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University Press, in Cambridge, Mass., April, 1905. This copy
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Early Census Making in Massachusetts

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Early Census Making

in

Massachusetts



CENSUS enumeration in Massachusetts, either State or National, once in five years, has come to be a matter of course. But the causes which led to the making of the first census in the Commonwealth and the difficulties which attended it can only be ascertained by historical research. Such an examination has been prompted by the discovery of what is believed to be the only original compilation of the census or enumeration of 1764-5 now in existence.

The first census, or "Enumeration" as it was then called, of the inhabitants of Massachusetts was made necessary by the requirements of the Articles of Confederation of the "United Colonies of New England," adopted by the four Colonies of Plimouth, Massachusetts Bay, Conecticot, and New Haven, May 19, 1643.

The fourth of these Articles was as follows: —

“4. It is by these Confederats agreed that the charge of all just warrs whether offensive or defensive upon what part or member of this Confederacon soever they fall, shall both in men and provisions and all other Disbursements be borne by all the parts of this Confederacon in different proportions according to their different abilities in manner following, namely that the Commissioners for each Jurisdiction from tyme to tyme as there shall be occasion bring a true account and number of all the males in every Plantacon or any way belonging to or under their severall Jurisdictions of what quality or condition soever they be from fixteene yeares old to threescore being Inhabitants there. And that according to the different numbers which from tyme to tyme shall be found in each Jurisdiction upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the warr be borne by the Poll: each Jurisdiction or Plantacon being left to their owne just course and custome of rating themselves and people according to their different estates with due respects to their qualities and exemptions among themselves though the Confederacon take no notice of any such priviledg: and that according to their different charge of each Jurisdiction and plantacon, the whole advantage of the warr (if it please God to bless their Endeavours) whether it be in lands goods or persons shall be proportionably divided among the said Confederats.”*

The thirteenth Article also provided that where any person or persons should be found to have had their abode for more than three months in any “Jurisdiction,” and not “warned out” by the authority of the place, and in case of a neglect of any person so warned to depart, if he was not by the first opportunity that the season would permit sent away to the place of his former

* ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION betweene the Plantations under the Government of the MASSACHUSETTS the Plantacons under the Government of NEW-PLYMOUTH the Plantacons under the Government of CONNECTACUTT and the Government of NEW-HAVEN with the Plantacons in Combination therewith. Article 4. May 19, 1643.—*Hazard's Hist. Coll., Vol. 2, pp. 2 and 3.*

abode, every such person should be counted an inhabitant where he was so found.*

The sixth Article provided for the election by each Colony of two commissioners authorized to act in its behalf, making eight for the four Colonies, and it was provided that six of the eight commissioners must agree to any matter in order to make their action binding.

This combination of the Colonies for their common defence necessarily required an enumeration of the male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and accordingly, on May 10, 1643, the General Court of Massachusetts passed the following order for that purpose: —

“It is ordered, that warrant should bee sent to the townes to send the number of males from fixeteen year ould to fixetie, in the begiñing of the 6th m next.” †

In May, 1646, the General Court required the enumerations to be sent to one of the Commissioners for the United Colonies by the passage of the following order: —

“It is ord'ed, y' y' Secretary should send forth warrants to all cunstable to bring in to one of y' comiffion^r for the United Colonies y' iust numb' of all y' males within the severall townes between the ages of 16 & 60, by y' end of y' 4th month next, that y' charge of y' late expedition ec, & y' wampa^m due fro^m y' Narraganfets, may be duely pportioned, & y' for time to come y' comiffion's for y' United Colonies shall, upon all such occasions, send forth their owne warrants to y' cunstable for y' same purpose, yⁱ this Co'te may not be troubled therewth, nor y' service neglected.” ‡

* For provision as to “warning out” strangers in Massachusetts towns, see Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1637, 17 May, p. 196.

† The Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1643, 10 May, p. 37.

‡ Id. 1646, 6 May, p. 151.

It will be observed that these orders only required an enumeration of all male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty. This was obviously because it was upon the number of such persons in each Colony that its contribution to the common defence was based by the Articles of Confederation. In 1646, however, it was found necessary not only for the purposes of the United Colonies, but also for the purposes of the Massachusetts Colony itself, that there should be an enumeration of all the male inhabitants and a uniform valuation and assessment of property for the payment of the charges of the Colony. Accordingly, in November, 1646, the General Court passed the following order providing for the uniform valuation of property for taxation and for an enumeration and assessment of all the males and all property by a person to be chosen by the freemen of each town and the selectmen, as follows:—

“For y^e avoyding of all complaints by reason of unequal rates, either of townes or p^{er}sons, occasioned through y^e want of one gen^{er}all way & rule of rateing throughout y^e country, & y^e levies hereafter may be more eafy, equall, & certeine, it is hereby ordered, y^e in all publike rates (till this Co^{ur}te take further order therein) all fortes of cattle shalbe valued as hereafter is exprest, viz: cowes of four year ould & upward, 5^s; heifers and steers betwixt 3 & 4 year ould 4^s; heifers and steers between 2 & 3 year ould, fifty shill^{ing}; & between 1 & 2 year ould, 30^s; oxen 4 year ould & upward, 6^s; horses & mares 4 year ould & upward, 7^s; 3 year ould, 5^s betwixt 2 & 3 year ould, 3^s; yearlins, 2^s; sheepe above a year ould, 30 sh^{illings}; goates above a year ould, 8^s; fwine above a year ould, 20 sh^{illings}; asses above a year ould, 2^s; houses, lands of all forts, marchantable goods, mills, shippes, lesser vessels & boates, cranes, wharves, togeth^{er} w^{ith} all oth^{er} visible estate, reall & p^{er}sonall, y^e any p^{er}son is possessed of, or hath in his custody, eith^{er} at sea or on shore, to be valued in y^e sev-

erall townes according to their worth, in y^e said places where they are, pportionable to y^e aforefaid prizes of cattle; & it is y^e meaning of this order y^e because arrable ground, medowe, & cattle are to be rated, y^e therefore hay, together wth all corne growing in y^e country, in y^e husbandmans hand, shall not be lyable to any rate; & for avoyding all partiality in rating lands & oth^r estate not p̄ticularly prized in this ord^r, it is ordered, y^e y^e shalbe by ev^{ry} towne one of their inhabitants chosē by y^e freemen of y^e said towne, who, wth y^e select townes men shall take y^e iust numb^r of their males, & also shall make a true valuation of all things rateable by this order, wth inhabitants aforefaid, for their severall townes respectively, shall meete at their sheire townes upon y^e 2th 4th day of y^e first month next ensuing, to examine y^e truth & equity of each townes pceeding herein, who shall correct & determine as to the maior p̄t of them seems right & iust to be done, according to y^e true intent of this order; wth asscasmⁿ of y^e severall townes they shall, und^r their hands, forth with deliv^r to y^e Treasurer, who shall also forthwth send forth his warrants for leviing y^e same wthin one month, wherby he may have to answere y^e engagemⁿ of y^e country; & all asscasmⁿ for estates shall henceforth be made y^e first 4th day of y^e 6th m̄, from time to time; but all levies for y^e p̄sons shalbe made & paid into y^e treasury in y^e first m̄, fro^m year to yeare, as is pvidē in y^e ord^r aforefaid.” *

Difficulties having arisen with reference to assessments under these orders, the General Court passed another order upon the same subject in October, 1647, as follows:—

“For a more aequall & ready way of rayfing meanes for defraying publicke chardges in time to come, & for pventing such inconveniencies as have fallen out vpon former assessments, it is ordered & enacted by y^e authority of this Courte, that the Treasurer for y^e the time being shall, from yeere to yeere, in y^e fifth moneth, wthout expect^{ing} any other order, send forth his warrants to y^e constables and select men of eūy towne wthin

* The Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1646, November 4, pp. 174, 175.

this jurisdiction, requiring the constables & select men to call together the inhabitants of the town, who, being so assembled, shall chuse some one of their freemen to be a commissioner for the town, who, together with the select men for their prudential affairs, shall, from time to time, in y^e 6 month then next ensuing, make a list of all y^e males in y^e same town from sixteene yeeres old & upwards, and the true estimation of all personall & reall estates in y^e same town, according to just valuation, and to what persons y^e same doe belong," &c.*

Apparently the returns were not promptly made as required in these orders, and in 1655 an order was passed imposing a penalty for neglect, as follows:—

"It is ordred, that the secretary shall issue out warrents to the constables of the severall townes within this jurisdiction, to send him a true list of all the males within their respective townes, from sixteene yeeres of age to sixtie, before the first of August next; & if any constable shall neglect to make their returne as afforesd, he shall forfeit five pounds to the treasury." †

Under this and similar acts of the General Court from time to time afterwards passed enumerations and assessments were made for Colonial purposes, and owing to the Indian wars and the expenses for defence, as well as to the necessary expenses of the Government of the Colony, taxes increased until as early as 1695 they were said to have become "almost insupportable throughout the Province." ‡ But the colonists carried their heavy burdens with no help from the mother country, and in spite of their manifold difficulties increased in numbers and in property.

* The Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1647, 27 October, p. 116.

† The Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1655, 23 May, p. 384.

‡ See p. 479, Appendix II, Vol. VII, Acts and Resolves, Province Mass. Bay.

In the meantime the English government began to take more interest in its Colonies, or Plantations as they were then called, in America; and in 1675 the general supervision of them was assigned to a standing committee of the Privy Council called the "Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations," soon called simply "The Lords of Trade." The following extract from the records of the Privy Council shows the first attempt by the Lords of Trade to ascertain the population of the Massachusetts Province: —

"PLANTATION BOOK 1737/8 TO 1741.

"General Instructions to Gouverneur Shirley

"Approved in Council 8th Sept: 1741.

"(EXTRACT.)

"44th You shall send an account to His Majesty and to His Commissioners for Trade and Plantations by the first Conveyance of the present number of Planters and Inhabitants men women and children as well masters as servants free and unfree and of the slaves in the said Province (Massachusetts) as also yearly accounts of the increase or decrease of them and how many of them are fit to bear arms in the Militia of the said Province.

"45th You shall also cause an exact account to be kept of all Persons Born Christned and Buried and you shall yearly send fair abstracts thereof to His Majesty and to his Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid."

Although these Colonial orders for enumerations of inhabitants were general in terms and covered all male inhabitants, they were not, I think, understood to cover negro slaves. No record

of the returns of enumeration made under these orders is now to be found, and therefore it cannot be definitely ascertained whether the enumerations included slaves or not, but it will be observed that the instructions to Governor Shirley, September 8, 1741, by the Lords of Trade directed an enumeration of "Planters and Inhabitants, men, women and children as well masters as servants, free and unfree, and of the slaves in said province."

No enumeration seems to have been made in compliance with this direction, but on November 19, 1754, Governor Shirley, recognizing the fact that the combination of the French and of the Indian tribes against the British Colonies in America would make it reasonable that the several Colonies should bear the charge of defence in proportion to their ability, sent a message to the General Court calling attention to this state of affairs, and saying that he was endeavoring to inform the Lords of Trade of the circumstances of the Province with regard to estates and number of inhabitants, but that there was "one part of the Estate, viz., the negro slaves, which he could not have knowledge of" without the assistance of the Legislature. His message and the action of the General Court thereon was as follows:—

.....
"Gentlemen of the Council & House of Represent^{ts}."

"As a General Design seems to be formed against the British Colonies on the Continent, I make no Doubt but that it will be thought reasonable that the Charge of defending his Majesty's Interests be born by the several Governments in some Proportion to their respective Abilities. I am endeavouring as well as I can to represent the Circumstances of this Province with Regard to the Estates as well as the Number of

the Inhabitants; There is one part of the Estate, viz'. the Negro Slaves, which I am at a Loss to come at the Knowledge of, without your Assistance. If you will consider of some Method, and do what is proper on your Part to carry it into Execution, in order to come at the exact Knowledge of all Negro Slaves, Male & Female above Sixteen Years of Age within this Government, as soon as may be, I imagine I shall be able to improve it to the Advantage of the Province."

.

In the House of Representatives: "Upon Consideration of His Excellency's Message of this Day, Ordered that the Assessors of the several Towns & Districts within this Province, forthwith send into the Secretary's Office, the exact Number of the Negro Slaves, both Males & Females sixteen Years & upwards that are within their respective Towns & Districts,

"In Council; Read & Concur'd;—Consented to by the Govern' "

It has been said that the General Court passed this order "for the purpose of having an accurate account of slaves in the Commonwealth as a subject in which the people were becoming much interested relative to the cause of liberty."* But it is plain from the record that this was not the purpose of the order.

Under this order an enumeration of negro slaves in Massachusetts was made and returned to the secretary's office from the different towns. Most of these returns still exist in the archives of the Commonwealth, and a compilation of them shows that in the towns which made returns there were nearly three thousand negro slaves. The compilation in detail is as follows:—

* Vol. I, American Statistical Association, p. 198.

SUFFOLK

	Males	Females	Totals
Boston	647	342	989
Dorchester	18	13	31
Roxbury	38	15	53
Weymouth	12	11	23
Hingham			17
Dedham			36
Braintree	20	16	
Hull			
In the town	7	4	
At the lighthouse	3	1	15
Medfield	3	1	4
Milton	15	4	19
Wrentham	13	3	16
Brookline	10	7	17
Needham	1	0	1
Medway	4	3	7
Bellingham	1	1	2
Walpole	0	1	1
Stoughton	6	2	8
Chelsea			35

ESSEX

	Males	Females	Totals
Salem	47	36	83
Ipswich			62
Newbury	34	16	50
Lynn			61
Gloucester			12
Rowley	10	2	7
Salisbury	6	1	16
Wenham			6
Manchester	1	5	16
Haverhill	8	8	16
Andover	28	14	42
Marblehead			5
Topsfield	4	1	5
Amesbury	3	2	5
Beverly	12	16	28
Bradford	3	2	5
Boxford	4	4	8

ESSEX — *Continued*

	Males	Females	Totals
Methuen			
Middleton	9	3	12
Danvers	9	12	21

MIDDLESEX

	Males	Females	Totals
Charlestown			
Watertown	7	5	12
Medford	27	7	34
Cambridge	33	23	56
Concord	10	5	15
Sudbury	9	5	14
Woburn	9	8	17
Reading	14	6	20
Malden	16	5	21
Groton	7	7	14
Billerica	3	5	8
Chelmsford			8
Marlborough	3	3	6
Dunstable			
Sherburne	3	0	3
Stow			
Newton	10	3	13
Framingham			
Dracut			
Weston	8	2	10
Lexington	13	11	24
Littleton	3	5	8
Hopkinton			15
Holliston			
Stoneham	6	2	8
Westford			5
Bedford	2	4	6
Wilmington	4	3	7
Townsend	2	1	3
Tewksbury	1	1	2
Acton	1	0	1
Waltham	2	2	4
Shirley	1	0	1
Pepperell			
Natick	0	3	3
Lincoln	16	7	23

WORCESTER

	Males	Females	Totals
Lancaster	4	1	5
Mendon			8
Brookfield			4
Oxford	3	1	4
Worcester	4	4	8
Leicester	5	1	6
Rutland	1	2	3
Sutton			3
Westborough	4	2	6
Uxbridge			
Rev. Mr. Webb	2		
Deacon Read	1		
John Elleson	4		7
Southborough			
Rev. Mr. Nathan Stone	0	1	1
Shrewsbury	3	1	4
Lunenburg	6	2	8
Dudley	1	1	2
Harvard			6
Grafton			
Upton			
Hardwick			
Bolton	2	1	3
Sturbridge	2	2	4
Holden	0	0	0
Western	2	1	3
Douglas			
N. Braintree			
Spencer			
Rev. Mr. Joshua Eaton	2	1	3
Leominster	1	1	2
Rutland District			2

HAMPSHIRE

	Males	Females	Totals
Springfield	22	5	27
Hadley	13	5	18
Westfield	15	4	19
Hatfield	5	4	9
Deerfield			

