A GLANCE AT NEW YORK IN 1697

THE TRAVEL DIARY OF DR. BENJAMIN BULLIVANT

Edited by WAYNE ANDREWS, Curator of Manuscripts

WE HAVE BEEN waiting two hundred fifty-nine years —which is a good long time—to learn what Dr. Benjamin Bullivant thought of our city. But the doctor was worth consulting in his own age on other topics than medicine. And what he had to say of New York City in 1697 is well worth hearing today. Here, printed for the first time, is the account of his travels from Boston to Newcastle (in what is now Delaware) and back again.

Bullivant was no ordinary traveler. In the seventeenth century his accomplishments were the wonder of New England:

His Skill in Pharmacy was such, [wrote his good friend John Dunton,] as rendered him the most compleat Pharmacopean, not only in all Boston, but in all New-England; and is beside, as much a Gentleman as any one in all the Countrey. And to do him right, I must consider him both as a Gentleman and a Physician. As a Gentleman, his Birth was generous, but his Qualities exceeded his Birth: He could not indeed boast of a large Genealogy of Lords and Barons descended from his Ancestors; but this he could boast, (which was far greater,) That he had Ennobled himself by his own Merits: His Valour makes him Son to Cesar, and his Learning and Oratory gives him a Title to claim Kindred to Tully. His knowledge of the Laws fitted him for the Office of Attorny-General in this country, which was conferr'd upon him, on the Revolution here. 'Tis true, he sought it not, tho' he accepted of it when 'twas offer'd: The Countrey knew his worth, and knew how to prize it, altho' himself seem'd ignorant of it: And while he held it, he was so far from pushing things to that Extremity, that some hot spirits wou'd have had him, that he was for accomodating things, and making Peace. His Eloquence is admirable: He never speaks but 'tis a Sentence; and no man ever cloath'd his words in finer or more proper Epithets; and all that flow from him with that natural simplicity, that there is nothing looks like Bombast in it. But thus much as a Gentleman; I now must represent him to you as a Physician. He is as intimate with Gallen and Hypocrates, (at least ways with their works,) as ever I have been with you, Even in our most Familiar Con-

verse. And is so conversant with all the great variety of Nature, that not a Drug or Simple can Escape him; whose Power and Vertues are known so well to him, he needs not Practice new Experiments upon his Patients, except it be in desperate Cases, when Death must be expell'd by Death. This also is Praise-worthy in him, That to the Poor he always prescribes cheap but wholesome Medicines, not curing them of a Consumption in their Bodies, and sending it into their Purses; nor yet directing them to the East-Indies to look for Drugs, when they may yet have far better out of their Gardens.¹

Perhaps the greatest of all Bullivant's accomplishments, however, was his sense of humor. In an age when men lost their tempers easily over theological matters, he was remarkable for his tolerance. As Emory Washburn put it in his *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts*, "He was a distinguished wit withal, and notwithstanding his being an Episcopalian, seems to have been popular in his day."²

Evidently Bullivant was the sort of person who could not harbor a grudge. Writing to his friend Dunton on February 18, 1710 from Northampton in Old England—he appears to have come to the end of his life in England, where he began it—he could not resist expressing his appreciation of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia:* "I have read it Over and over again," he reports, "and some things are very takeing in itt, (Epigrams, Punns, Gingles, &c., excepted,) especially Sir Wm. Phips and Eliots life."^{*}

This from the first Senior Warden of King's Chapel! Bullivant was selected for that post of honor in the Church of England in 1686, the year in which he was made Attorney-General.^{*} By 1689, when the Mathers hatched their plot against Governor Andros, he was so respectable a figure that he was thrown into jail for eight weeks by the rebels.^{*}

¹ Prince Society, Publications, Vol. 3, Boston, 1867, pp. 94-6.

⁵ Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 1878, Vol. XVI, p. 103.

² Emory Washburn, Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts, Boston, 1840, p. 93-

³ Prince Society, Publications, Vol. 3, Boston, 1867, p. 94-

⁴ Henry Wilder Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, 2 vols., Boston, 1882, Vol 1, pp. 44, 46; Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 1895-6, Second Series, Vol V, p. 289.

Bullivant was respectable, no doubt of that. But he had the good sense to respect his opponents. The detachment with which he discusses the Dissenters at Newport and elsewhere is one of the charms of his travel diary. Another of its merits is the conscientious spirit with which he sets down minute facts. These may have been tid-bits at the moment he wrote; today they are invaluable details for social historians.

The good doctor cannot be compared with Madam Sarah Kemble Knight, who bounced her way on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704, for she is a saucy story-teller, and he a mature man of affairs. But his diary is just as revealing, in its way, as hers. While she calls on various ministers along the road, he introduces us to more than one governor, and even takes us inside Governor Fletcher's house. Besides, and this is something that cannot be overlooked, he gives us a description of the first Trinity Church as it was being built.

The truth is that no traveler to New York in the seventeenth century has left an account of the city that matches Bullivant's in either detachment or detail. Daniel Denton's *Brief Description* of New York, 1670, is not much more than a topographical sketch. Jasper Danckaert's Journal, 1679–80, is the record of a religious enthusiast. As for The Reverend John Miller's New York Considered and Improved, 1695, it is self-righteous as its title and not much more illuminating.

So far as we know, there is only one other contribution of Dr. Bullivant to our colonial history—his journal of the happenings in New England from February 13 to May 19, 1790, following the departure of Sir Edmund Andros.[®]

A final word as to how the travel diary came into the possession of the Society. Handed down in the family of Richard Rudd, a lawyer in London, it passed into the hands of Mrs. Eustace G. Edwards, who presented it to Miss Barbara Simonds of New York. Through the Foster-Jarvis Fund, the Society purchased the diary from Miss Simonds in 1954.

[®]*Ibid.*, pp. 101–8. The original is in the Public Record Office, London.

A JOURNALL WITH OBSERVATIONS ON MY TRAVAIL FROM BOSTON IN N. E.

TO N.Y. NEW-JERSIES & PHILADELPHIA IN PENSILVANIA. A. D. 1697.

