’s sister" but rather she was her aunt, being the sister of Sally Weaver's father, and her name was Catherine, not Mary. The chart on p. 45 describes the connections among these families.

Unfortunately we have very little information on the Weaver family and how one of them ended up marrying Martha Cumberland is a mystery. Given that Sally Weaver left England and settled with her aunt Catherine Marriott in Boston, Massachusetts, suggests that Sally’s father may well have been a New Englander. It could be that Mr. Weaver had come over from the Bay Colony having business in London and there met and married Martha Cumberland. They must have remained in London long enough, or visited it frequently, for Sally to be fondly remembered in the letters. Indeed George Cumberland says that: ‘my mother talks often of one who used to be her favorite’.

As no mention is made in ‘The Cumberland Letters’ of Sally’s mother Martha it is probable that she had died prior to 1771 when the letters begin.

As will be seen below, Sally’s father’s death is mentioned in passing by George Cumberland in a letter to Catherine Marriott; the letter is dated January 1772 and “shows a good many corrections and was doubtless fair copied by its writer, George Cumberland... it refers to his father's death, which took place in the autumn of 1771.”
MRS. MARRIOT. Jan. 7, 1772.

MADAM,

It is impossible to express the uneasyness and supsense my self Mrs Cumberland and all your Friends in England have sufferd on account of not hearing from you or Mr. Gooch and your present situation has not a little encreased our anxiety for your safety: the last time I heard from Boston was in Feby and from Mr Goochs never mentioning your name and always writing for his wife we have been induced to suspect that a misunderstg subsists between you the bare surmise of which has led us to intreat a line from you to satisfy our doubts in which we hope we are mistaken as we can hardly think it possible she should give you intentionally any offence Mrs Sarah Cumberland and my mother intreat if it is possible we may have a Line from your self: And the favor will confer obligation on your Humble Serv.,

G. CUMBERLAND.

P.S.
direct to me .

You have heard of the Death of my father and Mr. Weaver.

George’s father, George Cumberland Snr, given his ‘melancholy exit’ as described in the newspapers at the time, had probably committed suicide in November 1771. It would appear from this letter that Sally’s father too had died, probably in the same year, and he had done so in England.

Mr. George Cumberland, late of the South-Sea House, was a Gentleman greatly respected for his honesty and integrity; the cause of his melancholy exit is attributed to his having dabbled too freely in the Alley on speculation.

A letter from Mr. Gooch, in America, is peculiarly interesting as being written by an Englishman established in Boston during the War of Independence. [In this Clementina Black is wrong. John Gooch was of a family that had settled in Massachusetts a number of generations before John’s birth and he himself indentified with the American cause]
BOSTON April 8th 1774. MR GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Sir,
I had flatter'd myself of having the satisfaction of Procuring a Correspondence which I have indeaverd to Cultivate by omitting no opportunity of writing but it seem's to be declin'd on your part, as I have not been favourd with a Letter since Aug Last, it would ever afford me the greatest satisfaction to hear of the Wellfare of Mrs Gooch's Friends, and their silence gives her Great uneasiness.

All is Tumult and Confusion here and the Mob seem to have taken the Reins of Government, a most miserable Chariotteeer, and I fear Order will not be Restor'd, without Bloodshed, they are in General both gentle, & simple, Learning the Art Military, that it is now grown unpolite, not to have that Soldierly accomplishment that in all probability, we shall soon be stild the Nation of Soldiers.

Mrs Gooch joins with me in Dutifull Regards to your Mother & Love to self & Brother Mrs Gooch intends writing by Next opportunity in the meantime I am with Respect yr most obedient & most humble Servant,

JN GOOCH.

Another of Mr. Gooch's communications was indited upon May the 13th ....

BOSTON May 13, 1774.
MR GEO: CUMBERLAND.

Sir,

My last by Capt Brown inclosed you a Bill of Exchange being the first I now Inclose the Second, for your proceeding I refer you to my former letter Inclosing the first Bill, all our Vessells are arrived but Mrs Gooch has no Letters from her friends; The measures taken by the Ministry has thrown all into Confusion the shutting up of the Ports is a procedure equally Pernitious to both Parties as the Colonies are united in the Common Cause every Port will be shut up on the Continent so that fleets and armies can produce no other effect than the accumulating Charges the Spirit of Resenment Rises so high thro all denominations that they ridicule the measures adopted to reduce them and spurn at the threatened storm, and tho' the measures adopted are Big with the ruin of thousands yet the Gloomy Prospect serves but to sharpen their resentment they never will submit to Termes they think unjust unless Reduced by Conquest, the Consequence of which must be mutual ruin, Great Britain knows but Little of America & should they proceed to hostilities I'm very doubtfull wether they would be able to say with the Roman Tyrant Veni Vidi Vici the Americans
are a resolute hardy & I may ad an obstinate people that are not to be Dragoond into Compliance with arbitrary measures, most of the Inhabitants will quit the Town and retire to the Country leaving behind a subsistance for the Poor mecanicks a Large fund being raised for that purpose, as they are already turnd out of imploy for immediately on the arrival of the news the ship Carpenters etc dismissed all their hands The present situation is very melancholy and alarming but I make no doubt of a happy Conclusion as I'm firmly perswaded their will be no Concessions on the part of America for the provinces are determind strictly to adhere to the Union, which will Infallibilly work out our political salvation and save us from a Slavery more abject and scandalous than the Egyptian Bondage. Mrs Gooch is in the Country with her Aunt to spend some time and as soon as the Troops arrive I intend to remove into the Country & their remain till peace, or the Clangor of War shall urge my return to either of which I'm sincerely disposed but with the former if Consistent with the Liberties and interest of America.

My best Respects to your Mother, Mrs Sarah Cumberland [Sally’s aunt] and all Mrs Goochs Friends.

I am with all Sincerity,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant,

JOHN (Gooch erased).

P.S. You’ll Excuse this Blotted Letter as I have not time to copy.

Upon George's daily occupations some light is thrown by a statement in a letter to Mr. Gooch, that he was employ'd at a public Office [The Royal Exchange] from 9 in the morn, till 7 at night, and after that in the collection of ground rents from about 200 different people. [George Cumberland pictured right]

A letter had been received from Mr. Gooch containing no news beyond a statement that all were well. Its bearer, however, had supplemented it by the information that Mr. Gooch "was taken prisoner and carried into Boston but allowed to depart." He further said that "when he left America their situation was very distressing
and everything intolerably dear."

(The above appears to have been received in the summer of 1777. So far, no record of John Gooch having been “taken prisoner” has been found.)

A faint reflection of his relation to them (GC’s to his aunt Sarah Cumberland and her companion Mrs. Mole) appears in a draft (dated May 30th, 1779) of a letter to Mrs. Gooch [Sally Weaver], which he had the chance of sending by "a Mr. Copley, well known to Mr. Gooch, who is so obliging as to undertake the forwarding of this to you." The person indicated is probably John Singleton Copley, the painter, who was at this time in London and may have talked of returning to Boston, but who, as he never did so, cannot have carried any letter.

Your worthy aunt Cumberland is living and but for the circumstance of a disorder in her leg which she bears with the greatest patience, in a situation such as she by no means complains of thro the friendship of a Lady, [Mrs. Mole] whose kind conduct to her deserves more praises than she would chuse I believe to hear, indeed it is so generous as in a great measure to make her amends for that hard fortune which you well know she has experienced.

In a later part of the letter George, who cannot possibly, having been born but six-and-twenty years previously, have remembered a relative unseen for thirty, declared that:

while the memory of my esteemed father remains, I shall never forget that warmth with which he recommended you to my regard, my brother shares the same sentiment with me, and my mother talks often of one who used to be her favorite.

I think Clementina is misinterpreting what George is saying. It is not George himself who remembers Sally (Weaver) Gooch but rather the recollection of his father recommending her to him which is being remembered and that is entirely possible as George would have been 17 at the time of his father’s death. This is not to say that George was probably also flattering the recipient of his letter.

The next letter Clementina Black selects is given without further comment. It is from George Cumberland to his brother Richard Denison Cumberland.

I have wrote to Sally Weaver (Mrs. Gooch) the Old Lady [whether Mrs. Mole or his aunt is intended I cannot tell] is pleased with it; she has
presented me with a work which cost her 5 Guis have sent her Spanish Snuff. I have wrote another Tale, another sermon, Squibs, poetry &c (and have some thought of commencing Editor of a news paper) but of this not a word to anybody.

Clementina states that John Gooch’s last letter to George “greatly irritated its recipient, and drew from him very scornful comments was written in April of this year.” Again, a visit to the British Museum library would reveal what these comments were - perhaps it was John’s note of triumphalism (well deserved) that prompted them.

BOSTON April 29. 1783.
DEAR SIR,

the agreeable sound of Peace haveing reach’d our shores, and restrained the sword from longer deluding the soil of America with Blood and adding to the fertility of her Fields by the manure of Foreign Carcases, affords me the happy opportunity to re commence a Correspondence that has so long been interupted by the malignant Dispute a Correspondence I shall always endeaver to Cultivate with the greatest attention you no doubt concluded in such a War no man of Spirit could remain an idle Spectator he must be active on one side or other, I naturally and from a principall of Duty I was conceous [ ] Country join'd the American standard and altho I have sufferd greatly from the Wounds I have received in several severe conflicts I have still been happy in reaping some small harvest of honor and ever met the approbation and favr of our amiable Commander in Chief whose name by the faithfull Historian will adorn the most shining pages of History and be transmitted to lattest Posterity with the most Brilliant Character To know him is to Love him the Cause and efect are inseparable I am sometimes ready to conclude to visit your side the Attalantic as my Physicians tell me the sea may tend to restore my health which has been greatly impaird by wounds and the fatigues of a Camp the Wounds are not yet all well and I suppose my face will be much disfigur’d but that can give no great pain as it never was an handsome one. Mrs Gooch has been very unhappy in not hearing from you in so long a time we have wrote several Letters but never recived but one from you she is very anctious to hear from you and especially from her Aunt Sally [Sarah Cumberland], Mrs Gooch's health is far from being in a good state but I hope the Return of Spring and a Journey will reinstate it Mrs Marriott is living and injoys a Tolerable good share of health.

All kind of Business is at present at a Stand but must soon revive and in all probability this part of the World will share largely of the general Commerce and of Consequence grow immencely rich, and we must adopt the Policy of improving our Commerce by the cultivation of the Olive Branch and we are under no obligations from any alliance we have Contracted of ever being concern'd in any future War as they are wholly Commercial and it will always be for the Interest of America to form
no other, an Interest it is the Wish and hope of every American may always be adher'd to in all her future engagements.

In all probability there will again commence a large intercourse between the two Nations in the Commercial Way though not so large as formerly as our trade for a Number of years having been thrown into different channells where meeting with every indulgence and Reaping large profits will Remain irrevocably fix'd at least a very considerable part of it At present I'm undetermin'd wether to enter into trade or retire wholly from business and Live on a plantation but I'm in no hurry to determine as I expect to be able to form a Proper Judgment of things when affairs are a Little more settled but I imagine I shall enter into the European trade and perhaps take up my residence in the Vicinity of New York where I have a plantation hower if that shall happen I shall give you an early intimation of it in the meantime must earnestly intreat you to Write Mrs Gooch by first opportunity and let her know how all her Friends are especially her Aunt Sally She joins with in most respectfull Compts to yr. Mother Bror and Her Aunt Sally and remain with sicer Wishes for your health and happiness,

Your affectionate and most obed. Servant,
JOHN GOOCH.

P.S. Please to give my Respectfull Compts to Mr. Copley and his Bror Mr John Clark if you are acquainted with them.

Mr George Cumberland,
Insurance Office Royal Exchange,
London.

_extract of a letter from George Cumberland to Richard Denison Cumberland, May 11, 1784.

I have had a Letter from Mrs Gooch for her husband is dead and another from his Executor enclosing a Pettifoging account which he desires me to receive for him of a Person here She writes word that my kind letter afforded her a cordial, as it came to her hands the day her husband was buried, who had been both tender and indulgent to her that she had enjoyed but little health lately, and is now at Board with one of Mr Gooch's Relations That Mrs Marriott is alive and well, and ends with her affectionate Love and Duty to her dear aunts entreating to hear from them etc

This is the last mention of 'our American cousins' to appear in the Cumberland Letters
WHO WAS SALLY WEAVER?

As has been said, we know very little about Sally Weaver, George Cumberland’s first cousin. We do not know the date nor place of her birth. We do know that her first husband was John Gooch the son of Colonel Joseph and Elizabeth (Valentine) Gooch. John married Sally on August 16, 1770, shortly after his father's death. The marriage records indicate that she was ‘Sarah Weaver of Milton’. Her second husband was Ezekiel Cheever whom she married on May 29, 1784. There appear to have been no children from either marriage. Her will is dated July 3, 1793 and it was probated on February 10, 1795, making her death probably around 1794.

Sally Weaver's aunt, Sarah Cumberland, thought enough of her niece in New England to provide for her in her will which was dated 24 August 1786 and was proved on 4 April 1789. Sarah Cumberland was residing at the time she wrote her will in Old London Street, in the City of London. The executors of her will were her nephew Richard Denison Cumberland and friend Walter Bagster, of Tower Street, London, apothecary. The part of the will that refers to her niece Sally begins with Sarah Cumberland directing her executors to:

Share and divide the residue of the money arising by such sale into two equal parts or shares and thereupon to pay and apply out equal part or share thereof to the said Richard Cumberland and after payment thereof to place out the other equal part or share thereof in the public funds in the name of the said Executors and Trustee and when so placed out then to pay and apply Interest and Dividends thereof from time to time as the same shall become due unto my niece Sarah Cheever of Boston in New England widow for and during the term of her natural life and from and after the decease of the said Sarah Cheever to pay and apply the remaining or other equal part or share which shall have been so placed out as aforesaid together with such Interest and such Dividends as shall be due to them at the time of the decease of the said Sarah Cheever unto the said Richard Cumberland and I do hereby will and direct that the interest and Dividends so by me herein before directed to be paid to my said niece Sarah Cheever shall be paid to her and for her free of any future husband she may hereinafter marry and that the same shall not be subject to his debts …… or engagements and that the Receipt alone of my said niece shall be a good discharge to my executors and Trustees notwithstanding such future …… (P)
JOHN GOOCH – SALLY WEAVER’S HUSBAND

John Gooch was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1737 the son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Valentine) Gooch. During the revolutionary war, he saw active service as an officer of the 19th Continental Infantry and was assistant deputy quartermaster, as well as a Commissary of the Forage and he held the rank of major. He died on December 29, 1783.

