



NOTES ON COLE'S HILL

by Edward R. Belcher

Pilgrim Society Note, Series One, Number One, 1954

The designation of Cole's Hill as a registered National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, was announced at the Annual Meeting of the Pilgrim Society on December 21, 1961. An official plaque will be placed on Cole's Hill.

The formal application for this designation, made by the Society, reads in part:

"... Fully conscious of the high responsibility to the Nation that goes with the ownership and care of a property classified as ... worthy of Registered National Historic Landmark status ... we agree to preserve... to the best of our ability, the historical integrity of this important part of our national cultural heritage ..."

A tablet mounted on the granite post at the top of the steps on Cole's Hill bears this inscription:

"In memory of James Cole
Born London England 1600
Died Plymouth Mass 1692
First settler of Coles Hill 1633
A soldier in Pequot Indian War 1637
This tablet erected by his descendants 1917"

Cole's Hill, rising from the shore near the center of town and overlooking the Rock and the harbor, has occupied a prominent place in the affairs of the community. Here were buried the bodies of those who died during the first years of the settlement. From it could be watched the arrivals and departures of the many fishing and trading boats and the ships that came from time to time. In times of emergency, the Hill was fortified for the protection of the town. At the foot of its slopes and along the shore were the warehouses, stores and wharves in considerable number, connected with the shipping interests, which were a most important activity in the town in the latter part of the 18th century and for a large part of the 19th. Many observances of Forefathers' Day have taken place near the Rock, and for a long time it was customary for the local militia, called the Standish Guards, to fire a volley at the Rock in honor of the Pilgrims each Forefathers' Day.

In later years, the water front has been the scene of many civic and community activities, notably the pageant entitled "The Pilgrim Spirit," enacted at the observance of the Tercentenary of the Landing, in 1921. The seats for the spectators were erected on the slope of the Hill.

There are now (1954) four memorials to the Pilgrims on Cole's Hill:

The statue of *Massasoit - Great Sachem of The Wampanoags Protector and Preserver of the Pilgrims 1621 Erected by the Improved Order of Red Men as a Grateful Tribute 1921*,

A stone seat, given by the Pennsylvania Society of New England Women,

A stone seat, presented by the Society of Daughters of Colonial Wars, Commonwealth of Massachusetts - 1927,

The Sarcophagus, within which have been deposited the bones of the Pilgrims which have been found at various times in or near its location, erected by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants in 1920. A part of the inscription reads : *The Monument marks the First Burying Ground in Plymouth of the passengers of the Mayflower. Here under cover of darkness the fast dwindling company laid their dead, leveling the earth above them lest the Indians should know how many were the graves.*

Cole's Hill - First Burial Place

It is a generally accepted belief that Cole's Hill was used as a burial place for the Forefathers who died in the early years of the settlement at Plymouth. *The Pilgrim Republic* - John A. Goodwin, Tercentenary Edition 1920 Page 116: *Fearing that the savages, seeing by the graves from afar how much the settlement was reduced, might be emboldened to make an attack, the mounds on Cole's Hill were smoothed down and the spot sowed with grain.*

Note at the foot of the page:

This tradition has passed through only two hands : Elder Faunce transmitted it to Deacon Spooner, who gave it permanent form; and Elder Faunce heard it from the Pilgrims themselves. One can have little patience with those careless writers who say that these graves were planted with Indian corn. The Pilgrims retained the English usage of calling all grain "corn." (The English today use this word as a family name for corn, oats, barley, wheat, rye, etc.) Planting maize (Indian corn) would have involved waiting until late spring, and would not have been done before the treaty with Massasoit had rendered such precaution needless.

Mr. William T. Davis, in *Plymouth Memories*, pp. 321-323, makes the following statements regarding the period during which it was used as a burial place:

With regard to Cole's Hill, the impression has prevailed that burials there were confined to the winter of 1620-1621. After a somewhat thorough examination of evidence and probabilities I have reached the conclusion that this impression is not correct.... As long, then, as the Common House was the place of public worship, I cannot doubt that Cole's Hill was the burial place and that when the first meeting house was built on the North side of Town Square, Burial Hill sloping down to its walls, became the church yard and the place for depositing ... the bodies of the dead . Thus then, in my opinion, Burial Hill became the church yard in 1637.