On munday June y^e 7th 1697 about 3 afternoon, tooke horse at Boston, and came that night to Mr. Billingley's farme 22 myles from Boston. Tuesday June 8th breakefasted att M¹ woodcock's 12 myles farther, dined this day at M^r Childs at Seacone[k] alias Rehoboth, about 5 in the evening came to Bristoll, thence to y^e ferrys where findeing nothing but a sloope without oares, we were becalmed, & gott not on Road-Island before 8 at night, we rodd from the landing place about 4 myles to a Quaker's farme, where I was exceedingly well accomodated gratis, with meate, drinke, Lodgeing and horsemeate.

*the next morneing after 7 myles rideing came to the chiefe town of ye Island named Newport, to weh you enter by a Curious playne or Comon, on which you see feedding good store of Neate cattle, & sheepe. Newport is seated partly on the seaside or harbour, & partly by a Long streete shooteing forth into the Land, being of late much enlarged in good wooden buildings, and many were now in Building, here are some Merchants, and shopkeepers, who live plentifully and easily, the Island affording most excellent provisions of all kind, the people Courteous & obligeing to strangers, ye farmes for Largenesse, & goodness of pasturadge, excelling anything I ever saw in N.E., & they produce in each farme wood enough to shelter theyr cattle in the Sumer heates, & warme theyr chimnies in the winter cold. Theyr dairies may equal if not exceed, the best yeomen's farmes in England some have made 90¹ per annum from theyr dairie alone, and on one farme have shorne upwards of 1000 sheepe, & sold every pound of wool for 10^s per to ready money, it being much desired by all people, as excelling any that is showne on ye Continent. The present Gouern^r is Walter Clarke Esq. a Quaker in profession and practice as to his Religion but a comely, & courteous gentleman he is chosen annually, and some times holds 3 or 4 yeares successively.¹ There is a small Battery of 10 gunns at Newport, which comand the harbour & entrance but somewhat too much decayed for this time of warr. Religion is tollerated here, the Island from the beginneing being a Sanctuary for persecuted persons of all sorts. The Quakers & Antisabbatarian anabaptists are the more numerous, there is of Late a New meeting house for the Orthodox of all Kinds, where a young man is the preacher, but no full

* Paragraph breaks, with few exceptions, are the editor's. Occasionally Bullivant, in lieu of paragraph indentions, drew a line across his page, but generally the narrative is set down without breaks.

¹Walter Clarke (c. 1638–1714) was Deputy Governor from 1679 to 1686 and from 1700 to 1714, besides being Governor 1676–1677, from May to June, 1686, and from 1696 to 1698.

Church gouuernment for want of ordination,² the preacher is a good man and pious, & supposed to be no enemy to the Church of England but bredd up in Cambridge N. E. could the Inhabitants obtaine a church of Engl^d minist^r duly qualified, they would soone grow into a good ordered church. The ground of this meeting house was given by Capt. Coddinton, & is used in the weeke days for a gramar Schoole." the Inhabitants of this Island (weh is about 13 myles Long, & 4 broad) are neare one 3d quakers, who live in greate plenty, theyr Annuall meeteing was at this time, where I heard both men & women teach in theyr publique meeteing house for 5 or 6 dayes successively, & neare 6 howers each day, having many speakers to carry on the worke, & sometimes one person speakes twice or thrice in the same meeteing time. They come 2 or 300 myles to this annuall meeteing, & meete with some disturbance from An ancient Sort of Quakers called singing quakers, whome they keep out of theyr meeteing house, for by the sudden raptures of singing they fall into, & by theyr contradictive humor they give publique disturbance to ye Speaker & howbeit they are kept out of the house by persons who sitt at the door for that purpose vet they faile not to crowd to the doore & under the windows, & ever now & then with an elevated Voice contradict the speaker, who notwithstanding holds on his discourse without replyeing. I saw one of those singing quakers a french man, and Discoursed him in ye ffrench toung, all that he would say, was that they were fallen from the Light, and he was moved to come a Long journey that he might reprove they' apostasy and indeed the quakers themselves did accknowledge to me, those singing quakers were of an older standing amongst them, but had fallen into Licentious practices which being against truth, they found in themselves a witnesse against them. I observed ye Sabath day but slightly regarded at Newport the Antisabbatarian anabaptists are 7th day men, derideing it, yet though they own it not as a Sabath yet hold a Lecture of Religious worship on the same, But on other parts of the day, Scruple not Servile Labour of any Kind I observed however 3 Indians set in the stocks many howres on the Lords Day for being drunke, for by Law they were to sit there untill they be sober and are sure to keep a strict Lent y^e while. I tooke notice of sundry sober Indians both men & women cleanly cloathed, quaker fashion, very observant at ye Meeteing. The magistrates no. 12 are chosen annually and are partly quakers, partly 7th day men, & partly Orthodox (if I can truly apply it to any party here) and agree but indifferently in theyr state matters. They have a Regimentall Militia, all foote, & are able to call the Island togeather upon an alarum in a few howers and can make about 700 fighting men. we bought choyce Veale by the quarter for 2^d the pound, theyr mutton was pure good-theyr

^{*}Trinity Church was erected some time between 1698 and 1702.

⁸According to Antoinette Foster Downing, *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island*, 1952, the original Meeting House had been pulled down by 1700.

butter & cheese excellent & theyr wine, beere & cyder, very comendable -Exceeding much fish-