His actions during the revolutionary war in which he was commended for his bravery can be found detailed in Appendix X.

His death was noted in various publications at the time. The Boston Magazine on January 1 1784 reported that: Major John Gooch late Commissary of Forage in the American Army, aged 46.

The following death notice appeared in the Massachusetts Gazette on January 6, 1784, and thereby gives us a fix on the actual day John Gooch died namely December 29, 1783.

DIED At Boston on the 29th Ult. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper Pastor of the Church in Brattle Street in the 59th year of his age - The same day departed this life, John Gooch, Esq; late Commissary of Forage for the Military Department in Boston.

A more detailed death notice appeared in The Continental Journal on January 1 1784 as follows:

On Monday last departed this life, John Gooch Esq. Late Commissary of Forage for the Military Department in this place and formerly a gallant and intrepid Officer in the Line of the Continental Army, from which he retired in consequence of an impared State of Health, after having remarkably distinguished himself for Integrity and Enterprize. His remains are to be interred this Afternoon when his Friends and Acquaintances are invited to attend, and pay their last Respects to the Memory of a Benevolent Man.
The Early History of the Gooch FAMILY

There were several preceding generations of Gooches before Sally married John each of whom left their mark on early New England history.

JOHN GOOCH I

For instance John’s great great great grandfather was John Gooch who had settled at York in the province of Maine as early as 1640. Unfortunately his wife Ruth, had a scandalous affair with the parish priest - the Reverend George Burdett (‘of unsavory memory’). She and Burdett were summarily dealt with by the Court for their improper relations as follows:

"Mr. George Burdett, minister of Agamenticus, is Indicted by the whole Bench for a man of ill name and fame, Infamous for incontinency, a Publisher and Broacher of divers dangerous speeches, the better to seduce that weak sex of women to his Incontinent practices contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, as by Depositions and Evidences. This Enquest find Billa vera.

"Whereupon the said George Burdett is fined by the Bench for this his offence ten pounds sterling to our Sovereign Lord ye King.

"Mr. George Burdett is also Indicted by the whole Bench for Deflowering Ruth, the wife of John Gouch, of Agamenticus aforesaid, as by depositions and evidence appeareth, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King. This Enquest find Billa vera.

"Whereupon the said George Burdett is fined by the bench for this his offence Twenty Pounds Sterling to our Sovereign Lord the King. Ruth, the wife of John Gouch, being found guilty by the grand Inquest of Adultery with Mr. George Burdett, is therefore censured by this Court, that six weeks after she is delivered of child, she shall stand in a white sheet publickly in the Congregation at Agamenticus two several Sabbath Days, and likewise one day at this General-Court when she shall be thereunto called by the Councillors of this Province, according to his majesty's laws in that case provided."
A witness in the case testified that he heard: "John Gouch say that he was minded to shoote Mr. Burdett, but that his wife persuaded him to the contrary, and he thought that John Gouch carryed a pistoll in his pockett to shoote Mr. Burdett." A commentator at the time wrote: "Instead of leading his flock into paths of righteousness, he proved to be a wolf among them, and the records of his misdeeds stain the pages of history."

Supposedly this story was the basis of Hawthorne's novel "The Scarlet Letter".

John Gooch later: "... removed to Wells [in Maine], where he was a Selectman in 1653; and died early in 1667. His will, dated 7 May and proved 12 July, 1667, mentions wife Ruth, sons John and James, and several grandchildren, and bequeaths to his son James a house, garden, and orchard in Slimbridge, in the hundred of Berkeley (the birthplace of Dr. Edward Jenner), Gloucestershire, England, which he had bought of William Hammond; from which it is inferred that the emigrant came hither from Slimbridge."

JAMES GOOCH I

In The history of Wells and Kennebunk from the earliest settlement to the year ... Edited by Edward Emerson Bourne it states that:

"James Gooch, [son of the above John], located himself at York in Maine on a lot of land near Little River, not far above its junction with the Branch River. [He would have been Sally Weaver’s husband’s great grandfather] Unfortunately on Sunday, 24 September, 1676, James and his wife were attacked by Indians when returning from a church service", and according to The history of Wells and Kennebunk:

"He was shot [and killed] and she was cut to pieces by the hatchet [and died three days later from her wounds]. They were riding in the way of olden time, on horse-back; in that loving fashion, symbolic of the affection and strong union of the age, she on the pillion behind him, with her right arm round his waist. No other persons seem to have been attacked at this time. There were but few of the assailants, and this assault having been successful, they escaped as soon as possible, for there must have been many
persons returning home from public worship at the same time."
The day after the murder of Gooch, the Indians made a raid on Cape Neddock, and destroyed the whole village. Forty persons were killed or carried into captivity. A letter from Richard Martin of Sept. 26, 1676, says:

"On Sabbath last a man and his wife, namely one Gouge [Gooch], were shot dead and stripped by the Indians at Wells, at two or three o'clock. Cape Neddock was wholly cut off. Only two men and a woman, with two or three children, escaped." They must have been entirely off their guard. The attack on Gooch could not have reached their ears. This sudden appearance of the enemy at Wells would have rendered it perilous for any one to travel to Cape Neddock to give notice of the danger."

JAMES GOOCH II

Captain James Gooch, son of the slaughtered James preceding, was born after 1667, presumably at Wells. (He would be the father of Sally Weaver's father-in-law Joseph Gooch and thus her husband's grandfather). At the memorable attack on Wells by the Indians on the ninth and tenth of June, 1692, James Gooch commanded one of the two sloops (The Mary) which played an important part in that affair. Later, he removed to Boston and his name appears in the List of Inhabitants in 1695.

James Gooch has been described as:

'A valuable citizen of Boston, whither he came from Wells in the then province of Maine. In June, 1700, James Gouge (as the name was often spelled) petitioned the General Court (of Boston) on behalf of the town of Wells for assistance in rebuilding its meeting-house, and in other ways, because of its losses during the Indian Wars. He took an active part in the affairs of Boston as early as 1700,
when he was chosen Constable and he held other minor offices, e.g. tything man (1705), and measurer of boards and planks,(1710), until 1714, when he was elected an Overseer of the Poor, an office which he continued to hold till 1729. He served also on various town Committees such as one to ‘prepare Instructions for the town's Representatives in the General Court’ (1722).

James Gooch was also prominent in the affairs of the First Church, and served on the Committee appointed to rebuild the Meeting House after the great fire of 2 October, 1711. (see title page – Burnings Bewailed) In April, 1713, he was appointed, with others, to "be seaters of ye New meeting house, now built" and to dispose of the seats and pews “as they might deem most advantageous to them”.

Captain James Gooch was thrice married the first being to Elizabeth the daughter of Sir Charles Hobby [pictured right].

His second marriage on 15 August 1695 was to Elizabeth Peck, and the fruits of this marriage included a daughter, Elizabeth, born 17 March, 1697-98, who married (1) Capt. John Hubbart and (2) John Franklin, an older brother of Benjamin Franklin; as well as a son Joseph who was to become the father of Sally Weaver’s husband.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Peck) Gooch died 1 April, 1702, and on the twelfth of November following, Captain James Gooch consoled himself by taking a third wife, Sarah Tuthill, erroneously spelled Tuttle in the marriage record.

The Boston Evening-Post of Monday, 5 June, 1738, No. 147, p. 2/1, contains this paragraph:

BOSTON. On Tuesday last [30 May] died here, after a long and tedious Indisposition, Capt. James Gooch, in the 73d Year of his Age; and on Saturday he was very honourably interred.

The New England Weekly Journal of Tuesday, 6 June, 1738, No. 581, p. 2/1, has this notice:

BOSTON. ... On Tuesday last died after a long and tedious Confinement with the Palsy, Mr. James Gooch, of this Town Merchant, in the 73rd Year of his Age, and on Saturday
Evening following was Interred in a handsome and decent Manner.

Captain Gooch was buried in Tomb No. 3 in the South [Granary] Burying Place, which had been assigned to him by the Selectmen on 13 April, 1721. His will ‘disposes of a very good estate, and contains legacies to the ministers and the poor of the First Church.’

JOSEPH GOOCH FATHER OF JOHN AND SALLY WEAVER’S Father-in-Law

Sally Weaver’s father-in-law, Joseph Gooch, was born 18 November, 1700, graduated from Harvard in 1720, and ‘was bred to the law at the Temple’ in London. He was Representative, Colonel in the Militia, and Justice of the Peace, and he lived, successively, at Boston, Braintree, and Milton.’ John Adams has drawn the character of Colonel Gooch with a trenchant and scathing pen. For example Adams describes Gooch as: “... a fool, that spends more than a Week, &c. A malignant Witt. A fiery, fierce outrageous Enemy. He quarrells with all Men”

For more of Adams’s comments on Gooch see Appendix XX. The picture right is of Joseph’s sister-in-law, Hester, the widow of Francis Plaisted.

Joseph Gooch married Elizabeth Valentine, July 2, 1724. She was the eldest daughter of John Valentine and Mary, only daughter of Samuel Lynde of Boston. She died about 1764.
Joseph and Elizabeth Gooch lived in Boston on Summer Street, on the corner of Hawley, next to Trinity Church, and later moved to Braintree and then to Milton in about the year 1740. He bought land off the Miller family, built the Churchill house on Milton Hill (pictured above), and lived there some thirty years where he died December 9, 1770. His children were Elizabeth, Joseph, Jr., Mary, Sarah, John and Katherine. The portrait below is of Joseph’s half brother James Gooch (1693-1786) by John Smibert.

Joseph was fortunate in marrying a wealthy woman as his wife's wealth, as well as his own, gave Gooch an idea that he should have a more influential position in Boston than his fellow-townsmen were willing to concede. He therefore changed his residence to Braintree, where he succeeded in being elected a representative to the General Court. His ambition was not satisfied with this, and he aimed to be made colonel of the Suffolk Regiment of the militia. Influence was brought to bear on Governor Shirley, and the colonel of the regiment, John Quincy, was dismissed and Gooch appointed in his place. The officers, indignant at the dismissal of Quincy and also at Gooch's very apparent avarice, refused to serve under Gooch, and after a two years' term the people of Braintree elected another representative. So indignant was Colonel Gooch, he removed to Milton. Colonel John Quincy (July 21, 1689 – July 13, 1767) was the grandfather of Abigail Adam’s the wife of John Adams - for his comments see Appendix)

THE FRANKLIN CONNECTION.

As we have noted above Sally Weaver’s husband’s aunt, Elizabeth Gooch, was the wife of John Franklin, the eldest brother of the more famous Benjamin. The portrait of a lady left is said to be that of Mrs. John Hubbard, née Elizabeth Gooch, later Mrs. John Franklin, ca. 1748. It was painted by John Greenwood (1727-1792) and was once in the possession of the Brooklyn Museum.
John Franklin, the son of Josiah and Abiah (Folger) Franklin, was born in Boston and baptized on December 7, 1690. He learned his trade of soap maker and tallow chandler in his father's shop and in about 1716 he married for the second time John Gooch's aunt Elizabeth widow of John Hubbard. From his first marriage he "had but one son, John, lost at sea, a young man grown." After his second marriage, John Franklin:

"...removed to Rhode Island, where he set up for himself as a soap and candle maker. How long he remained in Newport is not stated, but, in 1724, the sloop in which Benjamin Franklin left Boston touched at Newport, where then lived his brother John, who had been his shopmate while he had helped his father at candle making, six or seven years before. His brother, who had always loved him, received him very affectionately."

John and Elizabeth Franklin left Newport and returned to Boston sometime before 1729. Franklin took on various official roles such as overseer of the poor and when Benjamin Franklin became postmaster-general in 1753, he appointed his brother John postmaster of Boston, a position which he held until his death, January 30, 1756.

When his brother John died, Benjamin Franklin wrote to one who mourned him:

"He who plucks out a tooth, parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it: and he who quits the whole body, parts at once with all pains and possibilities of pains and diseases which it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer. Our friend and we were invited abroad on a party of pleasure, which is to last forever. His chair was ready first, and he is gone before us. We
could not all conveniently start together, and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him?"

VALENTINE

There are two Gooch-Valentine marriages. As we have seen above Joseph Gooch married Elizabeth Valentine whose father was John Valentine and who became Sally Weaver’s mother-in-law. The second Valentine-Gooch marriage was between Elizabeth’s brother Thomas Valentine and the daughter of James Gooch – Elizabeth. James was Joseph Gooch’s half brother (see chart).

John Valentine [Sally Weaver’s husband’s maternal grandfather] was a prominent lawyer in his time, and in 1720 he was attorney-general. He was married to Mary Lynde, a member of a well-known Boston family.

In Washburn’s "Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts" the following description of Valentine can be found:

"John Valentine of Boston, held the office of Attorney General at the time of his death in 1724, and may have been the immediate successor of Mr. Lynde. He was a lawyer of distinguished learning and integrity. An argument of his in the case of Matson vs. Thomas, in which he was opposed by Auchmuty, Reed and Isaac Littles, is preserved, in which he manifested great familiarity with legal principles as well as ability as an advocate. He is said also to have been "an agreeable and expressive speaker"."