HAMPSHIRE — *Continued*

	Males	Females	Totals
Northampton			
Northfield			
Sunderland			
Brimfield			
Blandford			
Pelham			
Palmer	1	0	1
Southampton	0	0	0
South Hadley	0	0	0
Greenfield			
New Salem			
Montague	0	0	0
Granville	0	0	0
Greenwich			
Sheffield			
Stockbridge			

PLYMOUTH

	Males	Females	Totals
Plymouth			
Scituate	22	21	43
Duxborough			
Marshfield			
Kenelm Winslow, Esq.	3	4	
John Winslow, Esq.	0	1	
Mr. Jedediah Bourn	3	1	
Deacon Israel Thomas	1	0	
Thomas Foord	1	0	
Anthony Thomas	1	0	
Thomas Foster	2	0	
Capt. Abijah White	0	1	
John Little, Esq.	3	0	
Edward Oaksman	1	0	
Widow Jude Clift	1	0	
Mr. Nath. Ray Thomas	1	0	7
17			24
Bridgewater			
Middleborough			12
Rochester			
Plympton			
Pembroke	6	4	10

PLYMOUTH — *Continued*

	Males	Females	Totals
Abington	5	2	7
Kingston	3	3	6
Hanover			
Nathaniel Sylvester	1	0	
David Stockbridge, Esq.	1	1	
Rev. Mr. Benjamin Bass	1	1	
Job Tilden	1	1	
Capt. Ezekiel Turner	1	0	
Samuel House	0	1	
Joshua Barstow	0	1	
Matthew Estes	0	2	
Caleb Barker	0	1	
Amos Sylvester	0	1	
John Bailey	1	0	
Richard Curtis	1	0	
Isaac Turner	0	1	10
	7		17
Halifax	2	2	4
Wareham			

BRISTOL

	Males	Females	Totals
Taunton			27
Rehoboth			
Dartmouth			34
Swanzy			
Freetown	14	7	21
Attleborough	7	3	10
Norton			
Dighton	9	9	18
Easton	2	1	3
Raynham			
Berkley	7	2	9

NANTUCKET

	Males	Females	Totals
Sherburne			

BARNSTABLE

	Males	Females	Totals
Barnstable	18	15	33
Sandwich	4	4	8
Yarmouth			
Eastham	6	5	11
Falmouth			10
Chatham			
Truro			
Provincetown			
Harwich	8	6	14

DUKE'S COUNTY

	Males	Females	Totals
Edgarton			
Tisbury			
Chilmark	3	4	7

YORK

	Males	Females	Totals
York			24
Kittery	18	17	35
Wells	12	4	16
Falmouth	16	5	21
Scarborough	7	4	11
Berwick	14	8	22
Biddeford			
Arundel	2	1	3
N. Yarmouth	2	1	3
Brunswick	2	1	3
Georgetown			7
Newcastle			
Gorhamtown	2	0	2

Total 2735*

* A compilation of these returns, said to have been made from the original returns in the Secretary's office in 1846, was printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Volume III, Second Series, and is also printed in Collections of the American Statistical Association, Volume I, p. 208. This compilation, however, did not give the names of the owners of the slaves where they were given in the returns.

There is nothing to be found in the Massachusetts Archives, or in the Privy Council Records, or in the Public Record Office in London, to which on its completion the papers and records of the State Paper Office were transferred in 1843, which shows that any enumeration was made in compliance with the directions of the Lords of Trade to Governor Shirley in 1741; and, as I have said, it is not likely that he made any attempt to cause such an enumeration to be made.

But there is found in the Public Record Office an answer by Governor Belcher, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, written in his own hand and dated April 5, 1751, to "queries" of the Lords of Trade. Although only a small portion of this document refers to the population of the Province, it contains much valuable information as to the condition of Massachusetts at that time; and as it has not, I believe, been elsewhere printed, it is printed here, as follows:—

"Answers to the Queries of the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords Commissioners for Trade & plantations referring to the province of the Massachusetts Bay.

"The Province of the Massachusetts Bay in N. E. is Situate wholly in the Seventh Climate, the Air being temperate and healthful, but something hotter in the Summer and colder in the winter, than in England: The Land is neither mountainous nor flat, but intermixed with hills and Valleys; The soil moderately good, and for the most part fit for pasturage or tillage— Boston, the Capital Town, lyes in the Longitude of 71:00, from the Meridian of Greenwich, & in the latitude of 42:25. The Longitude has bin settled by divers observations made here of the Eclipses
[of

of the Moon, & the Satellites of Jupiter compared with observations made of the same Eclipses from the Royal Observatory in Greenwich; The Latitude as above, is likewise found by good observations.

“This Province lyes in two several parts, Seperate from each other, by the Province of New Hampshire: on the Westerly side lyes that part formerly called the Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth (which is by far the best Peopled;). The mean breadth Northerly & Southerly, is about ninety Miles, and the length running from the Atlantick Ocean Westerly about one hundred and fifty miles. on the South side of this part, are the Colonies of Connecticut & Rhode Island; The Boundary on the first of these Colonies, after many years dispute, was settled by a mutual and Firm agreement between the two Governments made in the year 1713 and has never been since disputed; The other part of the south line has long been, & is still controverted by Rhode Island Government; But Commissioners are now appointed by the respective General Asssemblies to determin that difference, The West line between the Massachusetts and New York, is now in Controversy with that Government, and the North line on the province of New Hampshire has bin for many years disputed, and the Borderers much oppressed, by the Challenges of both Governmen”.—

“As to the other part of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, which lyes Northeast of New Hampshire, It contains that Tract, which was formerly called the Province of Mayne, and the Lands lying between Sagadahock river, & Nova Scotia; The Province of Mayne according to the Patent from the Crown to St Ferdinando Gorge is bounded as follows viz
 ‘Beginning at the entrance of Piscataqua harbour, and so to pass up the
 ‘same into the River of Newichawanock, and thro the same unto the
 ‘furthest head thereof, and from thence Northwestward till one hundred and twenty miles be finished, and from Piscataqua harbours mouth
 ‘afores^d North eastward along the sea coast to Sagadahock & up the river
 ‘thereof to Kynybeguy River, and thro the same unto the head thereof,
 ‘and into the Land Northwestward until one hundred and twenty miles
 ‘be ended, being accounted from the mouth of Sagadahock; and from the
 [‘ period

'period of one hundred and twenty afores^d to Crofs over Land to the one hundred and twenty miles end, formerly reckoned up into the land from 'Piscataqua harbour thro Newichawanock River.' The southwest line of the province of Mayne first mentioned, is likewise Controverted by New Hampshire. As to the other Branch, in this Northeast Division viz the Lands Lying between Sagadahock River and Nova Scotia, *the extent thereof is not determined by any words in the Charter, or other Grant from the Crown and can no otherwise be known, than by fixing the Western boundary of Nova Scotia, which is generally reputed to be the River St Croix or Passamaquady; And this opinion is supported by divers ancient Instruments referring to that Countrey; from Sagadahock to St Croix is about one hundred and fifty miles upon a North and by East course nearest.*

"As to the Constitution of the Government of this Province; the power of making Laws ordinances &c is Vested in the Governour Council & Representatives, (which compose the General Assembly) The Governor being appointed by the King; the Representatives Chosen by the People, and the Council Elected Annually by the united Balots of the Councillors of Representatives; on which Elections the Governor has a Negative; The Laws and Ordinances thus made are subject to the King's Allowance, or Difallowance, but their Effect not suspended until His Majesties pleasure be known thereupon. — The Governor Comands the Militia, and appoints the officers of the same; The Governor, with the Advice & Consent of the Council, appoints all Judges, Iustices Marshalls Sheriffs Coroners & other Officers belonging to the Courts of Iustice (Saving that the Clerks of the severall Courts, are by Act of Assembly appointed by the Iustices of those respective Courts) The Governor and Council have likewise Cognizance of all matters relating to Wills and Administrations upon the Estates of Persons deceased, and do accordingly Appoint the Iudges of Probate and Registers of Wills in the severall Countys of the province. The General Assembly do annually elect the Treasurer of the province, a Commissioner & Receiver of the Duty's of Impost, and publick Notarys for the severall ports; The

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Judges and other Officers of the Court of Admiralty are appointed by the High Court of Admiralty in England.

“As to the shipping of this province the number of Vessels of all sorts cleared out the last year at the Custom houses for forreign Voyages was six hundred and sixty seven, their Tunnage thirty five thousand four hundred & twenty nine Tuns, the number of Men belonging to them four thousand four hundred and thirty three; the number of coasters and fishing Vessels about twelve hundred and thirty, their Tunnage about twenty five thousand six hundred and fifty tuns, and their Men about five thousand and ninety — The Shipping of this province is increased in the last Seven years about one fifth part —

“The yearly Importation from Great Britain into this province is upwards of £250,000 sterling; at least £200,000 thereof in British Manufactures, and two thirds of that in woollens the rest in Iron Ware, powder shot glafs Cordage, Canvass brafs &c. —

“As to the Trade with Forreign plantations and other parts of Europe, besides Great Britain, this Province trades to Surrinam Curracoa, Eustatia, Martinico and Cape S: Francois, where they carry lumber, refuse fish, horses &c, and in return bring from thence, Rhum, Molasses sugar and Indigo — This province likewise Trades to Spain, Portugal & Italy and send thither great quantities of dried Cod fish, the produce whereof is remitted to Great Britain, Except some part of it, which is returned in salt. —

“As to the prevention of Illegal Trade, most of the Acts of Parliament made for that purpose are in force in this Province; and are accordingly duly executed; the Iudgments of the Courts of Common Law, as well as of the Court of Admiralty being directed and Governed by them; The officers concerned to prevent Illegal Trade are the Surveyor General of the Customs, the Collectors in the several ports, with the Waiters and the Naval Officers; and at Boston a Comptroller and surveyor & searcher; besides an officer Annually appointed by the General Assembly called Commissioner of Impost, who has Deputys in the other Ports; and these Officers are very Careful in the discharge of their Duty; so that the

[breaches

breaches of the Acts of Trade are very rare, & when discovered they are duly prosecuted & punished —

“The Natural produce of the Land in this Province, is Timber of divers sorts; the principal of which are Oaks and pines, which are manufactured into Mafts, Shipp & House Timber, plank, boards, staves, shingles, clapboards &c And pitch, Tar Turpentine & Rosin are made out of the pitch pines; The Coasts abound with fish of divers kinds, particularly Whales, Cod Mackeril herring &c— And there is accordingly exported dried & pickled Cod, pickled Mackeril Train Oyl &c; the value of the yearly Exports of the produce & Manufactures of this Country is above £ sterling

“There are some few copper mines in this province, but so far distant from Water Carriage, & the Oar so poor that it is not worth the digging— There are likewise divers Iron mines here, which yield good Oar which is Manufactured in considerable quantities, and turns to a pretty good account—

“The number of the Militia in this Province, was in the year 1718 about 15500, and in the year 1728 about 20.000, so that in ten years they were Increased about 4500— The proportion between the Militia & Inhabitants is generally Computed at one to six, according to which rate there are now about 120000 white Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children; The Negros are thought not to exceed 2000 in the whole province; The increase of the People for these ten years past must be attributed partly to the healthiness of the Country, and partly to the Importation of Considerable numbers of People from Ireland.

“The Principal Fort in this province is Castle William, which is of considerable strength; the Works being well built, mostly of stone & brick; there are about eighty Cannon mounted there, But the Garrison in time of Peace consists of no more than thirty men, besides officers. This Fort is situate upon an Island in Boston harbour, within three Miles of the Town; There have bin likewise several Batteries, and lines of Guns at the several Towns of Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and Marblehead; but they all now lye in ruins; and the Cannon for the
[most

most part dismounted— In the County of York, formerly the Province of Mayne, there are Fort Mary at Winter harbour, built of Timber, & Fort George at Brunswick, a stone building, which have each of them an officer & fifteen men in Garrison; Besides which there are four Truck houses for the Trade with the Indians, which are fortified and have each of them a Garrison for their Defence—

“As to the Indians living within the bounds of this Province, They are to be distinguished into those called Friend Indians, and such as have been lately in War with us; The first who dwell within the English settlements, are entirely subject to the Laws of the Countrey, and are brought to some degree of Civility, and the Profession of the Protestant Religion; Their number is about 3000 men, Women and Children— The other Indians, who consist of four or five Tribes or Clans, make in all about 300 fighting men— They live in the Wilderness on the Eastern Frontiers of this province in a very savage manner, They have always been much under the Influence of the neighbouring French, especially the Popish Missionaries, who constantly reside among them, and have brought them to a profession of the Romish Faith — These Indians have been at peace with us, now for above five years, and seem every day, more Inclined to the English Interest; so that there is a good prospect that this peace will long continue— The Indians of both sexes are much diminished within these ten years past—

“As to the neighbouring Indians, They are either such as live within the French territory, or in the provinces of New York & Nova Scotia; The French Indians of Canada have always been in War with us, upon any rupture with either the French, or the Eastern Indians; They consist of many Tribes, and are very numerous, and but a small proportion of them that ever engage in any Action against the English; The Indians residing within the province of New York, have frequently mixed with those of Canada, when they have made Incurfions upon us; The Indians of Nova Scotia, seldom, if ever come within this Province, or make any Impressions upon us by Land; But have often surprized & murdered our Fishermen that have been upon that Coast, & taken and burnt their
[Vessels;

Vessels; but of late the neighbouring Indians have all lived very peaceably & given us no Disturbance— The numbers of these several Tribes of Indians, is but little known among us, They are all of them a stout, hardy People, have the use of fire Arms, and are very Dexterous therein — Their Forts, as well as those of our own Eastern Indians, are only plain square Inclosures, made of Loggs, or poles, without any Bastions, or other work; so that they are not Defensible nor will they stay by them to receive an Enemy.—

“The French are the only Europeans that are settled in the Neighbourhood of this province— In Canada, they have several Towns strongly fortified, and a great number of other Forts upon the Lakes and Rivers, in that Country, which are built partly for the benefit of the Trade with the Natives, partly for their protection, and partly to maintain the power of the French over them— The French King maintains about twenty two Companies of Regular Troops in this Country— There is another Colony of French settled at a place called Cape Breton in the Eastern part of Nova Scotia, and therefore not contiguous to the province of the Massachusetts Bay— The Town of Louisbourg there is of great Strength having Considerable Fortifications about it, and near two hundred Canon mounted, and a very good Garrison of Regular Troops, and their Strength daily increasing—

“As to the Effects of the French settlements in these parts; They have been very mischievous to this province, those People, and especially the Priests, exciting the Indians to Rebellion, & not only furnishing them with Arms & Ammunition to prosecute their Barbarous Wars, but also setting a price on the heads of those English whom they shall kill, by which means, many hundreds of poor helpless Women and Children have been Murdered for the sake of this Infamous Reward, and that when there has been a peace subsisting between the Crowns of England & France— These French have likewise in time of Peace with the Indians, as well as themselves, urged the Indians to disturb our settlements in the Eastern parts of this Province, by pretending to dispute the right of the English to the Lands they have fairly purchased of them, or their
[Ancestors,

Ancestors, and of which they have been long possessed — As to the French settlement of Louisbourg upon Cape Breton, it is highly probable, That in Case of a Rupture between the two Crowns, it will be a receptacle and shelter for Privateers, who will disturb the Trade of the English in these parts, as well as to Newfoundland, and the North west passage and that the French there, will set the Indians upon our Fishermen, as it is thought they have often done in time of Peace —

“As to the Revenue of this Province It arises in part from an Impost laid by an Act of Assembly annually upon Goods imported into the province, usually amounting to five Thousand pounds of this Currency, partly from the Excise laid on strong Liquors by an Act made once in five years amounting to about three Thousand pounds p Annum, & The Interest of Bills let out, which now amounts to no more than Two thousand four hundred pounds p annum Excepting old arrearages; and the remainder of the annual charge is made out by the Land Tax; the amount of these several Funds are applied for the sinking of such Bills of Credit as have their period & Limitations in the several years — This Revenue is applied for the support of the Charges of the Governm^t, such, as the pay & subsistence of the Garrisons, Building & repairing of Forts, & Fortifications, maintaining of Marching Forces in time of War, as also in Allowances to the Governor for his support, and to several officers of the Governm^t, together with Incidental Charges — There are no Crown Lands in this Province, nor other Revenue, but what is raised by Acts of Assembly, and by them appropriated to such uses as they shall Judge proper —

“The ordinary Expences of this Government for the four last years (which has been a time of peace) were Twenty four thousand six hundred & seventy one pounds, nine shillings & five pence, a year, Comunibus annis, and the extraordinary expences, for the four years preceeding (which was a time of War) fifty three thousand two hundred & eighty one pounds seventeen shills & four pence; But then it must be observed, That for the last four years the representatives were paid out of the Publick Treasury for their attendance in the General Assembly to the
[amount

amount of about three thousand three hundred pounds p annum, which never was done before and this is accounted as part of the Ordinary Expence; But on the other Hand, the province is still in arrears for Governor Burnets administration near fourteen months, which belongs to the same four years.