I continued June ye oth 10th 11th 12th & 13th at Newport aforesaid waiteing for a wind. And on munday June the 14th in the Mary Sloope of N.Y. John Trevet m1, wind at N. an easy gale about 4 in the Morneing weighed & sayled out of Newport harbor we had a small gale untill we gott about poynt Judith, then our wind quickned, and we espyed A ship at about 3 Leagues distance and as we imagined standing after us, or for block Island (which now we saw fair on our Larbord side) but we haveing good way soone Lost her, & about 4 in ye afternoon came abreast with ffishers Island on our Larbord side which passing with a pleasant gale and easy Sea, by Sunset we entered the Sound, haveing Connecticut Colony on our Starboard and Long Island on our Larboard. Lands very pleasant & delectable to the Eye at this Season, Long Island is about 35 Leagues in Length, & in this Sound we find many fine Islands, well settled some belonging to N.Y. gouuernmt others to Connecticot, the Wind favoureing us all night, we made ashift to stemm the Ebb (when it came) and gott some small way and so standing on, at Breake of day. Tuesday June 15th found our selves on breast of cow neck harbour in Long Island (for we keep nearer the Island then the mayn for fear of Southerly winds) and here our wind slackning we hardly stemmed the tide. But the tide serveing us againe in about six howres time, we made indifferent good way & about sunset came in sight of frogmorton poynt,⁴ but before we gott up, the wind came southerly, and the tide against us that we could not weather ye point so came to an anchor within itt and rode as smooth as in a milke payle, encircled with most beautifull Verdant Islands, which we saw besprinkled with feilds of wheate, & Very Neate houses. So on Wednesday June 16th at brake of day, had a Briske tide with an easy gale at South East web soone brought us on breast of Harlem (Coll. Morrisons' farmes showing themselves & Buildeings very beautifully) and imediately came up with Hell-gate (so called by the Mariners from ye Novse, and turbulencie of ye waters, & currants amongst certain Rocks, & Little Islands) which we passed however (at that season being almost still water) without much terrour, & haveing fayr daylight & our boate on heade, to keepe our sloope from falling off to the Rocks we soon passed this small Scilla & Charybdis, and came up wth ye Richmond ffrigat Capt Evans comander whom we feared would impress our marriners, but gave us no disturbance she lyes about 2 Myles below N.Y. in the sound, so standing on our way with an easy gale, and a whiskeing tide, we came to an Anchor before N.Y. about 8 of ye Clock in the morneing. Vizt. wednesd. June 16. 1697.

⁴ Throgg's Neck

⁵ This presumably refers to the lands conveyed in 1668 to Colonel Lewis Morris of Barbados, Merchant, lands erected in 1697 into the Manor of Morrisania.

Gentlemens names of N.Y. from whome I recd singular Courtesies

His Exc. Benj. Fletcher Gouernor ⁶ &	Captain Tuthill
Collonell De peister ⁷	Doctor Gaudineau
Collonell Lodwick [®]	mr Secretary Clarkson ¹³
mr Myles ffoster	mr Jaimeson Clerke of y ^e Councill ¹⁴
mr Philip ffrench [®]	Coll. Smith ¹⁵
mr. Ed: Ampthill att. ¹⁰	Judge Pinhorn ¹⁶
mr Emmet attorn"	mr Monham
Capt. Tudor attorn ¹²	mr Lawrence ¹⁷
Lieut: Lawrence of y ^e Richmond	Coll. Heathcott ¹⁸
mr Janeway purser of ye Richmond	Capt. Levinston ¹⁰
mr Myles ffoster mr Philip ffrench ⁹ mr. Ed: Ampthill att. ¹⁰ mr Emmet attorn ¹¹ Capt. Tudor attorn ¹² Lieut: Lawrence of y ^e Richmond mr Janeway purser of y ^e Richmond	Coll. Smith ¹⁵ Judge Pinhorn ¹⁶ mr Monham mr Lawrence ¹⁷ Coll. Heathcott ¹⁸

So soone as I came on Shoare I delivered my Letters as directed, and being charged with one to his Excellencie went to wayte upon him at y^e fort being introduced by mr. Myles fforster where I was rec^d by his Exc. with the wonted generosity he uses to all gentlemen & strangers, and after haveing p^d him my devoirs, and been treated wth a glasse of wine, his Exc. was pleased to aske me, if I cared to see the fort & platformes, & the magazines, w^{eh} favour I thankefully accepted, and in goeing out of his Exc. house (w^{eh} is in the fort) he was pleased to show me his dineing roome, a Large & goodly hall, wainscoated and Cornished²⁰ throughout, and upon the wainscoat round the Roome were handsomely placed about 300 Choice firearmes, & on the mantle piece over the chimney, 8 or 10 Large and well cleaned Blunderbusses, all of Brasse. His Exc. was pleased also to shew me his study, which was a goodly parlour, Lined on one part with pistolls sett in Rondellos²¹ after the manner of y^e guard chamber at Whitehall or Windsor (but not so numerous) also sundry Indian weapons, an

⁹ Fletcher's task was to restore peace after the Leisler Rebellion.

⁷ Abraham De Peyster (1657–1728) was Mayor of New York 1691–94, Treasurer of the Province 1706–21.

⁸Lt. Col. Charles Lodwick became Mayor in 1694.

^e Philip French became Mayor in 1702.

¹⁰Edward Antill (1659–1711) was admitted to the bar in 1686.

¹¹ James Emmott was one of the King's Counsel at Leisler's trial.

¹² John Tudor served on the first vestry of Trinity Church.

¹⁸ Matthew Clarkson, founder of the family in America, became Secretary of the Province in 1690.

¹⁴David Jamison served on the first vestry of Trinity Church.

¹⁵ Colonel William "Tangier" Smith (1654-1705) of the Manor of St. George, patented 1693

¹⁸From 1691 to 1698 William Pinhorne was a Justice of the Supreme Court.

¹⁷ John Lawrence became Mayor in 1691.

¹⁸ Caleb Heathcote (1665/6-1720/1), an Anglican who helped found Trinity Parish, had the Manor of Scarsdale erected in 1701.

¹⁹ Robert Livingston (1654–1728), First Lord of the Manor.

²⁰ Corniced.

²¹ Rondelles

Indian stone hatchette, or ax, a Buckler, a poleax, some Scimatars very pretty to behold & sett in good order The other part of the Roome was furnished with a considerable number of books of sundry Sizes on regular shelves guilded and Lettered on the backs.

His Exc. then was pleased to accompany me round the workes, from gunn to gunn, the platformes & Carriadges being in excellent order & the guns well dispos'd to make a gallant defence, if an enemy should come before itt. it hath about 44 good pieces mounted on the workes, a good well, sutable Lodgeings for the officers & souldiers, a New and Very handsome chappel of stone and brick, with a handsome Lantern or Cupulo, and a Large Bell lately hanged in itt. y^e chappell was raised by his Exc. from the old foundation not vet fitted for divine Service. I saw in the wall of y^e chappell, an inscription on a fayre stone to the memory of the late Gouuern^r Slouter²² who dyed there. His Exc. then did me the honou¹ to show me the magazine, fully furnished, and well kept by an armourer, it hath about 1500 excellent fire armes, cartouch boxes, Baggonets, swords, drums, hatchets, and other furniture for the warr. The powder house is a good distance from y^e fort, at an out part of the City. and well enclosed wth a pallisado fence and can be protected by an outworke neare the City gate, which hath some Cannon on itt. [Here appears Bullivant's crude sketch of "ye Fort & City of N.Y." which is reproduced on the opposite page.]