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1 See Matson vs. Thomas. Superior Court for the Counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, &c. The Case of Nathaniel Matson against Nathaniel Thomas. Arguments for the Defendant, on a Special Verdict. (John Valentine, Attorney for Defendant.) pp. 20, n.t. p., Rare. sm. 40 [1720]
The year following his marriage, John Valentine built on Marlborough Street in Boston a brick house with a front of about forty-seven feet and a depth of twenty-six feet. In the rear was a wooden addition for a kitchen. This house was eventually inherited and occupied by John Gooch and Sally Weaver and may have been the location from whence John’s letters to George Cumberland were sent.

Valentine prospered as we have seen. He was not only Advocate-General for the Crown for Northern New England, he was also prominent in civil affairs and he acted as attorney in many civil cases but as the years went on, a nervous breakdown seemed imminent, and, suffering from melancholia, John Valentine hung himself with his sash in an upper chamber of his house in 1724.

Various people recorded the event at the time as follows:

From the Diary of Jeremiah Bumstead:

"1724, Feb. 1. On ye 1, Mr. Valentine, ye lawyer, hanged himself att home in his upper chamber, with his sash. Mr. Harris, minister, & Mr. Auchmutty, giving oath of his distraction, he had a funerall and was buryed in ye church on ye 4th day of ye month."

Samuel Sewall, Jr. noted in his dairy that on: "Feb. 1, 1724. — Mr. Valentine, the Lawyer, Hangs himself in a cockloft. A Little the afternoon they find him. The Jury brought in Non Compos."

Later Sewall records that on the occasion of Valentine’s funeral:

"Judge Davenport and Col. Fitch were invited to be Bearers, and came. But when they saw Mr. Myles refused to read the Office of Burial, they ask’d excuse and went away. Other bearers were found and the funeral was attended by many people."

A eulogistic notice of the deceased was published in the Boston Gazette and in the New England Courant, and the same was inserted in the News Letter of February 13, on payment, according to Sewall, of one angel (ten shillings).

"Boston, Feb. 1, 1724.— On Tuesday the 4th Instant, the Corps of John Valentine, Esq.; His Majesty's Advocate
General for the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Colony of Rhode Island, was here decently Interred: He was a Gentleman for his Knowledge St Integrity most eminent in his Profession, Clear in his Conceptions, and Distinguishable happy in his Expressions. It pleased GOD, some short time before his Death, to deprive him of these Excellent Endowments by afflicting him with a deep Melancholy which brought on him the loss of his Reason, and was the cause of his much Lamented Death."

So outraged was Sewall at the above notice that he records in his diary that he (somewhat maliciously) caused to be re-printed, Dr. Increase Mather's sermon, entitled "A Call to the Tempted. A Sermon on the horrid Crime of Self-Murder," etc. [See title page image]. This tract was not occasioned by Valentine's suicide but rather by an earlier suicide of a man named Taylor.

The Records of King's Chapel show that John Valentine was one of the Wardens of that Church in 1715-16, his funeral probably took place there and his remains were buried in King's Chapel Church-yard.

MARRIOTT FAMILY

Sally Weaver’s aunt Catherine married Powers Marriot. He was born in Boston on 25 March 1705 the son of William and Ann Marriott (IGI C502202). Catherine was born about 1703 and died at Boston in her 89th year in 1792.

Powers Marriott was a merchant and as such he advertised from July 23, 1764, until September 30, 1765, in The Boston Evening Post. An example of one of these advertisements is given below. It was published on July 23, 1764, and the exact same advertisement was repeated in the same publication, as well as in the Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle.
Powers Marriott
Removed his Goods to Milton in Jan. 1764, to the third House beyond Milton bridge, on the left hand Side of the road leading to Braintree, over against Colonel Gooch’s, House and intends to stay there until November 1764. Where he desires his Customers to favour him with their Custom Who shall have good Attendance, and be well used:

At said House he has to sell, cheap for Cash, BLUE Broad-Cloths; blue and green Ratteens; German Serges, of most colours; Garlets and Hollands of all widths; Dowlasses; Apron Checks; cotton and linnen Checks; cotton Hollands; Cambricks; cleat Lawns; long Lawns; Cap laces; English, India, and Genoa Damasks; Persians; Bengals; Chinees & Callicoees; Shalloons, Callimances and Tammies of all colours; Gloves, Fans, Marks, Ribbons, Necklaces. Handkerchiefs of all sorts; also Mourning Goods of all sorts, and a Variety of other Articles.

Another advertisement appeared in the Boston Evening-Post on September, 9, 1765:

To be sold by Powers Marriott A little beyond Milton Bridge opposite Col. Gooch’s, A Parcel of pink, green, blue, grey, &c: rose colour’d English and Genoa Damasks; black Padusoy. Book Muslins and Sundry other Articles. As the Goods are Unsaleable at Milton, he will sell these very Cheap for Cash.

These advertisements are interesting given what they tell us about where Powers Marriott was located – across the street from Joseph Gooch’s house at Milton. Although from a commercial perspective it appears this may not have been the most successful move.

What occasioned Powers Marriot to remove himself to opposite Gooch's house was an epidemic of smallpox that began to ravage Boston in January 1764. As Samuel G. Drake describes it in his History and Antiquities of Boston:
"The small-pox continued to spread, and great alarm prevailed. People were constantly flying from the town in various directions. Many of the merchants and traders removed their goods into the country, opened stores in private houses, and there advertised them for sale. These persons were probably generally such as had not had the small-pox. And, on the other hand, persons in the country, who had not had it (who were a great majority), would not venture into town. Hence, business was almost at an end. This state of things lasted about three months [January - April 1764].” [Among those merchants that fled Boston, Drake lists (in a footnote) - Powers Marriott].

Powers Marriot of Boston subscribed to the 'Rules of incorporation for the Society for Encouraging Industry and Employing the Poor.' Which were published in 1754. On March 10, 1762, he was elected as Warden, among a number of others, for the town of Boston.

An early press notice appeared in a Boston newspaper as follows:

This day in 1729 Powers Marriot, Boston Banker, has lost his wig; it is a light, flaxen, natural one, parted from forehead to crown. The ribbon is red-pink in color. Information about said Wig will make you richer by twenty shillings.

In his will Powers Marriott, shopkeeper, states that in “consideration of love and affection for Sarah Weaver of Boston, minor, and Niece unto Katharine my Wife, and for her advancement in the World,” he conveys an estate (a small piece of property) by deed dated Dec. 15, 1752 to John Spooner, merchant, “in trust for said Sarah from and after the decease of said Katharine”. What happened to this estate can be found in The Cheever section below. What is interesting is the date of the deed – 1752. George Cumberland would have been one year old and it does beg the question as to when and where Sally was born.

Found an Obit for in Massachusetts Magazine, 1792, as follows: Mrs. Catherine Marriott aged 89.

The will of Catherine Marriot of Boston, widow, was probated November 13, 1792 and from her will the trustees of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society benefited quite
considerably as indicated by an edited summary of the minutes of the church:

“April 3, 1794. Monthly meeting. It appears from the proceedings of this day, that a bequest was made to the Society by the will of Mrs. Catherine Marriott, of £1,576,13s, 1d. Of this sum, £465, 11s, 5d, was then due to the Society. The principal of the remainder, £1,111, 2s, 2d, was to devolve to the Society at the expiration of the terms for which certain annuities were devised. The interest arising from the whole estate was to be annually disposed of by the Trustees “to such persons of the Episcopal Church, as have had the misfortune to be reduced from affluent circumstances to a state of poverty, notwithstanding their own integrity and industry.”

The church then gives short biographies of its benefactors and for Catherine we have the following:

“Catherine Marriott was a lady, of whom it is to be regretted that very little information has been collected, although the most liberal benefactress of the Society. She has, however, been represented as a woman of benevolent disposition, and unpretending piety. Her legacy has been already spoken of. It may here be added, that it is provided, by a clause in her will, that, if the funds of the Society should hereafter enable them to purchase or build an asylum for the support of the unfortunate class of persons who are designated as the objects of her beneficence, the whole interest of her estate shall be applied to that charitable purpose.”

(Above from An Historical Memoir of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society Edited by Isaac Boyle (1871))

Found on the internet an auction site that had following (now sold) document signed by Catherine Marriott:
Know all men by those present that I Catherine Marriot of Boston in the County of Suffolk Commonwealth of Massachusetts Widow for consideration of the sum of pounds lawful money paid by James Lloyd of said Boston Esq. the which I do here(?)by acknowledge have given granted assigned sold by those present do hereby give grant assign sell a tomb under the Kings Chapell Church in Said Boston being Tomb No. 6 being the same tomb which was assigned by deed bearing Date the twenty second day of November 1760 to Powers Marriott deceased my late husband By [Name of Person] Late Treasurer of Sd church to having hold the said Tomb to him the said James his Then Executor Administrator by assignee for accepting and receiving that my Body after my Death be deposited in the Said Tomb accepting and receiving also to my Niece Sarah Cheever of Said Boston Widow the right of being interred after her death in Said Tomb provided she the said Sarah shall in her lifetime express frequently her wish of being so
interred in said Tomb.

In witness where of I have hereunto set my hand and seal this second day of January 1788.

Catherine Marriott

Signed Sealed _____ in the presence of us -

Samuel Barrett
Elizabeth King

Suffolk County, Boston 2 January 1788 Then there personally appearing ____ Catherine Marriott acknowledged the above indenture by her submitted to be her before me

Samuel Barrett, Justice of the Peace.

18th Century families consumed quite a bit of their time arranging for the disposal of their own bodies upon their decease and Catherine making sure of hers is not unusual. In this regard Sally’s husband John Gooch made the following stipulation in his will (dated July 3, 1783):

“... and I also leave Mrs. Marriott my corpse to be deposited in her Tomb under the Chapel.”

And in so doing probably left Catherine little alternative.

THE CHEEVER FAMILY.

On May 29 1784 some five months after the death of her husband, Sally (Weaver) Gooch married Ezekiel Cheever. For both it was their second marriage, Ezekiel having married, at Charlestown, Massachusetts, on July 14, 1743, Sarah Phillips.

Ezekiel Cheever was baptized in Charlestown, Massachusetts, on May 15, 1720. He was a sugar baker or confectioner and was one of the selectmen of Charlestown from 1752 to 1755, but afterward removed to Boston.
He was among the ‘Sons of Liberty’ who dined, August 14, 1769, at Liberty Tree, Dorchester (above). A document was produced listing those who attended that event (pictured below) and includes Ezekiel among those listed.

Cheever was an active participant in the great mass meetings held in Faneuil Hall and the Old South Church, November 29 and 30, 1773, to remonstrate against the landing of the tea which eventually lead to the famous ‘Boston Tea Party’. He was made captain of the watch set on the 30th to observe the tea ships that night to make sure no tea was landed. The *William and Mary Quarterly* (Third Series Volume 58 No. 4) says that Ezekiel Cheever was one of the ‘leaders’ of the Boston Tea party (p. 810). However,
his role appears to have been confined to just leading the second night watch over the tea ships that were at anchor in Boston harbor. The minutes taken at the second meeting on November 30th indicate that Cheever:

“... was appointed Captain of the Watch for this Night, and a sufficient Numbers of Volunteers gave in their Names for that Service. Voted, that the Captain of this watch be desired to make out a List of the watch for the next Night, until the Vessels leave the Harbour. Upon a Motion made, voted, that in case it should happen that the watch should be any Ways molested in the Night, while on Duty, they give the Alarm to the Inhabitants, by tolling of the Bells; and that if any Thing happens in the Day Time, the Alarm be by Ringing of the Bells.”

EZEKIEL CHEEVER’S MILITARY CAREER

At the start of the Revolutionary War, soon after assuming command at Boston, in 1775, General George Washington recommended to Congress the appointment of a commissary of artillery. This appointment he was authorized to make, at a salary of $30 per month; more than a captain of that arm. The office, purely civil, was first filled by Ezekiel Cheever and, in the orders assigning him to duty, the commander of artillery was instructed to place all ordnance stores, not in the hands of troops, but rather in charge of the commissary, who was to see them properly taken care of, and who was in fact made storekeeper for artillery materiel.
Washington’s appointment of Cheever, as well as Thomas Mifflin as quartermaster general, and Stephen Moylan as mustermaster general did not go unnoticed. John Adams viewed these promotions as an arbitrary exercise of power that needed to be checked and on July 23rd, 1775, he wrote a letter of complaint to James Warren from Philadelphia:

I have laboured with my Colleagues to agree upon proper Persons to recommend for a Quarter Master General, a Commissary of Musters and a Commissary of Artillery, but in vain. The Consequence has been that the appointment of these important, and lucrative Officers is left to the General, against every proper Rule and Principle, as these offices are Checks upon his. This is a great Misfortune to our Colony, however, I hope that you and others, will think of proper Persons and recommend them to the General.

The picture below from the US Army Center for Military History is a fanciful reconstruction of an historical event and accompanies educational material which describes the scene as follows:

"On the docks of New London ... John Parke, Assistant Quartermaster General, center, and Ezekiel Cheever, Commissary of Artillery (wearing a green coat), give instructions to a captain of artillery. Parke wears the uniform of the General Staff, a blue coat with buff facings. On the other hand Cheever, as Commissary, wears civilian dress."
When Cheever died a brief notice was placed in the Gentleman & Lady's Town & Country Magazine in September 1784 on p. 224: "Ezekiel Cheever, aged 64."