“There is no Salary established for the Governour in this province or any *other* officer whatsoever saving that the Pay of the Councillors and Representatives for their Attendance in the General Assembly has always been ascertained by Law; but the last Act for that purpose expired in September last, and none has been since made— The Fees of the Officers of the several Courts of Common Law, Court of Admiralty, Secretary of the Province, Judges of Probate Registers of Wills, & Officers of the Customs are settled by Law; The Governor Lieutenant Governor, Secretary Judge of the Admiralty & Officers of the Customs receive Commission in England; The other Officers are appointed by the Governm: here; as particularly expressed in the third Article.

“Boston, April 5, 1751.

J. BELCHER.”

Nothing more appears to have been done with reference to a general census of the inhabitants of the Colony until March 18, 1760, when the King sent a paper of instructions to Governor Bernard containing among other things commands as to the numbering of the inhabitants of the Province, as follows:—

“Instructions to Gov: Bernard.

“18 March 1760

“You shall send an Account to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in order to be laid before Us, by the first Conveyance, of the present Number of Planters and Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, as well Masters as Servants, free and unfree, and of the Slaves in our said Province; As also Yearly Accounts of the Increase or Decrease of them, and how many of them are fit to bear Arms in the Militia of Our said Province.

"You shall also cause an exact Account to be kept of all Persons, Born, Christned and buried, and you shall yearly send fair Abstracts thereof to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid."

The original document containing these instructions, signed by the King and sealed with his seal, is now in the Public Record Office, bound up with other detached documents.

It will be perceived that these directions to the Governor are identical with the instructions sent to Governor Shirley by the Lords of Trade September 8, 1741. No enumeration, however, was caused to be made under these instructions, and April 28, 1761, a circular letter was addressed by the Lords of Trade to the Governors of all the Colonies in America transmitting "queries" of the Lords of Trade. This letter and the queries transmitted therewith are recorded in the Public Record Office, and are as follows:—

"1761 April 28th

"Circular Letter to all His Majesty's Governors in America transmitting Queries.

"To _____ Esq^r
"Governor of _____

"Sir,

"His Majesty having been graciously pleased by Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain to constitute and appoint Us His Commissioners for promoting the Trade of this Kingdom, and for inspecting and improving His Majesty's foreign Colonies and Plantations; It is Our Duty to acquaint you therewith, and to desire that you will from time to time give Us frequent & very full Information of the State and Condition of the Province under Your Government as well in respect
[to

to the Administration of Government & Justice as to the Trade and Commerce thereof, *and that you will also regularly and punctually send Us the several Papers required by His Majesty's Instructions to you to be transmitted.** And to the End that We may be the better enabled to form a true Judgment of the present State of the Province under your Government, We must desire your speedy Answer to the several Heads of Enquiry herewith transmitted to you, and that you will every six Months make a Return thereto, that We may be from time to time apprized of any Alterations which may happen in the Circumstances of the Province.

"We are

"Soame Ienyns

Sandys

"E. Bacon

Andrew Stone

"Iohn Yorke"

"Queries relating to His Majesty's Colonies & Plantations in America.

"1. What is the Situation of the Province under your Government, the Nature of the Country Soil and Climate? What are the principal Rivers and Harbours? The Latitudes and Longitudes of the most considerable Places in it, *or the Neighbouring French or Spanish Settlements?* † Have those Latitudes and Longitudes been settled by good Observations, or only by common Computations? and from whence are the Longitudes computed?

"2. What are the Boundaries? *Have those Boundaries been settled and ascertained and by what Authority? If any Parts thereof are disputed, by whom? when did the Disputes arise and what Steps have been taken, or in your opinion ought to be taken to fix the true Boundary Lines?* ‡

"3. What is the present State of the Trade of the Province, the Number of Shipping belonging thereto, their Tonnage and the Number
[of

* The words in italics were omitted in the Letters to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

† Words in italics are in the instructions to Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia only.

‡ Words in italics are in instructions to Connecticut only.

of Sea-faring Men, with the respective Increase or Diminution within ten years last past, and to what Causes is that Increase or Diminution to be ascribed, Are any Trades, Works or Manufactures set up or about to be set up in the Province under your Government which are or may prove hurtful to Great Britain? If there are any such, how may they be suppressed, diverted or restrained?

“4. What Quantity and Sorts of British Manufactures do the Inhabitants annually take from hence?

“5. What Trade has the Province under your Government with any foreign Plantations or any part of Europe, besides Great Britain? How is that Trade carried on, and what Commodities are sent to or received from such foreign Countries or Plantations?

“6. What Methods are there used to prevent illegal Trade, and are the same effectual, if not, what Method may be proper, in your opinion, to be taken for obtaining so desirable an object?

“7. What is the natural Produce of the Country Staple Commodities and Manufactures: what Value thereof in Sterling Money may you annually export, and to what Places? What Regulations have been at any time made for preventing Frauds and Abuses in the Exportation of the Produce or Manufacture of the Province, and at what time did those Regulations take place?

“8. What Mines are there? Have those Mines been opened and worked, and what may be the reputed Produce?

“9. What is the Number of Inhabitants Whites & Blacks?

“10. Are the Inhabitants increased or decreased within the last two years, how much and for what Reasons?

“11. What is the Number of the Militia, Under what Authority & Regulations is it established, what is the Expence of it, & how is the Expence defrayed?

“12. What Forts & Places of Defence are there within your Government, in what Condition, and what Garrisons are kept therein;
[what

what is the annual Expence of maintaining each Fort, and out of what Fund is it paid?

“ 13. What is the Number of the Indians inhabiting those Parts of America, lying within or bordering upon your Province. What Contracts or Treatys of Peace & Friendship have been made with them and are now in force? What Trade is carried on with them and under what Regulations, and how have those Regulations been established? *

“ 14. What is the Strength of your Neighbouring Europeans; French or Spaniards, and what Effect have those Settlements upon His Majesty's Colonies and more particularly upon that under your Government?

“ 15. What is the Revenue arising within your Government; when was it established and by what Laws or other Authority? To what Service is it appropriated, How applied and disposed of, and in what Manner are the Accounts audited and passed?

“ 16. What are the Establishments Civil and Military within your Government; By what Authority do the several Officers hold their Places, what are the Names of the present Officers, when were they appointed and what is the reputed annual Value of those Offices, what Salaries and Fees have they; By what Authority are their Salaries and Fees paid and under what Regulations.

“ 17. What is the Constitution of the Government in general, and particularly what Courts are there established for the due Administration of Justice; when were those Courts established, and under what Authority; What are their Rules of proceeding, and how are the Judges and other subordinate Officers appointed.”

The condition of war in which the Province then was prevented an immediate answer to these “queries,” and the Lords of Trade appear to have called the attention of the Governor to the delay.

* This Instruction was to Connecticut only.

An original letter, wholly in the handwriting of Governor Bernard, dated April 29, 1763, is in the Public Record Office, explaining the delay and giving information as to some of the matters inquired of, as follows:—

“ Boston Ap. 29, 1763

“ My Lords:

“The Secretary having prepared Copies of the Acts passed last Session to be transmitted to your Lordships, I have looked them over & do not find any thing in them but what is in usual Course of business or what I have before observed upon. The Act for continuing expiring Laws is the same with many others which have been before approved: this Legislature deals so much in temporary Laws that it is become necessary to include many of them in one act of continuation to avoid the immense Multiplication of Paper & Parchment, which would otherwise follow. And as all these Acts have separately received his Majesty's approbation I apprehend that there can be no inconvenience arise from their being continued by one act. There's a Bill to continue a former lottery bill to raise the additional Sum of 225 pounds Sterling for building a bridge; The Commissioners advanced the Money out of their own pockets & the Sum is so trifling, that I presume it needs no Apology.

“I am much concerned that your Lordships have wanted my Answer to your general heads of Enquiry transmitted to me in 1761. The whole Reason of my delaying it has arose from my desire of making it as complete as possible. Many of the Queries, especially those, which are like to vary from former reports of this kind, could not be answered so precisely in time of War as upon the conclusion of peace. And, as from the time, I received your Lordships commands, We have been continually led on from day to day with the hopes of that happy event, I have been in like manner insensibly drawn in to postpone this business to a greater length of time than I was aware of I think it was much above

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a year that I acquainted M: Pownall of my intention to make this my first business after the conclusion of peace and I shall immediately with as little loss of time as possible, bring this matter to a speedy conclusion. The chief Article that will take up much time will be the Numbering the People under proper heads of Age Sex Town &c. This will take up great part of the Summer & cannot be set about until after the Assembly meets, as I shall want their assistance in it. I shall however finish my Answer to the other Articles & leave this to be sent after it.

“As soon as I received your Lordships letter concerning the return from the impost office I communicated it to that officer and desired him to give your Lordships all the further information that is in his power, which he promised to do. I expect to receive this time enough to send by this packet; when I shall acquaint your Lordships with the difficulties he is under in distinguishing between British & Foreign Sugar & Molasses, that your Lordships may judge how far the best account he can give is to be depended upon.

“Since I have wrote the last paragraph I have received the Account of the Impost Officer which I hereby inclose. From the Conversation I have had with him I write what follows, as from his own mouth.

“When I first acquainted the impost-officer with your Lordships first order, He said He could not take upon him to distinguish between British & Foreign Sugars & Molasses; for the duties He was to receive being the same on both, it was no concern of his Office, whether they were the one or the other: and therefore he never interested himself in an enquiry from what port the goods came.

“Upon my communicating to him your Lordships last letter and requiring him to give all the information upon these Articles which he could, He has given me an Account of these goods with all the distinctions which are enter'd upon his books: but at the same time he is obliged to give his reasons why the Authority of such distinctions is not to be depended upon. 1. His Office not being interested in the distinction of the port, whence the goods come & the Act not requiring any such distinction he has taken the Word of the Master for the entry of the
[port

port from which, without any enquiry into the truth of such report. 2. As the Duty of Sugar & Molasses is the same, he has taken the report of the Master, for the quality of those goods, without enquiring into the truth of it: and he has been occasionally informed some times, that Sugar has been enter'd as Molasses.

“ Nevertheless He believes that in general, the Entries made from the West Indies are of foreign Sugars &c. ; as he knows of no reason that can induce those Masters who came from British Ports not to enter as from such ; and that the entering Sugars as Molasses is not very frequent, & probably onely in the Coasting trade. Upon the whole, He thinks that in regard to the West Indies, his Entries may afford a probable calculation of the proportion of the import of British & Foreign Sugar & Molasses. But then He conceives it is not very applicable to times of peace, especially in regard to Sugars ; which last will not be to be had in any quantity from French Settlements, tho' Molasses may possibly be procured from thence.

“ He observes that the Entries from Salem in the years 1755-6-7 & 8 must be supposed to be mostly included in the Entries from the West Indies, the greater part of which in those years were made at the port of Salem — The Molasses enter'd from Barbados & Antigua are generally supposed not to be the produce of those Islands, but foreign Molasses brought into them in prizes or otherwise. The other British Islands, but most chiefly Iamaica, have of late sent Molasses of their own growth in some quantity to North America.

“ This Gentleman, who is of the Council, is a very fair & candid Officer ; but as his appointment is by an annual election, He is obliged, in point of prudence, not to carry the execution of his office any further than the Duties of it necessarily require.

“ I am with great respect,

“ My Lords

“ Your Lordships most obedient

“ & most humble Servant

“ FRA BERNARD”

[Endorsed :

Endorsed: "To The Right Honble The Lords Commrs of Trade & Plantations *Massachusetts*

"Letter from Fra: Bernard Esq: Gov: of the Massachusetts Bay, to the Board, dated 29 April 1763, transmitting Acts &c. with some observations and promising a particular answer to the Bd: Queries."

Governor Bernard, following the suggestion in this letter to the Lords of Trade that he required the assistance of the Legislature to make the enumeration, sought that assistance on June 2, 1763, by the following message to the General Court:—

"Gentlemen of the Council and

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

"I am directed by the Lords of Trade to take a particular account of the number of the People of this Province with all proper distinctions thereof. I am desirous to have this done with the utmost exactness, as such information will be of great use to the Government of this Province as well as to his Majesty's Ministers. I therefore propose to have the returns of the several Towns made upon Oath according to a form to be issued for that purpose. And as I apprehend these Orders will be more effectual, if they are issued under the Authority of the whole Legislature; I recommend this Affair to your consideration

"Council Chamber

"2^d June 1763

Fra Bernard"

It has been said that great opposition was made to this request of the Governor, and that the matter was delayed for several sessions of the General Court, and finally the order for enumeration passed by a small majority, because the people feared that the census would be only a part of a system of taxation of the Colony by the home government.*

* Bradford, History of Mass., p. 152.

The record of the action of the General Court upon the matter, however, does not show that the delay was on this account, but that it arose in a difference between the Council and the House as to the method of making the enumeration.

That action was as follows:—

Upon receiving the message on June 2, it was read and it was “Ordered that this message be Considered at Ten o'clock Tomorrow morning and the Members are enjoined to attend at that time.”

On the next day the General Court acted on the message.—

“On his Excellency's Message of Yesterday, in the House of Representatives. Read and Ordered That M^r Speaker, Major Morey, Judge Ruffell, M^r Otis, M^r Trowbridge, M^r Foster of Plymouth and M^r Tyler with Such as the honourable Board shall appoint be a Committee to take this Message under consideration, & make report. In Council Read and Concurred, and John Osborne, Benjamin Lynde, Samuel Watts, Samuel Danforth, Benjamin Lincoln and James Otis Esq^r are joined in the Affair.”

June 11, 1763, the following action was taken:—

In the House of Representatives. “Ordered That M^r Waldo be of the Committee upon his Excellency's Message relating to the numbering of the Inhabitants &c in the room of Major Morey who is absent.”

In Council “Read and Concurred.”

June 14th the following report was made by the Committee.

“The Committee appointed on his Excellency's Message of the 2^d Instant reported as their opinion That his Excellency the Governor be desired to give Orders to such Person or Persons in the several Towns of this Province, as he shall judge most proper to take a particular

account of the number of the People therein, distinguishing them in manner following viz:

“Whites { ^{Males} } under and above the age of sixteen each
 { _{Females} }

“Negros and Molattos — Males and Females

“Civilized Indians — Males and Females

“Dwelling Houses and Families

“And that Order be given that the Accounts so taken be lodged in the Secretary's Office as soon after as may be.”

This report was read and accepted in the Council and sent down to the House, where it was read and not accepted, and it was

“Ordered That M: Otis, M: Goldthwait and M: Cushing of Boston with such as the hon^{ble} Board shall join be a Committee to prepare an answer to his Excellency's Message and make report.”