The fort stands upon a point, that hath a most lovely prospect to y^e water and beyond the water to Long Island one way over the sound, & to Staten Island the other side over Hudsons River to the Jersies. the sound is scarce so broad as the Thames at N.Y. and Hudsons River about twice so wide, the fort points upon the Entrance from Sea to comand ships in theyr approach to the town. The walls of y^e Fort are about 20 feet high from without & pallisaded besides. His Exc. is also makeing a Low Battery of 8 or 10 gunns without y^e walls, next Hudsons River. There are besides sundry Batteries in the City, some of 12 or 14 great guns towards the harbour, others towards the land at y^e passadge to the town gate.

Haveing seene what was observable in the fort, his Exc. honoured me so farr as to shew me what was observable in y^e City & first the English church, new from the ground, of good brown square stone & brick exactly English fashion with a Large square steeple at the west end, not yet half carried up but the church is covered though not yet glazed or seated.²⁸ his Exc. hath beene pleased to give greate encouragement to this worke, and you see his armes upon the East and carved in stone and Coloured, at present y^e English use the New Dutch Church once a Sabath. There is besides in the City a small Lutheran church, and a French church & here I cannot omitt a remarquable story, that is an undoubted truth y

²² Governor Henry Sloughter signed Leisler's death warrant.

²³ The first service at Trinity was not held until Sunday, March 13, 1698.

mars the Gity yalo, which hath format Carenon on it ver

BULLIVANT'S DIAGRAMMIATIC SKETCH OF "YE FORT & CITY OF N.Y.," 1697

The English Quakers being desired to contribute towards the Building of y^e Church in y^e fort, excused themselves by saying itt was against their Conscience so to do, But was content & voluntarily offered themselves to pull down y^e old one at theyr own expense, which they performed, and at a greater cost than what might have been expected from them on a Contribution or Subscription.

His Exc. was farther pleased to walk the town with me and shew me the multitudes of greate & Costly buildings erected since his arrivall about 4 years since to be theyr Gouuernour. Amongst w^{ch} none appeared more Considerable than that of Coll. Abr. Depeisters a noble building of the newest English fashion, and richly furnished with hangings and pictures. The staire case Large, & Noble, y^e whole built out of the Sea or Sound within this 2 yeares past, as are abundance of Lofty brick & stone buildings on the same range, theyr back doores & wharfes, warehouses & gardens Lookeing into the Sound, & Harbour

parting from Coll. Depeister whose entertainment is generous & like a

Nobleman though a merchant by his profession, his Exc. was pleased to enjoyne me to dine with him at the fort, weh was in ye forementioned hall furnished with armes, where we had a plentifull & well ordered table both of flesh & fish, with plenty of wine, & other good Liquors. (it should have been remembred, yt mr. Smith his Exc. chaplaine had read the publique prayers of the church in the greate Hall to such as came.) Dinner ended, I took my leave of his Exc. as did the other gentlemen mr. Jameson Capt. Tudor mr. Secretary Clarkson &ca who were so kind as to give me a Lemonado at the Kings armes tavern, where whilst we were sitting I was told his Exc. with his coach & 4 white horses, was at the doore below, & desired my company to take the ayre with him, there was with him the 2 Judges, we went 3 or 4 myles on the Road, & in our return called at mr. Clapps a kind of a pleasure garden, and dranke good Cyder & mead. thence returned to Coll. Depeisters about sunsett, where I was earnestly urged by the Coll. to take part of an evening treate To weh he had invited his Excellency but because I had understood itt would scarce breake up before 2 or 3 next morneing, I pretended earnest businesse in the City. and so got my selfe excused, Bidding his Exc. and the Company good night, and retired to my Lodgeings at Madam Smith's, a dutch gentlewoman, but an English mans widow, where I laye in a well furnished parlour, an excellent bed, with pure fine sheets and Pillow Beeres.24

Thursday June y^e 17. dined with mr. Edward Ampthill an attourney. Friday June 18 dined with Mr. Emmet an attourney, an ingenuous and well esteemed gentleman, Saturday June y^e 19th 1697. I attended his Excellencie on ringing the fort Bell about 11 of y^e Clock to morneing prayers & prayers being ended his Exc. was pleased to give me the honour of accompanying him in his coach to Clapps, where with other company we dined on an excellent Soupe—a dish of Beanes and bacon—a dish of rosted Lamb and Sallad—a dish of young peas—a dish of rosted chicken a Dish of tarts—a Dish of curds & Creame—a dish of Cherries, a dish of mulberries & Currants Dinner ended, after the Kings health, we dranke y^e Gouuernors & the Neighbouring gouuernors healths & returned to town at Sunsett.

Having been now 4 dayes at N.Y. I have Learned to say something of its Constitutions, & fashions. it was made a city by a Charter in gouuernor Dungans time⁵⁵ hath a Mayo¹ Sheriff, Recorder, and a town clerck, nominated by ye Gouuernor and Councill. Six Aldermen, and six comon Councell men elected by the freemen, vizt, one Alderman & one Councill man for each of the 6 wards in the City. The Mayors court is kept every Tuesday, he hath no ensigns of honour but the beareing a white staffe in his hand, Like ye Sherifs of London the city is well seated for A trade, the ships bound out being quickly at Sea, hath a good and safe harbour,