After the death of her second husband Sarah Weaver conveyed the estate that she had inherited from Powers Marriott by deed, recorded on September 7, 1793, to her husband’s daughters: Sarah, Elizabeth, and Abigail Cheever, spinsters, “to hold to them and the survivor of them after her decease”. In her will dated July 3, 1793 and probated February 10, 1795, she makes her three Cheever "daughters in law" her residuary legatees. Her estate was appraised at £719: 16: 6, the real estate, consisting of house and land at the corner of Winter and Newbury (now Washington) Street, Boston, being appraised at £600.

After retaining the property that they had inherited from their step mother (Sally (Weaver) Cheever) for nearly ten years, the three Cheever sisters sold it on January 1st, 1803, to John Parker Whitwell, a druggist, of Boston.

EZEKIEL CHEEVER - SALLY WEAVER’S FATHER-IN-LAW.

Ezekiel Cheever, the father of Ezekiel above, settled in Charlestown and was a son of Rev. Thomas Cheever, of Malden, and a grandson of Ezekiel Cheever, the Latin school-master. He was born March 7, 1692-3, and married, (1) Sept. 29, 1715, Elizabeth Jenner who died May 5, 1728; (2) Elizabeth Gill, Sept. 25, 1729, and (3) Sarah Mousell, widow, Feb. 10, 1735-6.

Ezekiel Cheever died prior to the marriage of his son to Sally (Weaver) Gooch on March 15, 1770. He was taxed in Charlestown in 1721, 1727-60. When administration of his estate (probate) was granted, in 1770, the inventory mentioned a "Mansion and lot, opposite front of mansion, bought of B. Hurd; sugarhouse and barn; pew, right hand going to pulpit; wall pew N. E. part of house, adjacent to P. Edes."

He graduated from Harvard College in 1733, the same year he joined the Artillery Company, and was ensign of the Company in 1736. He was selectman of Charlestown in 1732 and in subsequent
years; was a representative in 1736 and for several years thereafter. He was added to the committee of the General Court in 1744. In 1757 he was ordered to provide transports for the expedition to Louisburg; and, as a member of the council, his signature appears affixed to the commission of Sir William Pepperell (left) as lieutenant-general.2

On August 2, 1736 the Honourable and Captain Ezekiel Cheever, was granted permission to build: "a tomb on the Burial Hill, near Charles Chambers, Esqr."

The Boston Chronicle of March 15, 1770, notices his decease as follows:

"Last week died in Charlestown, the Hon Ezekiel Cheever Esq., in the 78th year of his age; formerly a representative in the General Court for that town, and many years a member of his Majesty's Council for this Province."

The siege of Louisburg below for which Ezekiel Cheever provided transport to the local American troops who were then known then as ‘Rangers’.

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2 Sir William Pepperrell, 1st Baronet (June 27, 1696 – July 6, 1759) was a merchant and soldier in Colonial Massachusetts. He is widely remembered for organizing, financing, and leading the 1745 expedition that captured the French garrison at Fortress Louisbourg during King George’s War. During his day Pepperrell was called “the hero of Louisburg,” a victory celebrated in the name of Louisburg Square in Boston’s Beacon Hill neighborhood.
THOMAS CHEEVER – GRANDFATHER OF SALLY WEAVER’S HUSBAND

Sally Weaver’s husband’s grandfather was Thomas Cheever, a Clergyman and School Teacher. Born in Ipswich on August 23, 1658 he graduated from Harvard College in 1677 and in his time lived to be one of the oldest graduates of that college. He was admitted a member of the First Church, Boston, July 1680, and took the oath of freeman on October 13, 1680. He began to preach at Malden 14 Feb, 1679, and was ordained there July 27, 1681, as colleague of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth.

When Edward Randolph arrived in Boston October 26, 1683, with the aim of rescinding the original charter that was given for the formation of the Massachusetts Bay Colony he experienced much opposition. In his report to the Privy Council, on his return to London which was read to the Council on March 11, 1684, Randolph claimed that:

"... a libelous paper was dispersed in Boston ... [and it was] verily believed that one Cheevers, a young, hot-headed minister, was the author of that paper."

Cheever’s hot-headedness would land him in hot water soon after his first appointment as Minister at Malden. An inquiry was conducted into his behavior there and as a result the church elders felt it worthwhile disciplining him. Soon after this trial he removed to Rumney Marsh. For details on the inquisition into Thomas’s conduct see Appendix X.
Back then Rumney Marsh was a part of Boston, but it was incorporated in 1739 as a distinct town under the name of Chelsea.

The inhabitants of Rumney Marsh had succeeded as early as 1701 in obtaining a vote of the town authorizing the establishment of a school there, but nothing appears to have been done until the following vote was passed by the selectmen of Boston, January 24, 1709:

"That in case Mr. Thomas Cheever do undertake and attend the keeping Such School at his House four dayes in a week weekly for ye space of one year ensuing, and render an account unto the Selectmen once every Quarter of the number of Children or Schollars belonging unto ye Said district, which shall duly attend the said School, he shall be allowed & paid out of the Town Treasury after the Rate of Twenty pounds per annum for his service."

Below is an attendance list of the boys at Thomas Cheever’s school in Cheever’s handwriting.
In 1710, many years after other towns in Massachusetts, Rumney March raised its first meeting house. These were important places in Puritan New England which functioned as both church and town hall. Samuel Sewall (1652-1730), who functioned as chair of the meeting house building committee, wrote in his diary (10 July 1710):

"Mr. John Marion [a deacon in the Second Church of Boston] and I went to Rumney-Marsh to the Raising of their Meeting house. I drove a pin, gave a 5s bill, had a very good treat at Mr. Chievers's [Thomas Cheever]; went and came by Winisimet [Ferry]."

On the formation of the church in Rumney Marsh, October 19, 1715, Thomas was ordained as its first minister. The Rev. Joseph Tuckerman wrote that Thomas
Cheever:

"... was much respected at home [the church at Rumney Marsh]; and his records bear ample testimony to the regard which was felt for him by neighbouring churches ... In consequence of his age and infirmities, it was determined that the 7th of October, 1747, should be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, for the purpose of imploring the direction of Almighty God in the choice of a minister as colleague with the Rev. Mr. Cheever. It does not appear that he preached after this time; and he died in November, 1749, retaining the unabated affection of those to whom he had dispensed the word and ordinances of the gospel."

Thomas Cheever died in Chelsea, Nov. 27, or Dec. 27, according to the inscription on his gravestone, in 1749. His will (No. 9441), dated Oct. 13, 1748, was probated January 23, 1749. He married (1) Sarah, daughter of James Bill of Pullen Point. She died January 30, 1704/5 (she was the mother of all his children). He married (2) in Boston, July 30, 1707, Elizabeth Warren. She died May 10, 1727, aged 64. He married (3) in August, 1727, Abigail Jarvis, who survived him, and who died a widow in Boston, June 20, 1753, aged 84. Her will (No. 10489), dated March 28, 1750, was probated June 29, 1753.

RESIDENCES: On 22 October 1689, Reverend Cheever bought the Parker-Cheever farm from the three Bill brothers (James, Jr., Jonathan, and Joseph of Pullen Point), brothers-in-law of Cheever for £357. It was a farm of 120 acres and Reverend Thomas deeded it to his son Nathan on 29 December 1738. Reverend Cheever was the first owner of the farm who actually lived on it. The location of this farm is west of what is now Broadway and north of Fenno Street in Revere, Suffolk co., MA. It had 120 acres.

Sally Weaver's second husband had two great uncles who had had some influence on life in early New England. One was Samuel Cheever who was the first minister at Marblehead and second was Ezekiel Cheever who partook in the Salem witch trials (for further details see Appendix).
GODS
Sovereign Government
Among the
NATIONS
A letter in a SERMON
Preached before His Excellency the
GOVERNOR, the Honourable
COUNCIL, and Representatives
of the Province of the Massachusetts
Bay in New England, on May 5th, 1712,
being the day for Election of Her
Majesties Council for that Province.
By SAMUEL CHEEVER,
Pastor of the Church in Marblehead.

36

Elijah's Mantle.
A SERMON
Preached at the
FUNERAL OF
That aged and faithful Servant of
GOD,
The REVEREND
Mr. Samuel Cheever,
Pastor of a Church of Christ in
Marblehead;
Who deceased, May 25, 1724.
Mar. 20, 87.
By John Barnard, A.M.
His Colleague Pastor.

BOSTON: Printed by B. Green : Sold at the
Dock-Store Shoppe. 1712.

A. 362. No. 6.

36
Mary
Unknown. She died at New Haven, CT, Jan 20, 1649. 12 Children

Samuel Cheever
First Minister of the Church at Marblehead

Ezekiel Cheever
‘The Latin School Master’
b. Jan 25 1614 in London
d. Aug 21 1708 in Boston

Thomas Cheever
b. Aug 23 1658 in Ipswich
d. Nov or Dec 27 1749 at Chelsea
M1. Sarah Bill
M2. Elizabeth Warren
M3. Abigail Jarvis

Ellen Lathrop
She married Ezekiel Cheever aft 1649
She died 10 September 1706

Ezekiel Cheever
Bapt. May 15 1720.
d. Bef. 1793
M. July 14 1742 Sarah Phillips (9 children)
M. May 29 1784 Sarah (Weaver) Gooch (no issue)

NOTES: Ellen Lathrop was the sister of the ‘renowned’ Captain Thomas Lathrop of Beverly, who with most of his company, "the flower of Essex," was slain by the Indians at Bloody Brook, near Deerfield, September 18, 1675. Sarah Phillips Ezekiel Cheever’s first wife’s mother was Sarah Lynde who married firstly Jonathan Phillips, secondly Thomas Mousall, and thirdly Ezekiel Cheever the father of Sarah Phillips’ husband. Note that the wife of John Valentine whose daughter married Joseph Gooch (Sally Weaver’s father-inlaw) was a Mary Lynde.
APPENDIX ONE
John Gooch and the Revolutionary War

JOHN GOOCH TO WILLIAM HEATH.

Hardwick, June 15, 1775.

I'm now here and have quarters for all the officers; but the inhabitants insist upon it that they shall not remain in this town and demand of me my orders for doing it. Beg your Honor will immediately send me such positive orders as may be satisfactory to the unbelieving or rather too credulous multitude. The best and most sensible of the inhabitants are for receiving them, but their neighbours threaten them in such a manner that they fear to receive them; but if the dissatisfied can but see an order for quartering them they will be content, but at present they are the D, thus am I tormented and have no remedy.

Mr Ragles, who goes express, will return with your Honor's answer, which beg may be soon, as I really am very unhappy and ash'm'd at their behavior.

I have the honr to be, with the greatest respect.

Your Hon's most obed' and most hble servant,

JOHN GOOCH TO WILLIAM HEATH

The Hon' Major Gen Heath.

Rutland. June 12th, 1778.

Sir, — I beg leave to lay before your Honor the difficulties I have to encounter in procuring quarters for the officers.

On Sunday last I set out for Hardwick, by appointment of one of the selectmen of that town who inform'd me he would desire the congregation to stay after service, to know of the inhabitants who of them could or would accomodate the officers with quarters, but on some business being to be laid before the town of another nature they thought proper to call a meeting of the town to convene on Monday afternoon, where I attended; but to my great surprize found I had reason to suspect that the leading men, instead of affording me the assistance I required, had been making all the interest in their power to prevent the officers being quartered, and the first step taken was to put to vote whether they would admit the officers into the town, and a large majority was for not admitting them on any terms. I inform'd them that by the
Convention they were to be quarter'd, and that my orders were to procure quarters, and that I look'd on the vote they had then pass'd as of no consequence, and should pay no regard to it, and that it was not in their power to support it, unless they voted themselves superior to the legislative body, to which they were or ough[t] to be subordinate. But unfortunately they are led by a set of men who want to be licentious rather than free, and have just sense or low cunning sufficient to rentier them mischievous. On Tuesday several of the rational inhabitants came to tell me they would be happy to accommodate the officers, but their neighbours were so base they fear'd they would burn their houses. I finally prevailed on some to take a small part of the officers. A number of the inhabitants told me if I could procure an order of Council for the purpose of quartering they would be oblig'd to me to take quarters in their houses, as that would secure them from the malice of their neighbours.

I have here one of the most disagreeable situations possible, subject to a set of men chose into office from no other recommendation than that of being irrationally noisy; for my part I had rather be in a situation where I must be oblig'd to charge an enemy once a week than have anything to do with such wretches, who if there is not some care taken to prevent will soon gain such an ascendance over the minds of the weak and timorous that a most abject slavery must succeed. They are in general men of contracted sentiments, fond of showing their importance, and most ridiculously aim at being thought patriots, which they endeavor to demonstrate to the world by the most illiberal and illiterate harangues. This is really a striking picture of the greater part of the leaders I have had the misfortune to transact with: these are the men in my present situation I must sooth in their follies and tamely bare their insults, a most mortifying circumstance, a situation so truly ridiculous that the Devil himself would be unwilling to change for; but on the whole I 'm like to accommodate the officers, though with the greatest difficulty. All the hardships of a winter's campaign was a paridice to this.

I have the honr to be, with great respect,

Your most obed' and most humble servant.

John Gooch .

BELOW FROM: Journal of the Honourable House of Representatives, of His Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, begun and held at Boston, in the county of Suffolk, on Wednesday the twenty-fifth day of May, Annoque Domini, 1757.

RESOLVES ALLOWING JOHN GOOCH £137. 8.
A Memorial of John Gooch of Boston late Commissary of the Eastern Forces Praying that he may be allow'd for Sundry Slops sold by him.

Read [Accepted] & Resolved that Mr Treasurer Allen be directed to allow the Memorialist John Gooch the Sum of One Hundred & thirty Seven pounds, Eight Shillings in adjusting accompts with him for so much Supply'd the forces, out of his Particular Stores before the Province Slops arriv'd being for the use of the Province. Passed August 28.

THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS

BELOW: A letter from Captain John Gooch, 7th Continental Infantry, to Thomas Fayerweather, Boston, MA describes the Battle of Harlem Heights. It was afterwards that John Gooch was to distinguish himself at the capture of Fort Washington. Lieutenant Colonel (Archibald) Crary, whom he mentions, was of Rhode Island, and commanded Gooch's regiment at the time. (Communicated by Captain A. A. Folsom, Boston. The original is in the possession of the Bostonian Society.

NEW JERSEY, FORT CONSTITUTION, Sept. 23, 1776.

The many favors Received from you will ever hold a grateful place in my heart, and I flatter my self a Letter will not prove disagreeable, as I look on my self obliged in gratitude to let you hear from me, as I know you must be anxious for the certainty of events of which you can have at that distance but a confused account, as I was on the spot will endeavor to give you as Concise &Just account as possible; on the 15th inst we evacuated New York &took all stores of every kind out of the city, and took possession of the hights of Haerlem eight miles from the City, the Enemy encamp'd about two miles from us; on the 16th the Enemy advanced and took Possession of a hight on our Right Flank abt half a mile Distance with about 3000 men, a Party from our Brigade [Nixon's] of 150 men who turned out as Volunteers under the Command of Lieut. Colo Crary of the Regmt I belong to [Varnum's, R.I.] were ordered out if possible to dispossess them, in about 20 minutes the Engagement began with as terrible a fire as ever I heard, when Orders came for the whole Brigade immediately to march to support the first detachment, the Brigade consisted of abt 900 men, we immediately formed in front of the Enemy and march'd up in good order through their fire, which was incessant till within 70 yards, when we engaged them in that situation, we engaged them for one hour and eights minits, when the Enemy Broke &Ran we pursued them to the next hights, when we were ordered to Retreat. Our loss does not exceed in killed and wounded twenty five men, the loss of the Enemy was very considerable but cannot be ascertained, as we observed them to carry of
their dead and wounded the whole time of the Engagement, they left a Number of killed and wounded on the Field of Battle & a great number of Small Armes, the great Superiority of Numbers and every other advantage the enemy had, when considered makes the Victory Glorious, and tho' but over a part of their Army yet the consequences of it are attended with advantages very great, as they immediately quitted the hights all round us and have not been troublesome since, our people behaved with the greatest Spirit, and the New England men have gained the first Lawrells. I received a slight wound in the Anckle at the first of the Engagement but never quitted the field during the Engagement. I'm now Ready to give them the second part whenever they have an appetite, as I'm convinced whenever [they] stir from their ships we shall drubb them.

John Gooch.

George Washington's note to Gooch

To CAPTAIN JOHN GOOCH [Formerly captain in the Ninth Continental Infantry, and Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General from July, 1777. His claim was for pay and rations as paymaster to Cornell's extra Rhode Island State regiment from January to July, 1777.]

Head Quarters, Prekaness, 23rd October, 1780.

Sir: In answer to yours of the 11th: I can only inform you, that a Certificate from General Cornel, (then Colo. Cornell) of the time of your appointment and of the time at which he gave you notice that the Regiment could not be compleated, is necessary to enable you to draw your pay. When you have obtained that and produce Vouchers of your having drawn no pay during the time, I will issue a Warrant for the Amount. I am etc.

Note: The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and is in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

THE BATTLE OF FORT WASHINGTON ON MANHATTAN ISLAND.

BELOW FROM: Documents of the Assembly of the State of New York, Volume 42 By New York (State). Legislature. Assembly

The Fall of Fort Washington. At 7 o'clock on the morning of November 16, 1776, the British opened the attack on Fort Washington. The garrison of Fort Washington, reinforced by those who had been sent over some days before from Fort Lee and numbering about 3,000 men, made a heroic defense, but attacked on the north, east and south by an overwhelming force of British and bombarded on the west from a British
man-of-war lying in the river, were forced to capitulate about 4 p. m.

As soon as the action began in, the morning, Generals Greene, Mercer, and Putnam crossed from Fort Lee and were in the midst of the fight. Later, Washington joined them in the vicinity of the Morris Mansion, just as the enemy was advancing from the south. At this juncture, the American guard fled, leaving the generals in an awkward position.

Greene, Mercer, and Putnam joined in urging Washington to retire, each of the three offering to remain, but Washington declared it was best for all to come off together. When it became evident that their situation was imminently perilous, the four generals withdrew, and just in time, for within fifteen minutes the British were running over the spot where they had stood. About a half an hour before the enemy closed in around the fort, Washington, Greene, Putnam and Mercer crossed to Fort Lee, ascended the heights, and there witnessed the closing struggle. Gen. Heath says:

"Gen. Washington was now a spectator of this distressing scene, from the high bank at Fort Lee, on the opposite side of the Hudson; and having a wish to communicate something to Col. Magaw the commanding officer at Fort Washington,
Capt. Gooch of Boston, a brave and daring man, offered to be the bearer of it."

This event was later described by Washington in a note he wrote to John Hancock on 16 Nov 1776.

At this Time I sent a Billet to Colo. Magaw, directing him to hold out, and I would endeavour this Evening to bring off the Garrison, if the Fortress could not be maintained, as I did not expect it could, the Enemy being possessed of the adjacent Ground. But before this reached him he had entered too far into a Treaty to retract.

Gooch’s heroics were described as follows by William Heath:

He ran down to the river, jumped into a small boat, pushed over the river, landed under the bank, ran up to the fort, and delivered the message—came out, ran and jumped over the broken ground, dodging the Hessians, some of whom struck at him with their pieces, and others attempted to thrust him with their bayonets—escaping through them, he got to his boat, and returned to Fort Lee.

An anonymous correspondent, who wrote on 17 Nov. from Fort Lee, says that Gooch reported to George Washington that Fort Washington:

“.... was so crowded that it was difficult to pass through it, and as the enemy were in possession of the little redoubts around it, they could have poured in such a shower of shells and ricochet-balls, as would have destroyed hundreds in a little time. And the flag arriving at this moment with the promise of the preservation of their baggage, and safety to their persons, in case of a surrender, prudence dictated that it should be given up.” (Force, American Archives, 5th ser., 3:741).
The billet which Washington sent to Magaw by Gooch was a message directing him to hold out, and saying that in the evening he would endeavor to bring off the garrison. That had been the purpose of Fort Lee — to cover the retreat from Fort Washington, if necessary, but now it proved to be entirely impracticable. Before Washington's message [carried by John Gooch] reached Magaw, the latter had entered too far into his negotiations to surrender to withdraw; and was compelled to yield his men as prisoners of war.
Above George Washington’s note to John Gooch re his claim for pay and rations.
James Gooch, Wells, Maine, killed by Indians Sept 24, 1676, his wife Rebecca Puddington dying three days later from her injuries.
APPENDIX TWO

JOHN ADAMS’ QUARRELL WITH JOSPEH GOOCH.

1760. Aug. 9th.
Docno: DJA01d267

Drank Tea at Coll. Quincys, with Coll. Gooch and Dr. Gardiner. I see Gooch’s fiery Spirit, his unguarded Temper. He Swears freely, boldly. He is a Widower, and delights to dwell, in his Conversation, upon Courtship and Marriage. Has a violent aversion to long Courtship. He’s a fool, that spends more than a Week, &c. A malignant Witt. A fiery, fierce outrageous Enemy. He quarrells with all Men. He quarrelled with Coll. Quincy, and intrigued to dispossess him of his Regiment, by means of Dr. Miller and Mr. Apthorp. He now quarrells with Coll. Miller and Dr. Miller and Eb. Thayer. He curses all Governors. Pownal was a servant, Doorkeeper, Pimp to Ld. Halifax, and he contracted with Ld. Halifax to give him 15s. out of every Pound of his salary. So that Pownal had 25 pr. Cent Commissions, for his Agency, under Ld. Halifax.

Thersites in Homer, was,

Aw’d by no shame, by no respect controuled
In scandal busy, in Reproaches bold:
With witty Malice studious to defame
Scorn all his Joy and Laughter all his Aim.
But chief he gloried with licentious style
To lash the Great and Monarchs to revile.

Thus we see that Gooches lived, as long ago as the siege of Troy.

Spleen to Mankind his envyous Heart possesst
And much he hated all, but most the best.
Long had he liv’d the scorn of every Greek
Vext when he spoke, yet still they heard him speak.

His daughters have the same fiery Temper; the same witty malice. They have all, to speak decently, very smart Tempers, quick, sharp, and keen.
An Insinuation, of Mr. Pownals giving 3/4 of his salary for his Commission.—This is with licentious style Governors to revile.—Coll. Miller can serve the Devil with as much Cunning, as any Man I know of, but for no other Purpose is he fit.—This is in scandal busy, in Reproaches bold.

Gardiner has a thin Grasshopper Voice, and an affected Squeak; a meager Visage, and an awkward, unnatural Complaisance: He is fribble.2

Q[urery]. Is this a generous Practice to perpetuate the Shriggs of Witt and the Grimaces of Affectation?

NOTES. 1. Long afterward JA wrote a detailed account of the method by which Joseph Gooch displaced John Quincy of Mount Wollaston as colonel of the Suffolk militia in 1742; see JA to Jonathan Mason, 3 Oct. 1820, which gives a considerable account of Gooch (Adams Papers; extracts quoted in JA, Works, 2:93 copied below). Since the Quincy and Adams families were united by JA’s marriage (his wife being a granddaughter of Col. John Quincy and their eldest son being named for him), any retrospective account by an Adams is likely to be prejudiced. But the reference in JA’s Diary, it should be noted, antedates the union of the families.

According to JA, Gooch, who was well-to-do, made a bargain with leading Anglicans, including Rev. Ebenezer Miller, minister of Christ Church in Braintree, offering to build a steeple for Christ Church if his influential friends could persuade Governor Shirley to obtain the colonelcy for Gooch. Shirley did so, but the new colonel proved highly unpopular in Braintree and before long moved to Milton without carrying out his part of the bargain. Deacon John Adams (father of John Adams) had had a part in this affair, as his son recalled: the elder Adams had been a lieutenant in the militia, but upon being offered a captaincy under Gooch he declined to serve under any other officer than Quincy.

2. Trifling, frivolous (OED). This comment on Dr. Gardiner appears to be JA’s own, though by arbitrarily enclosing this paragraph in quotation marks in his text of the Diary CFA attributes it to Gooch and thus makes him the subject of JA’s rebuke in the next paragraph; see JA, Works, 2:95. It is more likely that JA is rebuking himself.
MORE DETAILS ON THE QUINCY - v- GOOCH AFFAIR

BELOW FROM: John Quincy, master of Mount Wollaston: provincial statesman; colonel of ... By Daniel Munro Wilson, Charles Francis Adams, Quincy Historical Society (Quincy, Mass)

“While Colonel Quincy was bearing in dignified silence the disfavor of his fellow-citizens, that very unsavory demagogue, Joseph Gooch, took advantage of the speaker's popular obscuration to displace him as colonel of the Suffolk regiment. The account of what then occurred is interesting enough to be presented in all the fullness with which President John Adams has preserved it. With free strokes of the pen he presents a rough outline of that familiar personality—a stage demagogue in a Puritan community. With the Land-bankers in power and the voters demoralized, it was comparatively easy for this wealthy Boston lawyer to invade Braintree, rout its respectabilities, and parade as the popular figure of the day.”

BELOW FROM: A history of old Braintree and Quincy: with a sketch of Randolph and ... By William Samuel Pattee

RE GOOCH AND QUINCY.

We have nothing material to relate of military matters from this time until 1739, when Col. Joseph Gooch came to Braintree and was chosen moderator of a town meeting. At this time, this curious individual commenced his military and political intrigues.
He was supposed to have been born in Boston—a man of property and education, and a lawyer by profession. Finding that his secret manipulations would not avail him much in Boston, he came here and became a churchman, and immediately commenced his plottings with Mr. Miller and Mr. Apthorp, influential friends of Governor Shirley, promising them, if they would send him as representative to the General Court and procure him the position of colonel of the regiment, he would build them a tower for their church at his own expense. This proposition appears to have been satisfactory, as he was elected representative and received his commission as colonel of the regiment. This purchased popularity soon vanished; the third year the inhabitants of the town decided not to re-elect him. This caused him to become so indignant that he declared he would no longer reside in Braintree, nor construct a steeple for the church. He removed to Milton Hill, and there built him a house, which was called the Church-hill House, where he resided about thirty years.

Mr. John Adams gives the following singular intrigue of Colonel Gooch to dispossess Colonel Quincy of his regiment, by means of Dr. Miller's and Mr. Apthorp's influence. It is contained in a letter addressed to Jonathan Mason, a gentleman who was once Adams' law pupil:—

"Joseph Gooch, a native, I believe, of Boston, had considerable property, and was reported and reputed to be very rich. He had been educated at the Temple in England, and returned to Boston to practice law; he had very little success. He had been a man of pleasure, and bore the indelible marks of it on his face to the grave. He was extremely ambitious, and Mr. Miles, of the second parish in Braintree, who was well acquainted with him, told me he was the most passionate man he ever knew. Not succeeding at the bar in Boston, he had recourse to religion to assist him; joined the Old South Church, to avail himself of the influence of the sisterhood, and set up for representative for the town of Boston; but failed, and disappointed of his hopes in law and politics, he renounced the city, came up to Quincy, hired a house, turned churchman and set himself to intriguing for promotion, both in the military and civil departments. He interceded with the favorites of Governor Shirley, in this place, to procure him the commission of colonel in the regiment of militia, and an election for
representative of the town in the General Court. He promised to build a steeple to their church, at his own expense.

"Assiduous importunity was employed with Governor Shirley to procure him the command of the regiment; but this could not be obtained without cashiering the colonel then in possession, and who had long been in possession of that office, and given universal satisfaction in it.