June 15 “this action was read in the Council and it Nonconcurrent, And thereupon *Resolved* That his Excellency be desired to give directions to the Selectmen of the several Towns and Districts within this Province to take an exact account of the number of Persons in their respective Towns & Districts with such distinctions as he shall think necessary, and that he give orders that the Account so taken be lodged in the Secretary's Office as soon after as conveniently may be, Also that William Brattle Esq: with such as shall be joined by the hon^{ble} House be a Committee to wait on his Excellency the Governor with this Vote.”

On the same day the House of Representatives nonconcurrent and voted that the House “adhere to their own Vote.” This was read in Council, and it nonconcurrent on the same day. This was near the end of the session, and no further action was taken at that session.

At the next session, on January 19, 1764, the Governor sent the following message to the two Houses respectively, viz.: —

“Gentlemen of the Council and

“Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

“At the last Session I informed You that I had Orders from the Lords of Trade among other things to return an account of the numbers of the People of this Province, and that I found it necessary to ask your Assistance to enable me to do this in the most effectual manner. This business was then under your consideration, but being some how or other misunderstood, it never came to a conclusion. But I learnt that a principal objection to my proposal was that it did not appear that this Question was equally proposed to other Colonies, although upon the Face of the Queries it appeared to be a general and circular Requisition, and that it was frequently repeated at a certain distance of time. As I had no opportunity to satisfy you upon this Point at the last Session; I soon after informed myself of what had been done in the same case in the neighbouring Colony of Connecticut: And I find that this Question has been answered about two years ago, and that this Answer was framed by the same method I proposed to you, namely a return of the Selectmen of each Town by order of the General Court. It also appears from their Return that the same Question had been proposed in 1756, and that an exact Return had been made to it. If this had been made known to you at the last Session, I make no doubt but that you would readily have complied with my Request: And as upon all Occasions I represent your proceedings in the most favourable Light I can, I have acquainted their Lordships, that I considered this Business as postponed only, and that I did not doubt but that it would pass at the next Session. I must therefore desire you to reconsider it according to my former Proposal.

“Council Chamber

“January 19th 1764

Fra Bernard”

On February 2d, 1764

The House of Representatives. “Upon considering of his Excellency’s Message of the 19th Ult^o Ordered That the Selectmen of each Town and District in this Province to be chosen for the Year 1764 do as

soon as conveniently may be take an exact Account of the number of Dwelling Houses, Families and People in their respective Towns and Districts, including as well Indians civilized, Negroes and Molattos as White People, and Females as well as Males, and distinguishing them in this Form namely.

White People under sixteen Years { Males
Females

Above Sixteen Years { Males
Females

Families

Houses

Negroes & Mollattos { Males
Females

Indians { Males
Females

And return the same into the Secretaries Office by the last day of December next."

On the same day this action was sent to the Council, and it nonconcurrent and "Ordered that Wm. Brattle & James Otis Esq^r wth such as the hon^{ble} house shall join be a Comm^r to bring in a bill for the purposes ment^d in y^e above resolve."

On the same day this order of the Council was sent to the House, and it nonconcurrent and voted that the House adhere to their own vote.

On the same day the vote of the House was sent to the Council, and it concurred with the House in the passage of the order, with an amendment striking out "selectmen" and inserting "assessors," so that the census should be taken by the assessors.

On the same day this action of the Council was sent to the House, and it nonconcurrent therein and voted to adhere to its

own vote. This action was communicated to the Council on the same day, and it voted to concur therein, and on the same day the original House order, which had thus passed both branches, was consented to by Governor Bernard.

It will be observed that this order did not specifically provide in what manner the selectmen were to be directed to take the enumeration provided for therein, but the Governor ordered the sheriffs of the several counties to direct the selectmen to take the action provided for by the resolve. The following is a copy of the order which was given to the selectmen, and of the return of one of the towns thereto:—

Copy of Census Returns, 1764, of town of Rutland, from vol. 88 of the Archives in the Secretary's office.

| Worcester | fs. Whereas His Excellency the Governor hath by his Order to me directed, signified that the Great and General Court did, on the second Day of *February* last, pass an Order, "That the Selectmen of each Town and District in this Province, to be chosen for the Year 1764, do, as soon as conveniently may be, take an exact Account of the Number of Dwelling-Houses, Families, and People in their respective Towns and Districts," agreeable to a Schedule thereto annexed: And hath required me forthwith to make out a Precept directed unto the Select-Men of each respective Town and District within my Precinct, requiring them to take an exact Account of the Number of Dwelling-Houses, Families and People, as aforesaid: and to return the same into the Secretary's Office, on or before the last Day of *December* next:

In Observance of the said Order to me directed, These are to will and require you, as soon as conveniently may be, to take an Account of the Number of Dwelling-Houses, Families, and People, within your | Town |, including as well Indians civilized, Negroes and Molattos, as White People, and Females as well as Males, distinguishing them in the Form as on the other Side hereof, agreeable to the said Order of the Great and General Court: And make Return of this Precept to me, that so the same may be transmitted into the Secretary's Office, on or before the last Day of *December* next. Hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my Hand and Seal at | Worcester |
the | sixth | of | August | In the Fourth Year of
His Majesty's Reign, *Annoq; Domini*, 1764.
Gard^r Chandler Sheriff

To the Select-Men of the
| Town | of | Rutland |
in the County aforesaid, Greeting

Houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	166
Families	-	-	-	-	-	-	182
White People under Sixteen Years	{	Males	275				
		Females	244				
above Sixteen Years	{	Males	281				
		Females	273				
Negroes and Molattoes	-	{	Males	9			
			Females	8			
Indians	-	-	-	-	{	Males	
						Females	

N. B. *You are not to include the Acadians, commonly called French Neutrals, among the Provincials as above, but return them separately as thus,*

French Neutrals under sixteen Years	{	Males
		Females
above sixteen Years	{	Males
		Females

Pursuant to the within Precept, We have taken an exact Account of the Number of Dwelling-Houses, Families, and People in the | Town | of | Rutland | And do hereby Certify, That the foregoing Schedule contains a true and exact Account of the same. *Dated in | Rutland | aforesaid the | 26th | Day of | December | 1764.*

Jn: Murray	}	Select-Men of Rutland.
John Stone		
Paul Moore		
Rob: Douglass		

But while the selectmen of some of the towns complied with this order and made return thereunder, the order was not generally obeyed. The people of the Province had become discontented with the administration of Governor Bernard. He had made Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and that Court, with Hutchinson at its head, had issued the odious writs of assistance authorizing revenue officers to make arbitrary searches of the houses and seizures of the property of the people. Hutchinson had also, against great popular opposition, assumed to sit as a member of the Council while holding the offices of Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and Judge of Probate of Suffolk County. The right of the British Government to tax the people of the Colony at its will was asserted by the Governor and the Council,

and many people probably regarded the taking of the enumeration as preliminary to and perhaps a part of a system of such taxation. But however this may be, the order was not obeyed to any such extent as to make the returns of value.

At the next session of the General Court, on February 16, 1765, the Governor brought the matter again to the attention of the Legislature by a message to the two Houses as follows:—

“Gentlemen of the Council and

“Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

“I am to inform you that the Order of the General Court made on the 2^d of Febr^y 1764 for the Selectmen of each Town and District to make a Return of their Houses, Families and People, has been disobeyed by a great part of the Province, so that the Returns which have been made are of no use. I have been near three years endeavouring to carry into execution this Order, which was executed in the Colony of Connecticut by order of the Assembly in less than three months: from whence this Contempt of an Order of Court so reasonable and usefull arises, I am at a loss to say? but surely it will bring a great reproach upon the Province, if you do not intervene to prevent it. I must therefore desire that you will forthwith enforce the Execution of this order by a short day, and in such a manner as shall leave no room for disobedience; or at least that you will furnish me with an Answer to his Majesty's Ministers, shewing cause why this Enquiry cannot be executed in this Province as well as in others.

“Council Chamber

Fra Bernard

“Febr^y 15, 1765 —”

The General Court immediately took action upon this message. The House “Ordered that Mr. Lee, General Winflow, Captain Saunders, Mr. Otis, Captain Howard, and Colonel Chandler take the above message under consideration and report.”

February 20th the Committee reported and their report was accepted, and General Winslow, Judge Russell, and Mr. Lee were “ordered to prepare a bill and report the same.”

February 26th a bill was reported by the Committee, passed to be engrossed on the same day, and passed to be enacted on March 2d, as follows:—

“An Act to carry into Execution an Order of the General Court, for numbering the People within this Province.

“WHEREAS the great and general court of this province, the second day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, came into the following order; viz., ‘Upon consideration of his excellency’s message of the nineteenth, current, ordered, that the selectmen of each town and district in this province, chosen for the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, do, as soon as conveniently may be, take an exact account of the number of dwelling-houses, families and people, of their respective towns and districts, including as well Indians civilized, negroes and molattoes, as white people; and females as well as males; and distinguish them in this form; namely,—

White people under sixteen years	{ Males,
	{ Females,
Above sixteen years,	{ Males,
	{ Females,
Families,	
Houses,	
Negroes and molattoes,	{ Males,
	{ Females,
Indians,	{ Males,
	{ Females,

and return the same into the secretary’s office, by the last day of December next;’ and whereas several of the selectmen of towns and districts within this province have complied with the abovesaid order, and divers

others have neglected their duty therein, and have not made return as directed, by which neglect the design of said order has been evaded; for remedy whereof, and that a uniform return may be made, agreeable to his majesty's requisition, by his ministers, to his excellency the governor, therefore, —

“ Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and House of Representatives,

“(SECT. 1.) That the selectmen of such town and district within this province (chosen for the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four) where the above order has not been complied with, or the survivors of them, do take an exact account of the number of dwelling-houses, families and people, agreeable to the form aforementioned, and make return thereof unto the sheriffs of the several counties, respectively, on or before the twenty-fifth day of May next; and in case of refusal or neglect of their duty, to forfeit and pay to his majesty, for the use of the county where such offence shall arise, the sum of fifty pounds; to be recovered by the treasurer of the said county in any court of record proper to try the same.

“ And be it further enacted,

“(SECT. 2.) That in case any master or mistress of any family shall refuse to give a proper and true list when required by one or more of the selectmen of any town or district, he or she shall forfeit the sum of forty shillings; to be recovered by the treasurer of such town, for the use of the poor thereof, before any of his majesty's justices of the peace in such county. (Passed March 5, 1765.)”

The original of this bill is in Volume 88 of the Archives.* This act, it will be observed, required the enumeration made by the selectmen to be returned to the sheriffs of the several counties, but did not specifically provide what the sheriffs should do with the returns. It was obviously expected, however, that they would return them into the Secretary's office, to which office, by the act of 1764, the selectmen were required to return the enumerations.

* The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Vol. 4, Ch. 28.

To what extent additional returns were made under this act of 1765 it is impossible now to ascertain. It has been said that there are now "no traces or returns of this enumeration among the State Archives, and that they were probably lost amid the confusion that naturally and necessarily prevailed during the Revolution."*

Later examination of the Archives, however, shows that returns are now to be found from the following towns in Worcester County:—

Southborough	Upton
Leominster	Oxford
Rutland	Lunenburg
Charlton	Grafton
Sturbridge	Princetown
Hardwick	Uxbridge
Brookfield	Templeton
Western	Lancaster
Mendon	Douglass
Westborough	Harvard
Spencer District	Worcester
Bolton	Holden
Oakham	Shrewsbury
New Braintree	Dudley
Westminster	Rutland District
Sutton	Leicester
Petersham	Athol

and from the town of Woburn in the County of Middlesex. These returns bear various dates from September to December,

* "The First Census of Massachusetts." By the Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D., Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Reprinted from the "Publications of the American Statistical Association," Boston, Mass., March, 1891.

1764, and from February to May, 1765, and are contained in Volume 58 of the Archives.

In the meantime, on September 5, 1763, while the question of passing an order for an enumeration, as requested by the Lords of Trade, was pending before the General Court, Governor Bernard sent an answer, dated September 5, 1763, to the queries of the Lords of Trade. This letter, which is now in the Public Record Office in London, is wholly in the handwriting of Governor Bernard, and has, I believe, never before been printed. It contains so much interesting information as to the condition of the Province and its people that I print it here.

“The Answer of Francis Bernard Esq. Governor of his Majesty’s Province of Massachusetts Bay to the Queries proposed by the Right Honorable The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

“1. The Province of Massachusetts Bay is situated on the continent of North America towards the Atlantick Ocean between the Degrees of latitude 41 & 45 reckoning by sea coast only The Soil is inferior to that of England in general, but is very suitable to Indian Corn Barley Oats & Rye. It has not as yet produced Wheat enough for its own consumption, being not so easy of tillage as the Soil of the Southern provinces. It is very natural to English Grass of all sorts. The Heat in Summer & the Cold in Winter are much more intense than in England. I once observed Farenheits Thermometer $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0 & the Summer following It was $96\frac{1}{2}$ for a short time: But these were both singular & uncommon instances. Last Winter which was very severe it was several times at 2, & never lower, this Summer which has been temperate it has never been higher than 88. So that I would consider those as the general extremities. Notwithstanding the intenseness of the Cold, The Winter is a very healthy season; so is the Summer & the Autumn. But
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the Spring is a dangerous time to uncareful People, upon account of the frequent cold Easterly Wind interfering with the Warmth of the opening Summer. The Principal Ports are Boston, Salem, Newbury & Falmouth; each of which has a separate Custom house: There are several other good harbours. The principal Rivers that have any considerable inland Navigation are the Merrimack, the Kennebeck & the Penobscot. Boston the Capital by good observations is found to lie in $42^{\circ}25'$ North latitude & $71^{\circ}30'$ west longitude from London. I cant learn that the longitude has been taken any where else by observation; & suppose it is laid down in modern Maps by computation.

"2. The Province consists of the Old Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Colony of New Plymouth the Province of Main & the Country between the Province of Main & the River S: Croix called the Territory of Sagadahock. The Old Colonys of the Massachusetts & New Plymouth being contiguous are bounded on the South by the Colonies of Rhode Island & Connecticut, on the West by New York, on the North by New Hampshire, on the East by the Atlantick. The Province of Main extends from the River Newickewanick along the Sea Coast North Eastward (the Coast lyes nearest North East & South West) to the River Kennebeck & up the Rivers Newickewanock & Kennebeck into the Lands North Westward untill 120 miles are finished & a Line to be drawn from the end of the 120 Miles up Newickewanock to the end of the 120 Miles up Kennebeck. By a decree of his late Majesty in Council settling the Boundaries between the Massachusetts & New Hampshire the construction of Northwestward was determined to be North two degrees west, which has altered the formerly conceived Bounds of that Province being then a regular tract about 120 miles Square: A dispute has subsisted many years between this Province & New York concerning boundaries. The Merits of it having been heard & considered by the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, & a report having been made thereon the Province humbly waits his Majesty's determination. A dispute subsisted also between this Province & the Colony of Connecticut untill the year 1713 when the Line was settled & run by Com-

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missioners from both Governments. Four Towns Woodstock Suffield Enfield & Somers which had been granted and settled by Massachusetts fell within Connecticut. By a preliminary agreed between the two Governments, if any Towns which had been granted by either Government should fall within the other, the Jurisdiction should remain to the Government which granted and an equivalent should be given for the property: Accordingly an equivalent in other lands was granted by the Massachusetts to Connecticut who received and sold the same; & the Jurisdiction of the Towns remained with the Massachusetts without dispute untill the year 1746; when the Province being excessively burthened with a Debt incurred by the Expedition to Cape Breton & an intended Expedition against Canada the Inhabitants of these four Towns refused to submit any longer to the Massachusetts Government & applied to Connecticut for protection who by an Act extended the County of Windham to the Massachusetts Line & have ever since exercised Jurisdiction over them. The Massachusetts judging it would be of bad consequence in a time of War by Acts of Power to compel Subjection immediately, exhibited their humble complaint to his Majesty in Council against the Government of Connecticut for this unfair proceeding; which complaint has not yet been considered. I am humbly of opinion that if his Majesty should be pleased to order those revolted Towns to return to their subjection to the Massachusetts, that it would be for the peace of both Governments & that the Inhabitants in general of those Towns would likewise be well satisfied, provided they might be exempted from paying Taxes to the Massachusetts which the Government every year have continued to lay upon them ever since their revolt. It is but equitable they should be exempted for such years as they have paid to Connecticut in the Mean time. But the Taxes for which they were in arrears at the time of their revolt & which are still unpaid it is equitable they should still be charged with. Some question has lately been made of the Validity of the Title of the Province to the Lands between the Rivers Penobscot & St. Croix: the merits of their Claim has been at large laid before your Lordships.