In his *History of the Town of Plymouth* (1885) Mr. Davis says that Cole's Hill had been abandoned as a cemetery prior to 1643. He states that there were buried there John Carver, Elizabeth Winslow, Mrs. Mary Allerton, Rose Standish, Christopher Martin, Solomon Powers, William Mullins, William White, Degory Priest, Richard Britteridge and perhaps others to the number of forty-four. (*Pilgrim Memorials and Guide for Visitors to Plymouth* by William S. Russell (1851) adds the names of John and Edward Tilley and Thomas Rogers.) Very few died in the years immediately following 1620-1621, so it seems a fair assumption that there were buried on Cole's Hill those of the fifty Pilgrims who died after the Mayflower reached Plymouth, together, perhaps, with some of the crew of the Mayflower, if they were not buried at sea. Probably the total number of burials was between forty-four and fifty.

Early Uses of Cole's Hill

The land on the top of what was the original Cole's Hill has never been sold or transferred by the Town. There have been so many changes in the topography of the Hill that the exact area which this included would be difficult if not impossible to determine. It probably extended from the top of the slope opposite the north corner of the Plymouth Rock House to somewhere opposite the foot of Middle Street. The first mention of Cole's Hill in either the Plymouth Colony or Town records is the vote of the Town, March 6th 1698/9 when "The towne granted to Nathaniel Warren 50 fut front of land below Cole's Hill soe Caled by the shore side and soe to Ron down from High Water Marks in to the sea to whorf out soe farr as may be Convenient the said Warren alwayes leaveing A sufficient way for carts to pass along the shore between the banck & the sd land to be taken upp."

The following statement appears in the introduction to Vol. 1 of the Town Records:

It must be remembered in connection with the dates of various entries that until 1752 the year began in England and its colonies on the 25th of March , and that double dates were often applied to all days between the first of January, and the 24th of March, inclusive. Thus an entry made on the 10th of February 1750, old style, would be 1751, new style, and would be dated 10th of February, 1750-1.

Volumes I and II of the Town Records covering the years 1636-1705 and 1705-1743 list many liberties and grants to wharf out into the harbor and to land below Cole's Hill. A liberty was a permission which did not convey any title. Several of these liberties and grants ran across what is now Water Street, others were merely on the shore but even here the lots were opposite homes or warehouses owned by the grantees on the westerly side of the street. In all such cases it was required that a way be left open along the shore between buildings for passage parallel to the shore. These ways were later strung together to become Water Street in 1716. The street layout of that year bounds the foot of Cole's Hill.

Votes of the Town in the Seventeen Hundreds Relating to Cole's Hill

At a Town Meeting May 13, 1706, " ... it was voted to build a Watch House upon Cooles hill so Called & apointed Capt Warren to procure it Dun."

February 21, 1708/9: "Thomas Doty is Granted a lot by the watersid below Cole hill next to Captain Warrens Grant on the southerly side thereof of 30 foot in breadth and soe to Extend Downward into the sea soe far as may be Convenent to Worffe in Case ye sd Doty build on ad spot of land within 2 years after this Date and also he leaving A sufficion way for Carts to pas between ad Coles hill and his sd building or Worfage."

February 21, 1708/9: "At sd Meeting Mer John Mordo, and Benjamin Warren wer Chosen and apointed by the Town to lay out a sufficient part of the shore sid below the new strets End for ye landing of wood and hay and for laying vessels on shore upon any ocasion needfull and voted that it shall be perpetually for yt us Never to be granted to any particular." *Note by Davis: "Town Dock is here referred to, one of the pieces of real estate in Plymouth, where only title deeds are the patent of the Northern Virginia Company and the treaty with Massasoit."*

May 9, 1709: "At this meeting it was voated that one hundred and 30 foot of land along the shore sid below ye New streets End shall be and Remaine for a perpetuall Comon for ye use of the Town Never to be Disposed of to aney perticular person sd land being allredy staked out by men apointed by sd Town." *Note by Davis: "Notwithstanding this vote, grants to individuals have been subsequently made by the town., and the landing place is now about 85 feet wide." (1892)*

In 1713/14 the Town voted "That the Watch House on Cole's Hill should be a place to Coope such swine as are taken up Legally until they can Dispose of them as the Law directs."