"Colonel John Quincy had been in public life from his early youth. He had been near twenty years Speaker of the House of Representatives, and many years a member of His Majesty's Council, and was as much esteemed and respected as any man in the province. He was not only an experienced and venerated Statesman, but a man of letters, taste and sense. Shirley (right) was, with great difficulty, prevailed on to perform the operation of dismissing so faithful a servant of the public, and adopting one of so equivocal a character; and he said some years afterwards, that nothing he had over done in his administration had given him so much pain, us removing so venerable a magistrate and officer us Colonel Quincy. But the church party had insisted upon it so peremptorily, that be could not avoid it. Probably he dreaded their remonstrances to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"These facts were currently reported and universally believed, and never contradicted.

"Gooch was appointed colonel, and Quincy dismissed. The next thing to be done, was to new model the subordinate officers in the recipient. Application was made to all the captains, lieutenants and ensigns, in that part of the regiment which lies within three parishes of the ancient town of Braintree, to see if they would accept commissions under Colonel Gooch, and agree to vote for him as representative for the town. The then present officers were men among the most respectable of the inhabitants, in point of property, understanding and character. They rejected the proposition with scorn.

"My father was among them; he was offered a captain's commission. He spurned the offer with disdain; would serve in the militia under no colonel but Quincy. Almost, or quite an entire set of new officers were appointed through the whole town. These were of a very different character from those who were dismissed. Men of little
property or no property at all; men of frivolous character in understanding and morals.

"It was at this time the corrupt practice of treating, as they called it, at training and at elections was introduced, which so long prevailed in the town of Braintree. All this corruption, young as I was, I attributed to the King of Great Britain and his Governor and their bigoted Episcopal party; and, young as I was, I was thoroughly disgusted before I was ten years of age.

"Gooch under the influence of all this machinery, obtained an election as representative, but the next year all the substantial people of the town aroused themselves and turned him out,* which so enraged him that he swore he would no longer live in Braintree; renounced the church, refused to build their steeple, built him a house on Milton Hill, and there passed the remainder of his days."—


EDITORS NOTES * We think Mr. Adams is mistaken in his statement that Mr. Gooch was chosen but one year as deputy for the town, as the House Journal of the Legislature, and the town records make it appear that he was elected for the two years of 1742-3, and acted as such. This was a pardonable error of Mr. Adams, for this account of Col. Gooch was evidently written up from memory, or tradition, years after it happened, as Mr. Adams was only about seven years of age when this episode occurred.

APPENDIX THREE

NOTES ON GREAT UNCLE EZEKIEL CEEVER WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE SALEM WITCH TRIAL.

He was one of the original members of the church at Salem Village, "at the first Embodying, on ye. 19, Novr. 1689" and was soon subjected to its discipline. "Sab. 30 March 1690 Brother Cheevers who having in distress for a horse upon his wives approaching travell about five or six weeks past taken his neighbour Joseph Putmans horse out of his stable & without leave or asking of it, was called forth to give satisfaction to the offended Church, as also the last Sabbath he was called forth for the same purpose, but then he failed in giving satisfaction, by reason of his somewhat mising in the latter part of his confession, which in the former he had more ingenuously acknowledged, but this
day the Church received satisfaction as was testifyed by their holding up of their hands. And upon the whole a word of caution by the Pastor was dropt upon th offendour in particular, & upon us all in generall."

At the hearing which took place before the magistrates, March 1, 1G91-2, in Salem Village, in the cases of Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn and Tituba, the Indian woman, the first persons charged with the crime of witchcraft, he was deputed to take down in writing the examination of these unfortunate persons. This was the opening scene in the terrible tragedy of the Salem Witchcraft. At the trial of Martha Corey he made the following deposition, March 19, 1691-2: "Mr Ezekiel Cheevers affirmd to ye jury of inquest: that he saw Martha wife to Giles Cory examined before ye majestrates at which time he observed that ye sd Cory some times did bite her lip; and when she bit her lip mercy Lewis and Eliza Hubbard and others of ye afflicted persons were bitten also when s'd Cory pinched her fingers together: then mercy lewise Elizabeth Hubbard and others were pinched; and acording to ye motions of s'd martha Coryes body; so was ye afflicted persons; afflicted; this he affirmed to be true acording to ye best of his observation Mr Edward Putnam affirmed ye same to ye jury of inquest that Mr Cheevers doth Mr Thomas Putnam affirmed ye same: all upon oaths all of them."

APPENDIX FOUR

THE MALDEN SCANDAL OF THOMAS CHEEVER

(Based on 'The history of Malden, Massachusetts, 1633-1785' By Deloraine Pendre Corey)

It appears that Mr. Thomas Cheever had been accused: "of great Scandals, by more than 2 or 3 witnesses" of "speaking such words as are scandalous breaches of the Third Commandment [Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD will not hold [him] guiltless that taketh his name in vain], as appears by the Testimony of Mrs. Eliza. Wade and Abigail Russell;" and of using: "light and obscene expressions (not fit to be named) in an Ordinary at Salem, as by the Testimony of Samuel Sprague, Jacob Parker, Isaac Hill"
That the majority of the church members considered these accusations as of little weight is evident; for they persistently:

"declin'd all Testimonies against him as to Scandals committed before his Ordination; as also some other Testimonies respecting matters very criminal since that; because they judged the Witnesses on account of Prejudices and otherwise, incompetent."

How easily they could forgive the little guilt which they found in him appeared, August 9, 1685, when:

"Mr. Chiever made an Acknowledgement of some Evils to the Brethren of that Church, whereto he stands related; and the most part of them were willing to take up with a slender satisfaction [And it is added] that on the next Lord's day, he manifested so little sense and sorrow for his great sins, as that the generality of the Brethren were more dissatisfied than formerly."

That the church as a whole was not inclined to act upon charges preferred by prejudiced witnesses is very evident; while it seems clear that there were a few who were not disposed to lose their hold upon so formidable a weapon as that which seemed to be ready to their hands. There is an indication that Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, was in opposition to Mr. Cheever, and that he thought that his settlement had been made with undue haste. The soil was fertile and all the conditions were favorable for a plentiful crop: that the affairs of the pastor grew worse may be readily imagined.

There were fifteen members of the Council at Malden, and among them were five famous ministers from the Boston churches, Increase Mather with his son and colleague, Cotton Mather, James Allen and Joshua Moody from the First Church, and Samuel Willard of the Third or South Church, all bright and shining lights and "painful workers in the vineyard." With them, though not acting as members of the Council, were Ezekiel Cheever, father of the offending clergyman, with long and pointed white beard, and Samuel Parris of Salem Village, who was soon to become notorious and forever infamous by his connection with the sad tale of Witchcraft.
The Council met at the house of "Father Green," probably James Green, a part of whose house is still in existence, hidden within the walls of the Perkins house now standing on Appleton Street. After a prayer by Mr. Allen, it was debated whether they should have two moderators; it was decided to have but one, and Increase Mather was chosen.

After some discourse, they apparently went to the meeting house, where Mr. Mather prayed and "some Debates" were heard. They returned again to their "Quarters" and "had the witnesses and Mr. Tho. Chiever face to face." The Council rejected most of the testimony, as had the church, and upon the same considerations; but testimony was admitted and accepted in regard to spoken words upon which all the subsequent action appears to have been based.

Mr. Cheever "absolutely denied" these words and did not show to the members of the Council "that humble penitential frame that would have become him," so that they saw "cause to fear that he had been too much accustomed to an evil course of Levity and Profaneness."

M Sewall says: "In the evening Mr. Chiever the Pastor was sent for, Mr. Moodey and others acquainted him how grievous his carriage had been and that day not so humble and in such a frame as ought; told him expected not an Answer, but that should sleep on't. Debated considerably what to do till about 10 at night. Mr. Moderator pray'd, went to Bed. Mr. Moderator and his son to Mr. Wigglesworth's, some to Mr. Chiever, Major Richards and self Kept the House. In the Morn. Thursday, Ap. 8, Mr. Moderator went to prayer: read over what was drawn up, then discours'd about it. Sent for Mr. Chiever, to see what [he] had to say."

The Council, not finding satisfaction, unanimously agreed upon a "Declaration and Advice." That Mr. Cheever had used language not becoming a minister seems likely: that he was not guilty of worse practices, as has been intimated, appears clearly in the sequel. That the Council rejected the testimony of prejudiced witnesses has been seen; and only a present suspension of his office as a pastor and his privileges as a church member was the immediate result of the session at Maiden. The report recites the facts, which have been given, and closes with the following advice: —

We conceive it to be Duty and accordingly advise the Church of Malden, to Suspend Mr. Tho. Chiever from the Exercise of
his ministerial Function; and also to debar him from partaking with them at the Lord's Table, for the space of Six Weeks, until which time the Council will adjourn themselves, to meet at Boston. And that in case he shall in the mean while manifest that Repentance which the Rule requires, they should confirm their Love to him, and (if possible) improve him again in the Lord's Work among them. And this, our Advice, is grounded on these Scriptures and Reasons, (i). Among the Lord's People in the days of the O. Testament, no man might be permitted to execute the Priest's office that had a blemish: He might not come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord. Levit. 21, 17, 21, which teaches that Men under moral blemishes, are unfit for holy ministrations, until they be, in a way of Repentance, healed. (2) It is in the New Testament required, that an Elder should be sober and of good behaviour, and moreover he must have a good Report of them that are without, 1 Tim. 3, 2, 7. (3) Christ's Discipline ought to be exercised impartially, without respect to Persons. 1 Tim. 5, 21. Nor does Mr. Chiever's standing in a Sacred Office-Relation any way lessen, but greatly aggravate his sin. (4) There is no probability that Mr. Chiever's Ministry will be blessed for good to Souls, until such time as his Conversation shall declare him to be a true penitent. Mat. 5, 13.

Finally, we exhort and advise our beloved Brethren of the Church of Malden to set a day apart, solemnly to humble themselves by Fasting and Prayer before the Lord under this awfull dispensation, and for whatever failings have attended them, as to the management of their Differences, in this hour of Temptation which they have been subject unto. Particularly, for not observing the Rules of Christ, in endeavouring to prevent Evils by giving seasonable notice to Mr. Chiever of their Dissatisfactions. And for that want of Love, and for that bitterness of Spirit, which appears in sundry of them. So we pray the God of Love and Peace and Truth to dwell among you.

The closing scenes of the Council in Maiden are thus related by Sewall:

Thursday, Ap. 8. the Bell was rung; went in publick. Mr. Moderator pray'd, read the Council's Report. Mr. Wigglesworth spake, thank'd him and the Council; said had cause to condemn themselves, as for other sins, so their sudden laying Hands on Mr. Chiever; and now God was whipping them with a Rod of their own making. Mr. Chiever
the Father, stood up and pathetically desir'd his son might speak, but Mr. Moderator and others judg'd it not convenient, he not having by what he said given the Council encouragement. Mr. Allin pray'd; went to Dinner; Council adjourned to that day 6 weeks. Came Home well."

That Mr. Cheever repented, so that the Malden church could improve him again, does not appear; but it is said that he, at last, confessed to words "more than were charged upon him," and that "with shame and sorrow." The Council held three sessions in Boston and finally adopted the following report:

The Elders & Messengers of ye churches assembled in council April 7. 1686 at ye desire of the church in Malden, having upon adjournment mett at Boston May 20 & 27 & June 10, and there taken the state of that church into further consideration, do declare & advise as followeth:

I. Inasmuch as wee understand that Mr Thomas Cheever has now declared, that as to ye scandalous words which have been Testified and proved against him, he doth know and with shame and sorrow confess that he has spoken words of ye same nature more then is charged upon him, and doth not deny but he might use those very expressions which are by ye witnesses mentioned, and that he doth judge himself before God and man as one that has exposed Religion and ye ministry to Reproach, opened y' mouthes of ye wicked, sadned ye hearts of ye Lords servants, for which he beggs pardon of God & his people. And considering that some of ye Brethren testify, that they have observed his Late conversation to be humble & penitent: Wee conceive that ye church in Malden may without breach of ye Rule so far confirm their Love to him, as to Restore him to their communion, & to grant him a Loving Dismission to some church according as himself shall desire. We therefore commend to their consideration these scriptures following. 2 Cor. 2, 7, 8. 1 Cor. 13, 4, 7. Deut. 29, 29.

II. Since it is not probable that Mr Cheever's continuance in Malden, nor yet the present exercise of his ministry there, will tend to ye peace of that place, or to ye edification of ye church, nor to his own comfort: wee advise him the said Mr Cheever to request his dismissal, and we advise ye church to comply with his desires therein. This counsel we conceive to be grounded on such scriptures
as these, 2 Cor. 10, 8 and 12, 19. 2 Thess. 3, 16. 1 Tim. 3, 7. 2 Cor. 6.

III. Wee advise the Church & Congregation of Maldon duly to incourage and to hold in Reputation their Reverd & faithful Teacher Mr Wigglesworth, according as God in his word does require them to do. And that they conscientiously endeavour to live and Love as Bretheren, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do yee. Thus do we commend you to ye grace of or Lord Jesus Christ. Increase Mather Moderator with y unanimous consent of y council.

Mr. Cheever probably removed at once; it is certain that he was living at Rumney Marsh in the winter of 1686. He sold his house and lands in Malden to Thomas Oakes, April 9, 1689, and is found soon after in the occupancy of the farm of one hundred and twenty-seven acres, which had formerly been a part of the possessions of the unfortunate Sir Henry Vane, and which he bought of his wife's father and brothers, James, Jonathan, and Joshua Bill, of Pullen Point, for three hundred and fifty-seven pounds, October 22, 1689. Here he remained ....
APPENDIX FIVE

The Correspondence between George Washington and Ezekiel Cheever (husband of Sarah Weaver whose mother was Martha Cumberland)

This correspondence can be found among: The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008. The writings below include references to Cheever by others (such as Benedict Arnold) during the revolutionary war. Some examples of the actual letters are given next to their transcription.