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“3. It is impracticable to take an exact account of the Shipping belonging to this Province & their tonage, as Shipping itself is a considerable Article of trade; And when a Ship is built for Sale She is registered freighted & cleared in the same manner as if she was to continue in the trade of the Province, and therefore the Entries of the Naval office & Custom house afford no certain grounds to estimate the quantity of the permanent Shipping of the Province. A List of the Shipping from 10 tons upwards belonging to the several Towns in the Province was taken by order of the general Court in 1761, & the returns amounted to 57.000 Tons: but this was undoubtedly imperfect. The Shipping of Boston has decreased of late: This is partly owing to the increase of the Trade of other towns in the Province & partly to the illicit trade which is carried on in Rhode Island Connecticut &c. with greater Security than it can be here. Ship building is generally a losing trade, but it is a necessary resort to make good the ballance due to Great Britain when other branches fail or prove insufficient. The Whale Fishery has been increased since the reduction of Canada: Many small Vessels have made profitable Voyages in the Gulph of S. Lawrence; but I am informed so little regard has been had to the preserving the Calves or young Whales, & the fishery has been generally pursued with such inemission, that the want of the Regulations to which the French subjected that fishery, will be soon felt by the total destruction thereof. The Produce of this fishery, Oyl & Bone is shipped directly for Great Britain, & has for the last year made a considerable part of the returns. The Trade of the Cod fishery is carried on at the Towns of Salem Marblehead Gloucester & Plymouth, and at some other Towns of lesser note. It is not an encreasing Trade, the Scarcity of hands & the high Wages, which are the Natural consequences of War having much checked it: but I am in hopes that it will be improved by the Settling the Peace. The best of Cod goes to Spain Portugal & Italy, the produce whereof is chiefly remitted to England; The worst sort is sent to the West Indies. There are also other lesser fisheries which employ a good many small Vessels. Herrings & Shad are taken in the rivers in the beginning of the Summer & Mackrell from Iuly to October.

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These are Salted and Barrelled & sent to the West Indies. These several kinds of fish together with boards staves shingles & hoops commonly called lumber, with some provisions & garden stuff of no great value make up the freights to the West Indies: the returns are made partly in remittances to England & partly in rum Sugar & Melasses. The latter Article (besides what is consumed in Specie by the Inhabitants) is distilled into rum, which is used in the trade to Newfoundland, the whole produce of which is remitted to England & is sent to Maryland & Virginia in return for Corn & Pork: a great part of it is used in the prosecution of the fisheries; & some part (perhaps too much) consumed by the inland inhabitants. But upon the whole I consider the Melasses distillery as very necessary to the chief part of the trade of this province; and if it should be obstructed either by a severe execution of the present laws or by the enacting of new ones for that purpose, I fear that the consequences would soon be felt by the English Merchants trading to this Country. Indeed there is a succedaneum that this people might resort to, if the Melasses distillery was obstructed, I mean the distilling Spirits from Grain raised in this Country: but the misfortune would be that all the ill consequences of the interruption of the Melasses distillery would take effect before the New Distillery from grain could be brought about. If It was not for the danger of this interval, It might be made a question, whether it would not be better for the province to distill from their own produce: But Innovations in matters of trade are so precarious, that I cannot help recommending the encouragement of the Melasses distillery in this Province. This Province also sends out considerable quantities of Provisions to Nova Scotia & to Newfoundland, the produce of which is remitted to Great Britain. I know of no new Trades Works or Manufactures that are or may prove hurtful to Great Britain; I rather think that the Province wants Trades & Manufactures than abounds in them; for it is certain that within these late years the imports have been greater than the Province can well bear; and they must be lessened, unless New funds can be found out for Answering them. Upon the whole as Great Britain will always have what this Country can

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spare (at present, I believe, She takes rather more than it can spare) She need not fear Trades & Manufactures set up here; since whatever is saved or gained here will be sent to Great Britain to purchase other things. Superfluities are laid out in luxury; American Luxury is almost wholly supplied from Great Britain; therefore all profit in America must centre in Great Britain. Even illegal trade, where the ballance is in favour of the British Subject, makes its final returns to Great Britain. For want of a more certain account of the Shipping I hereto add an account of the Ships &c. which passed Castle William outward bound from July 1. 1762 to July 1. 1763 viz: Ships 40 Skows 17 Brigs 107 Schooners 178 Sloops 294 total 636. But no conclusion can be formed from hence, as many or most of them are repeated some of them 3 or 4 times.

“4. The Inhabitants of the trading Towns Men Women & Children have their whole supply of Cloathing from Great Britain. Most of the Women in all other Towns have the principal part of their cloathing of British Manufactures; the Men have more or less. The poor labouring people in the County Towns wear their common Cloaths principally of coarse homespun linnens & Woolens. Shoes are to be excepted, the Mens being generally manufactured here, the Womens partly only. Most of the Furniture of the Houses in the trading Towns is of British Manufacture. Nails, Glafs, Lead, Locks, Hinges & many other materials for Houses are wholly imported from Great Britain. Canvas, Cordage & Ship Chandlery Wares for Vessells & in general such Manufactures as are exported to the Plantations are consumed here & by the best Information I can get the Consumption increases rather than decreases.

“5. There is a constant Trade carried on with the Dutch & Danish Plantations: in one of the former, Surrinam many English have considerable Estates. During the War with France and before that with Spain a considerable Trade was carried on with Monto' Christo, the returns chiefly French Sugars; & tho' the exports for this Trade were chiefly Gold & Silver, it was thought to be advantageous to Great Britain. The Trade immediately to the French Settlements called the flag of Truce
[Trade,

Trade, this Province was never concerned in. For tho' I believed it to be in general (when provisions & Warlike Stores were not exported) very beneficial to Great Britain, yet as I understood that it was not approved of at home, it was never permitted here. In time of peace, a small trade chiefly for Melasses is permitted at some of the french Plantations: but this is very precarious, as sometimes a pretence is made to confiscate Veffels, that have been encouraged to come there, contrary to good faith. The Exports to & imports from foreign plantations are pretty much the same as with the British. There is a small trade with the Western Islands in about 8 or 10 small vessels in a year carrying Fish Lumber & Grain & returning with Wines. The Madeira Trade is greatly decreased by reason of the high price those Wines are got at, not above one small cargo coming in in a year. A considerable quantity of fish is sent to Spain Portugal & Italy, the returns are chiefly made by remittances to London. Each Veffell generally brings back a load of Salt & from Lisbon some Wine & Lemmons, which latter coming in small quantities & not being in the least injurious to Great Britain, differing, in no respect of trade, from Wine from the Portuguese Islands, is overlookt. Lately two or three Voyages have been made with Logwood to Hamburg & from thence to Petersburgh, whence they return with Hemp stopping at Scotland to enter & clear. This is a new Experiment; but it is thought that in time of Peace Hemp may be brought cheaper from London. There is very little Trade direct from Holland, as no freights can be made but with Logwood; & that is not imported here in any quantity when it is low in Europe—

“6. The methods used to prevent illegal trade are frequent inspections made by the Naval & Custom house Officers, by whose care the Laws of trade are better supported in this Province than in most others of America. About 2 years ago Great endeavours were made to disable the Officers in carrying the laws into execution, & a public opposition was made in open Court against the Superior Court (which is here vested with the powers of the Court of Exchequer) granting writs of Assistance except in special cases. But the Iudges overruled the exceptions & Writs of
[Assistance

Assistance are now granted in as effectual a form as in England. The greatest difficulty which attends the execution of the Laws of Trade here arises from the great liberty which is allowed in some other Colonies. The Merchants here complain, with great show of reason, of the hardship they suffer by being Subject to restraints, which their Neighbours in ports almost under their Eye are quite Strangers to. The only answer to be given to these complaints is that the negligence of other governments will not justify this in the same: but that it is hoped that the time is near at hand when these matters will be liquidated & adjusted; And there will be but one common rule of restraint & indulgence through all the ports in America: a settlement much to be desired.

“7. The Soil of the Country being natural to Grains, Black Cattle are one principal part of the produce. Notwithstanding the great Supplies made during the War to the Western Army & the new Settlements which are continually making, there is no sensible decrease, except what has been occasioned by the extraordinary drought of the two last Summers which will soon be retrieved by the plenty of the present. About the year 1740 after a long peace, Beef in the Season was sold from a penny to five farthings Sterling the pound. The breed of Horses suitable for the West Indies hath greatly increased. The Province cannot properly be said to have any Staple. If any commodity prevails as to the Value it seems to be Fish. In some years there has been room to suppose the Oyl near equal to it. Manufactures there are none of any consequence except that of Molasses into Rum & Iron into Bars & hollow Ware. There is not sufficient bar Iron manufactured for the use of the Inhabitants; of cast Metal or hollow Ware as it is sometimes called, there is enough made for the Inhabitants & more or less exported every year to the other Colonies. There are divers provincial Acts to prevent frauds & abuses in Boards, Shingles, Staves, Hoops, Fish, the Affize of Casks & in most other Articles exported liable to frauds, which have a good effect. They have been at different times enacted & from time to time as the defects are discovered there appears a good disposition in the General Court to amend them & render them the more effectual.

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“8. There are no Mines yet discovered except of Iron. The Iron Oar in general has a mixture of Copper which renders it unfit to work into Bars, some of it has been cast into Cannon shott & Shells. The Bar Iron manufactured here is principally from piggs imported from New York Philadelphia &c some of an inferior Quality from what is called bogg Oar which lyes in beds in many places of the province about a foot under the Surface & is found at the bottom of ponds in some parts. From the latter the cast or hollow Ware is commonly manufactured — A New Mine of rock Oar has been lately discovered; but it has not been workt as yet.

“9. I was desirous of answering this Article as exactly as possible & for that purpose had postponed my return for some time in order to have the assistance of the general Court in taking an exact account of the people by returns made in a particular manner upon oath. For this I proposed a Scheme to the general Court at the beginning of last Session: but the Consideration of it having been postponed to near the End of the Session, some objections were started in the house of Representatives, which there was no time to obviate: and the Council & house having disagreed upon the Method, it was of course put off till next Session, when it will be again brought in & I doubt not but it will pass. In the mean time I must answer this Article as well as I can by conjecture from such Materials as I have in my hands. In the year 1761 a Return was made to the general Court of the rateable polls viz: males above 16 which amounted to about 57.000; In this list were excluded not only the Males under 16 but also those who were rendered incapable to pay by poverty. If we reckon these at one third more, the Number will be 76.000 to which adding the same Number of females the Sum total will be 152.000. Another Method of computing the people will be by the returns of the Militia, which is generally reckoned one fourth part of the Souls. This in 1759 was 41,000 which multiplied by 4 is 164,000. Another method is by the Number of houses which in 1761 was 32,000: this multiplied by 5 makes 160,000 by $5\frac{1}{2}$, 176,000 by 6, 192,000. Upon
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Hampshire, to take up New Lands. In New Hampshire only near 200 Townships have been opened in that Country which was formerly reputed as part of this Province & was always defended from the common Enemy as such, at the expence of this Province only.

“ 11. By a return made in 1759 there appeared to be upon the alarm list about 41,000 fencible men; but when all Persons exempted from training were deducted, the trainband list did not amount to more than about 35,000. These are divided into 32 regiments each having a Colonel, a Lieut. Colonel & a Major: some of two battalions having 2 Lt. Colonels & 2 Majors. Most of these regiments have a troop of horse belonging to each, some of which are in uniform. There belongs to the Boston Regiment, a company of Artillery of 60 men in uniform of blue & red with four field pieces. There are belonging to the Castle, besides the Garrison, 4 companies of Artillery of about 300 men in the whole, who are exercised at the great guns 6 times every year, & two Companies of Artillery belonging to the batteries at Boston & one at Charlestown. There are also to attend the Governor a Troop of horse guards consisting of about 80 men in an uniform of blue & red, & a company of Cadets of about 60 gentlemen in an uniform of red & buff Colour. The Governor as Captain General both by the Charter & his Commission has the whole command of the Militia, appoints & removes officers at pleasure, orders musters & marches as he thinks proper, but cannot march them out of the Province without the consent of the General Assembly. By Law every man is obliged to train four times a year; defaulters forfeit 5/- lawful money each time: out of these fines the expence of drums & colours is defrayed. There is no other Expence: when they march in actual service, the Province pays them.—

“ 12. The Principal Fortrefs in this Province & perhaps throughout his Majesty's American Colonies is Castle William situated on an Island on the side of the only Ship Channell about 3 miles from Boston. The Fort is small but well contrived, is a regular Square with 4 bastions & 2 ravelins on the outside: it mounts 38 Guns chiefly nine pounders & two mortars on the ravelins. There are very considerable Outworks towards
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the Ship Channel, which have good Communications with the Fort. The Royal Battery mounts 29 guns from twenty four to thirty two pounders, at the end thereof is a demi bastion with four forty two pounders. Shirleys battery mounts 19 forty two pounders, at the end is an horseshoe with 6 twenty four pounders. there are some other lesser batteries partly compleated & partly designed only: there is a large block house mounted with small Cannon to Scour the flats; and barracks for 1000 men with a large parade & a picketed breast work towards the Sea. When all the Works intended are finished there will be about 140 Cannon mounted upon the Island. The whole Expencc is borne by the province & for 7 years past, altho' there have been no New Works, has amounted

to 2250 Sterling one year with another. The Garrison consists of 60 Men besides the 4 companies of Artillery before mentioned, who live in the Neighbouring Towns, and are exercised at the Castle 6 times in the year. There has lately been built an Armoury for small Arms, of which there are at present about 2500. In the late War many pieces of Artillery & considerable quantities of Warlike Stores were taken away for the King's Use. Application has been made for the replacing them & will be renewed, we hope with Success. There is also a Fort on Penobscot river called Fort Pownall garrisoned with 18 men, in which is an Indian Truckhouse; & another called Fort Halifax on Kennebeck River garrisoned with 13 men where there is another Truckhouse. Fort Western on Kennebeck river, Fort Pemaquid upon Pemaquid river & Fort George upon Georges river have been lately disarmed & are now private dwelling houses; the Artillery & Stores being removed to the Castle. There are small forts or batteries at several of the sea-port towns, capable of repelling a privateer; but as they have no garrisons & have no fund to support them, they are of very little consequence.