February 16, 1715/16, the Town voted to lay out a way on Cole's Hill ten feet in width.

Several times the Town appointed committees to consider the situation with regard to the lots on Cole's Hill, to prevent future encumbrances., provide for the upkeep of the Hill, and to see if the conditions of various grants had been complied with.

In 1742 a Province Grant was made to the Town for the construction of a breast work and platform. A committee reported that it had considered the matter and reported that the place called Cole's Hill was the most suitable place for the erection of such a work.

In 1746, the Town voted to sell a lot of land below Cole's Hill to Thomas Jackson and Thomas Foster, provided they shall build a stone wall for preserving the bank above, to the satisfaction of the Town.

In 1748, the Town voted "That ye Selectmen of ye Town Should Sell ye Watch House on Coles Hill to ye best advantage for ye Town and that it shall be sold at a Public Vandue."

Evidently there was trouble with the maintaining of the Hill, for about that time it was voted to choose a committee to consider the circumstances of Cole's Hill, said hill being "Much diminished & Broken away".

There must have been confusion as to the various grants and sales of land, as in 1753 another committee was chosen "To discover ye proprietors or owners of the Severall Lots there formerly granted or sold by ye Town, to consider ye Circumstances of sd Coles Hill." In 1757, the Town voted that "said David Turner have liberty to erect a fence on ye Brow of Coles Hill, above his land there, provided that his so fencing shall not be understood to give him property To any land belonging to the Town within sd fence; but that the same be and Remain the Towns as it has Done hitherto."

Evidently the confusion regarding the various lots on Cole's Hill was not entirely cleared because in 1764 another committee was chosen to examine the records of the lots and "To Take a View of them".

In 1775 the Town "voted to build a brest work for firing the cannon in this town" and appointed a committee to build such a work on Cole's Hill and Barnes Point, at one or both of said places, as the committee shall think proper. It must have been built on Cole's Hill, for in 1779 the Town voted to sell the fort on Cole's Hill for "the most it will fetch either at vendue or otherways".

Quotations from some of the Histories and Guide Books Relating to Cole's Hill

The Pilgrim Republic - John A. Goodwin, Tercentenary Edition 1920 Copyright 1879 by John A. Goodwin, Copyright 1888 by William B. Goodwin
Page 158 Note:

"In a storm of 1735 a torrent pouring down Middle Street made a ravine in Cole's Hill and washed many human remains down into the harbor. In 1809 a skull with especially fine teeth was exposed. In 1855 these graves were exposed in laying the public conduit on Cole's Hill. In one grave lay two skeletons, pronounced by surgeons male and female. The man had a particularly noble forehead; and it was fondly surmised that here were the remains of Mr. and Mrs. Carver. These found a new grave on Burial Hill; but the other relics, with barbaric taste, were placed in the top of the stone canopy over Forefathers' Rock. In 1879, during some work on the southeast side of the hill, many more bones were unearthed, and some, with questionable taste, were carried away by the spectators in remembrance of their "renowned sires"... (These bodies were all found with their feet to the east.)"

"In the course of the recent excavations on Cole's Hill, some scattered bones of human bodies have been found; and on Monday, as workmen were digging out one of the post-holes in front of the house of Arad Perkins, a skull was thrown out by the spade. The poor relic of humanity was broken in removal; but the pieces were gathered up by Mr. Snell of the Plymouth Rock House. It was examined by Dr. Warren Peirce, who declared it to be the skull of an elderly white person, probably a male. From the location there can be little doubt the remains were those of one of the Pilgrims who died in the first sad winter, and was buried on the hill. - *Old Colony Memorial*, October 11, 1883."

Note by Goodwin: "In making improvements on Cole's Hill in Plymouth, the graves of Pilgrims who came over in the 'Mayflower' have been discovered. One grave was opened November 27 ('83) and a skeleton found in perfect order. These are the only graves of the first settlers that have been positively identified, and a tablet will be put up marking their position."