24 Pillow cases.

²⁵ The Dongan Charter dates from 1686

Capable to entertaine whatsoever number of ships may happen to come in, and in case of being pressed by an enemie, may Runn up Hudson river a hundred myles if they thinke fitting into the Country. To secure them from Ice & storms, they have also an out wharfe, made of a greate length like that at Boston, & contrived & forwarded by Sr Edmond Andros, within which theyr small craft and Lesser ships, lye safe, and secure all weathers whatsoever. it now appears yat theyr auncient buildings were very meane, amongst whom theyr town house makes but a meane figure. though sufficient to keep court above and a Goale underneath. But I have learnt they have layd out a good piece of Riseing ground, and design a new one wth all speed. most of theyr new buildings are magnificent enough, ye fronts of red and yallow (or flanders) brick Lookeing very prettily, some of them are 6 stories high & built with a Gable end to ye front, & so by Consequence make Very narrow garratts. the 3^d story is usually a warehouse, and over it a Crane for hawleing up goods. the Lower part is comonly Very substantiall & neate. The Sealeing usually of well smoothed boards, betwixt Joyces as large as our Brest sumers, & kept so cleane by frequent washing with soape & sand, that indeed makes the Roome very pleasant. The windows are high & large, as are the stories, ten or 12 foot ye first the casements of wood at bottom of the windows, and without, strong and thick shutters. The chimneys without Jawmes,20 hanging like the Topp of a pulpitt, but usually a good rich fringed callico, or other stuffe halfe a yard deep at ye edges, with Dutch tyles on each side the fire place, carried up very High They also tyle theyr sides of ye staircase, and bottom of windows they have excellent pictures, and good down bedds, yet after all theyr streetes are Nasty & unregarded, ye which they excuse at this time, saying the Multitudes of buildings now going forward are ye Occasion, but being over, the City gouvernment will rectifie all those matters. They have many publique wells enclosed & Covered in ye Streetes I do not know I ever saw above one pump. most bricked houses have ye date of the yeare on them, contrived of Iron cramps to hold in ye timber to the walls. Theyr shops very irregular, & few or none open, & to most you go up with 5 or 6 steps some of stone, Most of wood. N.Y. hath severall wide Large and orderly streetes, & athwart them sundry narrower, in weh notwithstanding are many Very good buildings, & tradesmen of note, it being not regarded where a man lives in N.Y. as to his trade, for all are known, sundry trees²⁷ are frequently sett at the doores. The signs are usually well done here. The children of rich parents are usually without shooes or stockens, and young mayds (especially Dutch) weare morneing gowns allday Long and bare footed, indeed I cannot say I saw any of ye Dutch that were tollerably well dresst, though rich enough to weare what they pleased,

²⁶ Jambs.

²⁷ Presumably: signs.

they are a parcimonious people, & expend Little on theyr livelyhood, which makes them usually well moneyed, & good paymasters.

Sunday June the 20th heard y^e french minister in the morneing in they_I own church which is a wooden building, with A gallery, a handsome pulpit, & a seate for the gouuernor. I attended his Exc. from y^e Fort about 11 of the clock to the Dutch church, he hath most of the gent in Comission attending him on foot, & is followed by ½ a company of Musquetiers with the drum beateing to the church doore, he is mett by the Mayor & Sheriffe with they¹ white staffes and so accompanied to Church In which his Excellency hath a stall on purpose, distinct & elevated, with a cloath of State & Cushion before him, on each side are Stalls for the mayo¹, Sheriff, & Aldermen & principall gentry. The Mayo¹ & Sheriff have a Carpet of Turkie worke before them, Sermon ended we returned as we came & in the afternoon had prayers only. The Dutch seeme not very strict in Keepeing the Sabath, you should see some shelling peas at they¹ doors children playing at they¹ usuall games in the streetes & y^e tayerns filled.

Monday. June 21. wrote to W: R. E. G. and B. W. at Boston, and this day his exc. sent his gent^m to invite me to Dinner, but I prayed his Excuse being before invited by Capt. Tudor.

Tuesday June 22. at N. Y. dined wth his Exc. at the fort and there met with m^r Ben: Woodridge of N. E. returneing to Boston from Philadelphia.

Wednesday June 23. rode in company with mr Ed: Ampthill from N. Y. to Harlem about 10 myles from N. Y. to visit mr James Grayham attourney generall²⁸ my old friend who lives on a very stately farme, we were nobly entertained, saw many Acres of most excellent wheate, & of a sort of french barley shaped almost like an english white wheate. An orchard of 40 acres or more of well grown apple trees, this day I saw the Virginia red bird wild in y^e feild, not to be seen in N. E. we returned the same night to N. Y.

Here are now most excellent Cherries fully ripe. 6 or $7_{11}^{\circ\circ}$ for a Bitt³⁰ (ot Riall spanish) worth Sixpence England money 8^{d} N.E. 9^{d} N.Y. 10^{d} pensylvania—the houses of N. Y. stand closer than in Boston, & so Contiguous generally that theyr yards, and Backsides are very small and rarely any garden in the best streetes theyr fronts are mostly narrow, seldome above 25 foote, excepting some few principall buildings. poore sandy Land about N.Y. being a neck encompassed with Rivers, the East River Running into y^e Sound. North into Hudson River. The Carts of N.Y. are very small and do not carry above a Sixth part of a coard

²⁸ James Graham was first appointed Attorney-General of New York in 1685, and served again in that capacity from 1692 until his death in 1701. Bullivant probably met him when Graham went to Boston in 1688 to become Attorney General of the Dominion of New England.

²⁹ li: poundweight.

³⁰ 12¹/₄ cents.

of wood at on^e Load, for which they have 3^d . they comonly goe into y^e sea to unloade at the sloops side. The Brewers carry they¹ Barrells on a truck with 4 wheeles, just so wide as a barr^{el} may lye Long wayes, & Carrieth 4 at a time, the wheeles are equall with the body of the truck, & not above 2 foot in height the Signs are generally well drawn and they^r Taverns sweet, & neate. The Dutchwomen (of y^e younger sort) troop the streets in morneing gowns very long, theyr heads cleane, & well enough set off (for they¹ faces) but without shooes & stockings, unlesse of a Sabath day.

Thursday June 24. at N. Y. tooke my Leave of his Exc. & this evening we had news from Albany that 2 English had been killed, & 2 made Captives by the Indian enemy and that much shooteing was heard at Albany, as if it had been An alarum, so put of [f] my designed passadge at this time thither. And on