"13. There is a small number of Indians who were originally of Hudsons River, perhaps 70 or 80 Families, who live upon the Western Frontier of the Province at a place called Stockbridge & who have an English Missionary constantly preaching to them supported by the Society
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for propagating the Gospel in New England & parts adjacent; about 70 Families more at a place called Mashpee in the County of Barnstable who by a late Act of the General Court have had certain privileges granted them with a view of civilizing them & bringing them under good Government & order; and between one & two hundred Families in the two Islands of Nantucket & Martha's Vineyard. All these have Missionaries or Teachers supported by the same Society. There are about 20 Families more at Natick & a few scattering Families in several other parts of the Province. The Indians upon the frontiers of the Eastern Parts of the Province are all ranged under the general name, according to the French, of Abenakis, of these the Arafagunticooks & Wewenocks living on the banks of St Lawrence properly belong to Canada as the St Johns Indians do to Nova Scotia: & yet all these have occasionally treated with this Province. The Indians that more particularly belong to this Province are the Norridgewalks the Penobscots & the Passimaquodies. The two former have been the Subjects of many Wars & many Treaties with this Province: In the last War they retired to Canada & joined the Arafagunticooks & Wewenocks. Since the conquest of Canada they have come into these parts again & have renewed their acquaintance with the provincials. As no formal treaty has been held with them since they were proclaimed Rebels & Traitors, about two months ago to prevent Mischief, I published a proclamation declaring a Cessation of hostilities & requiring the people to treat them as friends. Since which three of the Penobscot Chiefs have, with my leave, come to Boston & in the Name of their own tribe & of the Machias Indians a branch of it, & the Passimaquody Indians a part of the St John's Indians settled on the West Side of St Croix, have desired to be under the protection of this Government & to have their trade with it regulated in some particulars. Also a Norridgewalk Indian has been here in a private Character & desired to know if they may come to their old Town. I dismissed them all with Satisfactory Answers. These People who have for near a century occasioned so much expence of blood & treasure to this province are now in a manner reduced to nothing. The Norridgewalks whose town

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is about 40 miles above fort Halifax are about 10 families; The Penobscots who live about 50 miles above Fort Pownall with the Machias who live in a bay of that name are about 40 families & the Passamaquodics who live on the West Side of the Bay of St Croix about 30 families: and yet these People complain of the English settling their Country. The Nature of the Subjection of the Indians to the English Government, notwithstanding the many Treaties they have had with this Government has never been explained nor rightly understood: nor does it signify much now whether it ever is —

“14. By the Terms of the late happy treaty this Province is freed from the Neighbourhood of foreign subjects. The nearest foreign Settlement is that of St Peter & Miquelon. What effect that will have on his Majesty's Provinces, time must discover.

“15. Imposts & Excises have been laid by Temporary Acts of Assembly which are renewed from time to time. The Impost is upon Wine, Rum & other Spirits & 2  Cent upon all Goods from Great Britain which are not the produce or manufactures thereof. This brings into the Treasury about £2250 sterl^s  Annum. The Excise is upon Wine & spirituous Liquors sold by retail & Lemmons & Limes. This brings in about £1300. sterl^s  Annum. There is a farther Excise upon Tea, Coffee & China Ware which brings in about £1500. sterl^s p. Annum. The further charges of Government which in times of peace may amount to near £20,000 Sterl^s  Ann. are raised by a Tax upon Polls & Estates. The Province is in Debt about £220,000 Sterl^s borrowed of the Inhabitants for which the Treasurer gives his notes or obligations from six pounds to a thousand or upwards upon Interest; which notes are not negotiated or Current as money or Bills of Credit but lye in the proprietors hands as any private Securities would do & upon a transfer bear a premium. The Revenue is appropriated to such Grants & Services as are or shall be made & ordered by the General Court. The Treasurer's accounts are annually audited by a Committee of the House of Representatives & another of the Council, but he is not discharged without a Vote of the whole General Court.

“16. The principal Officers of the Government are the Governor
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the Lieut. Governor & the Secretary appointed by the King; The Treasurer the Commissary General & the impost officer elected by the joint ballot of the Council & House of Representatives & consented to by the Governor; but the Commissary, as his office is mixt with the Military Service receives also a commission from the Governor; The Chief Justice & 4 other Judges of the Superior Court & the Attorney general appointed by the Governor with the Advice of the Council. The Governor with the Advice of Council appoints all Judges Justices & Officers belonging to the Courts of Justice; Other Officers especially those belonging to the revenue are elected by the two houses & consented to by the Governor. The Governor with the Council has the cognisance of causes of testacy & intestacy by charter & of causes of Marriages & Divorce by a provincial Law. But the former jurisdiction is executed by inferior judges of probate or rather Surrogates who are appointed by the Gov^r & Council one for each County with a Registrar under him. These inferior Courts of probate are not established by any written Law but by a long usage only; they are in some manner confirmed by being mentioned in several Provincial Acts as legal Courts & the fees being ascertained thereby; & are subject to an appeal to the Gov^r in Council. These Judges fees are according to the County from £10 to £60 p St^s, the registrars about half as much more. There are also in every County 4 Judges of Common pleas from which Court there lies an appeal to the Superior Court: their fees amount to according to the County from five to £45- ster^s each. There is also in every County a Sheriff: his fees in the three principal Counties, Suffolk, Essex, & Middlesex amount to from £150 to £200 St^s each. In other Counties it is less, decreasing according to the Size or populoufness of the County. The Superior Judges hold two terms a year in the three principal Counties & one in each of the other Counties, except Lincolnshire & Berkshire, who upon Account of their remoteness join in the business of the superior Court with the Counties next to them; So that they are from home near half the year. Their Salaries which depend upon the Assembly & fees together do not amount to £140. Ster^s each; half of which is expended in travelling charges. The Attorney General used to have a salary but of late that has been refused by the
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Assembly upon a pretence of their having a right to join in his appointment: but they sometimes pay him for public business tho' in a scanty manner. The principal Officers of the Government are as follows The Governor, Salary £1000, fees under £100—£1.100 Ster^d. The L^t Gov^t Tho: Hutchinson Esq: no salary or fees; when he takes the chair the Assembly makes him a special grant. The Secretary Andrew Oliver Esq salary & fees. £250. The Treasurer Harrison Gray Esq. for himself & Clerks salary £375—the Commiffary Tho: Hubbard Esq Salary £112. 10^s/. the impost Officer James Russell Esq. Salary & fees £90— The chief Justice is Tho: Hutchinson Esq. the Lieut. Governor; the other Judges are Benjamin Lynde John Cushing Chambers Russell & Peter Oliver Esquires, The Attorney general is Edmund Trowbridge Esq. Their Commissions & all others under the Seal of the province were renewed upon the present kings accession. The inadequateness of the Governors Income to the importance of his charge & the care & trouble attending it has been a subject of frequent observation. This has arisen from the pains that have been taken in former times by acts of ascertaining fees & by other means to reduce the Governor's perquisites as low as possible, so that they are now under £100— a year, & never like to be more: and yet the Salary is no more than what is allowed by his Majesty to the smallest Government paid by him. The insufficiency of the Judges Salaries affords great cause of complaint. To have Gentlemen of the first rank & ability dedicate their whole time to the Service of the public & not have £80—a year clear of expences for their trouble is disgraceful & injurious to the whole Province. And for this, they are dependent every year upon the Assembly, where frequent attempts are made & sometimes successfully, to lower even this poor pittance. To do this, the very Judgements of the Court, where they have been unpopular, have been used as means to lower the Salaries of the judges. Indeed the present Judges are superior to influence of this kind, but then they suffer for it. The Attorney General has had no Salary allowed him for several years, because the Assembly claim a right to elect him insisting that he is not an Officer belonging to the Courts of Justice. Great & many are the inconveniences which arise to the public as well from the insufficiency as from
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the precariousness of the Salaries of the chief Officers; which will never be remedied but by the establishment of a sufficient & independent Civil list, out of which his Majesty may assign to the public officers such Salaries as the Dignity & Duty of their offices should require: a regulation extremely wanted in America, for which it would be very easy to provide a proper fund.

"17. The constitution of the Government will appear best from the Charter, which is duly carried into execution. I know of no Colony where the Compact between the King and the People is better observed. The Royal Rights are never openly invaded: the utmost that is done, is to dispute what are royal rights. Whereas in some other Governments the general Assembly in some cases take upon themselves the executive part of Government appointing special receivers disbursers & expeditors of the public money & making them accountable for the same to them only exclusively of the Governor. This is never done here, no money being ever issued but by the Governor with the advice of Council. The chief difference between this Government & the meer royal ones, is in the appointment of the Council or middle part of the Legislature, in the Governor's not exercising the power of Chancellor, & by his being obliged to have the Concurrence of the Council in many acts, which the meer royal Governors can do alone. It was, in my opinion, an unfortunate error in the forming this Government to leave the Council to be elected by the Representatives of the People &c & that annually. Being thus constituted & continually renewed, their complexion is much too popular for them to be, as they ought to be, mediators between the Crown & people. The influence which their re-election is supposed to have on them is so well understood that It is a common practise, whenever any popular business is to be carried through, contrary to the Sentiments of the Government, to bring it into the Court as near as possible before the general Election. It is true that the Gentlemen of the Council give frequent proof of their steadiness & independence: but it is impossible to say that the re-election may not create some bias, tho' they may not be sensible of it themselves: at least it is highly indecent that they should be publicly threatened to be turned out for what they do in Council,

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alho they are known to act under the sanction of an Oath as well as a sense of their duty: This has not been uncommon within my observation. On the other hand it would be objected on the behalf of the People to have a Council appointed & removeable by the Crown: it would be said that such a Council would be no more a proper Mediator between the Crown & People than a Council elected by & removeable by the people. And it has seemed to me that in the meer royal Governments, the removability of the Council, altho' so seldom exercised as to be almost merely nominal, has a tendency to diminish their weight with the people. I cannot but think that the middle legislative power in a provincial Assembly should be made to resemble as near as possible, the house of Lords. The Dignity should be derived from the King, as the fountain of honour, & granted for life defeasible for notorious misdemeanor. It would not be amiss if some title for Life (for this Country is not ripe enough for hereditary honours) such as Baron or Baronet was annexed to it. Such a constitution would add great stability to the Government: These Councillors would naturally support the rights of the Crown, & being independent of it, would not incur the jealousy of the people. It would induce people of consequence to look up to the King for honour & Authority, instead of endeavouring to raise themselves by popular Altercations. I am inclined to think that such an alteration might be made agreeable to the people, I am almost sure it would be for the public good, but I apprehend It would require the Authority of the Parliament to carry it into execution, tho' the consent of the Province should be first obtained for that purpose. At the same time It would deserve consideration whether it would not be proper to make the second Legislative power & the privy Council two distinct bodies as they are in England: in such Case the latter should be wholly appointed & removeable by the King. It might have been made a question whether the Governor of this Province has not the power of the Chancellor delivered to him with the great Seal, as well as other royal Governors: but it is impracticable to set up such a claim now, after a non usage of 70 years, & after several Governors have in effect disclaimed it by consenting to bills for establishing a Court of Chancery which have been disallowed at home.

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A Court of Chancery is very much wanted here, many causes of consequence frequently happening in which no redress is to be had for want of a Court of Equity. I am inclined to think that if a Complainant in a matter of Equity arising within this Province should file his bill in the Court of Chancery in England suggesting that there was no provincial Court in which he could be relieved, that the bill would be retained; in the same manner as I suppose a Libell in the high Court of Admiralty would be admitted, if there was no inferior Court of Admiralty in the province. But this practice would be very burthenfome to the Province, unless it was used only to enforce the necessity of establishing a provincial Court of Equity. I have been the more particular upon these Subjects not only to point out what seems to me to be the defects of the Constitution of this Government but also to shew how few things are wanting to make it compleat. If these great Matters were regulated lesser things would mend themselves. In fine, A Civil list, an independent middle legislative power & a Court of Chancery, with a few other regulations which would follow of course, would give this Government as good a constitution as any in his Majesty's American Dominions: especially as the People in general are as well inclined to his Majesty's Government & as well satisfied with their subordination to Great Britain as any Colony in America; the prejudices which have heretofore occasioned their being represented as otherwise disposed being wholly or almost wholly wore off.

"All which is humbly submitted

"Boston Sep. 5. 1763

"endorsed: Massachusetts

"Governor Bernards Answers to
Heads of Enquiry relative to the
State of that Province.

"Rec^d —

"Read

"Ll. 67

"@ 68."

As before stated, the act of 1765, as well as the original order of 1764, required separate returns to be made by the selectmen of each town and district. The returns under the order of 1764 were to be made "into the Secretary's office," and the returns under the act of 1765 to be "unto the sheriffs of the several counties respectively," with no provision whatever as to what the sheriffs should do with the returns received by them, and no provision was made by either the order or the act for making any compilation of the returns.

No compilation of the returns showing the result for the entire Colony exists in any public records of the Commonwealth, and it was not known until 1822 that any such compilation was ever made.

In 1822, however, Judge Samuel Dana of Groton found a manuscript purporting to be a compilation of these returns among papers of a deceased friend, which then came into his possession. Judge Dana sent the compilation to the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston with a letter, which was printed in the *Centinel* of August 17, 1822, as follows:—

"OLD CENSUS OF MASSACHUSETTS"

"MR. RUSSELL.*—Among the papers of a deceased friend, which lately came into my hands, I found a CENSUS, purporting to have been taken in the years 1764-5. I am not sufficiently versed in our history to know, whether a Census was then taken under the authority of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay;—if it was, the evidence of it will, probably, be found in the office of the Secretary of State. As this doc-

* Benjamin Russell was the founder of the *Columbian Centinel* and its editor for more than forty years. He was the Author of the terms "Gerrymander" and "Era of Good Feeling." He died in Boston January 4, 1845.

ument carries with it marks of accuracy and has only three or four defects, I have sent it to you for publication entire, in order to multiply the number of copies, and gratify the curious. After which I wish, through you, to present the original to the Antiquarian Society, that it may be deposited in their archives. I am respectfully your obedient servant,

“SAMUEL DANA.

“*Middlesex*, 1822.”

The *Centinel* made the following comment on this matter :

“We have made inquiry at the Secretary’s office, and find, that in Feb., 1764–5 an order passed the Legislature for an enumeration of the People of the then Province; but we could not ascertain that any record of the Census had been placed on the public files.—The document, therefore, furnished by our correspondent, is probably the only one extant on the subject. Mention is made in the papers of 1764–5, that the enumeration had been made, and that some difficulties had occurred in it; many conscientious People believing, that as the enumeration of God’s chosen people of old was forbidden on divine authority, it was sinful for any People who had pretensions to that character, to make an enumeration; and that they feared that famine and pestilence would follow it.—It appears, however, that this weakness was not extensive, for there are returns from all the towns then incorporated, with the exception of only four or five; and there was no evidence that even these towns refused to make returns.

“In the above document the totals in the respective towns were omitted to be computed.—We have computed and annexed them; and, as items of reference, have added the Census of the old towns in 1820. It will be remarked, that some alterations have taken place in the Counties, as well as towns. *Suffolk*, in 1764 contained 18 towns, now it contains only one city and one town, Boston and Chelsea. The other towns form the County of Norfolk, incorporated 1793, excepting Hingham and Hull, which have been annexed to Plymouth County. There have

been incorporated since 1764, four towns of Essex, nine of Middlesex, four of Hampshire, two of Plymouth, eight of Bristol, three of Barnstable, twenty-two of Worcester, twenty-seven of Berkshire, fourteen of Franklin, and nine of Hampden. It will also be seen, that in 1764 (not 60 years ago) there were only 20 incorporated towns in Maine, with a population of 20,788; now there are more than 200 incorporated towns, and a population, by the last Census, of 297,839. Besides Norfolk, the counties of Hampden and Franklin, have been incorporated since 1764. The population of Massachusetts proper, in 1820, was 523,287."

Judge Dana in his letter to the *Centinel* requested Mr. Russell to present the original manuscript, after it was printed, to the Antiquarian Society, to be deposited in their Archives. He probably meant the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. This request, however, does not appear to have been complied with, for the document cannot be found among the manuscripts in the possession of that Society, and there is no record of it among the accessions to the manuscripts of that Society at that time. Doubtless after the manuscript had been used as copy by the printers it was thrown away as seeming to them to have no further value. The printed copy in the *Centinel*, therefore, became the only authentic evidence of the figures of the census of 1765, and the figures from the *Centinel* have been taken, up to the present time, as showing the aggregates of population by towns in 1765.