Old Plymouth - A Guide to its Localities and Objects of Interest - Avery & Doten, Publishers - 1881
Page 36 - Cole's Hill:

"...In 1735, in a great rain, the water rushing down Middle Street to the harbor, caused a deep gully there, exposing human remains and washing them into the sea. In 1855, workmen engaged in digging trenches for the water works, found parts of five skeletons. The graves were in the roadway, about five rods south of the foot of Middle Street. One of the skulls was sent to a competent anatomist in Boston, and was pronounced to be of the Caucasian race. The remains were carefully gathered and placed in a metallic box, properly inscribed, and interred on Burial Hill, subsequently being deposited in the chamber of the Canopy over the Rock, at its completion in the year 1867. Cole's Hill has other histories also. From the first days, its position over and commanding the harbor, led to its being selected as a place of defense. In 1742 the General Court granted a sum of money to the town, to erect a battery here. In 1775, the old defense having gone to decay, a new one was built and manned, and continued to be kept up during the war. In 1814 still another fort was thrown up here, and placed in charge of companies of soldiers, stationed in the town."

Acquisition of Land by the Pilgrim Society

Old Plymouth - A Guide - 1881 - Page 37:

"The side of the hill facing the Rock was formerly covered with old and unsightly buildings, as for many years the part of the town near the water was a favorite place for building. Some years ago the Pilgrim Society began to purchase these lots and to tear down the buildings, until now nearly the whole face of the hill to Middle Street is graded and grassed over, presenting a fine, green slope, and adding much to the beauty of the locality."

The Pilgrim Society began to acquire land near Cole's Hill and the Rock in 1855. By deed dated January 4, 1855, Isaac L. Hedge conveyed to the Society "A certain parcel of land with the building thereon situated on the westerly side of Water Street immediately westerly of Plymouth Rock and opposite the head of Hedges Wharf and extending westerly to Cole's Hill. This conveyance is made upon the express condition that said premises are to be forever held and used for purposes connected with a monument to the memory of the Pilgrims to be erected in the vicinity of the premises." (Plymouth Deeds Book 264, Page 139)

On February 16, 1855, Phineas Wells conveyed to the Society "A certain lot of land situated on Water St. in Plymouth near Plymouth Rock; bounded and described as follows, westerly by Water St., northerly by Town Dock, easterly by land covered by a building owned by heirs of Barnabas Hedge and by them conveyed to Andrew L. Russell and another, and southerly by Hedge Wharf. With the expressed condition that the premises shall be held and used for the purposes connected with a

monument to be erected in the vicinity and not to be built upon for other purposes." (Plymouth Deeds Book 264 - Page 139)

May 29, 1856, Isaac Tribble et ux and Nathaniel C. Barnes et ux George L. Tribble and Isaac Tribble conveyed to Pilgrim Society land near the Rock, bounded easterly by Water St., northerly by land conveyed to the Society by Isaac Hedge, westerly by Cole's Hill, southerly by land of heirs of Henry Jackson. (Plymouth Deeds Book 294 - Page 169)

January 1, 1857, Winslow W. Tribble to Pilgrim Society "Way leading from Middle St. to Water St. together with the lower part of the building on said land meaning to convey all my interest in said estate on the southeasterly side of Coles Hill". (Plymouth Deeds Book 277 - Page 185)

On January 17, 1859, Hammatt Billings conveyed Hedges Wharf to the Pilgrim Society. Mr. Billings was the architect who designed the canopy over the Rock, (which was removed in 1920) and the National Monument to the Forefathers.

Plymouth Memories - William T. Davis

Page 16 - "North St. received a new Laying out Feb. 11, 1716, and still another on the 7th of October, 1765 and after the estates on Water Street below Cole's Hill had been bought by the Pilgrim Society in 1856, and other dates, land was thrown out by the society, and the corner rounded."

Page 112- "Until, perhaps twenty-five or thirty years ago there was an ancient footway leading from Cole's Hill at a point nearly opposite the south front of the house of Henry W. Barnes, next to the Universalist Church, to Leyden St. directly opposite to the way to the fording place above mentioned. That footway doubtless ante-dated the opening of a way between Cole's Hill and the water and served to enable those who were occupying lots on North Street, then New Street, to make a short cut over the hill to Leyden Street, and thence to either the boat harbor landing or across the ford to the south side of the settlement. "

Page 26 - "In my youth and later there were eight buildings on the westerly side of the street (Water Street) between North Street and the steps at the foot of Middle Street. In the rear of these houses there were two terraces supported by stone walls and some of the houses were entered by flights of steps leading down from the top of the hill. In 1856 and in the years immediately succeeding, the Pilgrim Society bought all these estates and after the removal of the houses graded the slope as it is seen today. The granite steps from the surface of the hill to the canopy over the Rock were built by private subscription. The graded bank is the property of the Pilgrim Society and the surface of the hill, which belongs to the Town., was placed by a vote of the Town under the superintendence and care of the society."