No. 1.

From the Massachusetts Committee of Supplies to George Washington.

Chamber of Supplies Water Town [Mass.]
Augt 1. 1775

May It please your Excellency

Mr Cheever (see note 1) has applied this afternoon for 200,000 small Arm Cartridges in Consequence of An Application from the Adjutant General, to answer the Demand of Major General Lee.

Mr Cheever is able to furnish abt 36000 It being the Whole Quantity now made, & there remains but 36 barells in Store of the Quantity collected from the Towns in this Colony & recd from the others this de Maryland. There are also about two Tons of Lead & not any Flints in Store, of which We think it necessary to give immediate Information.

We are in daily Expectation of some Powder from the West Indies, but cannot say what Success our plans will meet with; indeed We have exerted Ourselves to obtain It several Ways which may be communicated at a more convenient oppurtunity, With respect to Lead & Flints Colo. Porter was dispatched sixteen Days since for New york for 2 hhds Flints & 10 Tons Lead but We have heard nothing from him since (See note 2) — We are ready to exert to the utmost to serve the Cause, provided the Commissary General desires it for the present—the powder shall be sent immediately if ordered or be made into Cartridges as soon as maybe. We are sir respectfully your most ob. Sert
Elbridge Gerry Ord. (see note 3)

NOTES:

1 The Massachusetts provincial congress appointed Ezekiel Cheever to be storekeeper of ordnance on 27 June 1775, and on 17 Aug. GW made him Continental commissary of artillery stores (General Orders, that date). Later in the war Cheever served as commissary of military stores at Springfield, Mass., and he eventually became a deputy commissary general with the rank of colonel.

2 Elisha Porter (1742–1796), a lawyer from Hadley, served in the third Massachusetts provincial congress and was appointed to the committee of supplies on 22 June 1775. In January 1776 he became colonel of a Massachusetts regiment and subsequently participated in the Canadian campaign. Porter left the Continental army in August 1776 on account of illness, but the following year he commanded a regiment of Hampshire County militia at Saratoga.

3 Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814), who represented Marblehead in all three Massachusetts provincial congresses, was appointed to the committee of supplies on 9 Feb. 1775. A merchant with many commercial connections in Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies as well as in New England, Gerry played a major role in obtaining supplies for the Continental army throughout 1775. In December of this year, the house of representatives, of which Gerry was also a member, chose him as one of the colony’s delegates to the Continental Congress. Gerry attended Congress from 1776 to 1780 and from 1783 to 1785, serving during the early years on the Board of Treasury.

No 2.

From Ezekiel Cheever Cambridge Decr 9th 1775

Received of His Excellency General Washington, Ten Firelocks with Steel Rammers—Nine Pouches—three Cartouch Boxes—Seven bullet bags—Nine bayonetts with 8 belts & Scabbards; for all which I promise to be Accountable.

Ezekl Cheever Comsy Artillery

No. 3

Mention of Cheever in General Orders:

Washington's Head Quarters, Cambridge, Feby 7th 1776

The Commanding Officers of the regiments upon the new establishment, are each of them to apply to Commissary Cheever, to morrow Morning; for One Barrel of
powder, with a proportionable quantity of Ball and Cartridge-paper; which they are to order to be immediately made up in Cartridges, and put up in a proper manner, according to the directions Commissary Cheever will give — This Ammunition, the commanding Officers are to keep in a safe place, under their immediate Care, to be ready to be delivered, when occasion may call for its being distributed.

No. 4.

To Colonel Ezekiel Cheever
Head Quarters Middle Brook 13th June 1777

Sir
I desire you will immediately transmit me an account of the Receipt and delivery of Arms in the Course of last Campaign and down to the present time. Specify the Names of the Officers to whom they were delivered and from whom received, that we may endeavour to make those either pay or account for the great Numbers of public Arms that have been drawn and never returned. I am &c.

(This note is in Tench Tilghman’s writing who was GW’s aide-de-camp and who wrote to Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Heard on 14 June enclosing this letter with instructions for Heard to forward it to Cheever “immediately”).
No. 5.

Boston July 3rd 1777
From Colonel Ezekiel Cheever

Hond Sir

Your Excellencys order’s June 13th Came to hand the 24th ulto. I wrote Mr Collins my Clerk at Springfield to make out a Return of the Arms recd & delivered agreeable to your directions and forward it to your Excellency as Quick as possible.

I came to Town the 21st ulto to get my pay Rolls paid and, Consult with Genl Heath concerning His providing 100 Men at least for Guard & fatigue Service at Springfield & Brookfield & for to apply to the Genl Court to, fix on a Method Whereby I may be Supplyed with Teams on all Emergencies and to endeavor to get Springfield Ferry better regulated & provided with One or more Boats, as public Service as bin much retarded for, want of a nother Boat & proper Hands to attend them all which am like to Obtain.

As soon as these matters are Settled I will return to Springfield and endeavour to assist in promoting the Service to the utmost of my Power, May God Preserve & Prosper Your Excellency, with due respects I have the Honr to be your most Obedient and Hume Servant

Ezekl Cheever Comry Artily

Note: The resulting return, made at Springfield, Mass., on 2 Aug. 1777 shows the arms delivered and received from the colonels of the Continental regiments from 14 Dec. 1775 to 13 June 1777. The clerk, John Collins, signed the return for Cheever.
No. 6.

From GEORGE WASHINGTON to Colonel Ezekiel Cheever
Morris Town July 7th 1777

Sir

Application having been made to me by Governor Trumbull for Liberty to draw a Quantity of Arms out of the Magazine at Springfield for the Militia of that state in case it should be invaded, I have complied with his request upon the following Conditions which you will please observe. That should the state be actually invaded, & a sufficiency of Arms remains in the Magazine after complying with the Orders which you will receive from me in a short time under these Circumstances you are to furnish him with a thousand stand, which are only to be consider’d as a Loan & to be replac’d as soon as the Situation of things will permit. I am &c.

G.W.
From Ezekiel Cheever  
to GEORGE WASHINGTON  


Hond. Sir  

By direction of Hone Genl McDougal I would acquaint yr Excelly I have only Forty broken Drums not Two fit for Service. Here & at Fishkill, none are to be had, nor Hands &c. to repair them. Genl McDougal hopes you will please to give the necessary directions for furnishing them.

I have just recd an order from Genl Parssons to send five hundred fire arms of equal bore to Farefield to be immediately repaired for Colo. Duglass regt, & He [h]as Sent an Armourer to Pick them out I have ordered boxes to be made to Contain them, & shall Send them forward to Morrow in Obedience to Genl Parssons order.

Wishing your Excellency health & prosperity I have the Honor to be Yr most Obedt Hum. Sert  

Ezekl Cheever Com. Artilly.
No. 8.

To Ezekiel Cheever  
Sir Head Quarters Valley Forge 2d April 1778

I yesterday recd yours of the 15th March with a general Return of the Ordnance, Arms and military Stores at Springfield. I beg you will be as industrious as possible in getting the new Arms cleaned and put in order, and having all the old that are worth repairing made fit for service. You need not wait until the whole are compleated, but keep sending them forward as they are finished.

I am apprehensive that the direction of my former letter has led you into a mistake, as you seem to think you have the appointment of Commy Genl of Military Stores. If so, it is but proper that I should set you right. Nothing more was meant than to direct to you as the principal Commissary of Stores at Springfield. I am confident that you have ever exerted yourself for the good of your Country, and if it will be any satisfaction to you, I can assure you that your conduct has always met with my approbation. I am.

[NOTE: GEORGE WASHINGTON is referring to his letter to Cheever of 15 Jan. GW retained a draft of that letter is addressed to the “Commy of Military Stores at Springfield”; the letter actually sent to Cheever has not been found.]

No. 9.

From Ezekiel Cheever  
Hond Sir Springfield [Mass.] Sepbr 3. 1778

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencys Letter the 31st ulto and observe the Contents & will take all necessary precautions respecting the Same. Will write immediately to his Excelly Govr Trumbull to give me the earliest Notice in Case the Enemy Should make a Landing upon the Coast of Connecticut, and If He apprehends it adviseable or necessary to remove the public Stores from this Place; to grant me as many Teams as possible for the purpose.

Yesterday I recd an order from Genl Heath to Send to Boston with the utmost dispatch, 100,000 on Cart'gs. 4 doz. portfires Four Tons Cannon Powder all wch is
gone forward, His honrs letter is Dated the 31st ulto. He Sayes a Fleet of Ships are now in our Bay, But who or what [505] they are is yet unknown—perhaps they are the Ships your Excellency mentions ever Solicitous Sir for your Health & Prosperity—I have the Honor to be your

Excellencys Obedt
Hume Servt

Ezekl Cheever D.C.G. M. Stores

(NO. Cheever wrote on the cover that this letter was “favd by mr Lewis Dunn.”)

No. 10.

From Ezekiel Cheever
Hond Sir Springfield [Mass.] May 25. 1778

The impractibility of procuring Teams at this place for the want of money has prevented my Sending on the Arms Sooner then last Saturday, when I Sent to Fish Kill 2,000 well fixed fire arms &c. as Invo. enclosed. By Some Teams Hired by this State for the purpose of Carrying Cloathing to the Grand Camp whom General Heath ordered to Call upon me & take Such Stores as I had in readiness—otherwise I Could not possibly have got them on.

Yesterday P.m. mr Condtr Frothingham arrived here by order of Generl Knox to forward the arms aforementioned. I Thought it most prudent to detain Him ’till this evening hoping Some more Teams might offer while Wrighting these.

I am honoured with your Excellencys Commands & no immediate prospect of any more teams shall Send Mr Dep. Comry Collins with mr Frothingham to push the arms on agreeable to your directions. with the utmost expedition, and give you the earlist notice of their proceedings I have the honr to be with gratest respect Your Excellencys most

obedient Hume Servt

Ezekl Cheever D.C.G.M. Stores

ALS, DLC: GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The "Invo. enclosed" mentioned above was listed as “Invoice of Ordnance Stores sent to the Grand Army,” dated 25 May at Springfield and it lists lead, tents, gun worms, and “new French Fire Arms Compleat”.
Richard Frothingham (1748–1819) of Charlestown, Mass., was appointed field commissary of military stores for the main army in September 1782.

John Collins was convicted of fraud in March 1781 and banished to a Continental warship (see General Orders, 23 Mar. 1781).

No. 11.

FROM: GEORGE WASHINGTON
To Colonel Ezekiel Cheever

Yours of the 3d Inst has been duly received. Your business to Boston seems to have been of a material and necessary nature, and I am happy to hear you were likely to get it accommodated.

As the present time is peculiarly interesting, and requires the attention and exertion of every person in the line of duty assigned him, I must request your constant attendance and closest application & care in your department, and that nothing in your power may be omitted to promote the public service. There is One thing more I would particularly recommend as demanding your greatest attention, activity and circumspection—which is, that you should have all the Stores & Articles committed to your charge in such a train, as to move 'em in case the situation of Affairs should make it necessary — This caution I have thought it expedient to give you, as it is impossible to tell what events may cast up in the vicissitudes of War, and that you may take measures, which will certainly insure to you a sufficient number of Waggons to be within your command in a time of exigency. Upon the salvation of our Stores every thing depends. I am Sir Yr Most Obedt servt

G.W.

P.S. I don’t know under whose care, the making of Cartridges is — whether under Your’s or Colo. Masons — but I beg every attention to be had to this business.
FROM: GEORGE WASHINGTON  
To Ezekiel Cheever  
Sir Head Quarters White plains 31st Augt 1778

I have information that there were a considerable number of Troops, on board the transports that went to the Eastward a few days ago, under the command of Genl Clinton and Lord Cornwallis. I have no doubt but the intent of this expedition was to have relieved Rhode Island, but when they find that, by the French Fleet being obliged to bear away to Boston to refit, the siege is raised, they may perhaps turn their force and views to some other object. The destruction of our Magazines of provision and military Stores is what they have aimed at thro’ the whole course of this War, and I should not therefore be surprised, should they attempt to destroy Springfield by a Coup de Main. To guard against this as much as possible, I would have you turn your attention to the sound and if you hear with certainty that a Body of troops are landed upon the Coast of Connecticut, you will begin to remove your most valuable Stores back into the Country. You will observe, that I am speaking from my apprehensions of what may happen, and not from any intelligence that the enemy have such a design. You will not therefore be alarmed by any vague reports, but settle a correspondence with some intelligent Gentlemen upon the Coast, who will give you such information as will justify you in beginning to remove the stores—You will keep this matter as much to yourself as the nature of the thing will admit. I am Sir Yr most obt Servt.
No. 13.

Instructions to Ezekiel Cheever

Sir [White Plains, 10 November 1776]

As the Army (at least part of it) is near the period of its dissolution, you are to exert yourself to the utmost in recovering all the Arms & other Stores which have been issued by you to the several Corps (whether Continental or militia) in the Service of the United States — Such of the Arms as are unserviceable & cannot be repaired by the Armourers of the Army are to be packed in Chests with an Inventory thereof & numbered in order that they may be sent to the Board of War at Philadelphia or delivered to their Order for the purpose of Repair.

All the other Stores are to be deposited in carefull Order in some safe Place near the Winter Quarters of the Troops on the East Side of Hudson’s River, comprehending the Stores taken from them.

You will remain on this Side (that is the East Side) till farther Orders & be particularly attentive to the above directions — I shall appoint some Person to do this Duty on the West Side of the River, who you are to furnish with a List of such Articles as the Troops there have drawn from you.

Give particular Attention to the makers of Cartridges that there may be no want of this Article—and as a part of the Army are removing to the Jerseys, under the Supposition that the Enemy are bending their Course that way—consult with Colo. Knox on the Stores necessary for their Use & see they are forwarded.