Mr. Joseph B. Felt, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in his very valuable article on "Statistics of Population in Massachusetts," published by the American Statistical Association in 1845, adopted the figures from the Dana Manuscript, as printed in the *Centinel*, as the basis of his calculations and statements as to the population of the Colony in 1765. And the

State Census Report of 1865, and the subsequent State censuses in 1875, 1885, and 1895, used the same figures as representing the population in 1765.

It has also been assumed that none of the original returns of the census of 1765 existed in the Archives of the Commonwealth, it being supposed that they were lost amid the confusion of affairs which prevailed at the time of the Revolution.*

About two years ago Mr. Zenas Crane of Dalton gave me a manuscript purchased by him in New York which upon examination I was led to believe was an original compilation of the lost census returns of 1765. I examined the Archives of the Commonwealth to ascertain whether any of the original returns from the towns of the enumerations made under the act of 1764 still existed, and I found original returns from all the towns in Worcester County except one, and the original return from the town of Woburn in the County of Middlesex. Comparison of these returns with the manuscript given me by Mr. Crane shows that the manuscript corresponds with the returns in the Archives, except that the Archives lack the return from Fitchburg, the figures for which appear in the manuscript, while the manuscript lacks the figures for the return from Dudley which is in the Archives; and that as to Woburn, the manuscript lacks the figures for the French neutrals which appear in the returns from that town in the Archives.

Comparison of the Dana Manuscript as printed in the *Centinel* with the returns in the Archives and with the Crane Manuscript

* "The First Census of Massachusetts," Publications of the American Statistical Association, Vol. II, p. 182 (1891).

shows that, except in the Counties of Middlesex, Plymouth, Barnstable, Bristol, Dukes, Nantucket, and Berkshire, the Dana Manuscript wholly omits the figures for French neutrals which are given in the Crane Manuscript and in the returns now in the Archives; and that the separate figures for "Indians" and for "Negroes," which are given both in the Crane Manuscript and in the returns now in the Archives, are combined under the general head of "Negroes" in the Dana Manuscript as printed in the *Centinel*.

It also appears from the comments of the *Centinel* upon the Dana Manuscript that it did not contain the totals in the respective towns which the *Centinel* says "we have computed and annexed." The Crane Manuscript does contain these totals with few exceptions.

The Crane Manuscript carries the names of the following towns in the margin of the compilation, but has no returns of houses, population, etc., carried out against the names, to wit: Dracut, Sunderland, Greenwich, Huntstown, Dudley, Hanover, Swanzey, Freeton, Narragansett No. 1, Gorham, Windham, Pearsontown, Egremont, and New Marlboro' No. 4, while the Dana Manuscript carries the names of most of these towns in the margin of the compilation, but carries returns of houses, population, etc., from Greenwich, Dudley, Swanzey, and Freeton only.

The Crane Manuscript gives the number of houses in Methuen as 158, in Natick as 71, in Brimfield as 121, in Mendon as 284, in Arundel as 124, in Sherburne as 413, in Sheffield as 126, in Falmouth* as 160, and the total number of houses in the Com-

* In Maine.

monwealth as 33,438. It gives the number of families in Natick as 91, in Barnstable as 361, in Stockbridge as 34, in Scarborough* as 210, in Brunswick as 73, and the total number of families in the Commonwealth as 40,999.

The Dana Manuscript gives the number of houses in Methuen as 130, in Natick as 62, in Brimfield as 120, in Mendon as 228, in Arundel* as 127, in Sherburne as 414, in Sheffield as 125, in Falmouth* as 460, and the total number of houses in the Commonwealth as 34,284. It gives the number of families in Natick as 85, in Barnstable as 369, in Stockbridge as 39, in Scarborough* as 201, in Brunswick* as 173, and the total number of families in the Commonwealth as 41,956.

In neither of these manuscripts is the total population computed, but computations from them show that they differ in population, as, for instance, the computation of the total white population by the Crane Manuscript is 238,226, by the Dana Manuscript is 240,220. Other differences of minor importance will appear by comparison of the two manuscripts.

It thus appears that the Crane Manuscript is not the lost Dana Manuscript, but is a more complete compilation from the original returns under the act of 1764.

There was no provision in the act of 1764 or in any other statute, requiring any official compilation of the returns from the towns, and neither of these compilations is certified by any official.

It is a fair conclusion, I think, that compilations from the returns were made by persons interested as they desired, and that both the Dana and the Crane Manuscripts were original compila-

* In Maine.

tions from the returns as they existed when the compilations were made.

The compilation given me by Mr. Crane, however, as tested by the lost Dana compilation as printed in the *Centinel*, and especially as tested by the original returns now remaining in the Archives, is so clearly an original and accurate compilation of the original returns that it should be taken as an original of the lost census of 1765.

I have given it to the Public Library of the City of Boston, but in order that accurate copies of it may be accessible, I here reproduce it in facsimile.



~~Massachusetts Bay number 2~~

County of

	houses	families	whites and males	whites and females	whites above 16 y males	whites above 16 y females
Proton	1676	2069	4109	4010	2941	3612
Roxbury	212	212	291	324	371	421
Dorchester	204	245	292	284	343	404
Milton	124	141	215	222	214	245
Braintree	327	357	571	590	555	651
Weymouth	203	248	275	294	315	347
Flingham	375	426	594	539	555	702
Fleet	31	33	31	27	39	57
Stoughton	265	424	593	555	567	580
Dedham	239	309	417	444	484	531
Medfield	113	121	111	126	176	211
Wrentham	293	347	464	463	514	551
Medway	123	138	165	178	215	210
Bellingham	72	82	119	111	116	108
Needham	129	168	209	226	246	250
Brookline	53	53	68	62	97	93
Chelsea	54	70	110	85	99	125
Watpole	100	106	188	177	207	209
	4593	5549	8822	8717	8054	9257

Suffolk

negro's male	mulatt female	Indians male	Indians female	French and 10 th male	Neutral 10 th female	Palmer male	Palmer female	Total
510	301	21	16					15520
47	33			1	3	1	1	1493
23	14							1360
31	16			2	1	1	1	948
31	35	1	1	1	3	3	3	2445
13	14							1258
38	39			7	11	9	12	2506
9	7							170
9	17	9	10					2340
21	15	3	3		1	2	1	1920
3	1	2	4	1	2	1	1	639
18	12	1		4	1	1	1	2030
10	7	1		1	1	2	3	793
8								462
8	6							945
13	5							338
20	13							452
2	2				1	3	3	792
812	530	38	34	17	24	23	26	36352

Essex

	houses	families	whites and male	under 16 female	Deaf and male	blind female
Salem	509	923	884	985	1050	1335
Danvers	288	381	458	468	501	634
Ipswich	531	670	791	801	931	1119
Newbury	401	489	622	605	819	872
Newb'port	357	546	613	566	739	837
Marblehead	519	935	1189	1031	1199	1435
Lynn	275	388	489	481	531	648
Andover	360	438	533	558	565	700
Beverly	307	404	495	482	472	635
Rowley	239	290	222	329	411	493
Salisbury	201	240	280	322	354	366
Flavertill	304	350	494	469	505	487
Glocester	404	677	865	841	887	1061
Topsfield	105	130	160	141	183	219
Bowford	128	149	200	194	220	227
Almsbury	242	264	351	366	389	444
Bradford	173	192	257	238	281	384
Wenham	72	95	125	120	120	166
Middleton	83	97	125	121	140	160
Manchester	103	155	159	163	183	203

Country

negroes male	negroes female	Indians male	Indians female	french under 16 male	neutral 16 years female	above 16 male	16 years female	Total
117	56			8	3	13	18	4254
37	35			2	8	5	3	2061
60	40			6	6	7	9	3642
21	17			1	1	1	1	2928
35	29			15	11	14	23	2882
71	29							4954
31	18			3	5	1	1	2208
56	30			7	7	3	3	2462
37	42	1				2	5	2171
11	11				2	1	1	1481
5	2			3	4	4	4	1344
1	12			3	3	2	4	1992
57	52			1	1	4	3	3772
12	4							719
5	5							841
8	9							1550
9	6			2	2	1	1	1166
13	15	3	2					564
14	21							581
10	13	1		1	4	1	1	739
600	420	6	2	52	57	59	77	4277

Essex

	houses	families	whites and male	colored female	above 16 male	above 16 female
Brought over	5601	7813	9312	9281	10400	12425
Methuen	158	158	250	194	247	239
<i>Middlesex</i>						
Cambridge	237	257	311	286	374	510
Charlestown	289	375	369	392	486	648
Watertown	103	117	172	136	179	195
Woburn	228	287	365	314	373	424
Concord	244	265	335	389	381	432
Newton	174	222	304	316	322	348
Judbury	263	316	422	416	436	471
Marlboro	183	213	307	255	348	356
Billerica	189	223	312	335	313	360
Framingham	205	234	325	302	306	347
Lexington	126	142	210	189	228	241
Chelmsford	133	176	224	227	246	304
Sherborn	106	113	172	140	156	187

Country Cont^d

negroes		Indians		French and male	neutral 16 female	aborc.		Total
male	female	male	female			male	female	
600	426	6	2	52	57	59	77	42777
2			1					930
Country								
47	43			2	2	4	3	1582
84	52			2	2	6	7	2048
5	6							
20	19							1517
15	12							
10	7		1					
15	12	1						
10	11							1287
8	6							1334
14	11			1	1	2	4	1313
26	18							912
7	4							1012
4	8	2	1		2	1		643 ✓

Middlesex

	houses	families	whites male	und ^r 16 female	above male	16y ^r female
Reading	224	296	335	339	400	422
Malden	144	174	206	210	230	289
Weston	105	126	195	175	196	184
Medford	104	147	161	150	207	223
Littleton	122	143	160	175	212	209
Hopkinton	135	154	242	274	223	271
Westford	143	169	231	217	233	269
Waltham	94	107	145	162	169	174
Wilmington	94	97	166	159	164	174
Groton	174	242	365	365	340	358
Shirley	41	72	122	102	90	110
Ston	121	135	196	191	194	204
Townsend	94	97	166	151	137	136
Stoneham	54	59	56	77	77	98
Natick	71	91	109	120	99	122
Dracut						
Bredford	67	72	101	116	100	124
Lincoln	84	99	153	170	145	153
Tewksbury	103	147	191	198	184	203

Country Contd

negroes		Indians		French and male	neutral 16 female	above male	16 th female	Total
male	female	male	female					
600	426	6	2	52	57	59	77	42777
2			1					930
Country								
47	43			2	2	4	3	1582
84	52			2	2	6	7	2048
5	6							
20	19							1517
15	12							
10	7		1					
15	12	1						
10	11							1287
8	6							1334
14	11			1	1	2	4	1313
26	18							912
7	4							1012
4	8	2	1		2	1		643

Middlesex

	houses	families	whites male	und ^r 16 female	above male	16y ^r female
Reading	224	296	335	339	400	422
Malden	144	174	206	210	230	289
Weston	105	126	195	175	196	184
Medford	104	147	161	150	207	223
Littleton	122	143	160	175	212	209
Hopkinton	135	154	242	274	223	271
Westford	143	169	231	217	233	269
Waltham	94	107	145	162	169	174
Wilmington	94	97	166	159	164	174
Groton	174	242	365	365	340	358
Shirley	41	72	122	102	90	110
Ston	121	135	196	191	194	204
Townsend	94	97	166	151	137	136
Stoneham	54	59	56	77	77	98
Natick	71	91	109	120	99	122
Draut						
Bedford	67	72	101	116	100	124
Lincoln	84	99	153	170	145	153
Tewksbury	103	147	191	198	184	203

Country Cont

negro male	molat female	Indians male	Indians female	franch and male	retir 16 female	do above male	16yr female	Total
25	9				1	3	3	1537
27	21			4	3	1	1	992
10	8							768
29	18		2					790
8	9							773
9	7		1					
5	7							
8	5							663
6	4							
8	7							
4	2							
6	3							794 ^r
4	4							
14	18							340
10	14	13	24					
9	7							457
20	5							646
2	3							

Middlesex

	houses	family	white and male	and 16 female	above male	16 y 75 female
✓ Holliston	103	115	168	170	183	176
✓ Acton	96	100	142	147	160	159
✓ Dunstable	90	98	140	122	138	143
✓ Syperrell	117	130	193	200	189	172
Hampshire						
✓ Springfield	404	477	641	608	697	770
✓ Northampton	188	203	314	285	341	334
✓ Southampton	66	76	92	100	117	127
✓ Southadley	133	142	193	213	202	209
✓ Hadley	89	99	125	127	150	151
✓ Amherst	96	104	167	160	150	162
✓ Flatfield	126	132	192	177	204	209
✓ Westfield	191	195	341	328	318	296
✓ Deerfield	85	123	188	157	193	182
✓ Greenfield	45	58	106	79	95	87
✓ Montague	49	64	97	99	95	100
✓ Northfield	60	60	105	97	103	104
	1532	1733	2561	2430	2669	2731

Country Cont

negroes		Indians		French and male	rest of 16 female	above male	16 y ^{rs} female	Total
male	female	male	female					
600	426	6	2	52	57	59	77	42777
2			1					930
Country								
47	43			2	2	4	3	1582
84	52			2	2	6	7	2048
5	6							
20	19							1517
15	12							
10	7		1					
15	12	1						
10	11							1287
8	6							1334
14	11			1	1	2	4	1313
26	18							912
7	4							1012
4	8	2	1		2	1		643 ✓

Middlesex

	houses	families	white male	under 16 female	above male	16 & over female
Reading	224	296	335	339	400	422
Malden	144	174	206	210	230	289
Weston	105	126	195	175	196	184
Medford	104	147	161	150	207	223
Littleton	122	143	160	175	212	209
Hopkinton	135	154	242	274	223	271
Westford	143	169	231	217	233	269
Waltham	94	107	145	162	169	174
Wilmington	94	97	166	159	164	174
Groton	174	242	365	365	340	358
Shirley	41	72	122	102	90	110
Ston	121	135	196	191	194	204
Townsend	94	97	166	151	137	136
Stoneham	54	59	56	77	77	98
Natick	71	91	109	120	99	122
Draut						
Bedford	67	72	101	116	100	124
Lincoln	84	99	153	170	145	153
Tewksbury	103	147	191	198	184	203

County Cond

negro male	molat female	Indians male	Indians female	French and und ^d male	Retir ^d female	Do above male	Do above female	Total
25	9				1	3	3	1537
27	21			4	3	1	1	992
10	8							1768
29	18		2					790
8	9							773
9	7		1					
5	7							
8	5							663
6	4							
8	7							
4	2							
6	3							794
4	4							
14	18							340
10	14	13	24					
9	7							457
20	5							646
2	3							

Middlesex

	houses	families	white and male	and female	above male	16 y 75 female
✓ Holliston	103	115	168	170	183	176
✓ Acton	96	100	142	147	160	159
✓ Dunstable	90	98	140	122	138	143
✓ Syperrell	117	130	193	200	189	172
Hampshire						
✓ Springfield	404	477	641	608	697	770
✓ Northampton	188	203	314	285	341	334
✓ Southampton	66	76	92	100	117	127
✓ Southadley	133	142	193	213	202	209
✓ Hadley	89	99	125	127	150	151
✓ Amherst	96	104	167	160	150	162
✓ Flatfield	126	132	192	177	204	209
✓ Westfield	191	195	341	328	318	296
✓ Deerfield	85	123	188	157	193	182
✓ Greenfield	45	58	106	79	95	87
✓ Montague	49	64	97	99	95	100
✓ Northfield	60	60	105	97	103	104
	1532	1733	2561	2430	2669	2731

Country Cont

	negroes male	female	Indians male	female	neutral male	wh ^o 16 female	D ^o above 16 male	female	Total
			Country						
11	5		4	5					1478
12	14		1						1999
6	11								2137
5	4				1	2	1	1	1843
10	5								1811
7	8			1					1401
6	7								1213
4	5		1	3					1110
5	5								731
9	8								1090
16	9								734
85	81		6	9	1	2	1	1	15547