Friday June the 25th 1697 about 3 afternoone parted from N.Y. in an empty wood boate of 6 or 7 tunn, the mr, french man belonged to woodbrige in East-Jarsey, he had no hands but himselfe & his wife bigg with child, who manadged the sayles, we passed the Baÿ about 3 Leagues wide, and saw the narrows by which betwixt 2 head Lands about 2 myles distance is made the entrance for ships into N.Y. Bay, and had Staten Island on our Larbord, & East Jersie on our Starboard side all the way, so entering the River we came too against Captⁿ Cornelius his house on Staten Island, and went on shoar for cherries and Long black mulberries now Very ripe & good this river is called by the English or Dutch Stam Cull³⁴ and runns not above 20 myles up into the Land, gives a prospect of many fayr & Large salt meadows, and in some places whole Islands of the same without any wood, about sunset we Lost the tide, and were obliged to come about a myle below Carter's poynt³² so the skipper rowed me up in his Canoo, and Landed me at m' Warrens ordinary, (which is a house of Colonell Townleys) on Carters poynt in East Jersey, where I lay that night almost killed wth musquettos, & disturbed by some privateers who brought theyr girles thither to make merry, and were so till 2 in the morneing in the same Room where I was in bed. at this place beginns a small creeke but deep enough to carry up sloops to Elizabethtown, but understanding the town was not above 2 myles by Land, and a pleasant walke I sent up my Luggadge, and the next morneing walked it on foot. Vizt on friday ye 25th of June 97, and came to mr Jewells ordinary in Elizabethtown in East Jersey, here I visited the courteous & obligeing Coll. Townley.³³ This place was formerly the seate of y^e Gouuerno¹⁵ of East Jersey, it is a large Country like villadge, seated on either side the said Creeke, ve Neighbours passing to one another in Canoos where it is

^{a1} Kil Van Kull.

³² Carteret's Point

³³ Colonel Richard Townley, who married the widow of Governor Philip Carteret.

about a stones cast over, but where Narrower and upwards into the Land, it is passed by a Bridge, it is reddish Land like some parts of England, and where cleare is English honeysuckle grass, it is here a smooth champagne land, & few stones looked much like an English villadge. This settlement is not of above 30 years standing, and in y^e management of proprietours who send the gouvernors, And patent out y^e Lands.

Saturday June 26: at Elizab[eth]town Sunday June 27 at Eliz town, Ve minister is m¹ Herringman³⁴ (an old man), & here is a pretty meeteing house of wood with armes⁸⁵ in itt as in New England. To which they assemble by Drum. at this town, & in some other places, I observed the oven was often abroad, single, and alone, & uncovered from the weather The Creeke admitts sloops of 40 tunns to theyr back doores, Laden with timber, or bricks, shingles, or pipe staffs, with weh they trade to York for provisions of flower, etc., and also for money it may be a town of Noate in time. In this province I saw the fire flies in great abundance (the most knowing of the inhabitants assured me it was from theyr eyes that the scintilla or sparke issues, or showes itselfe) it was Moonshine, & I saw a Bird called an West-India batt, who continually preys on these flies all y^e night Long, & yet makes a Continuall whistleing in her pursuite of them it is a gray flye, and without beauty by day Light, But catching some of them, it appeared to me the seate of the shineing was under theyr sayle (as in an English glow-worme) and when I had rubbed the part into pieces it continued yet its Luster, appeareing in the Light a kind of Jelly, & I am of opinion it is no other than y^e glowworme envigorated by the heat of the Climate to become winged.

munday June 28th 97. took horse at mr Jewells in Eliz: town, came to woodbridge a handsome country villadge 8 myles distant. Thence to Perth Amboy 4 myles farther where I went to deliver Letters to Coll Hamilton, gouuerno¹ of the Jersies⁸⁸ & to his secretary, but found them from home. This town hath an excellent port, & is encircled with it Navigable rivers but is a very uneven piece of Land & almost deserted. and the houses dropping down, here we dined, & thence to piscataway at m^r Hulls on a plaine, & 2 myles rideing more to the greate navigable river. called Rariton River against mr Inians. we forded the River at Low water by the assistance of a Pilot who waded before us, & came to m¹ Inions his ordinary on the other side of the banke, here we were well lodged & entertained. And on Tuesday morneing June 29. 1697 set out for Burlinton, we had the finest road imaginable, but haveing no entertainment of bathing place untill we were obliged to ride 35. myles in the woods, we were with our horses, & the hott weather much fatigued, resting once in 8 or 10 myles by a fresh streame to refresh our selfes with water & our

³⁴ John Harriman (1647/8-1705), who was graduated from Harvard in 1667.

³⁵ At this time the "town-house" and the "meeting house" were one.

³⁰ Andrew Hamilton (d. 1703), was the last proprietary Governor of the Jersies

horses with grasse, w^{eh} was then in greate plenty, so this day we fall 15 myles short of Burlinton, & reposed at a Quuakers plaine ordnary, with what content we could, haveing Hobsons choyce, that or Nothing.

Hence on Wednesday June 30th 97 in the forenoone came to Burlington in West Jarsey, seated on the side of Delaware River on an even playne, it hath a town house and market house in the Center, & a stone prison under all an hexangular Brick meeteing house and a Buryall place adjoyneing the streetes are directly straite and fine, 2 acre Lotts to most dwellings, some of the houses are brick with theyr balconies. I here saw & eate most excellent cherries, Rasp'ries, gooseberries & codlins.^{sr} They have a publick wharfe or Landing place, where sloops are secured from the weather, & where Tide boates from Philadelphia Land, & go off with passengers in wherries as they do from Londⁿ to gravesend it being about zo myles by water from home, & is about 3 howres & ½ passadge. the Delaware is here about one myle ½ over, & may bring up a ship of 500 tuñ against the town, But here is but a small trade for want of merchants, and by the much Better accomodations of Philadelphia, which is 20 myles Nearer the Sea, & on the other side of Delaware River in Pensylvania.

Thursday July: 1. 1697. I continued at Burlinton, in the pleasant Society of Esq¹ Tatam³⁸ an old England gentleman, and a chiefe merchant at his place here also I saw m¹ Hunloke,³⁰ and Tom Peachees⁴⁰ wife & Son-Here it was Excessive hott, and I saw many (to coole they¹ houses) boyleing theyr potts in y^e open ayr. Friday July 2^d came from Burlinton in West-Jersey to philadelphia in Pensylvania, by water in a pay¹ of Oares or London wherry, the Delaware was exceeding pleasant to passe, the tide soone shooteing us down with very easy rowing, we had the diversion of the Sturgeons playing & jumpeing entirely cleare of y^e water, & the Land of W. Jersey on our Larboard, & Pensylvania on our Starboard side, the Delaware being hitherto no wider than it is against Burlington, & on each side you behold the fay¹ plantations of Swedes, and English, Covered with feilds of Wheate and Barley.