Page 15 - Mr. Davis makes the following reference in his remarks about North Street:

"On the lower half of the street there have been several changes in its boundaries. From the way leading to the oil works, as Winslow Street was called, at a point in front of the Willoughby house, there was for many years a way with steps running easterly and reaching the street below at an acute angle, thus breaking the continuity of the stone wall bounding the street. About 1858, while I was chairman of the selectmen, the board discontinued this way, and rebuilt the wall on a continuous line.

"On the other side of the street there was another way with steps at its upper and lower ends opening opposite the northerly door of the Plymouth Rock House, and reaching the street below immediately above the house which stood at the corner of Water Street. This way has also been discontinued by the selectmen."

A Guide to Plymouth, published in 1881, states that at that time "nearly the whole face of the Hill to Middle Street was graded and grassed over, presenting a fine, green slope, and adding much to the beauty of the locality." From that time, until the contour of the Hill was carried along to the south by the Stickney Fund Trustees, there was a short flight of stone steps at the foot of Middle Street, leading to a path down to Water Street which curved around the foot of the slope of the Hill. On the easterly side of Carver Street from Middle Street south, was a stone wall five or six feet in height above the then slope of the Hill. A sketch of Plymouth in 1898, evidently prepared and issued as an advertisement for various business enterprises, shows about six or eight buildings on the Hill south of Middle Street. These included tenement houses at the foot of Leyden Street, the Winslow Brewster Standish Old Curiosity Shop (a dealer in antiques) a small building marked "Massachusetts Humane Society", where rescue apparatus was once stored, a paint shop, blacksmith shop and some other houses. With the help of the Stickney Fund, referred to later, these buildings were removed and the filling of the Hill to the south completed so that by 1917 the top and slope of the Hill to Leyden Street was graded as it is today.

From *Plymouth Memories* - page 15 - "The Linden tree standing on the corner of Cole's Hill, has an interesting romance connected with it. The tree was planted by a youthful couple as a memorial of their engagement, and when not long afterwards, in 1809, the engagement was discontinued, and the memorial was no longer prized by the lady in whose garden it had been planted, she one day pulled it up and threw it into the street. My father, who happened to pass at the time, picked it up and planted it where it now stands."

The linden trees within the oval where the Sarcophagus stands, were planted shortly after the Sarcophagus was erected, about 1920.

Under the date of November 22, 1920, the Pilgrim Society conveyed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the land which it owned east of Water Street, which was described in the deed as follows: "a certain parcel of land with the so-called 'Plymouth Rock' and a wharf thereon situated in the Town of Plymouth and bounded as follows, Northwesterly by land of said Town of Plymouth, commonly known as 'Town Dock', northeasterly by the harbor, southeasterly by land of Anthony Atwood et al and southwesterly by Water Street."

Some years ago, probably about 1930, it was necessary to re-set some of the stone steps at the bottom of the flight leading from the top of the hill. When they were removed, a container was found within which were various papers, evidently placed there when the steps were first constructed. These papers, together with some additional newspapers current at the time, were placed in a new container and replaced under the steps when re-set.

Change in Carver Street at the Time of the Tercentenary Celebration

About 1920, the layout of Carver Street at the foot of Middle Street was moved somewhat to the west, which necessitated the purchase and removal of the so-called Anthony Atwood House by the Commonwealth. This was done to permit the erection of the Sarcophagus on the place where same human bones had been found, as nearly as it could be determined. The lot of land on the northwesterly corner of Middle and Carver Streets remains the property of the Commonwealth, although maintained by the Pilgrim Society in connection with its care of Cole's Hill.

Prior to the change in Carver Street, there was a granite slab on the Hill at the foot of Middle Street, giving some information about the discovery of the human bones on the Hill and the location where they had been found. This slab is still in existence, stored at the Town Farm.