Hampshire

	houses	families	whites male	and 167 female	whites male	above 16 female
✓ brought over	1532	1733	2561	2430	2669	2731
✓ Portsmouth	121	130	198	161	207	203
✓ South Portsmouth	90	91	142	130	151	147
✓ Monson	68	69	107	79	101	95
✓ Pelham	57	57	87	87	84	111
✓ New Salem	62	69	99	87	99	89
✓ Blanford	68	68	116	90	99	99
✓ Palmer	74	88	123	110	133	140
✓ Granville	100	123	197	149	180	152
✓ Belcher town	61	68	112	99	99	108
✓ Colrain	45	48	76	65	74	82
✓ Ware	74	76	127	122	109	126
✓ Chesterfield	30	30	39	41	46	35
✓ Bernardston	38	40	56	68	54	53
✓ Roxbury (and or Warwick)	36	36	57	43	51	40
✓ Shutesbury	56	59	76	98	82	73
✓ Wilbraham	74	82	119	118	129	123
✓ Sunderland						
✓ Greenwich						
carried over						

Country Cont.

negroes male	negroes female	Indians male	Indians female	Neutrals under 16 male	Neutrals under 16 female	Native 16y ^{rs} male	Native 16y ^{rs} female	Total
85	81	6	9	1	2	1	1	15547
4	2							890
1				1		1		741
4	3							770
2	3							664
2	1							594
1								270
5	2							821
1	1					5	1	993
3	1	2	1	.		1	1	899
3		1	1					1016
5	2	6	8					760
3	2					3	2	614
2	3							743
1	1							495
3	1							583
								521
7	5							
3	5							

Hampshire

	houses	families	white and male	under 16 yrs female	above 16 yrs male	female
Brought over Hilts town						
			<i>Worcester</i>			
Worcester	204	229	376	350	370	357
Lancaster	301	328	514	421	505	532
Sutton	294	370	558	497	510	555
Mendon	284	336	466	425	441	497
Brookfield	267	283	493	412	439	452
Shrewsbury	199	223	367	319	339	360
Uxbridge	186	211	283	308	305	304
Westborough	163	181	278	258	277	324
Southboro	110	126	160	161	184	216
Rutland	166	182	275	244	281	273
Rutl district	118	118	187	192	177	159
Carried over	2202	2587	3957	3547	3828	4029

Worcester

	houses	families	white and male	16 female	above male	16 yrs female
Broughtover	2292	2587	3057	3547	3828	4029
Oxford	128	148	247	206	214	217
Charlton	114	124	191	164	195	188
Leicester	119	146	187	170	210	196
Spencer	100	111	174	173	160	152
New Braintree	94	98	152	146	152	141
Oakham	41	41	73	78	60	58
Lunenburg	145	175	220	136	237	221
Bolton	145	155	234	225	225	239
Sturbridge	136	136	212	240	218	219
Hardwick	153	161	259	256	239	251
Grafton	109	109	178	175	193	196
Upton	94	104	158	159	135	157
Leominster	104	107	186	199	173	180
Holden	62	75	161	126	109	107
Western	92	100	138	148	155	138
Douglass	90	97	142	139	111	129
Harvard	153	173	276	270	272	296
Dudley						
Petersham	100	115	202	186	166	145
car over						

Country Cont.

negroes male	negroes female	Indians male	Indians female	Neutrals male	Neutrals female	Fabrics male	Fabrics female	Total
85	81	6	9	1	2	1	1	15547
4	2							890
1				1		1		741
4	3							770
2	3							664
2	1							594
1								270
5	2							821
1	1					5	1	993
3	1	2	1			1	1	899
3		1	1					1010
5	2	6	8					760
3	2					3	2	614
2	3							743
1	1							495
3	1							583
7	5							521
3	5							

Worcester

	houses	families	whites and male	under 16 female	above male	16 female
<i>Brought over</i>						
<i>Town</i>	65	64	95	84	88	81
<i>Westminster</i>	86	86	133	108	112	113
<i>Athol</i>	41	60	88	81	103	85
<i>Princeton</i>	57	55	82	65	72	65
<i>Fitchburgh</i>	43	43	70	66	61	60
<i>Plymouth</i>						
<i>Plymouth</i>	256	373	488	475	532	605
<i>Bridgewater</i>	571	630	964	932	910	1042
<i>Middleboro</i>	498	577	855	841	804	880
<i>Sutuate</i>	348	431	516	520	603	742
<i>Rochester</i>	272	326	470	442	485	520
<i>Tembroke</i>	210	283	315	290	357	425
<i>Duxbury</i>	154	197	238	220	273	311
<i>Marshfield</i>	150	168	287	218	274	328
<i>Uxbridge</i>	186	232	352	336	328	362
<i>Kingston</i>	110	131	194	162	196	196
<i>car over</i>	2755	3278	4679	4436	4762	5411

Country Cont

<i>negroes</i>		<i>Indians</i>		<i>Neutrals and 16</i>		<i>D above 16</i>		<i>Total</i>
<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	
								348
2								460
								357
								284
1	1							284
<i>Country</i>								
38	39	23	25	3	2	9	7	2246
45	49	8	15	8	9	3	5	3990
17	15	8	18					3438
55	52	4	9					2501
12	10	10	27	1	2	3	3	1985
14	8	7	21	5	2	1	1	1446
3	5	1	5			1	4	1061
25	15	1	4	2		1	4	1159
9	3	7	13	3	1	2	1	1417
6	5			4		5	6	774
224	201	69	137	26	16	25	31	20017

Plymouth

	houses	families	whites under 16 yrs males	whites under 16 yrs females	above 16 yrs male	above 16 yrs female
Brought over	2755	3278	4679	4436	4762	5411
Abington	174	217	323	308	300	311
Halifax	85	97	122	130	127	166
Wareham	57	81	123	119	116	140
Hanover	-	-	-	-	-	-
Weymouth see below	82	85	23	19	15	20
<i>Barnstable</i>						
Barnstable	325	361	474	432	524	622
Yarmouth	255	295	400	405	427	486
Sandwich	200	245	313	317	346	368
Farmwich	235	283	398	386	420	454
Eastham	182	237	292	267	342	415
Wellfleet	129	157	243	217	216	227
Falmouth	145	182	266	266	266	234
Truro	107	134	225	230	241	222
Chatham	105	127	145	153	173	202
Mashpee	82	85	23	19	15	20
			2779	2692	2970	3250

Country Cont^d

negro's male	negro's female	Indians male	Indians female	Neutrals male	Neutrals female	Do above 16 male	Do above 16 female	Total
224	201	69	137	26	16	25	31	20017
11	10							1263
6	5		1					557
2	3	6	10					519
18	13	101	109					
Country								
36	20	6	7	6	6	3	2	2146.
11	11	12	19	3	2	3	1	1780
18	14	30	43					1449
12	11	35	56					1772
5	6	1	3					1331
9	5	3	8					928
19	12	35	27					1125
3	3		1					925
4	1							678
18	13	101	129					338
135	104	223	292	9	8	6	3	12471

Bristol

	houses	families	whites and male	16 female	20 above 16 male	24 female
Taunton	397	493	651	617	678	734
Dartmouth	679	790	1103	965	1129	1248
Rehoboth	498	617	964	901	818	954
Swansey						
Attleboro	266	301	461	419	422	422
Norton	295	343	477	447	460	528
Dighton	148	198	276	269	273	297
Easton	134	154	219	172	222	220
Raynham	100	109	170	146	181	184
Berkley	94	110	165	153	150	181
Freeton						
York						
York	272	397	496	486	568	671
Bittery	288	372	489	490	551	766
Beverick	222	364	664	552	567	547
Wells	219	251	427	382	363	357
Arundel	124	138	216	228	190	194
Biddeford	87	116	182	186	178	179
Deerfield	66	96	140	126	145	125
Narragansett						

Country

<i>negroes</i>		<i>Indians</i>		<i>natives and 16</i>		<i>Do above 16th</i>		<i>Total</i>
<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	
26	29	1	0					2744
37	34	35	40					4581
28	25	1	5					3690
13	2							0739
19	11							1942
31	28	2	1					1177
2	2	2	3					842
3	3			1	1	2	3	694
6	4		2					861
<i>Country</i>								
36	20			6	5	4	6	2298
31	31			3	3	2	2	2368
20	24							2374
21	13			3	1	1	1	1569
2	3			1	1	1	1	837
8	14			1	3	1	1	753
2						2		540

Cumberland

	houses	families	whites and male	col female	Do above male	Do above female
Falmouth	160	585	969	918	964	875
North Yarm ^o	154	188	251	277	278	255
Scarborough	200	210	353	281	319	304
Harpwell	55	111	224	224	188	186
Brunswick	73	73	139	114	149	98
Gorham						
Windham						
Seaton town						
<i>Lincoln</i>						
Pennalboro'	161	175	210	223	225	232
Georgetown	180	184	388	325	317	287
Newcastle	69	69	127	117	100	109
Topsham	54	52	78	85	85	78
Woodnich	64	63	116	110	92	97
Bowdoinham	38	37	63	53	59	44

Country

negres		Indians		white and 16		16 above 16		Total
male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	
30	14			2	7		4	3783
8	10							1079
10	5							1272
4	10							836
3	1							504
Country								
6	3							899
8	4							1329
1								454
1								327
1								415
								200

Dukes

	houses	families	white and male	167 th female	2 ^d above male	167 th female
Edgartown	128	150	234	209	233	248
Chilmark	90	114	152	156	159	179
Fisbury	110	100	165	166	226	233
Nantucket						
Sherburne	413	602	776	758	904	882
Perks						
Great Barrington	87	91	127	121	149	134
Sheffield	126	172	250	276	272	249
Sandisfield	66	69	126	93	105	81
Tyringham	51	55	95	85	77	66
Pittsfield	39	70	110	114	105	89
Cooremont						
Stockbridge	34	34	50	46	64	57
New Marlboro						
NA - - - -						

Country

<i>negroes</i>		<i>Indians</i>		<i>neutral</i>		<i>D° above 16°</i>		<i>Total</i>
<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	
12	8	37	49					1030
9	8	72	110					857
4	5	15	24					838
<i>Country</i>								
24	20	83	66	13				3526
<i>Country</i>								
9	10							550
16	10							1073
2	2							409
2								325
6	4							428
15	12	108	113					2444



Note on the Manuscript

THE following places included in Massachusetts in 1765, and shown in the Crane Manuscript, are now included in Maine, which became an independent State in 1820: York, Kittery, Berwick, Wells, Arundel, Biddeford, Pepperelboro', Narragansett, Falmouth,* North Yarmouth, Scarborough, Harpswell, Brunswick, Gorham, Windham, Pearsontown, Pownalboro', Georgetown, Newcastle, Topsham, Woolwich, Bowdoinham.

The town of Sherburne, given in the manuscript under the county of Nantucket, is now the town of Nantucket, the name having been changed June 8, 1795. Almsbury is now Amesbury, and Freeton is now Freetown. Many of the other towns whose names appear in the manuscript have suffered loss of territory by the creation of new towns since the enumeration of 1765.

Besides the places listed in the manuscript the following towns existed in Massachusetts in May, 1765: Provincetown, established June 14, 1727; Paxton, established Feb. 12, 1765; Ashburnham, established Feb. 22, 1765; Royalston, established Feb. 19, 1765; and Winchendon, established June 14, 1764.

Massachusetts also then included Enfield (not the present town of that name), Suffield, and Somers, afterwards ceded to Connecticut. Neither of these appears in the manuscript.

* The town by that name which appears with the Cumberland County towns in the manuscript. There was another Falmouth now, as then, existing in Barnstable County, Massachusetts.

The following which appear in the manuscript had not been created towns in May, 1765, but were called "districts": Mashpee, Wellfleet, New Marlborough, New Salem, Granville, South Brimfield, Ware, Rutland (the district being separate from the town of Rutland), Douglas, New Braintree, Oakham, Prince Town, Spencer, and Westminster. The towns established from these districts were given the same names, except that South Brimfield became Wales; Rutland district, Barre; and Prince Town, Princeton.

The province also contained important "plantations," so called, eventually to become towns. Hunt's Town, afterward the town of Ashfield, and Plantation "No. 4," out of which the town of Becket was formed, appear in the manuscript, but without entries in the returns. Other plantations then existing, but which are not found in the manuscript, were New Framingham, soon to become the town of Lanesborough; West Hoosuck, from which the town of Williamstown was created; and Charlemont, eventually to become the town of the same name.

The thirty largest towns in the State at the time of the enumeration of 1765, as shown by the Crane Manuscript, were the following, the population in each being inserted in parentheses: Boston (15,520); Marblehead (4,954); Dartmouth (4,581); Salem (4,254); Bridgewater (3,990); Falmouth, now in Maine (3,783); Gloucester (3,772); Rehoboth (3,690); Ipswich (3,642); Sherburne, now Nantucket (3,526); Middleborough (3,438); Newbury (2,918); Newburyport (2,882); Springfield (2,755); Taunton (2,744); Hingham (2,506); Scituate (2,501); Andover (2,462); Braintree (2,445); Berwick, now in Maine (2,374); Kittery, now

in Maine (2,368); Stoughton (2,340); York, now in Maine (2,298); Plymouth (2,246); Lynn (2,208); Beverly (2,171); Barnstable (2,146); Sutton (2,137); Danvers (2,061); Charlestown (2,048).

A list of the thirty largest towns at the present time includes only seven of these, namely: Boston, Gloucester, Lynn, Newburyport, Springfield, Salem, and Taunton. Charlestown, which would otherwise appear there, has been merged in the City of Boston.

On the other hand, the thirty largest towns at present in Massachusetts include besides Boston, Gloucester, Lynn, Newburyport, Springfield, Salem, and Taunton, the following: Worcester, Fall River, Lowell, Cambridge, Lawrence, New Bedford, Somerville, Holyoke, Brockton, Haverhill, Chelsea, Malden, Newton, Fitchburg, Everett, North Adams, Quincy, Waltham, Pittsfield, Brookline, Chicopee, Northampton, and Medford. Of these, Fall River, Lowell, Lawrence, Somerville, Holyoke, Brockton, Everett, North Adams, Quincy, Brookline, and Chicopee had no corporate existence in 1765, many of them owing their origin and growth to the development of manufacturing during the nineteenth century.

A glance at the list of the thirty largest towns in 1765 discloses the prosperity at that time of the older communities, especially those which possessed special advantages of site. Many of them were upon the seaboard or near it. The changed conditions of modern life, the introduction of machinery, the trend of the State towards manufacturing, and the relative decline of coastwise commerce and the fisheries have not only led to the creation of new

towns which have become the thriving cities of to-day, but many of the places which in 1765 were prominent have actually declined in population, or have shown no increase at all proportionate to the general increase in population in the Commonwealth.

The population by the latest census (1900) of the thirty towns which in 1765 outranked the others was as follows: Boston (560,892); Marblehead (7,582); Dartmouth (3,669); Salem (35,956); Bridgewater (5,806); Falmouth, Maine (1,511); Gloucester (26,121); Rehoboth (1,840); Ipswich (4,658); Nantucket (3,006); Middleborough (6,885); Newbury (1,601); Newburyport (14,478); Springfield (62,059); Taunton (31,036); Hingham (5,059); Scituate (2,470); Andover (6,813); Braintree (5,981); Berwick, Maine (2,280); Kittery, Maine (2,872); Stoughton (5,442); York, Maine (2,668); Plymouth (9,592); Lynn (68,513); Beverly (13,884); Barnstable (4,364); Sutton (3,328); Danvers (8,542); Charlestown, now part of Boston (40,652).

It is also interesting to note that the average number of white children under sixteen years of age to a family, as shown by the census of 1765, was 2.87, while the average, according to the census of 1900, was $1\frac{3}{4}$ to each family.

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