Philadelphia in Pensylvania is seated on Delaware River 150 myles from the Sea, it is now but 15 yeares since they begann to Build, and yet do all ready shew a very magnificent City The Streetes are regularly layd out along the Delaware, & thwarting Into the Land, Broad, & even, Leadeing forth into smooth roades, that carry you into the Country, & at about 2 myles distance from y^e River delaware, direct from the City, is another Large River, called Schuilkill beyond which some are building & this is the extent of y^e City bounds to the Land from Delaware, and it is probable enough the Vacancy betwixt the 2 Rivers may in time be

³⁷ Codlings, a variety of apple.

³⁸ John Tatham was made Recorder of Burlington in 1694.

⁸⁹Edward Hunloke was Justice of Burlington in 1694.

⁴⁰ Thomas Peachee was listed as a Friend in 1692.

made into favr streetes, & Joyned into one City as is designed & layed out by the Proprietor. & Surveyed [by] mr Penn in his printed draught of ve City of Philadelphia which when finished, will be almost a square in forme. The Delaware is fresh & good water so are they^r pumps & wells. here is also sundry sort of fish, Sturgeon & flesh of all sorts plenty enough There are some few large and stately dwellings of some eminent Mer. chants, But ordinarily theyr houses exceeded not our second rate build. ings in London, and many Lower. But generally very pretty with posts In the streets as in London and shops after the English mode they have a market twice a week with butchers stalls, & Blocks, and a market Bell. Rung also att certain howres of the day by a woman to give the time of the day. Here is a very large, tall, Brick meeteing house for the quakers neare ye market place, & not fair distant a Neate little church for ye Ch of England, English fashion, handsomely pailed in, and a sufficient decent buryall place annexed to itt. Philadelphia hath somewhat upwards of 500 families dwelling now in itt, & very many Buildings goeing forw^d it seems allready to exceede most shire towns in England, it hath no fortifications, though very capable of it, (on ye River side) being so farr distant from ye sea, & mostly quakers they say it is not theyr practice to trust in carnall weapons & find by good usadge of the Indians they are a safeguard to them, & rather seeke shelter amongst the english than annov them wth a warr being at a greate distance from all European enemies. was presented at Philadelphia wth sundry Nosegayes of as large & beautifull flowers as are ordinarily in the London gardens. The gouvernor of this province is the Hon^{ble} Coll Markham,⁴¹ who lives in a small, but very Neate dwelling, and is a person of much Courtesie, and Learned, he hath his Lady with him, and some children. here is gathered the Black stone in which is found the Salamanders wool, so called because it will not burn, though it may be spunn into thread for service.42 Philadelphia hath the purest bread and strongest beere in America the Beefe, Veale & pork tollerable but short of England mutton & Lamb indifferent, but scarce at some times of ye yeare. Butter and cheese very good. They have two markets a weeke, wednesdaÿs and Saturdaÿs, and the most like an old England market of any in this part of the world. it is at this Instant very hott weather, which obliges people to go very thinly habited of the Negros & Indians I saw many quite naked, except what covered the Secrets of nature Vessells of 500 tunns lay theyr sides to the wharfes & unlode by theyr own takle. The Quakers are very generous in they Entertainments and furnish they houses very Neatly and stick not to give theyr daughters to men of the world, and indeed they are many of them very prettey women, here are apples, peares, peaches, apricots,

⁴¹ William Markham (c. 1635–1704/5), Lieutenant-Governor or Governor of the Province and the Lower Counties 1693–99.

42 Asbestos.

mulberries, & cherries in abundance. They pay little or no taxes of any Sort whatsoever nor any Customes or Excise have no militia, only a Night watch in Philadelphia, Justices & Constables County Courts, Provinciall Courts and assemblies.

The best next town in this Province on the delaware is Newcastle 40 myles below philadelphia towards ye Sea is a prettey town, builds ships and hath merchants resideing in itt. Here live many Swedes formerly Banished theyr own Country For misdemeano¹⁸, here live well, & have good farmes and under English gouuernment.

The Streetes of Philadelphia are unpaved at present, So being on a Levell are Subject to be dirty in any wett, but continue not long so, being under ye turfe a sand that drinks up all moisture. Here are good wells & handsom pumps they afect balconies very much & few houses want them, especially such as looke into the River, the houses are most brick though the Country yields a good square stone for Building I saw many good Staires of itt to ascend from the water streete next the River up into the first streete in the Citty. The ascent from the River brinke into the town in some places being very steep, they have cutt passages for carts, & arched them over very strong and handsome. They publish all theyr marriadges and bargaines by affixing a paper on the meeteing house door. I took notice of one that was to give notice where Gilliflowers were to be sold. and so much of the City of Philadelphia in Pensylvania I continued here Saturday. July 3 Sabath day July: 4th munday July 5th Tuesday. July 6th Wednesday. July 7th Continued at Philadelphia. Thursday July. 8th went down y^e delaware in y^e ordnary passadge boate for Newcastle 40 myles from Philad. about $\frac{1}{2}$ way is Chester an old settlement, that hath a good creeke for Security of sloopes, a town house, & a quakers meeteing house, a prison under ye town house & Containes about 50 families, thence to Newcastle is 20 myles, this is also an auncient settlement, here is the Custom house a small Ruinated Churcha prettey town house, on which they hoyst the Kings flag at approach of any 3 masted Vessell which may be espyed comeing in (at a good distance) out of delaware Baÿ, they have Six Iron guns mounted on y^e Bank but hardly large enough to comand the River. Vessells also stopp here goeing down for Sea. [about 8 myles below n Castle is a Creeke, by w^{ch} you may come to a neck of Land 12 myles over Crosse w^{ch} are drawn goods to & from Mary Land & Sloopes also of 30 tunns are carryed over land in this place on certaine sleds drawn by Oxen, & launched again into the water on y^e other Side.*]

friday July 9th at Newcastle, that evening returned to philadelphia, called on board the Charles Captⁿ Trent comander lyeing in the River

^{*} The bracketed sentence has been transposed by the editor for the sake of context from its position in the manuscript as indicated by ellipsis marks in the next paragraph.

wth Servants from Scotland, she is a goodly vessell of 250 tuñs, belongs to London, hath a Letter of mark, & 48 men, with 30 guns mounted the Comander entertained me with much generosity, & obliged me to lye on board him, whilst the tide made for us, for they usually spend 1 tid & $\frac{1}{2}$ betwixt philadelphia & N Castle unless a good wind presents. Hence writt to W. R. by Cox his sloop bound that night away for Boston . . . Saturday July: 10 at Philadelphia Sunday. July: 11. Ditto—The minister is m^{*} Arrowsmith⁴⁸ setts the Psalm himselfe, & concludes it wth the gloria patri in y^e forenoon & afternoon, his pulpit, and sound board is of wallnutt wood, his church hath 2 porches N. & S. seates Locked, Bricked at the Bottom, a distinct seate for the gouverno^T & Lady to w^{eh} he enters at a perticular door. it cost 400¹ Building, and 150¹ for y^e ground, it hath a ch-yard. munday July 12. at Philadelphia Tuesday July. 13 at philadelphia Wednesday July 14 at philadelphia.