It is unnecessary to add that the Troops under General Lee, will also cross Hudson’s River, if it shou’d be necessary in consequence of the Enemy’s throwing their Force over. Given at Head Quarters near the White Plains this 10th Day of Novr 1776.
No. 14.

To Ezekiel Cheever
Sir, Head Quarters Valley Forge May 17th 1778

General Knox informs me, that he directed 2000 arms to be sent on from Springfield to Lebanon; which it is to be supposed are now on their way. The distress of this army for want of arms is very great; we have a number of men intirely destitute, and many recruits are dayly coming in from whom we can derive no service on the same account.

I am therefore to desire in the most urgent manner, that the above-mentioned arms may be hastened forward with all possible dispatch. In order to effect this purpose, it would be of great use to send some active trusty conductor, to take care of them; with orders not to lose a moment’s time, in bringing them on. When they are near the Delaware, I should be glad to be apprized of it, as I think it will be better to bring them immediately to this army, if they are fit for use, than to send them to Lebanon, as was directed. I am Sir Your most Obedt serv.

Let a 1000 more arms be prepared and packed up to be sent on, on orders being given.

(dictated to Alexander Hamilton)

No. 15.

To Brigadier General Henry Knox
Dear Sir Head Quarters Valley Forge 15th Jany 1778

Should it be thought expedient to draw a Body of Men together early next Spring, it will be necessary for us to know precisely what number of Arms we could have ready for such an emergency. I have desired Colo. Flowers to make me a return of all at the magazines under his immediate direction, & have wrote to the Commissary at Springfield to do the like. (see note 1) You will be pleased to make the proper inquiry for such as may be in Boston and any other places in Massachusets and new Hampshire, have them collected and properly deposited, and a return of them made to me as soon as possible. There may probably be quantities of Arms laying up and down useless at present for want of repairing. be pleased to endeavour to have them collected and put into a way of being fitted up.
I shall be glad to hear what steps are taking to recruit the Army, and of any other matters that relate to the service. I am Dear Sir Your most obet Servt

Go: Washington

Note 1. Tench Tilghman wrote to Lt. Col. Benjamin Flower on George Washington’s behalf on this date: “His Excellency desires that you will, as soon as possible, make him an exact Return of all the Arms in the different Magazines under your particular direction. We have wrote to Springfeild and the other Magazines to the Eastward for the Returns from thence. What Arms want repairing, you will order to be compleated as soon as possible” GW’s letter of this date to Ezekiel Cheever, commissary of military stores at Springfield, Mass., reads: “I desire you will immediately make me an exact Return of the Arms And Accoutrements at Springfeild, those out of Repair as well as those that are compleat. What Arms want repairing are to be put in order as soon as possible”

No. 16.

From Ezekiel Cheever
Most Hond Sir Springfield [Mass.] March 15th 1778

Sunday the 8th Inst. I was hond with your Commands Janry 15th (after the Post was gone) In Obediance I herewith Transmit you a Return of all kind of Stores under my Care in this Place (see note 1) Previous to Your Orders aforesaid pursuant to those Signify’d to me by Genl Knox Feb. 24th to Send to Allenstown or Lebanon in Pennsilvania 3,550 stands Arms with Bayonets also the gratest part of the Lead I have on hand I immediately directed the master of the Armoury to get fixed for Service all Such Arms as required the least labour, with a View to Send on one half the demand before this month expires The majr part of the Arms recd from Boston have been Wet & are exceedingly Rusty & otherways damaged and require much labour & Time to be made fit for Service. The Armoury Consists only of thirteen men which with Other Obstacles renders it Very difficult to answer any Sudden demands which gives me much Anxiety. I have sent on Some lead & Shall Continue to Send as the Quarter master Can procure Teams for the purpose to the amount of 20 or Twenty five Tons.

I have directed the master of the Armoury to Inlist more men if he Can find those will answer the purpose, as their is work Sufficient to employ Thirty or forty men. I have now in Readiness to Send on for Allentown 1,300 arms which will be put in Boxes to morrow with out fail, & as soon as Genl Heath furnishes me with a guard, & the quarter master can procure Teams I will send as many more Arms as Can be made fit for Service. (see note 2)
Your Excellency may depend nothing Shall be wanting on my part to hasten every thing to Accomplish your demand. You are Pleased Sir in directing your letter to Style me Commissary Genl of Milatary Stores which gives me flattering hopes in your favour, your Excellency is fully Acquainted with my Services from the begining & the Small pay allowed me untill the last year, which altho’ generously designed, by reason of the unhappy depreciation of the Continental Currency makes but littell difference. Yet never abated my Zeal & sincere regard for the Glorious Cause we are Contending for & honest Aim to Approve my Self & Conduct to your Excellency & all my Superiour Officers Acceptance. If haply I may be Successful in attaining your Approbation I shall alwayes esteeme it The most Satisfactory & honorary reward, Ardently Wishing your Excellency the Divine Aid & protection in your laborious hazardous & important Services. I have the honr to be your Devoted most Obedient and Humble Servant

Ezekl Cheever Co. Artily

Notes: 1 For GW’s letter to Cheever of 15 Jan., see GW to Henry Knox, 15 Jan., n.1 (above). Cheever’s “Return of Ordnance Stores at Springfield made to his excellency Genl Washington,” dated 12 Mar., is a comprehensive summary of items in the armory, including 3,424 firearms listed as “Unserviseable.” Cheever further noted, “the Lead on hand is Supposed to Weigh about Twenty four ton, the 147 Chests of French Fire-Arms mentiond In this Return is Supposed to Contain 4,410 Arms With Bayonets. 1300 of the Same is fit for Immediate Use. the old Unservicable Arms Mentiond above. about one half perhaps May Ansrs the Cost of Repairs”

2. On 8 Mar., Cheever wrote Maj. Gen. William Heath that the armorers would “have 12 or 1,500 [arms] ready for Transportation in a Week or Ten Days” and requested a guard (MHi: Heath Papers). On 18 April, however, Cheever wrote the Board of War, “I was in hopes before this time to have sent on for Lebanon, the Arms & Ammunition ordered by his Excellency General Washington, signified to me by General Knox; but for want of Money, the Assist.

Q. M. Genl, Pynchion, cannot obtain Teams” (DLC:GW). The arms were not forwarded until May (see Cheever to GW, 25 May).

No. 17 Mention of Cheever in a letter from General Henry Knox To GW Park Artillery [Valley Forge] 17th May 1778.

I gave positive Orders to Mr Cheever Commissary Stores at Springfield in February to send on to Lebanon with the utmost expedition 3500 new Arms. It was impossible he says then to send them as there was no money and teams could not be procur’d without. I was at Springfield on the 25th March and then again give him positive written instructions to procure teams by any means in his power and send on 2000 Arms—The whole number in the Magazines in Massachusetts being about 5000, the remaining 3000 being necessary to arm the recruits in that State and Connecticut.
Below are examples of Ezekiel Cheever’s record of the storage of armaments in various locations.

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<th>Details</th>
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</tr>
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<td>Paper Cart</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hunter Cart</td>
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<td>Shingles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hard Woods</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copper Ladles</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shells</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank Cart</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight of</td>
<td>500</td>
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A Return of Ordnance Stores, Made to the Excellency. The Commander in Chief.

1. Round Shot
2. Case Shot
3. Packet
4. Paper Cart
5. Hunter Cart
6. Shingles
7. Hard Woods
8. Copper Ladles
9. Shells
10. Blank Cart

Weight:

- 500 lbs.
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<table>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round Shott. with 12</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
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<td>30</td>
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**Total:**
- 2800 lb of powder
- 170 grape shotts
- 1276 other cartridges

---

**New York, June 6th, 1786**

*John Paul Jones*

*Capt. John Paul Jones*
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<td>Total</td>
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New York, June 6, 1778

E. & A. Chesebrough, Commissary
APPENDIX SIX
A NOTE ON SIR CHARLES HOBBY

(His daughter married Sally Weaver’s father-in-law’s half brother James Gooch)

HOBBY, SIR CHARLES,
Massachusetts merchant,
knighted July 1705;
lieutenant-governor of
Annapolis Royal, N.S., June-
October 1711; b. in Boston c.
1665; d. in London, 1715.

Charles Hobby was the son of
William and Ann Hobby of
Boston. His father was a
merchant of considerable
wealth, and Hobby followed
his father’s mercantile
career. As a young man he
went to Jamaica where he
lived from at least June 1692
(his later knighted,
ostensibly for bravery during
an earthquake in that month)
until he returned to Boston
early in 1700. There he went into partnership with his
brother-in-law John Coleman and was for a time one of the
leading merchants in the town. Wealth and connections
brought local prestige and Hobby became a selectman for
Boston, justice of the peace for Suffolk County, captain of
the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, colonel of
the Boston regiment of the Massachusetts militia, and
eventually warden of King’s Chapel.

Hobby’s influence was in part the result of his early
acquaintance with Governor Joseph Dudley, but beginning in
1703, he and the governor quarrelled frequently over the
latter’s awards and penalties to Hobby’s privateering
ships. Early in 1705 Hobby took his complaints to London,
where he quickly found himself the representative of a
number of diverse groups – the Boston merchants, the
Puritan divines of Massachusetts, the proprietary
supporters in New Hampshire – all wishing to see Dudley
removed. For the next two years Hobby worked with these
groups and with friends at court to get the governor
displaced, using as his main charge the governor’s “conspiracy” with Samuel Vetch, another Boston merchant, to trade with the French in the current war. The charges against Dudley were scheduled to be heard at the Board of Trade in February 1706/7 (o.s.); then, at the last minute, Hobby decided not to appear.

Why? Probably he was impressed with the strength of Dudley’s connections at Whitehall; he had also come under the influence of some of Dudley’s close friends, including Francis Nicholson; most important, Vetch himself may already have suggested the possibility of collaborating in an attack on Canada. In any event Hobby returned to Boston the following year and made his peace with Dudley; within a few months of the reconciliation Hobby volunteered to join Vetch’s expedition against Port-Royal and was chosen to go with his Boston regiment.

After many delays the expedition sailed in September 1710, under Nicholson’s command. In October Port-Royal fell to the British and Vetch was made governor of the fort (soon to be renamed Annapolis Royal) and of a three-mile surrounding area. Hobby was second in command. The following June Vetch left for Boston to plan a full-scale attack on Quebec and Hobby was left in charge of Annapolis. The garrison he commanded was by now reduced by disease and desertion, while the fort was beginning to fall into disrepair. Furthermore, they were surrounded by hostile French and Indians organized under Bernard-Anselme d’Abbadie de Saint-Castin, who were daily awaiting supplies in order to attack the fort. Hobby soon received news that Sir Hovenden Walker, commander of the Quebec expedition, was sending 200 New Englanders to reinforce the Annapolis garrison and in return demanded that Hobby return 100 British Marines and all the mortars and ordnance stores he could spare. Hobby called a council of war. Fearful of a French attack the officers at first decided the fort could spare neither men nor supplies and sent Walker word to this effect. Vetch, however, encouraged Walker to repeat his order at the end of July and this time Hobby complied.

Meanwhile, the French and Indians had become more aggressive. Early in June, a detachment of about 70 men, sent from Annapolis to harass a nearby Indian settlement and restore the transportation of wood to the fort, was ambushed by Indians about 12 miles north of Annapolis Royal (near modern Bridgetown); some 30 soldiers were killed.
Shortly afterwards a force of about 200 French and Indians laid siege unsuccessfully to the fort. Otherwise Hobby’s term of office was uneventful. He repaired the fort and, despite a great shortage of supplies, managed to hold the garrison together for the brief period of his command.

After the failure of the Quebec expedition, Vetch returned to Annapolis Royal in October, bringing Thomas Caulfeild to replace Hobby. The latter went back to Boston and resumed his mercantile activity for the next two and a half years. His Boston business was unsuccessful but he retained his interest in Nova Scotia and invested heavily in real estate and building there. When Vetch quarrelled with Nicholson, Hobby went to England in the spring of 1714 with Nicholson’s encouragement to seek the governorship of Nova Scotia for himself. He and Nicholson drew up charges of maladministration against Vetch, which they submitted to the Board of Trade.

Soon after Hobby’s arrival in England, however, Queen Anne died and Hobby, ever the opportunist and observing Nicholson’s prospects temporarily dimmed under the new king, once again cultivated the friendship of Vetch. It was hardly coincidence that Hobby’s testimony against Vetch at the Board of Trade (18 Jan. to 4 Feb. 1714/15) was strikingly ineffectual and that Vetch recommended him for the lieutenant-governorship immediately afterward. Hobby was thus in line to be lieutenant-governor again, when he died in London in 1715, leaving a widow and a son.

Hobby’s estate was insolvent. In 1706 he had purchased rights to half the proprietary lands in New Hampshire; his Boston creditors and his son John tried unsuccessfully for more than ten years in New Hampshire courts to have his land rights converted to payment of his debts. His insolvency has been attributed to “high living”; more likely it was the result of simple business incompetence combined with the failure of his privateering, his New Hampshire lands, and his command at Annapolis to pay off as he expected. As a politician and military commander he was equally unlucky; in all his activities he was above all a rank opportunist, even by the standards of an age of opportunism.

From the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.
PROVINCE HOUSE—Residence of Sir Charles Hobby in Boston—His daughter Mary was born here in February, 1702

William Hobby

elms, the old barn and outhouse and a few of the old rose bushes. James Gooch was quite an important man both in Boston and Hopkinton. His name frequently occurs in the Boston Records. He had his own portrait painted; that of his wife, Elizabeth Hobbev, a beautiful woman; Hester Plaisted, who was highly cultured in appearance; two daughters by his first wife, Elizabeth and Hannah; all supposed to have been painted by Smybert, Copley’s teacher.