The inscription on this tablet reads as follows:

"On this hill
The Pilgrims
who died the first winter
were buried.
This tablet
marks the spot where lies
the body of one found
Oct. 8, 1883. The body of
another found on the 27th
of the following month
lies 8 feet northwest of
the westerly corner
of this stone.
Erected 1884"

Joseph Henry Stickney

As a member of the Pilgrim Society, Mr. Stickney was much interested in its aims, contributing liberally to assist in carrying them out. Besides many other benefactions, which need not be mentioned in connection with Cole's Hill Mr. Stickney contributed two thousand dollars in May 1883, for buying land on Cole's Hill and in October of the same year, six thousand five hundred dollars for the purchase of the wharf and five hundred for land south of the Rock.

Mr. Stickney's principal benefactions were contained in his will, the seventy-fifth clause of which left seventy-four thousand dollars to a Board of Trustees for the preservation and improvement of various historical areas, monuments, etc. Twenty-one thousand dollars of this amount was for extending Cole's Hill to Leyden Street. A considerable number of years elapsed before the Trustees expended all of the funds available, and the total expended on Cole's Hill finally amounted to twenty-three thousand, four hundred thirty-seven dollars and twenty cents.

These expenditures were mainly for the purchase of the land and buildings, filling in the hill to bring the grade at the top to meet that of Carver Street, and to make the slope conform to that of the northerly part of the Hill. The grantees in some of the deeds to the Stickney Fund were Wm. R. Drew, Plymouth National Bank, Helen M. Harlow, Louisa J. Holmes, Charles W. Bramhall, Plymouth Rock Cooperative Co., and Sylvia M. Standish. The work of grading and filling was completed in 1917.

In 1911 the Town of Plymouth released to the Trustees of the Stickney Fund all the land owned by said Town easterly of the easterly line of Carver Street, southerly of a line in extension of Middle Street, westerly of the westerly line of Water Street and northerly of the northerly line of Leyden Street.

By deed dated June 29, 1929 the Trustees of the Stickney Fund conveyed to the Pilgrim Society a certain parcel of land situated in Plymouth bounded and described as follows: easterly by Water Street, southerly by Leyden Street, westerly by Carver Street and northerly by land of said Pilgrim Society.

These various transfers consolidated the ownership of the entire area described in the Pilgrim Society, where it now remains.

The remaining assets of the Trustees were distributed in accordance with the decree of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, entered in the Equity Case No. 1060, by the above transfer to the Pilgrim Society, by deeds to the Town of Plymouth and expenditure of remaining funds under the

principal of "Cy Pres", so that its affairs were finally closed in 1935. Under date of April 24, 1917, Mr. Arthur Lord wrote a letter to Mr. William W. Brewster in relation to the care of Cole's Hill. Mr. Brewster was then secretary of the Pilgrim Society and also secretary of the Trustees of the Stickney Fund. Pertinent sentences from this letter are as follows:

There seem to be three owners of the Hill, namely, the Town, the Pilgrim Society, and the Trustees of the Stickney Fund. The Town has left the care of its portions of the Hill to the Pilgrim Society. I think the Trustees of the Stickney Fund may well do the same, subject to this qualification, that such work as is necessary to be done this summer to complete the work of the restoration of the contour of the Hill, which the Trustees of the Stickney Fund have undertaken, should be paid for by the Trustees and left in the care of the committee of the Trustees... When the Trustees of the Stickney Fund have expended for the purposes named in Mr. Stickney's will the unexpended balance of the fund, the care of the constructive work which they have done must, of course, rest on other shoulders. I had thought that then we could go to the Legislature, have the corporation dissolved, the land on Burial Hill purchased by the Fund transferred to the Town, the land on Cole's Hill transferred to the Pilgrim Society. It would be an argument in favor of that disposition of the land titles held by the Trustees that the Trustees had no funds to care for the property, and that the responsibility for the care had been assumed by the Town and the Pilgrim Society...

The activities of the Trustees of the Stickney Fund were completed substantially in accordance with the recommendations of Mr. Lord.

Cole's Hill is cared for and maintained by the Pilgrim Society, entirely without expense to the Town, because of its historical significance and for the enjoyment of the public. [NOTE : Cole's Hill was turned over to the care of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1993.]

Grateful acknowledgment is extended to Mr. Edward C. Holmes and Mr. Allen D. Russell for their valuable assistance in the preparation of these notes.

Edward R. Belcher

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