Thursday July 15. at 3 in the morneing tooke water at Philadelphia to return to Burlinton and arrived there about 7 ye same day friday July. 16. at Burlinton Saturday July. 17—Ditto, stayeing for the post, & 2 gent^m of Yorke who might have been up that afternoon flood, but so horrible a thunder and Lightenings with much Rayn & tempests begann about 3 this afternoon, that the post, nor passadge boat could stirr out, & it continued in a very Extraordinary manner untill 4 this Morneing Being Sabath day July 18th at Burlinton in ye Province of West New Jersey.

Munday July 19, 7 in y^e morneing in company with the post, a Coole misty rainy day, tooke horse at Burlinton, & that night came to m^t Inians at Rareton River 50 myles from Burlinton. Tuesday July 20 (all alone) cam^e from mr. Inians to piscataqua 2 myles, to woodbridge 8 more, thence to y^e poynt at Elizabethtown 12 more No boate passeing lay at m^t Warrens ⁴⁴ at y^e poynt that night wednesday July. 21. about 5 in y^e morneing a sloope tooke me in at the poynt, & haveing the wind fayr came to y^e Bridge at New-York by 10 of the Clock the same day. Thursday, July 22. at N.Y. friday July 23, at N.Y. Saturday. July 24 at N.Y. Sunday July. 25. at N.Y. munday 26 July went with m^t minnaiz to Hemsted plaines tuesday 26. ⁴⁵ July returned from Jamaica & Dr. Innis his plantation on Long Island to N. yorke—Wednesday. 27. July at N.Y. Thursday. 28. July. Ditto.

Friday. 29. July About 12 at Noone tooke my passadge from N.Y. on David the Jews sloope bound for Newport on Road Island, came down

⁴³ In *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, New York, 1935, William Wilson Manross says that the name of the first minister of Christ Church has not been preserved. A certain I. Arrowsmith, presumably a schoolmaster in deacon's orders, kept the Church people together.

⁴⁴ George Warren, who died September, 1697.

⁴⁵ From Tuesday, July 27th, through Friday, August 6th, the days of the month ²⁵ Bullivant gives them are in error, being in each case one day short. On Saturday, August 7th, he finally catches up with the calendar.

the river with an easy gale and a tide, & passed hell gate, & so down to the white rock, and the 2 Islands called the 2 brothers when the wind vered, & came just a head of us, with much rayne thunder and Lightening, so that with turneing it to get a harbour we strained our Mast, & had like to have brought it by the Board, the Vessell lyeing along, & takeing in water at the scoopers, so at Last we were obliged to Let the mayn halliards runn at once, & under a short sayle, gott into Musketoo Cove on Long Island side. Saturday we put out againe (Vizt: July 30th) but it rained & blew so hard, we could go no farther than into Ovster bav harbour on Long Island, which is indeed a very secure & safe port, but Little frequented, having about 20 scattered houses on the sea side. here we were refreshed & Lodged on shoare. on Sabath day it Looked well, & we sayled again into the Sound, But the wind soone vered and came up against us with much rayne, & greate gusts, so were obliged to stand athwart the sound to the mainshoare of Connecticet and about 8 at night got into ffairfeild ship harbour, where we found Stephen Codman " just gott to an anchor before us, it proved a great storme, with much Rayne from this time to wednesday morneing, when it cleared up, & the mr being offered some Corn spent that day in takeing it aboard, & some part of the next day in the forenoon, vizt. Thursday the 4th day of August till about Noon when the wind comeing to WSW & a favre gale we put to Sea out of ffairfeild Creeke, & stood on with a happy gale under the main of Connecticott & by night were on Breast of Connecticut River, & the wind continueing we determined to stand our Course on the outside of ffishers Island hopeing to passe by Block Island undiscried of the ffrench privateer which we heard was Cruiseing there a few days before, & accordingly by brake of day Left Block Island a Sterne of us, & soone raised Road Island & point Judith which we passed about the sun riseing, & with a Lively gale gott safe into Newport harbour on Road Island about 7 in ye morneing friday Aug: 5th 1697. Saturday Aug. 7th at Newport Sunday Aug. 8 at Ditto place then & there Buryed Walter Newbury Munday August 9th left Newport, lay that night at mr Childs at Seaconek, the Sign of y^e Boare or as some call it y^e 2 Brutes Tuesday Aug. 10. 1697. from Childs at Seaconek that night to Boston, in good health and peace, haveing been. 9 weekes & 2 dayes on this Journey or Voyadge, for which Gods name be praysed.

> p^r me Benja. Bullivant Boston in New England August. 10. 1697

⁴⁶ Presumably Stephen Codman (c. 1750-1706).

wth Servants from Scotland, she is a goodly vessell of 250 tuñs, belongs to London, hath a Letter of mark, & 48 men, with 30 guns mounted the Comander entertained me with much generosity, & obliged me to lye on board him, whilst the tide made for us, for they usually spend 1 tid & $\frac{1}{2}$ betwixt philadelphia & N Castle unless a good wind presents. Hence writt to W. R. by Cox his sloop bound that night away for Boston . . Saturday July: 10 at Philadelphia Sunday. July: 11. Ditto—The minister is m^r Arrowsmith⁴⁸ setts the Psalm himselfe, & concludes it wth the gloria patri in y^e forenoon & afternoon, his pulpit, and sound board is of wallnutt wood, his church hath 2 porches N. & S. seates Locked, Bricked at the Bottom, a distinct seate for the gouverno¹ & Lady to w^{eh} he enters at a perticular door. it cost 400¹ Building, and 150¹ for y^e ground, it hath a ch-yard. munday July 12. at Philadelphia.

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